

A Chronicle at large and meere Hiſtory of the **affayres of Englande and** *Kinges of the ſame, dedu-* **ced from the Creation of the** vvorlde, vnto the firſt habitation of thys Iſlande: and ſo by contynuance vnto the firſt yere of the reigne of our moſt deere and ſouereigne Lady Quene Elizabeth: collected out of ſundry Authors, Whoſe names are expreſſed in the next Page of this leafe.

Anno Domini. 1569.

¶ *Cum priuilegio.*

¶ The names of the Authors that are *alleged in this History.*

A

Alanus.
Antoninus:
Annales of Fraunce.
Auguſtine.

B

Beda.
Beroſus.
Biblia.
Biſhop Anthony.
Boccas.

C

Arion.
Caxton.
Cæſars Commentaries.
Clarenſeaux king at armes
Conradus Vſpergenſis.
Cornelius Tacitus.
Cronica Cronicorum.

D

Iodorus Siculus.
Dionice.
Domes day.

E

Dward Hall.
Engliſhe Chronicle.
Enguerrant.
Euſebius.
Eutropius.

F

Abian.
Froiſſard.

G

Aaufride.
Geoffrey of Monmouth
George Lylye.
Gerardus Mercatour.
Gildas.
Guydo de Columna.

H

Enry Archedeacon of Huntyngton.
Hector Boethus.
Hheronimus Marius.

I

Ames Bergamo.
Iohn Lidgate.
Iohn Hardyng.
Iohn Leyland.
Iohn Raſtell.
Iohn Sleydon.
Iohn Bale.
Iohn Maior the Scot.
Iornalenſis.
Ioſephus.
Iſidore.
Iuſtine.

L

Anquet.

M

Athewe of Weſtminſter the author of the booke called the Flowres of hiſtories.
Marian the Scot.
Marlyn.

N

Ennius.
Nicholas Lira.
Nicholas Brodyngham.

P

Aulus Emilius.
Peter Pictauienſis.
Philip Commines.
Polidore.
Policarpus.
Polichronicon.

R

Abutine Frenchman.
Reynulph of Cheſter.
Robert Gaguine.
Roger Houeden.

S

Axo Grammaticus.
Sebaſtian Munſter.

T

Homas Moore Knight.
Thomas Lanquet.
Thomas Cooper.
Titus Liuius.
Trogus Pompeius.

V

Incencius Gallus.

W

Illyam of Malmeſbury.
Willyam Thorne Monke of Cauntorbury.

To the Right Honorable Sir Wylliam Cecill Knight, principall Secretarij to the Queenes Maieſty, and of hir priuie Counſayle, Mayſter of the Courtes of Wardes and Lyueries, and Chauncelour of the Vniuerſitie of Cambridge: Richard Grafton Citezen of London, wyſheth long health wyth encreaſe of honor.

DOVBTLES, YOVR *Honor and other maye marualye, or paraduenture miſlyke, that after ſo many bookes alreadie ſet forth, bearing the names and tytles of Chronicles of Englande, I ſhould accomber the Readers ſuperfluouſlye wyth one mo of the ſame matter: Neuertheleſſe, the contentes of thys and the ſayde other former bookes being compared, your wiſedome can well diſcerne, and other ſhall eaſely perceyue, that this labor of mine was neyther altogether needeleſſe nor vnprofitable. For among ſo many writers, there hath yet none to my knowledge, publiſhed any full, playne and meere Engliſhe hiſtorie. For ſome of them of purpoſe meaning to write ſhort notes in maner of Annales, commonly called Abridgementes, rather touch the tymes when things were done, then declare the maner of the doyngs, leauing thereby ſome neceſſitie of larger explication, and referring the deſirous Reader to a further ſerch and ſtudy. Other haue dealt but with the reignes of a few kings, & yet therof haue made long bookes, with many tedious digreſſions, obſcure deſcriptions & friuolous dilatations: which forme*

of writing if it should not be reformed, coulde not in the whole be folowed without pestering the Reader with importable Volumes. Other haue intermyngled the affaires of other foreyne Nations with the matters of Englande, yea, euen where the one had no concurrencie or dependaunce of the other. Others, namely straungers, as well in their bookes written purposely of England, as in discourses enterlaced in their histories of their awne Countries, and specially concerning the actes of later times, both in matters of Religion and ciuill pollicie, partly folowing common reportes, and partly vsyng enuious constructions haue eyther by ignoraunce or malyce slaunderously written and erred from the manifest truth: so farre as to me seemeth a better worke could not be taken in hande, then that some learned Englishe man of good intelligence would by some speciall worke, written in such a language as other Nations might for the more part best vnderstand, detect, and with plaine declaration of the truth, confute such errors & vntruths as are written and scattred in foreyn stories concerning this realme: For some supply of all which defectes and errors conteyned in the said former Chronicles of Englande, I haue to the best of my small skill & with the vttermost of my diligence, gathered this booke, conteinyng a complete and whole history from the first entrie and habitation of the Britons in this Island, vnto the first yere of the reigne of our soueraigne Lady Queene Elizabeth, presently reigning. Large ynough (I trust) without tediousneße, short ynough without darkneße, meerely and onely of Englande, not mingling the same with foreyne matters impertynent to oure state, and finally true without misreporting, so farre as the folowing of the best Authors & reporters & mine awne experience (hauing of long time seene and purposely noted much therof) could conceaue. And now hauing ended this worke, and seking

seking to whom I might for testification of my speciall good will present it, or for patronage and defence dedicate it, and principally for all iudgement and correction to submit it: Among many I haue chosen your Mastership, moued therto by experience of your curteous iudgement towardes those that trauaile to any honest purpose, rather helping & comforting their weakneße, then condempning their simple (but yet well meanyng) endeuours. By which your accustomed good acceptation of others, I am the rather boldened to beseeche your Maistership to receaue this my worke and me, in such maner as you doe those, in whome (howsoeuer there be want of power) there wanteth no poynt of good will and seruiceable affection. Wherefore at this present, not meaning to trouble your Maistership with any farther tedious matter, my prayer shall be to God for your long prosperous estate with encreaße of Gods grace, and so thereby to direct your trauayles in the seruice of the Queenes most excellent Maiestie, and the common weale of this Realme, as you may alwayes leaue to the posteritie happy and plentifull matter of worthy report.

To the gentle Reader.



S I HAVE (WITH MY no little trauayle) collected this Hiſtory, which I name a Chronicle at large and mere Hiſtory of the affaires of Englande, for that the ſame is not intermixed with foreine affayres: ſo moſt gentle & louyng Reader, I beſeche thee take theſe my ſaid traueyles not only in good part, but alſo pardon the rudeneſſe of my ſtile & lack of learning which I acknowledge, or otherwiſe the ſame ſhould haue beene better furniſhed. But for ſome inſtruction to the better vnderſtanding of mine order obſerued in the diſcourſe of this Hiſtory: I thought beſt to admoniſh thee, that foraſmuch as this Iſland of Briteyn (whereof the greater part is now called England) had the ſame time of creatiō that al the reſt of the earth had: therfore I begin this booke at the creation of the world, and ſo continue the ſame with the bleſſed line and iſſue of Adam by Seth his ſonne, vnto our Sauiour Chriſt. And by the waye, when Brute, as by the teſtimonie of moſt auc̄thors, firſt entred this Iſland and named it Briteyne: there beginneth mine Hiſtory of this Realme, and from thence lyneally I proceede to the reignes of all ſuch as ſucceeded Brute in ſtate of kings, euen to the tyme of Wylliam the Conquerour, where I begin my ſecond volume, becauſe in the former parte (as maye at large appeere) thys Iſlande being firſt inhabited by Brute, was afterwarde conquered by the Romaynes, and then ſubdued and poſſeſſed by the Saxons, & laſtly by

by the Danes, and ſo was it neuer in perfect ſtate of gouernement, vntill the laſt conqueſt of the Normanes, from whence the Hiſtories of times doe more plentifully and plainely appeere. And in the diſcourſe of this Hiſtorie, folowing the common opinion of the deuiſion of this Iſlande in three partes made by Brute to hys three ſonnes, Locryne, Albanact and Camber, that is to ſay, of the part nowe called Englande vnto Locryne his eldeſt ſonne, and of that part nowe called Scotlande vnto Albanact his ſecond ſonne, and of that part nowe called Wales to Camber hys thirde ſonne, of whoſe name the ſame part is called to thys day in welſhe *Cambry*. Foraſmuch, I ſay, as before this deuiſion, this Iſland of Briteyn was but one entier Iſle, therefore profeſsing to write an Hiſtory of the Princes of this part, now called Englande: I thought it not meete vtterly to omit Scotland, being a part of this Iſle of Briteyn: And therfore in order as the Britones reigned, ſo I note alſo the ſucceſsion of the kings of Scotlande, wherein I doe not profeſſe to write of them any ſpeciall Hiſtorie, farther then they had to doe with the kings of this Realme, or the kinges with them, but with a briefe recytall of their kings names & time of their reignes to paſſe them ouer.

I haue alſo to admoniſhe you concerning the numbers that ſtande in the margent of this booke, from the creation of the worlde to the birth of Chriſt, hauing a lyne ſtryken betweene them. Thoſe numbers that are aboue the lyne, are the yeres of the worlde from the creation: And thoſe vnder the line, are the yeres before Chriſt. But after the comming of Chriſt, then the vppermoſt numbers are the yeres of Chriſt, and the nethermoſt

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thermoſt are the yeres of euery ſeuerall king, and ſo it continueth to the ende of the booke.

Here alſo I muſt aduertiſe you that in the computation of yeres, I folow the accompt of the Hebrues, the which I take to be moſt true, the which accompt, I haue at large ſet forth in the .72. page of my firſt Volume.

Alſo in the ende of this booke, ye ſhall finde an exact table, wherein is expreſſed not onelye the reigne of euery king of this realme, ſithen the time that the City of London hath beene gouerned by Bailifes, Maiors and Shrifes, and the day and yere that they firſt entred into their ſeuerall reignes: but alſo the names of thoſe that then were and euer ſithence haue beene Maiors and Shiriefes of London, with the yeres, monethes and dayes of their entrie into their ſeuerall charge. Alſo I haue placed in this booke two ſeuerall Tables, the one in the ende of the firſt volume, and before the conqueſt, which I haue deuided into ſeuen parts, according to the vij. Ages of the world, as may at large appere in the .72. page of the ſaid Volume as aforeſaid, & the other at the end of the ſecond and laſt volume, that is, from the conqueſt to the reigne of our Souereigne Ladye Queene Elizabeth, the which Tables ſerue for the readye fynding of anye name or ſpeciall matter conteyned in the ſayde booke, by the letter and order of the Alphabet.

And where I haue in the .xiij. yere of king Henry the firſt promiſed to place the maner & order that was firſt taken for the holding of the Parliament in the time of king Edwarde the thirde. I haue ſithen that time for ſundry good cauſes thought meete to omit the ſame, and therfore I admoniſhe the Reader not to looke for it.

And

And here to conclude moſt gentle Reader, I beſeeche thee louyngly and fauourablye to iudge and report of mee and my booke, to whoſe iudgement I moſt humbly ſubmit the ſame, and ſuch things as ſhall ſeeme to be a miſſe, or not ſo well penned and fully ſet foorth as by a learned and skilfull man the ſame might haue beene, either fauourably doe thy indeuour to amende the ſame, or elſe impute the fault to the diuerſitie and variance of Aucthors, among which differences, it ſhall be harde to trie the truth, and thus I bid thee farewell.

Richard Grafton.

FORASMVCH AS THE EXAMples of good and euill doinges, in thys that the one sort doe allure to good, the other doe fraye from euill, doe tende both to one good ende in well disposed mindes, it hath euer beene thought a beneficiall woorke to the societie of men to set forth in historie and true report, the doings and liues of men as they haue deserued. And though vertue of it selfe be of worthynesse ynough to be loued for it selfe, and in honest mindes free from vanitie, is to her selfe sufficient recompense, yet hath God for commoditie of mankinde planted in nature a prayse worthye affection to be well spoken of for doing well, and shame to beare infamy for doyng euill. Thys hath made vertue cõmended to encrease: This hath restreyned those from sinne, whom conscience coulde not: This hath holden men in order for feare of the sight of men, whome the feare of God that seeth all withheld not: This hath raysed men out of drowsie idlenesse, whome the sounde of Gods promises and threatnings awaked not: This, whereby is quickened endeuour to lyue after death, is the very proofe in nature, that mans minde confesseth and hopeth for immortality.

As true reporting therfore auayleth to the encrease of well doing, so good acceptation is profitable to the furtheraunce of the true reporters labour, and is the verie recompense that euerye honest trauayler in any good worke shall be sure to finde at the handes of euery one that feareth not to heere shame for his euill deedes.

And as it is reason that good be done to him that doth good to many, so where the author and gatherer of this woorke hath with his honest labors made the noble actes and good deseruings of many to liue in good memorie, so I thought it not reason, specially hauing among infinite other receaued commoditie by his labors, that his owne well doyngs should altogether dye in forgetfulnesse. I must therefore good Reader, to the intent to prouoke thy fauourable receauing and construyng of thys worke, put thee in remembraunce how manye wayes the great labors of this man susteyned with great charge and perilles, haue bene to vs profitable, that we be not to him vnthankfull. It hath suffised him to deserue well, it shall not suffise vs to receaue without receauing well, that is, to the encouragement of him and other to deserue well. That which he of modestie maye not vtter, we of honestie maye not hide. This therefore I am to affirme, because I knowe it, and the more assuredly to affirme because many moe knowe it, and most reasonably to allege because the whole Realme hath profite by it, that the man hath not spent one quarter of hys lyfe to his owne ease or commoditie, but as a good Citezen for the benefite of the Citie of London, as a good Englisheman for the profite of the Realme of Englande, and as a good Christian for the furtheraunce of true religion. The Bible in English, that vnvaluable Iewell, we haue by his trauayle, first with his charge and attendaunce procuring the translation thereof, then sundrie times copying the same out with his owne hande, thirdly printing it in Fraunce with his great expense and perill, when the rage of those holy fathers which then enuyed Christian men christianity, not only would not suffer it to be done in England, but also procured the same beyng printed to be attached in Fraunce & openly burned, himselfe hardly escaping with his life. Not discouraged herewith, but still caried with zeale to doe good, he attempted the woorke againe, and to Gods great praise and to the edification of Christes Church, performed it. Sithence that, how beneficiall he hath beene in furthering good wittes to learning, in setting learned wittes to working, because the rehearsall in particularitie cannot but haue some affinitie with exprobration, I leaue to their remembraunce that haue tasted of it, and shall be mooued in their conscience where it maye doe him good, to testifie it. But the Citie

Citie of London may not forget, or forgetting may not be vntolde of it, or well remembring may not suppresse it, that moe maye be mooued by his example and their thankfulnesse, to be suche Citezens as he hath beene, how he hath trauayled in their affayres from time to time, as if anye priuate man among them had but a seruaunt or factor of such faythfulnesse, policie and painefulnesse, as he hath shewed himselfe for them all, it should not for shame be forgotten, I will not saye vnrecompensed. Who knoweth not his diligence in laboring for and attending on that noble worke of that most blessed Prince, King, yea saint, Edwarde the sixt, in erecting the Hospitalles? his labors and expences in ouerseing the same beyng erected, preferring it before all his awne businesse to his great hinderaunce? It is proueable ynough if any will be so past honest thankfulnesse to denie it. And nowe lastly, beside a number of good bookes by him published, he hath for the whole realme gathered thys Chronycle of Englande, wherein thou mayest readily see with small trauayle and coste that which heretofore scattered in manye woorkes was chargeable to get and troublesome to finde, beside very much that in none heretofore hath beene vttered.

In this he hath brought things vnknowne from darknesse, vntrue reportes from error, confusion of affayres from disorder, impertynent tediousnesse to reasonable proportion, and hath made a large, playne, true and meere historie of this Realme, wherby men may be certified of truth, the Reader may haue delitefull & profitable knowlege: our Countrie men and the subiects, but specially the princes therof, delyuered from slaunderous reportes of foreyne writers: Kings maye learne to depende vpon God, and acknowlege his gouernaunce in their protection: the nobilitie may reade the true honor of their auncestours: The Ecclesiasticall state maye learne to abhorre trayterous practises and indignities done against kings by the Popishe vsurping Clergie: high and lowe may shonne rebellions by their dreadfull effectes, and beware how they attempt against right, how vnhable soeuer the person be that beareth it: we all may be warned to thanke God for the most vertuous, wise and peaceable gouernement that we now enioye in comparison of terrible times heretofore: Eche man maye haue a glasse to see things past, whereby to iudge iustly of thinges present and wisely of things to come: To beholde the beautie of vertue and deformitie of vice: what sweetenesse remayneth after well doing, what stinges of repentaunce euill doing leaueth: Men of elder honor, maye learne not to deface their forefathers prayse: The newer sort maye seeke to bring light and dignitie to their houses: and finally all men in seing the course of Gods doings, may learne to dread his iudgementes and loue his prouidence: maye see how good doings be defended, euill doings and wrongs reuenged, bloud with bloud, violence with violence, iniuries with miseries, and so growe into an affection to geue to eache matter his right iudgement, to eche superiour his right duetie, to eche other that which iustice or charitie wylleth, and to all well doers, & among others to this setter forth of so many well doyngs, such thankfull acceptation as his whole life employed to common benefite hath deserued. Receaue it therfore good Reader so, as thy selfe maiest haue most benefite of it, and he may in his age thinke his youth well spent in doing good to London, Englande and Christianitie. And aboue all things forget not, to geue God thankes for the Queenes maiesties most gracious reigne, so farre in comparison exceeding the tymes that here thou readest of: And beseeche him long to preserue her, without or after whome there is great daunger and small hope: and specially let euery one endeuour for himselfe, not to moue God for our sinnes to cal her home from vs to him to hastily:

Sera at in cœlum redeat, diuq;
Læta vt interfit populo Britanno,
Nec sinat hostes equitare inultos,
Se duce, Christi.

The first Age, and first part of this Chronicle.



The first Age.



IN the beginning God made Heauen and Earth: and Moſes the diuine Prophet and Hiſtoriographer (who was before the incarnation of Jeſu Chriſt. 1569. yeres) ſheweth vs howe that GOD deuided hys woorke of Creation into. vj. dayes. Moſes. Creation of the World.

¶ The firſt day he made the Light, and deuided the ſame from the darckneſſe, and the light he called Daye, and the darckneſſe Night. The. j. daye

¶ The ſeconde day he ordeyned the Firmament to be betweene the Waters, the which deuided the waters from the waters, that is to ſaye, thoſe that are aboue from them that are beneath. The. ij. day

¶ The thirde daye he gathered all the waters together that couered the face of the Earth into one place, that the earth might be drie, and that it might bring foorth Herbes, and Trees. The. iij. day

¶ The fourth day he beutified the Firmament with lights, and ordeyned the Sonne to ſhine in the daye, and the Moone and Starres in the night. The. 4. day

¶ The fift daye he Created the Fiſhes in the Water, and Fowles vpon the Earth. The. v. day

¶ The ſixt day he Created Beaſtes, euery one in his kinde: and the ſame day (as the holy Scriptures doe witneſſe) when the Heauen, the Earth, and The vj. day

Creation of Man. Genesis. j.

all the furnitures thereof, were created and made, God then of the slyme of the Earth made Man, that most excellent Creature vnto his owne likenesse, and similitude, and breathed into him the breath of lyfe. Thus was Heauen and Earth finished with all their Apparell in sixe dayes, and the seuenth day God rested from his labors and sanctified the same, and commaunded it to be kept as his holy Sabaoth.

The. vij. day

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¶ After that GOD had created Man (as afore saide) he then gaue vnto him such grace that without any instructions, but onely with the endowment of his originall righteousnesse, he was perfectly learned and seene in all the liberall Artes and Sciences. He was also endewed with the knowledge of all Herbes, Trees, Metalles, Stones, Birdes, Beastes, Fowles, Fishes, Wormes, and all other Creatures. Also God gaue vnto him power ouer all thinges that were vpon the Earth, and in the Sea, so that vnto all Beastes, Fishes, and Foules, he gaue a proper and conueniēt name according to their natures, euē in such sort as they are called at this day. Then was he brought by the Almightie Lorde into the pleasant place of Paradise replenished wyth all delights and pleasures, the felicitie of which place Saint Augustine doth describe in this maner.

S. Augustin

Paradise

Man lyued in Paradise as he would, so long as he willed that God commaunded, he lyued hauing the fruition of God, of whome came his goodnesse, he lyued wanting nothing. Hauing in his power withall, so to lyue continually. Meate was euer ready and at hand bicause he should not be hungry, and drinke for that he should not thrust: and the tree of lyfe, that age shoulde not consume and ende his lyfe. No corruption was their eyther in his body or came of his body, which was to the lothsomnesse or annoyance of any of his senses. He feared neither inward diseases nor outward violence. In his flesthe was most perfite health, and in euerie part of his soule no lesse tranquilitie and quietnesse. As in Paradise no griefe was felt through heat or colde, so likewise to the inhabitours thereof happened there nothing through vnlaufull desire, or feare, that might be to the impechment of his good and godly enclined will. In him was there no sorowfulnesse at all, nor yet any baine mirth or gladnesse. True ioy was in him, continued by God, towards whome there issued a burning Charite out of a pure hart, a good conscience and an vnfayned faith: Betweene the Man and the Woman, there was semblably a faithfull societie, proceeding of verteous and honest loue, and agreeable watching of minde and bodye: and finally a keping of Gods commaundements without griefe or grudging, to weete, that of all the trees in Paradise he might laufully eate, so that he abstayned from the tree of the knowledge of good and euill. Hitherto Saint Augustine.

¶ Then God perceyuing that as yet there was no creature made like vnto man which might be an helper and compānion vnto him, he forthwith cast Adam into a slumber, and tooke a rib out of his side, filling the place with flesh, whereof he made the Woman, and named her Heuah, or Eue (that is to say, lyue or be lyuing) and brought her vnto him, whome when Adam sawe, he sayde: This is now bone of my bones and flesh of my flesh, she shall be called Woman, bicause she is taken out of the Man: wherefore Man shall forsake his father and mother and cleaue vnto his Wyfe, and they two shall be one flesh. And the Lord blessed and sayde vnto them. Increase and multiplie, and fill the earth and subdue it, and be ye Lorde ouer the Fishes of the Sea, the Fowles of the aire, and of all the Beastes that moue on the earth.

Creacion of the Womā

¶ But after that Man was placed in the highe felicitie as afore sayde, he forgetting God, through the craft and subtiltie of the Serpent (which a little before was driuen oute of Heauen) and by the prouocation of the Woman, broke

The fall of Lucifer.

broke the commaundement, geuen to him by God, wherfore he with Eue his wyfe were driuen out of Paradise and made subiect to death, Sinne and all kindes of miserie: For the earth was restrayned, that it should no more bring foorth fruit of it selfe, but that by the sweate and painefull labors of their bodies, they should trauaile and leade their lyues. Then also came sickenesse vpon them, and heate and colde began to assayle their tender bodyes. For after they began to sinne, God did open the power of Sathan, but yet against him of the seede of the Woman: he promised that Christ should come and destroy his power, and deliuer vs from his thraldome, death and sinne. This was the first promulgation of the Gospell, at which tyme began the kingdome of Christ and the Church. And so Adam and Eue tooke comfort of the promise that was made of Christes comming, and of these two persons the Church first began.

Gene. iij.

Gene. iij.

Adam and Eue. ỹ first of Christes Church.

¶ And when Adam was thus for his disobedience and transgression cast out of Paradise, he fell to labour and tilling of the ground, according as almightie God had sayd vnto him, and soone after he knew his wyfe Eue (and as Iames Philip of Bergamo sayth, in the suppliment of his Chronicles) he begat on her. xb. peres after the creation of the Worlde two Children at one tyme, a Sonne and a Daughter, that is to say, Cain, and Calmana, and. xb. peres next following which was the. xxx. pere of the creation of the worlde, he begat againe at one tyme a Sonne and a Daughter, that is to say, Abell, and Delboza.

Iames Phil.

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¶ The afore sayde two brethren Cain, and Abell, were the first founders of two contrarie Cities, Babell, & Jerusalem, by the one is vnderstand Confusion, and by the other, the vision of peace. Their father taught them to feare God, and to worship him with sacrifices. Cain was of a naughtye and vnhappie disposition, geuen vnto al vice and mischiefe, and was the first that tilled the earth, he offered alwayes the worst and most vile things vnto GOD: But Abell the yonger Brother, was of contrarye conditions: he gaue himselfe to all vertue, and in all things that he went about, he thought God to be present, his occupation was the keping of Beastes, and he euer offred vnto God of the best things that he had. For in their Sacrifices his offering was euermore consumed with fire from Heauen, but his brother Cains remayned vntouched: wherefore Cain (perceyuing that his brothers doyng, was more acceptable before God than his) enuied him, and ought him most damnable hatred and malice, and in the ende most cruellye and shamefullye murdered and slue him.

Babel, Ierusalem.

¶ But Adam heering of the death of his sonne Abell whom he loued most derely, mourned and lamented his death, and continued mourning for him by the space of one hundred yere. And as sayth Nicholas de Lira vpon the iiij. of Gene: Adam did with himselfe decree neuer more to haue knowne Eue his wyfe: But afterward by Gods speciall will and prouidence, he did knowe her, to the intent that of that lyne our Sauiour Christ should come, and not of the line of cursed Cain.

Adam mourned for the death of Abel an hundreth yere.

¶ And after that Adam had knowne his wyfe againe, he begat on her his third sonne named Seth, when he was. C. xxx. peres of age, of whom came and discended Noe, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Dauid, and consequentlye our Sauiour Jesu Christ. And Adam (as saith Iames Philip) had beside Cain,

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Seth. Gene. iiij.

Abell, Seth, and theyr sisters, other. xxx. Children, and liued. ix. C. xxx. yere.

¶ Now after ỳ Cain had done this horrible murther afore sayd, he fled frō his father, and builded a Citie in the Orient, which was the first Citie in the world, and named it Enoch, after the name of his first begotten sonne, whom he begat of his sister Calmana, in the lande of Inde after he had taken her to wife, as it was lawfull for him then to doo for the multiplication and encrease of the worlde, which Calmana was borne. xb. yeres after the creation of the worlde as Cain himselfe was. And as Saint Augustine in his booke of the Citie of God sayth, that as it was then lawfull for the brother to take the sister to wyfe for the encrease of the worlde, so is it now most damnable to attempt or do the lyke, for that we are by the expresse worde of God prohibited and forbidden so to doo. This Cain was a great toyler and moyler in the earth, but very couetous and full of malice withall, at the prosperitie of any other, which was the onely cause that he murdered and slue his owne onelye brother Abell as afore saide: For the which fratricide or brother murthering, he was by the sentence of almighty God publyshed for a vagabond and a ronnagate, & so reputed and taken all the dayes of his lyfe, as afterward it shall more plainelye appeere in the discription, or rather in the Historie of Abell. Of the foresaide Enoch came afterward a great Nation of people, but they were very wicked full of sinne, and aboue all other thinges they did exceede in the Sinne of the flesh, which was the greatest cause that his lyne did so wonderfullye encrease and multiplie. This Cain for that God had pronounced him to be accursed, and sayde that the Earth should not yeelde vnto him any fruite, as it is expressed in the. iiij of Gene: For that cause he left off from the toyle and labor of the Earth, the which before he did exercise, and sought out by his wicked imagination the Mathematicall artes. And although he found in that trauaile great veration of mynd, and businesse, yet as the paine ceassed not, so did not his auaricious couetous and greedye desire cease, by rappyne, spoyle, or by any other wicked meane to attaine to treasure and ryches, to the enryching of himselfe, without regarde or respect by what meane so euer he came by the same, not sparing neyther the robbery nor spoyle of his people, nor yet the robbery of his children, nor of his childers children, and all that came of them or any of them: Of the which mischiefes he was a most chiefe and principall doctor. Also he altered and chaunged the honest and simple doings that before tyme had bene vsed by honest and good men in their exchaunges and traffiques, and caused all things to be done by weyghts and measures, and brought in craft and corruption.

Enoch the first Citie in the worlde.

S. August.

Cain ỳ first murtherer. Gene. iiij.

Gene. iiij.

Cain the inuenter of the Mathematicall artes.

¶ The name of Cain by interpretation is as much to say as possession, and as Saint Augustine sayth in his. xb. Booke of the Citie of God in the. xvij. Chapter: Cain might well be called possession, for in a little tyme he and his posteritie possessed in a manner the whole Earth, but in the ende they were drowned and destroyed by Noes flood.

S. Augustin

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¶ Abell the sonne of Adam and brother to Cain borne with hys syster Delbora in the. xxx. yere of the age of his father Adam, that is to saye. xb. yere after Cain. This Abell in his tender age learned the feare of God and his iustice, in such sort that in all his doings and affaires, he imagined God to be present, and that he coulde doe nothing out of Gods sight and knowledge, and therfore he endeuored himselfe to all vertue and good liuyng, and did

did sacrifice vnto God of all the chiefest and best of his Cattell. And therefore almightie God had respect and regarde vnto him, and did multiplie and encrease his Cattell and goodes, which was the cause that his brother Cain enuied him. For the saide Cain, being a laborer & toyler of the earth, and yet notwithstanding insaciable, greedye, and couetous coulde not abide to see his brother so greatly to prosper and encrease, and therefore by the prouocation of the Deuill, rather desiring to be depriued of all consolation and comfort, then to lyue and remaine in the fellowship and companie of his owne naturall and onely brother Abell, on a tyme sayde thus vnto his sayde brother Abell, brother let vs go foorth into the Fieldes: To the which innocent Abell not thinking of any guile or deceit did consent. And when they were together alone, sodainely Cain ranne vpon him and slue him, the sayde Abell being then one hundred yeres of age, the which Abell is accounted the first Martir, and the first that possessed Paradise. Cooper.

Abell slain.

Abell the first martyr.

¶ Afterward God called Cain and cursed him, saying: Cain, what hast thou done? The voyce of thy brothers blood is come vp from the earth before me, thou shalt be cursed vpon the earth that did open and receiue at thy hand the blood of thy brother Abell. And when thou shalt labour the earth it shall not yeelde to thee any fruit. Thou shalt be as a Vacabond and fugitiue vpon the earth all the dayes of thy lyfe. And God set a signe vpon Cain, that is to saye a most horrible trembling and quaking of all the members and partes of his bodye and (as sayeth Lira vpon the. iiij. of Genesis) God did print a signe or marke in his forehed or face, to ỳ intent he should be knowne vnto all nations, and that he should not be slaine by chaunce where so euer he should be found.

Gene. iiij. Cain accursed of God.

Lira.

¶ After the death of Abell and banishment of Cain, Adam when he was (as afore sayde) C. xxx. yeres of age begat Seth, and lyued after. viij. C. yeres: which Seth as afore sayde gaue himselfe to all vertue and to the feare of God. Of this Seth (as is afore sayde) the holy Fathers were begotten, whose posteritie continued, but the posteritie of Cain perished in the flood as shall appeere.

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¶ Josephus writeth that Adam & Seth made two Columnes or Pillers, one of Brasse, the other of Stone, for they foreseing that the worlde should perishe and be consumed, once by water, as it came to passe at the generall flood, and afterward by fyre, which tyme is yet to come, graued in the sayde Pillers such things as they vnderstood of the glorie of almightie God, to the intent that Gods most holy worde might be preserued from perishing, and that the same should remaine to their posteritie, that those ỳ followed might know what God had done in the former time. And he also writeth that Adam and Seth deuyded the yere into. xij. Monethes, and did first obserue and teache the course of the Celestial bodies, for that it was impossible that mans wyt could attaine to so high and difficile things, vnlesse God almightie had shewed and declared the knowledge thereof to Adam in his creation.

Josephus

Adam and Seth deuided the yere into. xij. Monethes.

¶ By Abell which by interpretation is Sorow, or death, and by Seth, which by interpretation, is Resurrection, is signified the death and resurrection of Christ, as sayth Saint Augustine in his. xv. Booke of the Citie of God. Chap. xviii.

Abell signifieth Sorow or death. Seth signifieth Resurrection.

¶ Seth in the. C. v. yere of his Age begat Enos, and lyued after that

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A. iiij. viij. C. yeres.

viij. C. yeres. This Enos was one that altogither sought the glorie and will of God, not as many other good Fathers did, but as one that most specially and wholy dedicated himselfe to the aduancement of Gods highe honor and glorie, and lyued not after the worldly felicitie, but after the will of God, as S. Austine writeth of him in the booke last before alleaged.

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¶ Enos the sonne of Seth in the. xcj. yere of his age begat Kenan, after whose birth he liued. viij. C. xv. yeres.

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¶ Kenan the sonne of Enos in the. lxx. yeare of his age begat Malalehel, after whose birth he liued. viij. C. xl. yeres. This Kenan was the fourth in order of the fathers from Adam in the Genealogie of the righteous men, but begotten in the thirde generation. For in the first generation Seth was borne, in the seconde Enos, in the thirde Kenan, in the fourth Malalehel, in the fift Jared, in the sixt Enoch, in the seuenth Mathusalem, in the eyght Lamech, and in the ninth was Noe borne, who was the tenth from Adam: For according to the mind of S. Augustine, the beginning of Adam was no generation, but a formation: Neuertheless, the plasmation or creation of Adam is reconed among the generations, where he is accounted in the first, and Seth in the seconde, and so consequently, which maner is most vsed.

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¶ Malalehel the sonne of Kenan in the. lxv. yere of his age, begat Jareth or Jared & liued after. viij. C. yeres: But here (sayth Lanquet) that which Macrobius doth only attribute vnto the Egiptians (meaning the account of yeares) were better accounted by the Hebrues, among whom there was alwayes a certaine course of the yere which was obserued by ỹ circuite of the Sonne. The yere was then of. xij. moneths as it is now. The moneth conteyned the same time that it doth now. The whole course of the Sonne & Moone was then, as it is now. The day. xxiiij. houres, as it is now, whereby worthily are refused ỹ errors of them which holde that the yeres of that age were ten times shorter than they are now, the which opinions the holy scriptures condemne to be false. For the Scripture sayth that the flood began in the. vj. C. yere of the lyfe of Noe, in the. xvij. day of the seconde moneth, and ceassed the. xx. daye of the same moneth in the yeare following, in the which place the. xij. monethes is read, whereby it appereth that there was then no fewer monethes than is now. And as at this time, men liued much longer than we do now: so is it true that they had far greater bodyes & were of much more strength than we are now. S. Augustine writeth (as Lanquet sayth) that he himselfe sawe in Utica (a citie in Africa) the iawe tooth of a man of such exceeding greatnesse that it might well haue made an hundreth of oure teeth, and there he alleageth the sentence of Plinie, who sayth, that the longer that time passeth, the lesser bodyes shall be engendred. And I the writer and collector of this whole Booke, and Hystorie, did see the tenth daye of March. 1564. the checke tooth of a man, and had the same in my hande, which was as great as a Hennes egge, and the same did wey ten ounces of Troy weight. And the skull of the same man, as I am credibly informed, is extant and to be seene which will holde fiue pecks of wheate, and the shinne bone of the same man is also to be seene, which is reported to be six foote in length, and of a marueylous greatnesse.

The yeare, Moneth, and course of the Sonne and Moone, was at the beginning, as it is now.

Lanquet.

S. August.

A straunge Tooth.

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¶ Jareth, or Jared, the sonne of Malalehel in the C. lxij. yere of his age begat Enoch, after the birth of whome he lyued. viij. C. yeares. And in thys time

time the children of Seth suffered much violence and wrong of the children of Cain.

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¶ Enoch the sonne of Jareth or Jared in the. lxv. yere of his age begat Mathusalah, and liued after. iij. C. yeres. This Mathusalah or Mathusalem, as the holy scripture sayth, was of longest lyfe, and being borne in the viij. generation from Adam, did prefigurate the. viij. age of the world, which shall be the time of the Resurrection, which shall begin in the last day, and neuer after shall haue ende.

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¶ Mathusalem or Mathusalah in the. C. lxxxvij. yere of his lyfe begat Lamech, after whose birth he liued. vij. C. lxxxij. yeares, and dyed in the yeare of the flood. He was borne in the tyme when wickednesse and malice began to abound vpon the earth, not onely amongst the children of Cain, but also among those which were called the children of the Godly. This Lamech was not onely a iust man, but also a Prophet, for he was the father of Noe, and he prophesyed of him and sayde, he shall comfort vs from the workes and labours of our handes in the earth which the Lorde hath cursed. And Lamech when he had lyued. C. lxxxij. yeres he begat Noe.

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¶ Noe, when he was fiue. C. yeres of age, begat Sem, Cham, and Japhet, and here I will returne a little to the line of Cain, and shewe what cursed ende he came vnto, as matter by Gods sufferance, that with such measure as himselfe had measured to his only & owne naturall brother, whom he had most cruelly murthered, so he likewise at the last was murthered himselfe, and that by one that proceeded out of his owne lyne.

A digression.

IN The beginning of the worlde most people went naked, sauing that they were partly couered with the skinnes of some beast, & at that tyme they had no dwelling houses to defend them, neyther from the colde, nor yet from the heate, but after their owne phantasies they made with prety boughes and twigs of trees, such little pretye lodgings, as we call Cabons, or Boothes. And it so chaunced that Cain being verye olde and also werye, happened one day to lay him downe to rest in a bush that was enclosed with greene boughes as aforesaid. And Lamech one of the kindred of Cain in ỹ fift degree, who by reason of his great age had lost his sight, & yet at a time was disposed to go abroad to kill some wilde Beast, and taking his Bow and Arrowes, he tooke also with him a little boy to lead and direct him where he might haue a good shot. And when they drew somewhat neare vnto the bush where Cain lay, the little boye espying the bush to wag, and seeing as it were a great thing in the midst thereof, he imagined that there lay some wilde beast, and the boy beyng afraid therof gaue knowledge vnto old father Lamech, that in a bush stading right before him and not farre off, there lay a great and terrible beast. And Lamech vpon the report of the child stretched out his arme & drew a streight draught towarde the bush, where he slew his cosin Cain, that lay in the same after he had liued. vij. C. xxx. yeres, as sayth Philo. Of this ye maye reade more in Nicholas de Lira vpon the fourth Chap. of Genesis.

Cain slaine

¶ This Lamech as sayth Raynulph Monke of Chester, was the. vij. in degree from Adam, and was of the lyne of Cain, and the most shrewe, for he was the first that brought in Bigampe and spousebreach against the lawe of God and nature, and against Gods owne doome.

Ranulphus

¶ And this Lamech had a sonne called Juball or Jabell, who was the first inuenter

Poztatiue tents.

inuenter of the Poztatiue tents oz lodgings, the which first was practised and vsed by the Sepheards and keepers of Cattell. And he also was the first that deuyded the Lambes from the Sheepe, and one kinde of Cattell from another.

Cattaile deuided one from another.

Tuball.

¶ The same Lamech had also another sonne named Tuball, who was a great louer of Musick, and was the first inuenter of pzopoztions and measures: But he was not the maker of the Instruments, foz that was inuented long time after, in the time of Pithagoras. And this Tuball by the sounde of the Hammers that Tubalcaim his Bzother being a Smith did vse, did

Musick.

Gene. iiij.

imagine the distinction of soundes. Genesis. iiij.

Tubalcaim.

¶ Tubalcaim the second sonne of Lamech was a warrelike Man, and begotten of his wyfe Sela, this Man was a louer and inuenter of all those things that were meete oz necessarie foz the warres: he founde out the Arte of forging of Iron. He and his bzother Tuball foreseeing the two destructions of the worlde that were to come, the one by water and the other by fire did erect two great Columnes oz rounde Pillers, the one of bzent Bzick to defende the fyre, and the other of Marble to defende the water: and therein did graue the Artes and Sciences that were by them inuented: This Tubalcaim was the last of the lyne of Cain.

Forging of Iron.

Noemia.

¶ Noemia the daughter of Lamech and of Sela the Sister of Tubalcaim did first finde out the vse of Linnen and Wollen, & the Spinning, Carding and weauing of the same, and made it into cloth, both foz lightnesse and warmenesse, where before they did weare beastes skinnes as is mencioned in Cronica Cronicarum.

BVT Now to returne again to the line of the iust, where before mencion is made that Jared begat Enoch & Enoch begat Mathusalem, the sayde Enoch about this time was by God taken vp into heauen, which thing doth euidently set foozth vnto vs the immoztalitie that remaineth after this lyfe, and that God wil saue those that are righteous and condemne them that are wicked.

Enoch taken vp into heauen.

¶ Also before is vttered that Mathusalem begat Lamech, not that same Lamech of whome the storie last before is written, foz he came of the lyne of Cain, but this Lamech whereof mencion is nowe made came of the lyne of Seth, and the same begat Noe, as a foresayde.

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NOE The sonne of Lamech which came of the lyne of the iust, when he was. v. C. yeres of age, begat Sem, Cham, and Japhet, not all at one time, but he was so olde before he begat any of them. This Noe was a iust & righteous Man & one that loued and feared God, by the which he obteined the blessing & fauoz of almightie God. And after the recitall of the birth of the sonnes of Noe, foozthwith the holy Scripture declareth the occasion of the Flood, bicause sayeth almightie God, the worlde began to ware wicked. And amonge other the great vices of the worlde, there is recyted the contempt of God, Adulterie, Wolupteousnesse and pleasure of the body, foz thus the text hath: VVhen that Men began to multiply vpon the earth and brought foorth Daughters, the Children of God, seing the Daughters of men to be faire, tooke them to their vvyues.

Sem, Ham, Iaphet.

The causes of the flood.

¶ The holy Scripture calleth the children of God all those which discended from Seth, the thirde sonne of Adam. And those the children of men that

that discended from Cain the first sonne of Adam. Foz Adam commaunded that the children of Seth should in no wise couple with the children of Cain, which was obserued of a long time, vntill that the zeale and loue of vertue decayed. And God perceyuing thereby that the wickednesse of man was great vpon the Earth, repented him that he had made man, not that there is any such passion in God, but that the Scripture so speaketh to vs after our familier and worldlye maner: and therefore he threatned a destruction to the worlde by a flood, and would therefore that Noe should declare this vnto the people. C. xx. yeres before it should come to passe. In the meane tyme God commaunded Noe that he should build an Arke, that should contein in length CCC. Cubites Geometricall, euery Cubite conteyning as S. Augustine saith vj. common Cubits, which is. ix. feete, and so it was in length, two thousand, seuen hundzed feete. In bzedth it was fiftie Cubites, which was foure hundzed fiftie feete, and in deepenesse from the vpper decke to the bottome. xxx. Cubits, which was two hundzed seuentie feete, and the roofe ouer it was one Cubite highe, which was. ix. feete. Cooper. This Arke was not by mannes power bzought into the Sea, but by the course of the waters rysing vp, it was bozne away: and rather by diuine pzouidence, than by mans pollecye, it was gouerned from running to wzeck. And Noe began to build this Arke in the. v. C. xxiij. yere of his age, and before the flood, as Berosus sayth, lxxviij. yeres.

Cooper.

Berosus.

¶ In the. vj. C. yere of the lyfe of Noe, and the second moneth, God saide vnto him ꝑ after. vij. dayes this flood should come, in which space he bzought into the Arke his stuffe, pzouision and all other necessarye thinges foz him, whereat euery man laughed, & toke him as one out of his wit. But finally, as it is written in the Gospell, they were eating and dzinking, they maryed and were maried euen vnto the day that Noe entred into the Arke, and would not know it euen vntill the flood came and destroyed them all. Foz Noe shewed it vnto them, aswell in wozde as in deede, and the building of the Arke was also a certaine declaration vnto them: But they were both without faith and the feare of God, foz which cause they were wozthely punished. Thus the time passing the seuenth day came, & that day Noe with his wife and his three sonnes and their wyues entred the Arke. And beholde, sodeinlye came togeither vnto him Beastes of all kindes, not bzought thither by mã, but euen by the miracle of God: neyther did Noe take them, but suffered them as they came to enter into the Arke, neyther came there anye moe than of vncleane beastes two, a Male and a Female. Of cleane beastes seuen, foure Males, and three Females, of the which one Male was reserued foz Sacrifice after the flood, the residue were kept foz generation.

A miracle most wonderfull.

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¶ Thus they being entered, the Lozd shut the dooze of the Arke the. xvij. day of the second Moneth. And behold incontinent the springs of the Sea burst out, the windowes of Heauen were opened, the raine fell continuallye xl. dayes and. xl. nights, and the waters swelled and rose aboue all Mountaines. xv. Cubits. All liuing creatures dyed, except Fish and such as might endure in the bowels of the earth. The waters encreased. C. l. dayes, and on the. xvij. day of October the Arke stacke vppon the Mountaynes of Armeny. The last day of Januarie, Noe opened a window, and put foozth a Crowe, which was euer goyng and comming vntill such time as the waters were

The flood of Noe terrible.

were dryed vpon the earth, and then came no more againe. After. vij. dayes he put foorth a Doue, which for that she could finde no resting place, came againe at night. And after this, he taryed yet other. vij. dayes, and put foorth the Doue again, which at night returned vnto him and brought in her mouth a braunch of an Olive tree. And he taried yet other. vij. dayes and sent foorth the Doue againe, but then she returned no more. Howbeit, yet he would not issue out, but remayned for the commaundement of the Lord, who commaunded him not to go foorth vntill the. xvij. day of the second Moneth, wherby it appereth that he remayned a iust yere and ten dayes in the Arke.

Berosus. ¶ Berosus the Chaldean wryteth of this flood in maner following. Before (sayth he) the famous flood of waters came, whereby the whole worlde perished, there preceded many yeres, which of our Chaldeans were faithfully obserued. They wryte that about Libanum was a great Citie of Gyantes called Enoch, who were Lordes of the worlde from the rising of the Sonne vnto the setting of the same (that is from the East vnto the West) and they trusting in their strength and hougenesse of their bodyes, with armour that they had inuented, oppressed all men. They deuised Tents, Musicall Instruments, and all delicacies: They fed of Mans flesh and accompanied comonly with their Mothers, Daughters, Sisters, Men & Beastes. There was no wickednesse which they omitted. Then many prophesied and preached that destruction should come, which they did write in stones, but they scorned all things. And there was one of these Gyants wiser than all the other in Siria, whose name was Noa: he with his three sonnes, Samo, Japeto & Chem, and their wyues, Titea, Pandora, Noela, and Noegla, fearing this destruction, which he perceyued by the Starres, began to make a Ship in fashion of an Arke. lxxviii. yeres before the flood. And in the same yere that the Ship was finished, sodeynely the Occean swelled, and all the Seas, Floods & Springs roase aboue the Mountaines with continuall raine that fell from the Heauens, whereby all mankinde perished (except Noe with his Familye) who were saued in the Ship, which the waters bare vp to the tops of the Mountaine Cordici, where in my tyme remayned part thereof, hetherto the wordes of Berosus.

Here endeth the first Age of the worlde, which is from Adam vnto the Flood of Noe, and is after the account of the Hebrewes .vi. C. lvi. yeres, and after the .lxx. interpretors .v. M. C. C. xlij yeres.

The seconde Age, and seconde part of this Chronicle.



The seconde Age



When Noe had continued a yere in the Arke and more, and the waters being asswaged, and the Earth dryed, God commaunded him to come foorth, vnto whome incontinent he builded an Aultare, and offered of all cleane Beastes and Birdes, a delectable Sacrifice. Then God blessed him and sayde: Encrease and multiplie the Earth. 1658 / 2309

¶ And after God instituted as it were a newe worlde againe, and first he gaue his worde, and promised that he would neuer more destroy the worlde with water, and for the confirmation thereof, he gaue the Rainebow for a sure token betwene him and man. For in that Bow is expressed both the colours of water & fyre, the one part being blew, and the other red, that it might be a witnesse of both the iudgements, the one past, and the other to come. Also then he graunted libertie to men to eate flesche, which the holy Fathers before the flood neuer vsed. The Rainebowe.

¶ Moreouer, God gaue a newe precept for eternall thinges and commaunded more plainely, that who so euer did shed any mans blood, his blood should be shed againe, of them, to whom lawfull authoritie for the iudgement thereof was giuen (meaning the Maiestrates and Rulers) for that Man is made to the Image and similitude of God. A new commaũdemẽt.

¶ This Noe was faythfull vnto God, and another father vnto mankinde,

kinde, hauing within the space of one hundreth yeres his issue wonderfully encreased, being also throughly learned in the knowledge of deuine and humaine things, in the reuolution of tymes, in the Histories of the world passed: But most specially in Justice & Religion, and he deuided the world into three parts, which he himselfe in the residue of his life traueiled and went through, leauing behind him in all places perpetuall monuments, both of his vertue, and also of his Empire. He planted the first Grape, and inuented the vse of Wyne, with the which he was made dronke, so that he lay dishonestly discouered: who being seene of Cham his sonne, the Father of Canaan, was of him scorned, and he in derision brought his two brethren to behold that sight. But they moued with shamefastnesse and honestie, couered their fathers mēbers and would not see them. The which when Noe perceyued, he blessed them, but Cham he would not curse, bicause God had blessed him, and therfore he cursed Chanaan his Nephew the sonne of Cham, who as some suppose did deryde and mocke his Grandfather.

The worlde deuided into iii. partes by Noe.

The plāting of the Grape first inuented by Noe.

¶ This Noe liued after the Flood. CCC.L. yere, and for his sundrie benefites shewed vnto all Nations, they gaue vnto him diuers names, among the which, these as the most famous are celebrated. Noe, Gyges, Fenix, Uranos, Coelus, Sol, Protheus, Janus, Geminus, Innominus, Quirinus, Patulcius, Bacchus, Uortumnus, Chaos, Ileton, Seede of the world, and Father of all Gods and Princes. The Italians after his decease dedicated vnto him by the name of Uortumnus, a Temple, and worshipped him with deuine honours and ceremonies.

And also his wife Uesta, for her great prudence and worthy deserts obteyned these names following. Earth, Opis, Aretia, Uesta, Cybiles, the great Mother of the Gods, who taught the Maydens to kepe the holy Fire, whereof arose the error and ceremonies of the Uirgines Uastalles.

¶ After the vniuersall Flood, the World by the children of Noe was shortly replenished with people: For God or Nature neuer yet fayled the necessity of things: Of them there were many mighty nations as hereafter followeth.

Asia.

Melchisedech.

¶ Sem the first sonne of Noe Prince of Asia, called also of some Melchisedech, a iust and peaceable King, and priest of almightie God, from whome Christ lineally discended, possessed all Asia, with his children. For of Elam came first the Persians: Of Assur, the Assirians: Of Arpharat, the Chaldeans: of Lud, the Lidians: and of Aram, the Sirians. Hetherto Lanquet.

¶ Asia is the third part of the worlde, deuided from Europa by the Sea called Bosphorus Thracius, & the great ryuer of Tanais: and from Affrique, by the famous ryuer Nilus, and is in quantitie supposed to be as great as Europa and Affrique. Asia minor is a part of the other Asia, which is nowe called Turkey, and conteyneth in it these Realmes, Pontus, Bithinia, Phrigia, Cozia, Lycia, Lidia, and Licaonia. Cooper.

Cooper.

Affrica.

¶ Cham the seconde sonne of Noe, Prince of Aphrick called also Innuus, Incumbus, Syluanus, Pana, Saturne of Egypt, the rayser and spreder of the wickednesse punished with the Flood, inhabited the South part of the World with his children. Of Canaan came the Cananites: of Phuth the Libians: of Mestraim the Egyptians: of Chus the Ethiopians: and of Saba the Arabians.

Isidor.

¶ Affrique as sayth Isidore in the. xiiij. booke of his Ethimologies, and the fift

fift Chapter, doth begin at Egipt, and so passeth Southward vnto the Mounteyne Atlas, and toward the North, the same is enclosed with the Sea Mediterraneum, and endeth in the Sea Gadique. Some also say that it is called Affrique of Afer, the sonne of Abraham, begotten of Cetura his wyfe, which conquered that country, and named it Affrique according to his awne name. And it is the same country that we now call Barbary, wherein is the Citie of Carthage.

¶ Japhet the thirde sonne of Noe Prince of Europa, called also Japetus Priscus, Diris, Maurus and Athlas, receyued of his father Noe for his portion all the countries of Europe, from the Gades, called at this time the streits of Marock, vnto the great ryuer Tanais.

Europa.

¶ Europe as sayth Isidore in the. xiiij. of his Ethimologies and .iiij. Chap. beginneth at the Ryuer Tanais, and so lyeth Westwarde by the great Northren Sea, vnto the ende of Spaine. And the East part and South part of the same is ioyned vnto the great Occean Sea, and it endeth at the Iles called Gades, and it is the same part of the world wherein we doe now inhabite. But Cooper sayth that Europa is deuided from Asia with the great Seas Hellespontus, Propontis, Bosphorus, Thracius, and Pontus Euxinus, and hath the vttermost boundes in the Northest, the Ruer Tanais, and from Affrique it is deuided by the middle Sea.

Isidore.

Cooper.

¶ Of Japhet came these Princes and Nations: Comerus Gallus, who first reigned in Italy. Magog of whome came the Scithians, and of them the Turkes. Madaus of whome sprang the Medes. Of Janan the Grecians, which were called Janes. Of Tubal the Spanyards. Of Mosoch the Moscouites, and of Tyras the Thracians.

¶ And of this Japhet came also Brute who first inhabited this Realme, of him called Britayn, for Japhet begat Janan, and Janan begat Sethum, and he begat Sirius of whome Cypres had his first name, and he begat Saturnus, and he begat Jupiter, and he begat Dardanus, and he begat Erichtonius, and he begat Tros, and he begat Assaratus, and he begat Capis, and he begat Anchises, and he begat Eneas, and he begat Ascanius, and he begat Siluius, who was the father of Brute.

Brute.

¶ I finde also alleged by Berosus that Noe had another sonne borne after the flood, who was named Jonithus, or Jonichus, which was a great Astronomer, and was the first that atteined to the whole sceyence of Astronomie, and thereby did deuine and shew before what should after happen to the. iiij. principall Monarchies of the Worlde: He was also Scholemaister to Nemroth who began the building of the towre of Babilon, and at that tyme all the people of the world spake but one tongue.

Berosus.

Jenichus ℔ son of Noe.

Nemroth

¶ Sem the first sonne of Noe, the which some doe affirme to be the great and highe priest Melchesidech, was borne in the yere of the Worlde as appereth in the mergent, when his father was. D. yeres olde, and one hundreth yeres before the flood. He builded the first citie after the flood, the which hee named Salem, and at this day it is called Jerusalem (as sayth James of Bergamo.) And of him came. xxvij. generations, and also the Patriarches, and Prophets, and finally our Sauiour and Redemer Jesu Christ. And the sayde Sem in the. C. yere of his lyfe begat Arpharat, of whome came the Chaldeans.

1659
2304

Jerusalem.

1694
2269

¶ Arphaxat in the.xxxv. yere of his Age begat Sale, of whome came the Indians.

1724
2239

¶ Sale in the. xxx. yere of his lyfe begat Heber, and liued after that three hundreth three yeres. In the houſe of Heber continued the language, which at the firſt, and before the building of the Tower of Babilon was called Hebrue.

Hebrue.

1758
2205

¶ Heber in the. xxxiiij. yere of his lyfe begat Phaleth and Jectan, and lyued after that. iiij. C. xxx. yeres. Phaleth is interpreted diuiſion, becauſe it chaunced him to be borne in the tyme of the confuſion of the tongues.

1788
2175

¶ Phaleth when he was. xxx. yeres of Age begat Rue, and liued after CC. ix. yeres. The firſt yere of the life of Rue was the firſt yere of the reigne of Nemroth in Babilon, where he reygned. lvj. yeres.

Here I leaue ỹ line of Sem and go a little foorth with ỹ line of Cham who begat Chus, and Chus begat Nemroth. &c

1757
2206

NEMROTH The ſonne of Chus, was among all the other that iſſued out of Noe, the mightieſt and moſt hardieſt, and he was the firſt that tooke vpon him the Empire and gouernement ouer his Subiects, and his abyding was at Babilon: which Citie he builded. This Nemroth enterpriſed the building and erecting of an houge, great, and moſt highe Tower made of Bricke, which was commonly called the Tower of Babell or Babilon, and he purpoſed that this Tower ſhould haue extended vnto heauen, to the entent that he would make an euerlaſting memory of him ſelfe. But after that this Tower began to be of a great heigth, and was halfe finiſhed, God almightye willing to abate and ouerthrow the great preſumption and enterpriſe of Nemroth, confounded the ſpeches and languages of the workemen that wrought vpon the ſame Tower, ſo that no one of them vnderſtood another.

¶ But for that the foreſaid Tower is by certaine writers noted to be marueylous great and houge, I thought it good to note and mencion ſomewhat thereof vnto you. This Tower & City of Babilon was compaſſed with foure walles ſquare, euery wall beyng fiftie Cubites in bredth, and two hundreth Cubites in heigth. And the length of euery of the ſquare walles, was. xvj. Myles (after the accompt of our Myles) ſo that the compaſſe of the foure Walles were. lxiiij. Myles. And in the ſame Citie were one hundreth Gates of Braſſe. And the ſayde Towre was builded. CC. lxxij. pace highe. But ſome wryte that the ſayde Towre was three Myle highe. And other wryte that it was fyue Myle highe and. C. lxx. paces. And was in bredth foure Myle. And throughe the middeſt thereof ranne the famous Ryuer Euphrates, whoſe heade ſpring came out of Paradice, and that the ſame was buylded wyth Tyle, and Pitch in ſtede of Morter. Ranulph, Eliot, Cooper, and other.

Ninus.

¶ Ninus the thirde King of Babilon, was the ſonne of Belus, the ſonne of Nemroth, that was firſt King of Babilon, and he reigned. Lij. yeres, and maried Semyramis, which Semyramis after the death of her huſband Ninus reigned as Queene of Babilon. xlij. yeres, but not contented with the lymytes and circuite of that Realme, ſhe made a conqueſt of the whole countrie of Ethiope, and adioyned the ſame vnto her Realme of Babilon, and ſhe attempted alſo merueylous fierce and cruell warre againſt the people of Inde, and by force entered into that Countrey and conquered the ſame, in ſuch ſort, that after that conqueſt the Indians neuer had other Emperour, King, nor other

other Prince but her and Alexander the great.

1794
1965

¶ Meſraim, otherwiſe called Oſyris the ſeconde ſonne of Cham, was the firſt King of Egypt. He is called Meſraim of Moſes as apereth in the. x. of Gene. And Beroſus in his booke of Antiquities calleth him Oſiris. This Oſiris (ſayth Beroſus) did find out in Affrique the vſe of Wheate, and the maner of ſowing, reping and dreſſing of the ſame. And afterward he came into Egypt where he inuented the Plough, and all that euer appertayned vnto husbandrie. And from thence he paſſed trauayling through the rude Countreys and people, who fed of Acornes and fruite, and had nothing elſe to feede vpon: Thoſe alſo he taught his inuention. And by this meanes he became a ſouereigne Lorde and a great ruler through the vniuerſall worlde, except vnto them which were vnder the Empire of the Babilonians. He alſo did firſt teach the Almaynes to ſowe Corne, to ſet Trees, to plant Vines in places moſt commodious. And where there was no ſtore nor plentie of wyne, there he taught them to make drinke of Barlye, Otes, and other Grayne, which drinke they called in theyr tongue, Ceruoys, ſomewhat applying to the name of his Siſter, which was called Ceres. And furthermore at the requeſt of the people of Italy he diſcomfited the Gyauntes called cruell tyrantes, for that they moſt tyrannously did reigne ouer that countrye. He kept him ſelfe out of the Realme of Tuſcane, and reigned ouer the Italians by the ſpace of xb. yeres, being reſident the greateſt part of that tyme in the Citie of Viterbe, which afterward was called Vetulonia. And from thence he paſſed by Sea into Greece, that is to ſay, vnto the Prouince of Peloponeſſe, which is nowe called the Moores lande, and there he reigned in the Citie of Argos by the ſpace of. xxxb. yeres, as Euſebius writeth, and in the end returned againe vnto Egypt. And after all theſe thinges thus done and finiſhed, the malice of his brother Typhon an Egyptian, being as great as the malice of Cain was to his brother Abell, conſpired by treaſon to ſlaye him, which at length he brought to paſſe and cut him in. xxvj. peeces and deuided the ſame among the conſpirators, which were in number. xxbj. After his death as in his ſecond Booke of the Genealogie of Goddes, ſayeth he was called Serapis.

Oſiris.
Wheate.
Plough.
Corne, Trees, Vines.
Barly, Otes, Drinke.
Euſebius.
Bocas.
Serapis.

2232
1731

¶ Laabin or Libycus ſurnamed Hercules, commonly called the great Hercules of Libia, was the ſonne of Oſyris (as Beroſus ſayeth) who did accompany his father in all his great warres and trauailes. And after ward for the reuengement of his fathers death, he offered open warre to all the Gyants of the world. And firſt he went into the land of Phenice, the which he conquered, and after he went into Frigia where afterward Troye was built, and their he ſlue Typheus the Gyant of that Cuntrie, and gaue the lande to his awne ſonne Athus, and with the ſame one faire Ladie called Omphale. In lyke maner he diſcomfited Milinus king of the Iſle of Candy. And from thence he came vnto Affrique, which now is called Barbary, and there he deſtroyed Antheus the Gyant and named the Cuntrie after his awne name Libia, which before was called Phuthee of the name of Phuth the thirde ſonne of Cham. And there he ſet vp a great and highe Colome or Piller in the memorie of his conqueſt. After he came into that parte of France that is called, Gaule Celtique, where he maried Galathe, the onely daughter of Jupiter Celte, the. ir. king of the Frenchmē. And in this paſſime dyed Jupiter, by the death of whome, great Hercules reigned in France

Beroſus.
Troy.
Typheus.
Milinus.
Barbary
Antheus.
Libia.
Fraunce
Gaule Celtique.

as the.x. king of that Realme with Galathe his Wyfe, where they builded a great Citie in the Cuntrie of Laurois, the which he named Alexia, of the
Iulius Cesar which Iulius Cæsar maketh often mention in his Commentaries. And then purposing to go into Italy, he chaunced to light vpon a great armie, and entered into the Countrie of Allobroges, which now is called Sauoy, and first
Sauoy. he brake and tare in peeces the harde & stony rocks, and passed ouer the same
Alpes. rocks and Mountaines which we nowe call the Alpes, making away thorowe euen by force of people, for it was a marualous enterprise and a thing neuer lyke to be brought to passe, that in such a streight and so harde a rock and in so high and terrible a Mountaine withall, that there should be awaye made for an armie with their Cattell and Baggages to passe cleane ouer: and there he destroyed all the Theeues and Murderers that lay hidden in those Mountaines who did much hurte to such as were trauaylers by that Region. After he had passed the Mountaines he descended into Italy and there he made warre against the Titans, which were Gyants, who within
.x. yeres following, after he had bidden them diuers battailes, he destroyed them and cleane droue them out of the Cuntrie. And the place where one of
The valley of Gyants. the battailes was foughten and they vanquished, is called at this daye, the Valley of ỳ Gyants nere to the Citie of Tuscanel in Tuscane. And after this the great Hercules King of France was quietly possessed of all Italy, in the which he reigned after peaceably the space of.xx. yeres as sayth Berosus. And afterwarde when he had crowned Tuscus one of his sonnes, king of Italy, then he went into Spaigne and there dyed. And after his death the Spaniards made for him a sumpteous and costly Sepulture in the place which yet they call Gades Hercules, where standeth the Pillers called Hercules Pillers. Berosus and Bergamo.

¶Tuscus the sonne of Hercules of Libia, was by him ordeyned king of Italy, he gaue the name of the Prouynce of Tuscane in the which he had remayned long, otherwise called Ethruria, and before that it was called Janicula, of the name of the good father surnamed Janus, and all they that haue rule and gouerment in Italy, they call Janigenes, that is to saye, the
Italy. children of Janus. Bergamo.

¶Altheus the sonne of Tuscus was after his father king of Italy. And in his time Atlas Italus king of Spaigne did leaue his Realme to Sicorus his sonne, and came into Sicile, where he reigned a certaine time, and after he arriued in Italy, and there planted and placed himself as in his awne Realme, and called all the Cuntrie by his awne name Italy. Bergamo.

1817
1942
Here I leaue the lyne of Cham and returne againe to the lyne of Sem of the which our Sauiour Iesu Christ came.

RAGAV or Reu the sonne of Phalech in the.xxxij. yere of his age begat Seruch or Saruch, & lyued after. CC. bij. yeres. In this time there were. iiij. Realmes that tooke their first beginning, that is to saye, the Realme of the Scithes, wherein first reigned Tanaus, of the which the River Tanais did first take his name. The second was the realme of the Amasones the which as Iustine writeth were warlike women descending from the Scithes. The.iij. is the Realme of Egypt. The.iiij. is the Realme of Bohieme, the which was so called by a Prince named Bohemus, that was present at the building of the Tower of Babilon as sayth Bergamo.

Iustine.
Amasones.
Egypt.

¶And in this time Nobilitie was aduanced and tooke place, and that for diuers and sundry causes. First for necessitie: that the generation of Man so

so greatly encreased, and men prone and readie to all mischiefe, it was of force that the wickednesse of the euill must be suppressed by the honestie and discretion of the good, and therefore they chose some certaine Man more sage, wise and prudent, than other to rule the Commonaltie, to aduance and procure vertue, to defend the innocents, and to punish the wicked. And here-
of is he rightly called Noble, the which in vertues before other is notable.
Whereof S.Iherom speaketh, I can see none other thing in Nobilitie (saith he) S.Iherom.
but that they are by a certaine necessitie compelled to be Noble, least they should degenerate from the Noblenesse of their parents.

2 ¶The second cause was the discord, variaunce and Brawles among the people for lacke of right iudgement: wherefore it was most necessarie, that by the authoritie of the Nobilitie, they shoulde be compelled to concord and vnitie as by them vnto whose iudgement and authoritie they must obey.

3 ¶The thirde cause proceeded of the valyaunt courage and manly prowes of certaine notable persons declared in resisting and encountring the enimies of their Cuntrie and repressing their inuasions. And such a one the people had in great reuerence and estimation and worshipped and honored him as one that had delyuered their Cuntrie from daungers, and by this meanes most chiefely did the Cuntrie yeelde and geue vnto suche worthy Men the name of Nobilitie, to them and their heyres for euer, and for this purpose were they chiefely aduaunced to the dignitie of Noble men.

4 ¶The fourth cause, came of abundance of ryches, that when penurie and scarcetie came, then the common people were relieued and succoured of the ryche, for the which reliefe and succour the poore men had the ryche in great reuerence and estimation, and accompted them euer after as their Maisters and Lordes.

¶Therefore all such as are discended of noble Parents and Auncestors, ought chiefely & before all others to call to often remembrance these foresayd causes of true Nobilitie, that thereby they maye be the more stirred to such souereigne vertues, for the which their worthy progenitors first became Noble, thinking themselues vnworthy the name, except they haue withall those endowments and qualities for the which the same name was first geuen vnto them.

¶There were also certaine personages made Noble by Gods deuine prouidence (but not many of them) and some of them continued as Noble, as Dauid, and some were ouerthrowne in short time as Saul, Jeroboam, and many other.

¶There are many also that haue made themselues Noble by violence and tiranny. And here the olde and auncient writers of Histories doo note, that seldome or neuer among the Turkish and heathen people, there is anye roote or perpetuall successe of Nobilitie, bicause they enter by pride, & continue by violence and tiranny. And euen many among the Christians haue for the verie same cause bene oppressed and confounded according to the sai-
ying of Ecclesiasticus in the.x. Chapter. The high and mightie Princes for Eccleas.
their pride and tiranny God hath ouerthrowne and cast downe, and haue aduaunced therevnto the lowly and meeke. And note also that no man can hate Nobilitie, for that euerie man desireth by nature to be accompted as Noble, euen as we desyre to be accompted verteous and religious. But yet manye

verteous and holy men haue fled that vocation, for the great perill that is proper and annexed to the same, and this may at large and sufficiently appere in the Prophet Dauid, whome God himselfe did speciallye elect and choose.

Cronica Cronicarum.

1850 / 2113 — ¶ Saruch the sonne of Ragau being .xxx. yeres of age begat Nachor and lyued after two hundred yeres.

1879 / 2084 — ¶ Nachor the sonne of Saruch when he was .xxix. yere olde begat Terah, or Thare, and lyued after .C. xix. yere.

1949 / 2014 — ¶ Thare or Terah the sonne of Nachor, when he was .lxx. yere olde he begat Abram, Nachor and Aram, and lyued .CC.v. yeres.

2019 / 1944 — ¶ Abram the sonne of Thare borne in Ur in the Countrie of Chaldee, and he departed from thence, when he was .lxx. yeres of age.

Here endeth the second Age, which began at the Flod of Noe and ended at the birth of Abram, which continued .CCC.lxiij. yeres and x. dayes, but after the accompt of Septuaginta it is .ix.C.xlij. yeres.

The thirde Age, and thirde part of this Chronicle.



The thirde Age



ABram was a Man more prudēt and expert in all thinges both diuine and humaine, then any other before him was. He was the first that durst mainteyne God to be the Creator of all thinges, against the opinion of all the Chaldeyes, for the which he was compelled to forsake his country of Chaldey. And soone after, he by the will and commaundement of almightie God, with Thare his father, and his wyfe Sara, and his Nephew Loth departed from the sayde coūtry of Chaldey to go into Chanaan, that is to say, into the lande of Chananee, which afterwarde was called the land of Jury, or the land of promes, & he first arriued in ỹ land of Haran, which is in Mesopotania, there making some abode, where for some speciall causes he remayned vntill the death of Thare his father. And then God made his first promes vnto Abram saiyng. Get thee out of thy Countrye and from thy kyndred, and out of thy fathers house into a lande which I will shewe thee. And I will make of thee a mightie people, & I will blesse thee and make thy name great, that thou mayst be a blessing: And I will blesse them that blesse thee, and curse them that curse thee, and in thee shall be blessed all the generations of the Earth.

Abram.

Gene.xij.

¶ And Abram went as the Lord commaunded him: and Abram was .lxxv. yeres

peres olde when he departed out of Haran to go vnto Cananee. And he tooke with him Sara his wyfe, and Loth his nephew, with all their goodes which they had gotten, and all the Soules that they had begotten in Haran, and they departed to go into the land of Canaan. And when Abram was arryued in the lande of Canaan, God spake vnto Abram and sayd, vnto thy lyne and seede I geue all this lande. And soone after Abram buylded an Altare vnto the Lord in the same place where the Lord appered vnto him, vpon the which he offered sondry Sacrifices vnto the Lorde. After this, there came a dearth in the lande, and Abram went downe into Egypt to soiorne there. And knowing that the Egyptians were lecherous people, & fearing also that Pharao king of Egypt would not let to kill him, to the entent he might freely haue the vse of his wyfe which was one of the fayrest women in the worlde, he streightlye charged and commaunded her, that she shoulde declare none other vnto the Egiptians (and stoutly to stande therein) but that she was the sister of Abram and not his wife.

¶ And when Pharao was aduertised of the great beuty of Sara, he caused her to be taken and sent home to his house, for the which God sent vnto him many plagues, which lighted both of him and all his householde. But after, when Pharao vnderstoode by his wyse men that the aforesayde plagues happened vnto him bicause of the rauishing & withholding of the wife of Abram: He foorthwith restored her vnto her husbande Abram, and did further commaunde that his seruauntes should safely conduct her, and all thinges that belonged vnto her, to the entent that nothing should be hurt or spoyled by the Egyptians. Reade. Genesis.xii.

Gene.xiij. ¶ Abram and Loth after they had bene a little time in Egypt, they returned into Cananee. And in the meane tyme Loth and he so greatly encreased in cattaile, that it was impossible for the lande to mainteyne the goodes of them both in that place, and there happened much brawle and vnquietnesse betweene the Shepards, and heardes of Loth, and the heardes & Shepards of Abram, wherefore Abram spake vnto Loth and sayde. My Brother and my Friende, thou seest daylye what discordes and variaunces there happen betweene thy seruauntes and myne, for the keeping and feeding of our Cattaile, I pray thee hartely, because there shall aryse no malice nor displeasure betweene vs two, which I would not should come to passe, for we two are brethren, choose thee a place for thee and thine to go vnto, and if thou choose the ryght hand, I will go on the left. And if thou take the left, I will go on the right hand. Then Loth beholding the Countrey round aboute, and noting the goodly playnes & Medowes that led to the flood of Jordan, which was very pleasaunt for the comfort of his Cattaile, chose that part, and so leauing the East part or Country vnto Abram, departed toward Jordan into the place where afterwarde was Sodom and Gomorra consumed from Heauen with Fyre and Brymstone.

¶ And after the departure of Loth from Abram, the Lorde spake vnto Abram and sayde. Lift vp thine eyes and behold from the place where thou art Northward, Southward, Eastward, and Westwarde, for all the land which thou seest will I geue vnto thee and thy seede for euer. Gene.xiii.

2036 / 1927 ¶ Then Abram seeing that he could haue no issue by Sara his wyfe, did by the counsayle of the sayde Sara take one of his Maydens or bondwomen named

named Agar and knew her, and she conceyued with childe and brought foorth a sonne which was called Ismaell, and of him is come the Nation of the Saracens. Saracens.

¶ In this time God almighte instituted circumcision to be an euerlasting couenant vnto the posteritie of Abram, and saide vnto him, Abram, thou shalt from henceforth no more be called Abram, but Abraham, for I haue made thee a father of many nations. Circumcision. Abraham.

¶ And shortlye after there apered.iij. Aungelles vnto Abraham and hee washed there fete, and standing vnder a Tree he serued them at a Table. The Tree endured vntil the reigne of Constantius the yonger. Lanquet. This man taught the Egiptians Astronomie and Geometrie, he dyed before the incarnation of Christ. 1838. peres. Cooper.

¶ In this time also God destroyed Sodome, Gomorra, Adama, and Semois: The cause of that destruction as Ezechiell the Prophet sayeth was, for their iniquitie, pride, superfluity of meate, abundance of ryches and idleneſſe, and they reached not foorth their handes vnto the poore, and did abhominations against nature. This place is now called Mare mortuum, the dead Sea, whose length and bredth containeth manye Miles. And at this day it is full of Pitche and boyleth continually out in Vapours, which is a wytnesse & testimony of the deuine indignation and wrath of almightie God vpon such wickednesse. At the time of this destruction God by his Angelles preserued Lot his Wyfe and two Daughters: But hauing a commaundement that none of them after they were come out of the Citie should looke back againe, it happened Loths Wyfe breaking the commaundement to looke back againe, and she was foorthwith turned into a Salt stone. Afterwards Loth by the incest of his Daughters begat Ammon and Moab the fathers of the Ammonites and Moabites. Genesis.xix. Sodom. &c. Ezechi.xvj. Loth. Salt stone. Moabites. Ammonits

2050 / 1913 ¶ Isaac the sonne of Abraham by his Wife Sara, was in this time borne, a Man beloued of God, of whose lignage Christ descended. He represented the figure of Christ, when God commaunded his father to offer him in Sacrifice, whereby was signified that Christ should be an oblation which should satisfie for sinne and death. When he therefore should haue bene sacrificed by his father, and was come both to the Aultar and to his death, he exhorted his father that with a good hart he should obey and fulfill the commaundement of God, saiyng. My father it were not iust, that any should be borne, if he would refuse the iudgements of God and his father, or would not shewe himselfe obedient vnto their willes. After, when he came to the age of.xl. peres, he tooke Rebecca to Wyfe: who being a long time barreine, at the last by the fauour of God, she brought foorth two children at one birth, the first Esau the Prince of the Idumeis: and Jacob although the yonger, yet by the will of God, both blessed of him, and also endued by his father with the right of the first borne, and afterwarde was the father of the.xii. Patriarches. Finally, after many troubles and temptations, and being with age also made blinde, he gaue his blessing not to Esau, to whome he would, but to Jacob to whome he would not. And herein is to be noted the prouidence of almighty God, who before purposed, that it should so come to passe. And when Isaac had lyued. C.lxxx. peres, he dyed. Lanquet. Gene.xxj.

2110 / 1855

2112 / 1853

¶ Jacob the sonne of Isaac, surnamed Israell, that is the Prince of God,

God, of whome the people of Israell had their beginning, in the.lxxj. yere of his lyfe, when he had gotten the blessing of his Father, he went into Mesopotamia to auoyde the displeasure of his Brother Esau, and there tooke a Wife: when he had serued with his Uncle Laban. vij. yeres for his Daughter Rachell: but he gaue him Lya his daughter in her place, because Lya was the elder, he alleged that it was not their custome to mary the ponger before the elder, and after.vij.dayes Laban gaue also vnto Jacob Rachell his Daughter to be his Wyfe, and for her he serued other. vij. yeres, and Lea gaue him Bilha hir Maide to Wyfe, and Rachell gaue him Silpha hir Maide to Wyfe. And by Rachell he had Joseph and Beniamin. By Lea he had Ruben, Symeon, Leui, Juda, Issachar and Zabulon, and by Bilha he had Dan and Nephtaly, and by Silha, he had Gad and Assur. So that vpon the foresaide two Wyues and their two Handmaydens, he begat the.xij. holy Patriarches from whom descended the.xij. Tribes of the Jewes. And such as are desirous to read more of his lyfe, maye resort vnto the Booke of Genesis. Chapter. xxix. xxx. &c.

Rachell.

¶ This Jacob not long before his death, prophecied most plainely of Christ and of the vocation of the Gentiles, whose prophecie was this in effect as Vincencius Gallus writeth saiyng. Of the stock of my sonne Juda shall come a Virgin of whome the Lambe immaculate shall be borne, which is the Lambe of God that by grace shall saue all men, whose kingdome shall be euerlasting and neuer corrupted. Therefore the great Lorde shall appere in earth as a man, and shall take vpon him a mortall body, and shall eate as a man: his Starre shall arise in heauen, and he shall shyne in the earth as the Sonne. The heauens shall open ouer him, and out of the Temple no little sanctification of glorie shall come vnto him. He shall poure out the spirite of grace vpō vs, and you shall be his children in the truth. He shal be from Leui a Priest, and from Juda a King, he shall be both God and Man, a Mediator betweene God and Man: and shall take awaye all darkenesse which is vnder the heauen: and there shall be peace thorow the vniuersall world. The voyce of the euill doers shall be against him, not knowing his resurrection: But the blood of his innocencie, ye shall receiue on your heads. And in his passion, the stones shall cleaue a sunder, the Sonne shall be darkened, and all other things shall be troubled, the inuisible Spirites shall tremble, and Hell shall be spoyled: he shall open the gates of Paradise, and shall make the threatning swoorde against Adam to stande, and shall geue vnto his Saints to eate the tree of life: Beliall shall be bounde by him. Then shall yee see Enoch, Noe, Sem, Abraham, Isaac, and mee your father, rysing in ioy from the right hande of God, and shall geue power to his children to ouercome pernicious Spirites: and as many on the earth as beleue on him shall also reioyce. Then shall all men arise againe, the Godly to glory and ioy: and the vngodly to shame and perpetuall damnation: & most specially he shall iudge Israell which would not beleue in him, hetherto Vincencius Gallus.

Vincentius Gallus.

2124
1839
Abraham dyed.
2200
1763

¶ In this tyme, Abraham that most holy Patriarche fynished his lyfe in this worlde, after whose death, there arose a great famine in the land of Canaan, for which cause Isaac went to soiourne with Abimelech King of Palestine.

¶ Joseph the sonne of Jacob, and Rachell, a man most chast and vertevous,

ous, was in this time borne: he in his youth, by his excellent fauour, vertue, and wisdome, excelled all his brethren and was of his father aboue all other beloued: for which cause, and for his dreames, he was of his brethren had in great despite, and by them solde into Egypt, where after long imprysonment, in the. xxx. yere of his age, he expounded the dreames of Pharao, by whom he was made President of all Egypt, and was called among them the Sauiour of the world. For God would by this maruelous occasion he should come into Egypt, that his power might be there knowne, & that helpe might be ministred to Jacob and his family in the tyme of famine and dearth. This Joseph taught the Egyptians both Religion, and Ciuile policye, which is most woorthy to be obserued. And it is to be noted, that a man inspired with the holy Ghost (as Joseph was) should institute so hard and so seuere a manner of administration of iustice among the Egyptians as he did, and yet draw together the whole Realme of Egypt (a Countrie beyng so large and wyde) and ioyne them together as it were the members of one body without murmure or grudge. And here we may learne that sometyme seueritie is to be vsed to keepe the people in obedience, and the same is here approued of God, although gentle gouernement is to be commended. But to our purpose: After that Joseph had gouerned the Realme of Egypt by the space of. lxxx. yeres he then deceased, being of the age of. C.x. yeres, whose Bones he gaue charge in his death bed that the Hebrues should cary with them into the land of promes at their departure out of Egypt. The residue of his noble history ye may read at large in the booke of Genesis, in the. xxxvij. xxxviij. &c.

¶ Of this Joseph, Trogus Pompeius, and also his abreuiator Iustine do write in this maner: Joseph was the yongest among the brethren, whose excellent wit they fearing, solde him vnto straunge Marchauntes, by whome he was brought into Egypt. When Joseph was in Egypt, and by diligent studie and in short tyme had learned the Magicall artes and sciences, he grewe in fauor with the king. For he was both expert in Prodigies, and also first found out the right interpretation and expounding of dreames: yea, there was nothing neither of Gods law nor mans, that seemed vnto him vnknowen. Insomuch that he foreseeyng the barrennesse of the Fieldes to come, gathered in tyme corne to prouide for the dearth that followed. And so great was his wit and experience, that his aunsweres seemed not to come of man, but rather of God: But Iustine saith that Moses was the sonne of Joseph, whose excellent fauor did much commend him. And the Egyptians when they were plagued wyth scabbes and filthinesse of body, were admonished that they should expell him with all the sicke people out of Egypt, least that Pestilence shoulde be more infectious.

Trogus Pompeius.

Iustine.

¶ After the death of Joseph, the people of God merueilously encreased, and liued quietly vntill there was another king in Egypt, to whome Joseph was not knowne: Then by reason of their great multitude and aboundance of goodes, they were of the Egyptians greatlye hated, and by them kept vnder in miserable seruitude and bondage, which they sustayned. C.xliij. yeres, vntill that by the mightie power of God, they were delyuered from thence.

¶ Aaron the sonne of Amram, nephew to Leui and brother to Moses, was at this tyme borne. And incontinently after his birth, Amenophis then King of Egypt, who also was the. viij. Pharao, commaunded all the Hebrue children

2355
1608

dzen to be dzowned: Foz Aaron was bozne without any ieopardie, but ſo was not Moſes.

Amram. ¶ Whiles that the Hebzues were thus entangled in miſerie and thzaldom, God in a viſion in the night apered vnto Amram pzomiſing him a ſonne to be bozne, who ſhould both deliuer his people from the Egiptians ſeruitude, and alſo ouerthzow them, plague them, ſpoile them, and dzowne them in the Sea,

Moſes bozn which viſion followed to be true. Therefoze when Moſes was bozne, hys birth was kept ſecret (by the will of God) and. iij. Monethes was he nozi-ſhed at home. But his father fearing the crueltie of the Egyptians, made a

Exodus.ij. little veſſell of Bulruſhes, well pitched within wherein he put the childe, and ſet it in the Riuer, commending it to the tuition of almightie God, who befoze had pzomiſed him to be bozne. Then almightie GOD ſhewing that not by mannes wiſedome and pollicie, but by his abone diuine pzouidence his deter-minate will and pleaſure is bzought to good effect, ſaued this little helpleſſe and innocent childe. Foz he cauſed Termuth the daughter of Pharao to walke to the Ryuer ſyde to ſpozt her, where ſhe ſawe this little veſſell ſwimming vp-on the water. Incontinent ſhe commaunded it to be bzought vnto her, and o-pening it, founde therein a wonderfull fayze and goodly Babe, at the which ſhe reioyſed not a little, and accozding to the chaunce, ſhee named it Moſes, which ſignifieth pzeſerued from the water. After this, foz the fauoz and to-wardneſſe of the childe, ſhee adopted him foz her ſonne, and cauſed him to bee inſtructed in all the learnynges of Egypt. It chaunced on a time, that the King foz his daughters ſake tooke the childe in his armes, and ſet the crowne vpon his head: which Moſes as it were childiſhly plaiyng, hurled it to the ground, and with his feete ſpurned at it. But the Pzieſt the Soothſayer, be-holding this, cryed out and ſayde, that this was he, whome befoze he had pzo-phecied ſhould be bozne which ſhould deſtroy the Kingdome of Egypt, except he were by death pzeuented. But Termuth excuſed the childe, alleaging that his age had yet no diſcretion, and foz pzoofe thereof, ſhe cauſed burning coles to be put to his mouth, which the childe with his tongue licked, whereby hee euer after had impediment in his tongue: By this meanes their fury was foz that tyme appeaſed.

Ethiopiãs Egiptians. Memphis. ¶ In pzoceſſe of time there aroſe cruell warres betweene the Ethiopians and the Egyptians: The Ethiopians deſtroyed Egypt, tooke their Townes, waſted and ouerran their country, euen vnto Memphis their pzincipall Citie. On the other part, the Egyptians by this neceſſitie compelled, fled foz coun-ſaile to their Ozacles and Diuinations: where they receyued aunſwere that they muſt elect an Hebzue Captain of their armie, by whoſe helpe they ſhould not onely expulſe the Ethiopians from their bozders, but alſo bzing them vn-der their ſubiection. Moſes both foz his wiſdome and perſonage was choſen ſoueraigne Capiteine of this Armie, and he ſo pollitiquely led his hoſt, that vnwares he ſet vpon them, and at the firſt battaile he diſcomfited them and put them to flight, not withoute the ſlaughter of a great number of them. And when they in no place were able to reſiſt him, they fled to their ſtrong Citie Saba. In which, whilſte they ſuffered the ſiege, & Moſes often tymes pollitiquelye and valiauntly aſſauting them, he was of the Kinges Daugh-ter of Ethiope vehemently loued, which being no lenger hable to ſuſtaine the fozce of loue, by certeyne faythfull miniſters required of Moſes mariage: he vpon

vpon condition that the Citie might be rendzed vnto him, agreed thereunto, ſo by her meanes was the Citie geuen vp and ſhe maried vnto him accozding to his pzomiſe. By this occaſion he ſubdued all Ethiope, returning to Egypt with great triumph and victozy: which pzoſperitie to the Hebzues was hope of libertie, and to the Egyptians cauſe of great feare: wherefoze they ſought daply occaſion how to deſtroy him. The which thing Moſes pereyuing, dili-gently imagined how to auoyde their deceptes, and therfoze denied himſelfe to be the ſonne of the daughter of Pharao, choſing rather to be afflicted with the people of God, then to enioy ſinfull pleaſure of the Wozlde. Wherfoze, he ſlue an Egiptian that oppzeſſed an Hebzue, and fled into Madian, not farre from the Mount of Synay, where he was receyued into the houſe of Iethzo the Iethro. pzieſt of that Citie, who gaue to him in mariage his Daughter Sephoza: There he continued. xl. yeres and kept cheepe. Joſephus. Joſephus.

¶ After this when king Pharao without all meaſure vexed the childzen of Iſraell, God ſent Moſes to deliuer his people out of Egypt, who after dy-uers miracles by him done in the ſight of Pharao foz confirmation of his au-thozitie, at the laſt obtained of Pharao to lead and carie away the childzen of Iſraell out of Egypt, and he led them towarde the land of pzomiſſion: But Pharao chaunging his minde, purſued the Iſraelites with moſt eger cruelty, entending to haue vtterly deſtroyed them, foz ſo much as they had at that time no place of refuge, noz ſuccour. Foz on the one ſide they were encloſed with Hilles, and on the other ſide with the Sea, and he their moſt cruell enimie followed at their backs. But here God declared that when exſtreme neceſſi-tie happeneth, and all mans helpe and ſtrength fayleth, then is he readie and hereth the voyce of his people. Foz at the pzayer of Moſes and wayling of the Iſraelites, the water of the Sea contrarie to the naturall courſe thereof, went back, and by the ſpace of certaine Myles gaue way to the people to paſſe without daunger: which thing when Pharao and his hoſt aſſayed to fol-low and were in the deepeſt, the Sea keeping againe his fozmer courſe, ſwallowed him vp with all his power. Wherin God ſhewed a notable ſpectacle oz example vnto vs, that we may aſſure our ſelues that he will be reuenged of the ſtubbozne, impious, and cruell Tirantes, which vexe and perſecute hys people.

2454
1509

Here endeth the thirde Age of the wozlde, and is from Abzaham to the departing of the childzen of Iſraell out of Egypt. CCCC.xxx.yeres.

The fourth Age, and fourth part of this Chronicle.



The fourth Age

Law. Comaundementes.

THe fiftie daye after that the Israelites were thus departed out of Egypt, and were come to the Mount of Sinai, the lawe of the Decaloge or. x. Commaundemẽts was to them geuen by almighty God, with a great and terrible magnificence. At which tyme also God gaue to them a certaine pollitique gouernaunce, and a speciall kingdome, in which nothing wanted that appertayned to the true worshippyng of God, Priesthood and Ciuil iustice, to the intent that a certaine people should be notably knowne, among whome the worde of GOD remayned: and of whome Christ in tyme to come shoulde be borne: So that among this people alway remayned the Church, the kingdome and the true worde of God, vntill after Christ had suffered. Whereby all men may know that the Church hath alway beene: and that God from the beginning of the worlde hath both reueled and preserued his worde among his people.

¶ In the. xxxj. yere of the Dukedome of Moses, Atho, Prince of Meonia gaue vnto Dardanus part of his lande, who incontinent left all his right in Italy, and went to his newe possession, where he builded a Citie, which after his owne name he called Dardania, that after was called Troye. Vnto this place Berosus continued his Historie and finished.

¶ Moses ouercame the Kinges of Amorrea, and the Moabites, and he deuided

deuided their lande and dyed in the Mount Nebo, beyng of age. C. xx. yeres, whose eyes were neuer dimme, nor his Teeth loose: He was buryed by Angelles, and his Sepulture was yet neuer knowen vnto Man. Lanquet.

¶ After the death of Moses the Israelites had Princes and Gouernors, which were created, partly by the authorie of wise men, partly set vp by the speciall calling of God, by which Princes, many notable and famous thinges were done. And so God declareth that he is present, and doth continually defende his people, although they may seeme for a tyme to be tossed in the waues of these worldly troubles and perilles. These Gouernors after the custome of the Hebrues were first named Judges. 2493 / 1470 Judges.

¶ The number of the children of Israell when they went out of Egypt, were (as it is written in the. xij. Chapter of the booke of Exodus) fyue hundreth thousand men on foote, beside women and children. Exo. xij.

Iosua.

AFter Moses, Iosua was seconde Judge or Duke of the Hebrues, and reigned. xxviij. yeres after the computation of the Hebrues, he brought the Children of Israell into the lande of promission: and had a great battaile against the Amorites in Gibeon, where he commaunded the Sonne to stande, and it stoode still longer then before had beene accustomed by the space of one whole day, and he had a notable victorie, for God fought for him, and he slue in that day. xxxf. Kinges, and almost all their people, and he deuided the land of Chananee to the Tribes of Israell. This Iosua was a Man that feared God, he was also right sage and wyse, mightie in armes, and in peace berye happye and fortunate, and finally endued with all vertues, who when he was. C. x. yeres of age ended his life.

¶ After the death of Iosua, the Seniors and Elders of the Children of Israell gouerned and ruled them. xbij. yeres. And Israell serued the Lorde all the dayes of Iosua, and long time after, and they knewe all the workes of the Lorde which he had done in Israell. 2521 / 1442

AFter Iosua, Othoniell iudged Israell, and gouerned them. xl. yeres. This Othoniell was of the Tribe of Beniamin, and he is surnamed Zenes. He delyuered the Children of Israell out of the handes of the king of Assiria. 2538 / 1425

AIoth the sonne of Gera, which was the sonne of Gemini, of the lyne of Beniamin, iudged Israell after Othoniell, he delyuered the Israelites from Eglon king of the Moabites, whom also he slue, and he iudged Israell lxxx. yeres as is written in the booke of Judges, the. iij. Chapter. 2578 / 1385

SAngar the sonne of Anath iudged Israell next after Aioth, he slue. bj. C. Philistines with an Ore goade, as they were entering into the land of Israel. And he died within the first yere that he ruled Israel, as saith Iosephus. 2658 / 1305

DEbora, or Delbora a prophetisse, a Woman of the lyne of Ephraim, was ordeyned Judge ouer Israell. She deliuered the people of Israell out of the hande of Iabin kyng of Chanaan, which had troubled Israell by the 2659 / 1304

space of. xx. yeres: The aforesayde Debora after she had ruled Israell. xl.
Iudges.iiij. yeres, dyed, as appereth in the booke of Iudges.

2699 / 1264 GEdion, called also Jerobaall iudged Israell. xl. yeres. He deliuered them from the power of the Madianites, vnder whome they were. viij. yeres, and he slue Oreb, Zeb, and Zalmana, their Princes, with. C. xx. thousand of the Madianites and Arabies. And when he dyed he left. lxx. sonnes behinde him.

2739 / 1224 ABimelech the sonne of Gedeon iudged Israell tyrannously and occupied that rome three yeres, he slue his. lxix. brethren, the sonnes of Gedeon, and at the last was himselfe slaine miserably of a Woman, casting downe a
Gedeons sonnes slaine. piece of a Milstone on his head.

2742 / 1221 THola the sonne of Phuah iudged Israell and ruled them quietlye. xxiij. yeres, and then dyed.

2765 / 1198 IAir ruled Israell. xxij. yeres. This man prospered greatly in all his attemptes, he had. xxx. sonnes, and they were Princes of. xxx. Cities, which were called the townes of Jair.

2876 / 1177 IEphte ruled the Israelites. vj. yeres, he delyuered them from the Philistines (whome for the sinne of Idolatrie) they serued. xviij. yeres. He by an vnaduised vowe sacrificed his awne Daughter.

2793 / 1170 AFter Jephte, Abessan ruled the Israelites. vij. yeres. He had. xxx. sonnes and. xxx. Daughters, the which he bestowed all in mariage in his lyfe tyme, and then deceassed.

2800 / 1163 AElon, or Ahialon, gouerned the Israelites. x. yeres.

2810 / 1153 ABdon or Labdon, gouerned Israell by the space of. viij. yeres, he had. xl. sonnes and. xxx. Nephewes begotten by his sonne, and afterward dyed.

2818 / 1145 SAmson the sonne of Manue, of the Tribe of Dan, ruled the Israelites. xx. yeres, and delyuered them from the subiection of the Philistines, vnto whome they payde tribute. xl. yeres. He was a man most strong, which with his hand strangled a Lyon, and with the Cheeke bone of an Asse slue a thousande Philistines, putting the residue to flight. Finally, by the fraude of Dalila an Harlot, he was deceyued and brought into the hands of his enimies, who blynded him, and afterwarde being brought foorth to play before the Princes of Palestine, he tooke in his armes the pillers of the house whereSamsons strength. Dalila an Harlot. vpon the whole house stood, and so ouerthrewe the whole house, and slue in that place at the same present time, three thousande Philistines, and himselfe also was there slaine.

2838 / 1125 HEli came of the lyne of Ithamar, which was the sonne of Aaron, and he was iudge ouer Israell: he was also the great and high Priest after the death of Ozi, which came of the lyne of Eleazer. And in the time of Heli the Arcke of the Lorde was taken by the Philistines, and that came to passe by the fault and folly of Heli, for that he kept not his two sonnes, Ophni and Phinees

Phinees in due order and correction, but suffered them to runne in all ryot and wickednesse. For the which at the last he was plagued, for when he heard of the death of his two sonnes and how the Philistines had taken the Arcke, he fel backward out of his stoole and brake his neck, after that he had iudged Heli brake his necke. Israell the space of. xl. yeres. j. Reg. iiij.

2878 / 1085 AFter the death of Heli, Samuell the sonne of Helcana and of Anne his wyfe, the verie true prophet of our Lord God: iudged Israell. xl. yeres, who being but a Childe was offered by his father and mother vnto God in the Temple, where he bowed vnto God. And he was in so great fauor that almightie God declared vnto him that he would translate the office of Priesthood from the house of Heli, onely for the wickednesse of hys sonnes: and in his time the Arcke of God was restored againe by the Philistines. This Samuell. Samuell by the commaundement of almightie God did annoint Saul the sonne of Cis the first king of Israell.

¶ Here beginneth the Kinges of Israell.

2889 / 1074 Saul the first king of Israell.

SAul the sonne of Cis being of the Tribe of Beniamin, was at the importunate sute, peticion and request of the people, made and ordeined the first king vniuersall ouer all Israell. He was a mighty man and great and high of stature, and was so high that being among all the people, his shoulders were seene aboue any mans head. And as he was beautifull and comely in shape and proporcion of bodye, so was he also adorned and beutified with many singuler vertues, for he was prudent, sage and wise, and there was not found in all Israell one that did loue, feare, and obey God and his commaundements, more then he did. And for this cause God did chose him out before all the rest.

¶ After that Samuell by the commaundement of almightie GOD had brought Oyle to annoynt the King, hee called together the people, and speciallye all the Trybes of Israell. To whome after he had declared vnto them the authoritie, right, power, prerogatiues, commaundementes, and executions that kynges shall dayly and from tyme to tyme haue ouer euery of them, as his Vassalles and subiectes, and also that their request to haue a King was against the will and minde of God, and many other persuasions he vsed to haue remoued them from that opinion, but they would not, but still cryed out they would haue a king. Then he caused lots to be cast out, to know who should be King, and the lot fell vpon the Tribe of Beniamin, and to conclude, in the ende it fell vpon Saule the sonne of Cis: by reason whereof he was immediately sought out, and annointed and confirmed King.

¶ Saule continued and perseuered in his former vertues the space of two yeres, as it may apeere in the. iij. Chapter of the first booke of Kynges: But 1. Regum. 3.

afterward he despysed and brake the Commaundementes of almightie God, geuen vnto him by Samuell the Prophet. Wherefore it was declared vnto him that his reigne and continuance should not be perpetual, but that it should be taken from his lyne and issue, and geuen vnto another. Finally, after many great iniuries, verations, persecutions, and wronges by him done to Dauid, which had maryed his Daughter, he was ouerthrowne in a battaile agaynst the Philistines in the mountaynes of Gelboe, in the which his whole armie perished. Three of his sonnes, that is to say, Jonathas, Abinadab, and Melchisue, with manye other were also slaine and murthered. And because Saule would not dye by the handes of the Philistines, after he had reigned xx. yeres, he fell vpon his owne swoorde and slue himselfe, as appereth in the xxxj. Chapter of the first booke of Kinges.

Saul, Murdred himself

NOw that we are come vnto the tyme that this our natiue country now called England was as the cõmon opinion is first inhabited by Brute, and called of his name Britaine. It were not amisse that we shewed how this land hath bene heretofore called, and by whom the same hath bene before time inhabited: But for ỹ herein the writers of the Histories of this Realme do so greatly vary & are of sundry opinions, & also that almost no one of them all but speaketh doubtfully and diuersly therof. I thought it best to passe ouer the vaine & fonde story written by the writer of the English Historie, who sayth, that this Realme was first named Albion of Albine, the Daughter of Diocletian King of Syria, who had xxxij. daughters and were maried vnto. xxxij. Kings, and in one night they did cut all their Husbandes throtes: And that then Diocletian their father beyng wrath with them for those cruell murthers, did therefore cause them all to be put into a Ship, without any person with them and turned them to the aduenture of the Sea, and so by chaunce they arriued in this lande, and called the same Albion, of Albine the eldest Sister: And that afterwarde Deuilles did accompanie with them, and begat Gyauntes and Monsters of them, and so this land was first inhabited: which story as it is most fabulous and fooliche, so is it also false and slaunderous to shew that this noble Realme should haue so lewde a beginning. But sundrie other writers, write otherwise: saying, that it was called Albion of the whyte Clifes that are seene vpon the East costes. But I will passe forwarde with the report of the Historians that haue written in this our latter tyme, which say that Brute discending of the auncient blood of the Troyans, and beyng the sonne of Syluius Posthumus king of Troy, did ariue in this Iland in the yere of the World, two thousand eight hundreth fiftie and fiue, and the. xj. C. viij. yeres before the comming of our Sauior Jesu Christ, accompting the yeres after the accompt of the Hebrues continued in the holy Scriptures, which accompt I obserue throughout this whole Story. But Policronicon and Fabian say that Brute was the sonne of Siluius Aeneas, for they say Aeneas begat first vpon his wife Lauina, a sonne who was called Ascanius, & he had a sonne also by his first wife whom he named Siluius Aeneas, and this Siluius Aeneas was father to Brute: But other say otherwise, wherefore I refer it to the iudgement of the reader. But now returning to the story of Brute, this following, I find written in an olde Pamplet which hath no name.

Albion.

2855 — 1108

Polichron. Fabian.

After

the Kinges of Briteyn

AFter the Citie of Troy, by the false coniecture and treason of Aeneas, the Sonne of Anchises and other (vpon peace to be had with the Grekes for themselues, their friends, and parents, and vpon condicion also that their goodes might be reserued vnto them) was entered and destroyed: And the king thereof named noble Priamus taken and murdered, and Polixena king Priamus Daughter taken and beheadded vpon the Tombe of Achilles, and Helenus the sonne, and Cassandra, another daughter of king Priam taken and deliuered at large. And for that Aeneas at the time of the taking of the sayde Citie, had hid and conueyed from the knowledge of the Grekes the sayde Polixena, and would not deliuer her but by compulsion: Agamennon, and the other Grekes commaunded Aeneas to take his goodes and friends and to depart out of that lande, and so was he banished.

Aeneas the sonne of Anchises.

Priamus king of Troy Murdered.

Helenus king Priamus sonne and Cassandra his daughter.

Eneas banished by Agamennon.

¶After that Aeneas with Ascanius his sonne had bene in Sicile and there buried his father Anchises: And after that Aeneas with Ascanius had beene three yeres in Affrique, where Aeneas was louingly receyued of Queene Dido: And after the same Aeneas had taken to Wyfe Lauiny, daughter of Latyn king of Italy: And after his death Ascanius his aforenamed sonne tooke vpon him as king of that region: And after that his sonne Siluius had taken to Wyfe the Neece of Queene Lauiny, and had gotten hir with childe, of whose deliuerance she deceassed, and the same childe was named Brute: And that the same Brute being of the age of. xv. yeres was chased in exile out of Italy, for that by misaduenture he had killed his father Siluius in shooting and chasing of a Dere. And therefore being exiled went into those partes of Greece where were of the progeny of the Troyans, to the number of. vij. thousand beside women & children kept in seruitude vnder king Pandrasus king of that region: with which king Pandrasus the sayde Brute for his prowesse and amiable personage fortuned at the length to be in great fauour: And after that at the prayers of the sayde Troyans the same Brute with the helpe of Assaracus, brother to king Pandrasus by the father side, in Concubinage by a Troyan woman had taken Pandrasus and put him in prison: (For whose deliuerance the same Pandrasus gaue vnto Brute in marriage Innogen his daughter with Ships, treasure, victuall, and other necessaries to seeke aduentures:) And after that Brute had made his sacrifices, prayers, and requestes to the Goddes Diana, and had receyued answere of the sayde Goddesse that he should go into France and there build two Cities, which he named Towers and Towrayn: And after that he had builded the sayde Cities in the remembrance of his Cossyn Turnips which was there killed and buryed in a battell that he had with Goffare then king of Poytenynes: & after diuers victories had by the sayde Brute vpon the Poytenynes in the time that Hely was highe Priest of Israell, and in the yere from the creation of the worlde. M M. viij. C. lv. and before the birth of Christ. M. C. viij.

Pandrasus King of a parte of Greco.

Assaracus brother to King Pandrasus.

Innogen the daughter of Pandrasus maried vnto Brute.

Towers and Towrayn.

Goffare king of ỹ Poytenynes.

Hely high Priest of Israell.

Brute arriued in Albion

Totnesse Hauen.

Briteyn.

Corvn cosin to Brute.

Cornewall.

Gwendolena daughter vnto Corvn, maryed to Locryne the eldest sonne of Brute.

Locgria.

Albanact.

Cambre.

Wales.

The English Chron.

Gogmagog

The fall of Douer.

M. C. viij. hee arryued in this Realme then called Albion and landed in the west part of the same in a Hauen then called Totnesse, where then inhabited certaine Gyants, whome afterwards he baliauntly oppressed and destroyed, and after that possessed and enioyed all this Realme, and named it Briteyn after his owne name, and called also the inhabitaunts thereof Briteyns.

¶ This Brute gaue to Corvn his Cosyn a parte of the sayde land, which he named after his name Cornewall, and the people thereof Cornyshmen, which Countrey and people are so named at this day.

¶ This Corvn had no children but one daughter, named Gwendolena, which was maried to Locryne Brutes eldest sonne. For Brute begat on his Wyfe Innogen three sonnes, Locryne, Albanact and Camber, and gaue to Locryne his eldest sonne (as afore sayde) the land on this side Humber, which the same Locryne after his fathers death named Logria. And to his second sonne Albanact he gaue that part of the Northside of Humber, which he named Albania, whereof a great part is nowe called Scotland. And to hys ponger sonne Camber, gaue he that parte of this land, which is beyonde the Ryuer of Seuerne, and he named the same after his owne name Cambria, which of the Welchmen is so called at this daye, but the Englishmen call it Wales.

¶ Howbeit Fabian, and the English Chronicle and others say that Brute with his company after his first landing in this Iland at Totnesse as afore sayde, he searched and trauailed throughout all this land, and found the same to be maruellous ryche and plentifull of wood and pasture, and garnished with most goodly and pleasaunt ryuers and streames. And as he passed, he was encountred in sundry places with a great number of mightie and strong Gyants, which at that time did inhabite the same: Howbeit he alwayes ouerthrewe them and wan the victorie. But among all other, as sayeth the English Chronicle, there was one that was of passing strength named Gogmagog, the which he caused to wrestle with Corineus his kinsman beside Douer: in the which wrestling the Gyaunt brake a ryb in Corineus side, by reason whereof Corineus being put in a chafe, with great strength ouerthrew the Gyaunt, and cast him downe the rock or cliffe of Douer, whereof the place was named the fall of Gogmagog, but sithen that tyme the name is chaunged, and the place called the Fall of Douer, and so is it called at this day. For this deede and other, Brute gaue vnto his sayd Nephew Corineus or Corvne, the whole Countrie of Cornewall, as afore sayd.

¶ Thus haue you heard the opinion of the writer of the English Chronicle, and of Polichronicon, Fabian, and others: But forasmuch as in these our dayes and time, a learned, wise, & famous Man whose name is Thomas Cooper now Vicechauncelor of the Vniuersitie of Oxford, hath with great industrie and trauaile searched the Originall names, and the first inhabitation of this Realme, and hath also shewed many euident and great reasons and argumentes for the proofe thereof, aswell to condempne the fond coniectures of such as slaunderously haue written of the same, as also to confirme a truth, and to declare that which is most lykely and probable: I thought it therefore very meete in this place to insert his saiynge in his last Dictionary, which he nameth Thesaurus linguæ Latinæ, vpon these two Vocables, Albion & Britannia.

ALBION

Albion.

ALBION sayth he (the most auncient name of this Isle) conteyneth England and Scotland: of the beginning of which name, haue bene sundrie opinions, one late feygned by him, which first printed the English Chronicle, wherein is neyther similitude of truth, reason, nor honestie: I meane the fable of the fiftie daughters of one Diocletian king of Siria, where neuer any other story maketh mention of a king of Syria so named. Also that name is Greke, and no part of the language of Syria. Moreouer the comming of them in a Boate or Ship from Syria without any Mariners, throughe the Sea called Mediteraneum into the Occean: and so finally to finde this Isle, and to inhabite it, and haue generation by Deuilles, is both impossible, and much reproche vnto this noble Realme, to ascribe her first name and habitation to such inuenters.

¶ Another opinion is (which hath a more honest similitude) that it was named Albion, ab Albis rupibus, that is, of white rockes, because that vnto them that come by Sea from the East or South, the Bankes and Rockes of this Isle do apere white. Of this opinion haue I most meruaile, because it is written of great learned men. First Albion is no latin word, nor hath the analogie, that is to say, the proportion or similitude of latine, for who hath found this sillable, on, at the ende of a latin word. And if it should haue bene so called for the white colour of the Rockes, men would haue called it Alba, or Albus, or Album. In Italy were townes called Alba, and in Asia a Country called Albania, and neyther of them tooke their beginning of white Rockes or Walles, as ye may reade in bookes of Geography: nor the water of the Ryuer called Albis, seemeth any whyter than other water. But if where auncient remembrance of ꝑ beginning of thinges lacketh, it may be lefull for men to vse their coniectures, than may mine be aswell accepted as Plinies (although he incomparably excelled me in wisedome and doctrine) specially if it may apere that my coniecture shall approch more nere to the similitude of truth: wherefore I will also set forth mine opinion, onelye to the intent to exclude fables, lacking eyther honestie or else reasonable similitudes.

¶ When the Grekes began first to prosper, and their Cities became populous, and waxed puyssant, they which trauelled on the Seas, and also the Isles in the Seas called Hellespontus, Aegeum, and Creticum, after that they knew perfectly the course of saylyng, and had founden thereby profite, they by little and little attempted to search and finde out the commodities of outwarde Countries: and lyke as Spanyardes, and Portyngales, and our Merchants of England haue of late done, they experienced to seke out countryes before vnknowen. And at last, passing the streytes of Marrocke, they entred into the great Occean Sea, where they found dyuerse & many Isles: among which they perceyuing this Isle to be not onely the greatest in circuit, but also most plenteous of euerie thing necessarie to man, the ayre most wholsome and temperate, the earth most apt to bring forth all things that maye sustayne: The flesshe of Beefes and Mottons most sweete and delicate, the Wooll most fine, not lacking any kinde of Metall, hauing abundaunce of Wood and Timber to builde with, also great and fayre Ryuers, with great Lakes or Meeres of fresh water, & as well in them as in the Sea, where with the coūtry is enuironed, there was great plenty of fishes of diuers sorts most apt to be eaten: they wondering and reioysing at their good and fortunate

nate arriuall, named this Isle in Greke Olbion, which in English signifieth happy & in latine Fœlix. Like as a part of Arabia which is most fertile, is called Arabia fœlix. But in processe of time by resort of sundrie people hauing diuerse languages, no marualle though one letter were chaunged, & the first letter O, turned into A, & so for Olbion, it was at the last called Albion, which worde hath no maner of signification. This chaunging of letters is not vnlikely since at this present tyme the Northren men of this Realme do vse A in wordes, where Southren men vse O, as a Bane, a Staue, a Barre, a Bande: for a Bone, a Stone, a Bore, a Bonde. And among the Grekes were lyke alteration of letters. And it may be the more easely borne, that one vowell may be chaunged in a word, & specially, A into O, which in some mannes mouth soundeth often tymes lyke, then that a sillible impertinent to the proportion of latine, should be vnaptly added to. Notwithstanding Pomponius Mela maketh mention of a Gyaunt called Albion, whom Hercules slue in Gallia, which was the sonne of Neptunus, who mought with more reason be demed the first geuer of this name vnto this Isle, then ỹ the other surmises should be likely.

Olbion.

If any man can find matter more certeyne concerning the beginning of this Isle, I will not be offended, but congratulate with him his good fortune and diligence. Hetherto Cooper shewing howe this Realme was first called Olbion, and after Albion. And the lyke trauayle he taketh in shewing of hys opinion why this Realme was called Briteyn, & therein writeth as foloweth.

Britannia.

¶ Of the first naming of this Isle (sayth he) is yet no certeine determination, forasmuch as there remayneth no auncient Historie, making thereof remembrance, the olde Britons bookes (such as were) beyng all destroyed by ỹ Saxons: who endeuored themselues vtterly to extinct the honorable renoume with the name of Britons, lyke as the Gothes dealt with the Romaynes. Also the part of Titus Liuius, where the conquest of Briteyn is remembred, with the stories of Iulius Rusticus, and dyuerse other noble writers, that wrote specialiye of this Countrie, are vtterly perished. Such as remaine, as the Commentaries of Iulius Cæsar, Cornelius Tacitus, Diodorus Siculus; and they that wrote of Cosmographie, haue omitted the originall beginning of the name. The Historie of Gildas the Briton cannot be found, who was after that the Saxons had inuaded the Realme, and therefore mought lacke such bookes as best should instruct him. As for Beda seemeth to haue seene nothing written of that matter. For where he sayth that this Isle tooke the name Britannia of the inhabitantes of Briteyn in Fraunce, it is nothing like to be true. For that Country was (not long before the tyme of Beda) named Armorica, & Armoricus tractus, when this Isle was called of most auncient writers Britannia, and (as Solinus writeth) seemed to be an other worlde, forasmuch as the West part of Gallia was thought to be the vttermost part of this World. Also Iulius Cæsar writeth that the places of this Isle were vnknowne to Frenchmen sauing to a fewe Marchantes, and yet they knewe no farther than the Sea coast towarde Fraunce. Moreouer the same Britons affirme that it was left among them in remembraunce that the innermost partes of the country was inhabited of them which had their first beginning in the same Isle. This well considered with the authoritie of the writer, both an excellent Prince, and also a great learned man, and was himselfe in this Isle, it is not to be doubted but that he most diligently searched for the true knowledge of the auncientie thereof.

Britannia,

thereof. And if he mought haue founden that the inhabitants had come of the stock of Aeneas, of whose progeny he himselfe came, he would haue reioyced much for the prowesse and valiant courage which he commended in them. Moreouer, that the name came of Brutus (whome our writers imagined to descend of Aeneas the Troyan) is no more lykely then that this Isle was called Albion of Diocliſians daughter, or of white rocks. All the olde Latyn Historyes agree that the sonne of Siluius, the second in succession from Aeneas, and of them named the sonne of Ascanius, was Aeneas, called also Siluius, whereunto also the Grekes do accorde, but they name Siluius to be brother to Ascanius, and borne after the death of Aeneas, and was therfore called Posthumus. But neyther the Romaynes, nor the Grekes doe write of any man called Brutus before Julius Brutus which expelled Tarquinus out of Rome. Which name was also geuen to him (by the sonnes of Tarquyne) in derision bicause they tooke him to be foolish and dull wytted. Moreouer, there is so much diuersitie betwene Britannia and Brutus, that it seemeth against reason that the one shoulde proceede of the other. For if Brutus had bene the first geuer of the name to thys Isle, he woulde haue called it Brucia rather then Britannia, which hath no maner of proporcion nor Analogie with Brutus. But here (as I haue done before in the worde Albion) I will declare a reasonable cause of coniecture why this Isle was named Britannia. About.xxx. yeres hence it happened in Wilshire at Iuye Church about two Myles from Salisburie, as men digged to make a foundation, they found an holow stone couered with another stone, wherein they founde a Booke, hauing in it little aboue.xx. leaues (as they sayde) of verye thick Velume, wherein was some thing written: But when it was shewed to Priestes and Chanons which were there, they coulde not reade it. Wherfore after they had tossed it from one to another (by the meanes whereof it was torne) they did neglect and cast it aside. Long after a peece thereof happened to come to my hands: which notwithstanding it was all to rent and defaced, I shewed to Mayster Rycharde Pace, then chiefe Secretarie to king Henry the.viij. whereof he exceedingly reioyced. But bicause it was partly rent, and partlye defaced and blurred with wet that had fallen out, he could not finde any one sentence perfite. Notwithstanding, after long beholding he shewed me, it seemed that the sayde booke conteyned some auncient Monuments of this Isle, and that he perceyued this worde Pritannia to be put for Britannia: but at that tyme he sayde no more vnto mee. Afterward I geuing much study and diligence to the reading of Historyes, considering whereof this worde Britannia first came, finding that all the Isles in this parte of the Ocean, were called Britannia, after my first coniecture of Albion, remembring the sayde writing, and by chaunce finding in Suydas that Pritannia in Greke, with a circumflered aspiracion, doth signifie Metalles, also reuennes belonging to the common treasure, I than conceyued this opinion, that the Grekes florishing in wisedome, prowesse, and experience of sayling, as I sayd before in Albion, and finding the Isles of the great Ocean full of ryche Metalles, as Tynne, Leade, Iron, Brasse, Copper, and in some places great store of Golde and Syluer, they called all those Isles by this generall name Pritannia, signifying the place, by that which came out of it, as one would saye he went to market when he went to Andwarpe

Pritannia.

warpe or Barow, or to the fayre, when he goeth to Sturbridge, or to his reuennes, when he goeth to anye place from whence his reuennes do come. And yet because this Isle excelled all the other in any condition, it was of some priuately called Albion, that is to say, more happier or richer. Thus farre D. Cooper. And this haue you his opinion and iudgement concerning the first name and habitation of this Realme. And nowe I will returne to the Historie of Brute where I left.

Thamys.

¶ After that Brute had landed in this Isle as aforesayd, and that he had passed and searched throughout the land, & comming by the riuer of Thamis, for the great pleasure that he had in that Ryuer and pleasaunt Medowes adioynyng to the same, began there to buylde a Citie in the remembraunce of the Citie of Troy lately ouerthrowne & raced, & named it Troynouant, which is as much to say as newe Troy: which name endured vntill the commyng of Lud, who was king of Briteyn about a thousand and fortie yere after. And the sayd king Lud commaunded it to be called after his awne name Luddes Towne, which nowe by shortnesse of speche we call London, and the same was builded. iij.C. lvj. yere before Rome was builded, in the time of Heli the high priest of Jewrie.

Troinouãt or London.

Rome.

¶ When Brute had thus builded his Citie, and saw that he was stablished in his Realme quietly: he then by the aduice of his Lordes, commaunded the sayd Isle and Countrie to be called as diuerse Authors write, after his awne name Briteyn, and his people Britons, and so continued his reigne prosperously. In the which time he established many good lawes and ordinaunces, for the good gouernment of his people. But after this, as in this story shall apere, this Realme was conquered and brought in subiection to Straungers diuerse and sundrie tymes, as first after Brute to the Romaynes, then to the Saxons which conquered this land, & called it Anglia (as saith Polichronicon) eyther of Angli, that is to say, people of Saxony, or of the name of a Queene of this lande that was called Angela. And some also thinke it was called Anglia of Angulus, which is in English a Corner, for that it is but a Corner in respect of the mayne and continent land of the whole worlde. Then was it in subiection to the Danes, and lastly to the Normanes.

Briteyn.

¶ Now, when Brute as is aforesayde, had set this Realme of Briteyn in order, he as the superior Lord deuided it into three partes, and gaue the same to his three sonnes, as aforesayd. And vnto Locryne his eldest sonne, he gaue this Isle of Briteyn, the which after was called middle England, wherein he had built his Citie called Troynouant, with all the Countries therevnto adioyning, both East, West, and South. And because this part shoulde sounde somewhat toward the name of Locryne, it was called Loegria, or Logiers: and therefore the Welshmen call it in their language vnto this day Lloyger.

Loegria.

¶ To his second sonne Cambre, he gaue the Country of Wales, the which was first named after him Cambria. This in the East syde was sometyme departed from England by the Ryuer of Seuerne, as before is sayde. But now the Riuer named Dee at Chester departeth Englande and Wales on the Northsyde: and in the South, the Ryuer that is called Wye, at the Castle of Stringlyng parteth the sayd Countryes.

Cambria now called Wales.

¶ To the thirde sonne Albanact he gaue the North part of this Isle of Briteyn, and called the same Albion, or more truely the sayd country tooke the name

name of the thirde sonne, and was called Albania. This Country was after named Scotlande, and so is it called to this day, and it is deuided as S. Bede sayth, from Loegria or Logires by two armes of the Sea, but they meete not. The East arme of these two beginneth about two myles from the Mynster of Eburcuring in the West syde of Penulton. The West arme of those twaine hath in the right syde (or sometyme had) a strong Citie named Aclud, which in the British tongue was named Clinstone, and standeth vpon the Ryuer named Clint, supposed of some to be that towne, which is called at this day Burgh on the Sandes, within. v. myle of Carlistle, where that famous Prince King Edward the first dyed, in his returne from Scotland. And of others it is iudged to be the Towne called Aldburgh in Yorkeshire set on the Ryuer of Owse, which runneth from thence to Yorke, the space of. xij. myles or thereaboute.

Albion nowe called Scotland.

Aclud.

Burgh.

¶ Thus when Brute had deuided this Isle of Briteyn, as before is shewed in three partes, and geuen the same vnto hys three sonnes, and had holden the principalitie thereof noblie by the terme of. xxiiij. yeres, he dyed and was buryed in London, then called Troynouant.

2879
1634

Locrinus, or Locryne the first and eldest sonne of Brute, was made king of Briteyn, next after the death of his father, in the yere of the worlde. M M. viij. C. lxxix. In the tyme of the reigne of this Locryne, there was a certeyne Duke (who as the writer of the Britons story sayth, was named Humber) who warred sore vpon Albanactus his brother, beyng the ruler of Albania, nowe called Scotland, and slue Albanact in plaine battaile. Howe be it, as some writers affirme, the sayde Duke was not at the tyme of his comming into Albania called Humber, but Hunys, or Hunnys, King of Hunes, or King of Scithya without any other addicion.

Humber.

¶ This King as before is sayde, after he had thus subdued Albanactus, he helde the lande of Albania, vntill that Locrinus with his brother Cambre gathered a great power of men of Armes together, and went against him, and by strength of the Britons chased and subdued the sayd Hunes so sharply, that many of them with their King were drowned in a Riuer which departeth England and Scotland. And because vnto the wyter of the Story of Britons his name was declared to be Humber: therefore the sayde wyter sheweth that the Ryuer wherein the sayde Duke or Capitaine was drowned, tooke the first name of him, which name continueth yet to this day.

Gaufride.

¶ Moreouer, after the death of Brute his father, Locryne Maryed with Gwendolocna the daughter of Corin, Nephew vnto the aforesayde Brute. And it so came to passe, that after the aforesayde victory had against the king of the Hunes, or of Scithya, as aforesayd, that Locryne fell in great phancy and loue with a faire Damosell named Estrild, who was also the daughter of the aforesayde Humber, as the sayde Author wryteth, and Locryne kept her vnlawfully a certeyne tyme. Wherewith his wife Gwendolocna beyng sore discontent, excited her father and her friendes to make warre vpon the sayde Locryne her husbande, in the which warre Locryne was slaine, when he

Gwendol.

he had reigned after the agreement of most wryters. xx. yeres, and was buried by his father in Troynouant leauing after him a yong sonne named Madan. Fabian.

¶ But because myne Auctho2 whom J here follow disenteth in manye things from Gaufride, writer of the British Hystozie, J haue thought good to recite also as briefely as J can, what the sayde Gaufride repo2teth hereof, to the ende that the reader may vnderstande wherein they varie, and then vse his awne iudgement touching the truth of the matter: his wo2des in effect are these. When the thzee bzethzen, Locrinus, Albanactus, and Camber, had of long time peaceably reigned euery one in his awne dominion, at the length a certaine king of the Hunes named Humber, arriued with an armie in Albania, and geuing battaile vnto Albanact slue him, and thereby compelled the inhabitours of that Countrie to flie vnto Locryne fo2 ayde and succour, the which thing when Locryne vnderstoode, he ioyning vnto him his bzother Camber, and they both assembled together a power of all the warrelike yong men of their Countries, and met and encountered with the sayde king of the Hunes, about the water now called Humber, and in fine discomfited his host and put him to flight, and then pursued him so egerly that he was compelled to take the sayd water, wherein he was dzowned, and therefo2e was it after the name of the king there dzowned called Humber. This done, he deuided the spoyle of the field among his Souldiours, reseruing nothing to himselfe, but such treasure as he founde in the Shyps, saue that he kept also fo2 his awne stoze thzee goodly yong Damoselles of passing bewtie. Of the which thzee, the fiest of them named Eastrildis, was the daughter of a certaine king of Almayn, whome with the other two, the sayde Humber had caried awaye with him from her father, after he had wasted and destroyed his lande. The which Eastrildis so farre excelled in bewtie, that none was then lightly found vnto her comparable, fo2 her skin was so whyte that scarcely the fynest kinde of Juozie that might be found, no2 the Snowe lately fallen downe from the Elament, o2 the Lylyes did passe the same: Fo2 this cause Locryne being rauished with the sight of her, determined to marry her. The which when Corineus vnderstood, he was in a wonderfull chafe, because Locryne had promised him befo2e to marry his daughter: he therefo2e taking his battaile Axe in his hande, went vnto the king and spake vnto him on this wise: Is this the rewarde that thou geuest me Sir king fo2 so many woundes as J haue receyued in thy fathers seruice and quarell, all the time that he warred against straunge and vnknowne Nations, that thou J saye, fo2saking my daughter intendest this to couple thy selfe in mariage with a damosell of a barbarous Nation? Be thou sure J will be aduenged vpon thee, so long as there remayneth any strength in this right hand of mine, which hath bene the death of so many Gyants in the Sea coastes of Tuscane. And when he had repeated these wo2des twise o2 thzise together, he tooke vp his Axe as though he woulde haue striken the king, but both their friends perceyuing that, ranne betweene them, so that there was no harme done. And so Corineus being pacified, compelled the other to accomplish his promise. Thus therefo2e came it to passe that Locryne married Corineus daughter called Gwendoloena: Howbeit, the singuler great loue and affection that he bare vnto the saide Eastrilde could not yet out of his minde & be fo2gotten, wher-

Gaufride.

Humber.

Eastrelde.

Corineus.

Eastrilde.

foze he made a Caue vnder the ground in the Citie of Troynouaunt and enclosed her therein, committing her vnto the custody of his most neere and familier friends: Fo2 standing in dzead of Corineus he durst not vse her company openly, but as it is befo2e sayde priuely and by steaith: in so much as he had the companie of her the space of. vij. yeres full, and none knewe it, but a fewe of his verie familyer and faithfull friendes, fo2 so often as he had accesse vnto her, he feyned that he would make a secret sacrifice to the Goddes of his countrie, and so he bzought all men into a false beliefe causing them to thinke that it was so in deede as he sayd. But at the length it came so to passe that Estrild was great with childe and delyuered of a verie faire daughter, whom he named Habzen. At the same season also Gwendoloena was bzought a bed of a man childe called Madan, which was committed to his Graundfather Corineus to be bzought vp in those Artes that he was skilfull in. Afterwards, when in pzocesse of time Corineus was dead, Locryne put away his wife Gwendolyn, and caused Estrild to be crowned Quene. The which thing Gwendolyn being maruellous wzoth withall, went into Cornewall, and assembling together the power of the youth of the country, began to disquiet Locryne and to warre vpon him. At the length they ioyned battaile and met together nere a Ryuer called Stooze, where the sayde Locryne was slaine with an Arow. Then incontinent after his death, Gwendolyn folowing the raging passions of her father, tooke vpon her the gouernement of this realme, commaunding Estrild with her daughter Habzen to be cast both hedlyng into the riuer Seuerne, called in English Seuerne. And further made a pzoclamation thzoughout all the whole realme of Briteyn, that the same water should be euermoze called Habzen, after ꝑ Maydens name, fo2 so euen at this day is Seuerne called in the Welsh tongue. And this did she as one desirous to make thereby the name of the yong Mayden immo2tall, because she was her Housbands daughter: The same Gwendolyn reigned. xb. yeres after the death of Locryne, who reigned. x. yeres. At the length when she saw her sonne Madan was of a good stature and hable to gouerne himselfe, she caused him to be crowned king, being contented her selfe to leade the residue of her lyfe in her awne country of Cornewall. Hetherto Galfrid.

Habren.

Estrilde crowned Quene.

Stooze riuer

Locryne slaine.

Sabzina the Riuer of Seuerne.

Habzen in Welsh, is Seuerne in English.

IN this time Dauid, of the Tribe of Beniamin being the sonne of Jsai, o2 Jesse, was both the kinge and Pzophete of almightie God after the death of Saul: Fo2 by the commaundement of almightie God he was annointed king of Jsraell by the Pzophet Samuell, whome Saule (after the spirite of God had fo2saken him) partly fo2 enuy that Dauid was so highly pzayse of the Jsraelites, and partly fearing that he would defeate him of his kingdome, vexed with cõtinuall persecution: during which time, Dauid shewed many examples, both of Godly pacience, & also of loyall obedience toward his Pzince. Insomuch as when Saul (by the pzouidence of God) fell in his hands: he onely cut a peece of the hemme of his garmẽt, in token that if he had listed at that pzesent, he might haue slaine him, & fo2 ꝑ dede, afterward he greatly repented that he had bene so bold, as to cut off a pece of the garment of Saul, his souereigne Lozd & king: notwithstanding ꝑ he was his most grieuous enimie, and euery houre sought his death. This noble king reigned ouer Jsraell. xl. yeres, that is to say, he reigned ouer Juda. vij. yeres, & ouer all Jsraell.

2891
1072

Dauid annointed king of Jsraell.

raell. xxxiij.yere. He did that was right in the sight of God, and put his trust and confidence in the Lord God of Israell, so that before, nor after him, was
2.Reg.2 not the lyke among the Kinges of Juda: He cleaued to the Lorde, and went not from his steppes, he obserued the commaundementes that the Lorde had geuen to Moses: Wherefore God bare witnesse of him, that he was a man according to his owne heart and desire: and to him God renued his promises, of the health and saluation that was to be looked for in Christ our Sauiour: and for a more certeyntie thereof, Christ of the Prophetes is called the sonne of Dauid. And furthermore, Dauid himselfe by the inspiration of God in his Hymnes and Psalmes most manifestly prophecieth of the Conception, Birth, Life, Death, Resurrection, Ascention, & heauenly Kingdome of our Sauiour Christ. Wherefore among the Prophetes and other holy men, his writinges were had in great estimation, and of like authoritie as were the writinges of Moses. This noble king expulsed out of Israell the Iebusites, and made Jerusalem his Citie: He vanquished the Philistines, and brought the Arke
Lanquet. from the house of Aminadab to Jerusalem. Lanquet.

¶ But after all this, he forgat God and committed both murder, and adultery, but he most greuously repented the same, and called vpon GOD for mercy: but yet God did greuously punish him, neuertheless at the last he did behold his repentance, and forgaue him, and restored him to the peaceable gouernement, not onely of all the Israelites, but also of all their borders, and made them all tributaries vnto Israell, and finally sent him a sonne by Bethsabe his Wife called Salomon, whom Dauid in the. xl. yere of his reigne assigned to take the charge and gouernaunce of the Kingdome of all Israell,
Salomon borne. and gaue vnto his sayde sonne Salomon a charge, that he shoulde buylde the Temple of God in Jerusalem, and gaue him also a plot and description howe he should builde the same, and then he dyed. But such as are desirous to reade
2.Regum. more of the story, may resort vnto the Bible, and read the seconde booke of the Kinges.

2899 / 1064 Wendoloena, or Gwendolyne the wife of Locryne as before is expressed, which was the daughter of Corineus Duke of Cornewall, did after the death of her Husbande, because her sonne was to yong, take vpon her the gouernement of Briteyn, and was by the common assent of all the
Gwédoline gouerned Byteyn. Britons, made Ruler thereof. And hauing full possession of the same, she well and discretely ruled it to the quiet and contentation of her subiectes, and so she continued vntill such tyme as Madian her sonne came vnto his lawfull age. At which tyme she gaue ouer the rule and dominion vnto him, after she had ruled this Islande, xv. yeres.

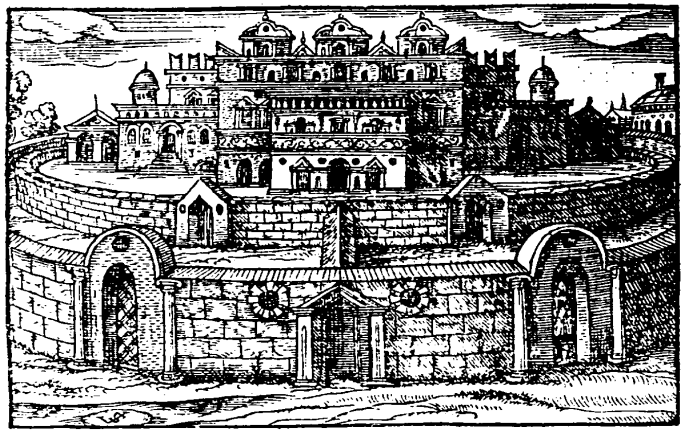
2914 / 1049 Madan, or Madian, the sonne of Locryne and Gwendolyne, tooke on him the Gouernance of Briteyn at thys tyme, who (as some write of him) vsed great tyranny ouer his Britons. Notwithstanding, all or the most part agree, that he ruled the same. xl. yeres. At the ende of which terme, he being at disport on hunting, was of wylde Beastes or Wolues slaine or deuoured, and as Raynulph of Chester sayth, he left after him two sonnes, the
2931 / 1032 one called Nempricius, the other Manlius.

¶ About this tyme Salomon the sonne of Dauid by his wyfe Bethsabe, after

after the death of his father began to reigne as King ouer all Israell. And of him it is written in the. iij. Chapter and the. iij. booke of the Kinges, that he besought God to graunt him wisedome, which God gaue him in such aboundaunce, that he excelled all that euer were before him, namely, in wisedome, pollicie, and good gouernaunce. And in the. iiij. yere of his reigne and. iiij.
3.Regum.6 Moneth called Zif, which some say is April, and some May he began to buyld
The building of the Temple. the Temple of God at Jerusalem, that is to say in the foure hundreth eightie yere after the Children of Israell departed out of Egypt. But in the ende, he forgat God and delighted in flethly lustes and pleasures, he had seuen hundreth Wyues that were Queenes, and moreouer he had three hundreth Concubines that were straungers and Idolaters, and they turned his heart from God to Images, and Idolatry, so that his heart was not perfect with the Lorde his God, as his fathers was. And because Salomon would not turne to the Lord his God, therefore God sayde vnto him, that he would rent his kingdome, but not in his tyme, but after his dayes. And Salomon reigned ouer Israell. xl. yere, and then dyed, and was burped with his father in the Citie of Dauid, and after his death Ieroboam the
Ieroboam. seruant of Salomon reigned ouer x. Trybes of Israell, and Rehoboham the Sonne of
Rehoboam. Salomon reigned but ouer two Tribes.

Here endeth the fourth Age, which continued from the departure of the Children of Israell out of Egypt, vntill the building of the Temple which conteyned. CCCC. lxxx. yeres.

The fift Age, and fift part of this Chronicle.



The fift Age

2954 / 1009 Memprici⁹

Empzicius, oz Mempzis the eldest sonne of Madan, and his bzother Manlius, after the death of their father, made great strife foz the soueregne dominion of this Realme of Bziteyn: But at the last Mempzicius by treason, pzocured the death and destruction of his bother Manlius, and shortly after he tooke vpon him the sole gouernement of this Realme of Bziteyn, whzo in the tyme of his reigne vsed such cruelty, and tyzanny towardes his subiectes, that he endeuoured to make away almost al the nobles of his Countrie, and now thinking himselfe in rest, he waxed slouthfull and tooke pleasure in filthie and fleshly affections, and at length gaue himselfe wholy to Harlots and Concubines, and finally forsooke his lawfull wyfe, and exercysed the act of filthie Sodomy, and so brought himselfe into the hatred of God and all his people. And on a tyme goyng on huntyng, when he had lost his people, he was destroyed of Wolues, after he had reigned. xx. yeres, leauing after him a goodlye youngling begotten of his lawfull wyfe, named Ebzanke.

Sodomy.

Mempricius slayne with wild Beasts

2971 / 992

¶ In this tyme Robobam the sonne of Salomon, began to reigne onely ouer two Tribes of Israel, that is to say, the Tribe of Juda, and Beniamin, and he was the first that reigned in Israell, the Tribes being deuided, as apereth in the. xi. Chapter of the third booke of the kings. And the cause why the

the other. x. Tribes of Israeli did forsake to be vnder the gouernance of Robobam, was for that he refused and despised the counsayle of the sage, graue, and auncient fathers which were counsaylers to his father, and gaue credite to the phancies and opinions of yong men, among whom he had bene bzought vp wantonly: and in the ende none followed the house of Dauid but Juda. For Beniamin was geuen vnto Nathan, the bzother of Salomon, but nevertheless they faythfully ayded Juda, as often as they needed: and he dyed when he had reigned. xvij. yeres.

Auncient fathers & graue counsellers are to be honoured.

2974 / 989 Ranulph. Gaufride. Geoffrey of Monmouth

Ebzank the sonne of Mempzicius, was made ruler ouer this land of Bziteyn, in the yere of the world two M. ix. C. lxxiij. and had as testifieth Reynulph Monke of Chester, Gaufride and other wziters. xx. Wynes, of the which he begat. xx. sones and. xxx. daughters, whose names are rehersed of Geffrey of Monmouth, wherof the fayzest was named Gwales, oz after some Gualea. He sent these daughters to Siluius, which was the. xj. king of Italy, oz the. vj. king of Latynes, to the ende to haue them maried to the blood of the Troyans.

¶ This Ebzank was also a man of a comely stature, & of a great strength, and by his power and might he enlarged his dominion: in so much, that he wanne and occupied a great parte of Germania, by the ayde and helpe of the Latynes, and returned thence with great pzaye and ryches. After which returne he builded the Citie of Caerbzank, now called Yozke, which should be as sayth the Auctho: of the booke named the flowers of stozies, wzitten in French in the. xxiij. yere of the reigne of the sayde Ebzank, which accompt to follow, it should seeme that London was builded before Yozke. C. xl. yeres, supposing the Citie of London to be bu'lded in the second yere of the reigne of Bzute. In his saide Citie of Ebzank, hee made a Temple to Diana, and ordeyned an Archflamyn to gouerne the same, accozding to the lawes of their Gods, oz as we now call him an Archbyshop.

Yozke.

Lõdon builded before Yozke. C. xl. yeres.

Archflamyn, oz Archbyshop.

¶ Also he builded in Albania oz Scotland, the Citie and Castle of Maydens, the which now is called Ed[illegible]ough, in the time that Robobam the sonne of Salomon reigned king of Israell. After which buildings finished and done, he with a great armie sayled into that part of Gallia, which now is called France, and subdued the Frenchmen, and a great parte of Germany and returned with great triumph and ryches. And when he had guyded this land of Bziteyn nobly by the space of. lx. yeres, as most wziters agree, he died and was buried at Caerbzank, oz Yozke, leauing after him foz his heyze his eldest sonne (as Gaufride sayth) named Bzute Greneshield.

Edẽbozow.

Gaufride.

2988 / 973

¶ At this time Abia the sonne of Robobam, and the fourth king of the Jewes, was after his father king of Juda, and reigned three yeres, he ouercame Hieroboam in battaile. He had. xiij. Wynes, and of them he begat xxij. sonnes and. xvj. daughters.

2990 / 973

¶ Asa the sonne of Abia was after the death of his father king of Juda, he was iust and righteous in the keeping and obseruing of the commaundments of God, and in the ouerthzowing and destroying of the Aultares that were erected foz to sacrifice vnto Idols, and after he dyed, when he had reigned xli. yeres,

3.Reg.15. xlj. peres, as apereth in the.xv. Chapter of the.iij. booke of the kings.

¶ And here I finde noted in Lanquet theſe wordes: about this time, according to the prophecie of Heli, halfe the peres of the worlde were fulfilled, ſignifying that the worlde ſhould continue but.vj.M. peres.

3000 / 963

3031 / 932 ATthis time alſo Joſaphat the.viij. King of the Jewes reigned next after Aſa his father, and he reigned.xxv. peres in Jeruſalem, and followed the good ſteps of his forefathers: wherefore God bleſſed him with great aboundance and ryches. He ordeyned Judges in euerie Citie of Juda, and commaunded the Leuits to reade the lawe of God vnto the people, that they might thereby learne to feare God.

3034 / 929 BRute Greneſhield the ſonne of Ebrank was made gouernor ouer this land of Briteyn, and reigned.xij. peres, and is buried at Caerbranke, or Yorke, leauing after him a ſonne named Leyll, as ſayth Fabian, Lanquet, and Bergamo. But Raſtall and Caxton ſaye that he reigned.xxx. pere.

3046 / 917 LEyll, the ſonne of Brute Greneſhield, after the death of his father, tooke vpon him the kingdome of Briten, and ruled.xxv. peres. This was a iuſt man and a louer of peace, and in his time he builded a Citie or Towne, which after his awne name, he named Caerleyll, now Carlile, in the which he builded a Temple, and therein placed a Flamyn, and after dyed and was buried in his aforeſayde Towne. This Leyll left after him a ſonne named Lud, or as ſome call him, Lud Hurdibras.

Carlile.

3048 / 315 AChab King of Juda, a wicked King, reigned twoo peres, hee ouercame Benadab King of Siria, and ſlue of the Sirians a hundred thouſande.

3050 / 913 AFter him Jehoram the ſonne of Joſaphat the.viij. King of Juda reigned in Jeruſalem: he walked in the wicked wayes of the kinges of Iſraell, as did the houſe of Achab, for the daughter of Achab was his Wyfe, and he did that which diſpleaſed the Lord, and ſlue all his brethren: Neuertheleſſe, God would not deſtroy Juda, becauſe of his promiſe made vnto Dauid, who promiſed that he would geue him a light in his children alwaye. And in his tyme Edom fell from vnder the hand of Juda and made them a king of their awne. And Jehoram reigned.xiij. peres, and then dyed, and was buried in the Citie of Dauid. 4.Reg.8.9.

Ochozias. AFter Jehoram, Ochozias, or Ozias his ſonne was the.ix. king of Juda, he was but.xxij. pere olde when he began to reigne, and he reigned but onely one pere. And in the ende, for yeelding to Idolatrie, hee was ſlaine by the people of Jehu king of Iſraell, the ſame murder being done at his commaundement.

3061 / 902 AThalia the mother of Ochozias to be reuenged of the death of her ſonne, ſlue all the blood royall, ſauing one little childe called Jehoas, which was the ſonne of the ſayd Ochozias, which was kept and hidden from her, by Jehoſaba the daughter of King Jehoram which was his Aunt. And he was with her hidden in the houſe of the Lorde.vj. pere: And Athalia did reigne ouer the lande all that tyme: But in the ende ſhe was moſt cruelly ſlaine, and yong Jehoas reſtored to the kingdome of Juda.

Jehoas

IEhoas, or Joas the.xj. King of Juda, and the firſt of the houſe of Nathan, reigned.xl. peres. In the.vij. pere of his age, he was proclamed and annoynted king, and Athalia his Grandmother was ſlaine as aboueſayd. And as long as he folowed the good admonitions of Joiada the high prieſt, he proſpered: But afterward, falling into Idolatrie and other wickednelle, he ſlue Zacharias the Prophet betwene the Temple and the auitare, for which deede God punniſhed him by the Syrians, and after he was ſlaine in his bed by hys awne ſeruauntes. 3067 / 896 — Zacharias ſlaine.

LUd Hurdibras, or Rathyndibras, or as ſome wryte Rudibras, ſonne of Leyll, began to reigne in Briteyn: And after he was ſtabliſhed in his kingdome, he appeaſed the great variance and diſcordes that ſprang in his fathers tyme, and that beyng done, he then builded the towne of Caerkyn, which now is called Cantorbury: He builded alſo the Towne of Caerguen, now called Wynton or Wyncheſter: And another towne called Mount Paladoure, now called Septon or Shafteſbury. In the time of the buylding of which towne of Septon, as affirmeth Gaufride, an Egle there ſpake certeyn wordes, the which he ſayth he will not wryte nor declare for any certentye. And when he had ruled this land nobly by the ſpace of.xxx.peres, he dyed, and left behind him a ſonne named Baldud or Bladud. But in very deede the ſayde Gaufride was here decepued, taking Aquila for the name of a birde called an Egle, which was the proper name of a man, that liued in the dayes of the aforenamed Lud Hurdibras, who by reaſon of the great knowledge and ſkill that hee had in the Judicialles of Aſtronomye, coulde tell before of thinges to come, and therfore was in thoſe dayes taken for a great Prophet, inſomuche that when the ſame King was determined to builde Septon, or Shafteſbury, and had already layed the foundation of the walles, he deſyred the ſayd Aquila, the Horoſcope of the beginning of the ſaid woorke firſt conſidered, to ſhew his opinion touching the continuaunce and fortune of the ſame Towne: And therfore it is that many report how an Egle ſhould then ſpeake. This Aquila is of writers called Aquila Septonius, that is to ſay, Aquila of Shafteſbury. And of his diuinatiõs and prophecies, there is further mention made in the.ix. booke and laſt Chapter of the ſayd Gaufride. 3071 / 892 — Cãtorbury. Wincheſt. Shafteſbu. In euery of theſe three Townes, he buylded alſo a temple, and therin placed a Flamyn, which is a Biſhop. Gaufride.

BLadud, or Baldud, the ſonne of Lud Hurdibras, after the death of his father reigned ouer Briteyn. This man as ſayth Gaufride, Polichronicon, and others, was very well ſene in the Mathematicalles, and in Negromancie, and by that Art he made the hoate Bathes in the Towne of Caerbadon, now called Bathe, the which Towne or Citie he alſo builded. 3100 / 863

¶ John Bale in his booke of the famous writers of Briteyn, writeth of him in this wiſe: Bladud, ſurnamed the Magician the.v. king of the Britones, was ſent in his youth to the famous citie of Athens in Greece, there to be inſtructed in Philoſophie and the liberall Sciences. And when he had there ſtudied a certaine time, hearing of the death of Lud Hurdibras his father, he returned home againe, bringing thence with him foure expert Maſters in many Sciences, not thinking it meete that his Country ſhoulde lack any lenger ſuch ſinguler ornaments of learning as they were. Theſe Philoſophers as wryteth Marlin, placed he at Staunforde in a verie pleaſaunt ſoyle. Bale. Marlyn. Staunford.

seyle, and made schooles for them, to the intent they should there reade the liberall sciences, where they had many tymes a great audience. He was a man very cunning and skilfull aswell in prophane sciences of the Gentiles, as in all wisdome and knowledge that the Grecians excelled in: But especially studious and singularly well seene was he in the Mathematicall artes and sciences, for the which cause, one of the Sibelles that lived in his tyme, hearing of the wonderfull fame that went of his name and doctrine, wrote and dedicated vnto him a booke of Prophecies, and foretellings of thinges to come. Some affirme that the same Bladud builded the Citie of Bathe, and therein made by a wonderfull arte certeyne hote Bathes, for the vse and commoditie of the people, which do remaine yet to this day, committing the conseruation thereof vnto the Goddesse Minerua, in whose honour he caused a Temple there to be erected, to the entent that beyng preserued by so mightie a Goddesse should neuer faile, but continue for euer. They wryte also how that he read and taught Necromancie throughout all his Realme. But these things are verily as I suppose feined matters. Hetherto Bale. And it followeth after in the same Auctheur: And when he had at the length prepared himselfe by Artmagique and Sorcery such wynges as Dedalus made himself, he attempted to flye in the ayre in the presence of the people, in which attempt he fell downe hedlong vpon the Aultare of Apollo, and so bruised his body with the fall that he dyed thereof, when he had reigned. xxj. yeres, and was buried at Troynouant. John Harding in the first booke, and. xxv. Chapter of his storye, sheweth that the schole or vniuersitie of Stamford aforesayd was forbidden by Austen the Monke, like as other Vniuersities of this Realme were, vnder this pretence, that they mainteyned the Arrian and Pelagian hereslies, the which his prohibicion was the cause of the decay of the same Vniuersities and therefore long after his tyme, there was no common professing of learning, but in great Monasteryes or Abbeyes. But William of Malmesburye sayth, that the hoate Bathes were made by the procurement of Julius Cesar Emperour, hee dyed and was buryed at Troynouant, when hee had ruled Briteyn by the space of. xx. yeres, leauing after him a sonne named Leyr.

John Hard.

Austen the Monke.

3111 / 852

Amasia slaine.

Amasia the sonne of Joas was after his father King of Juda, and reigned in the tyme that Joas the sonne of Joachaim was King of Israell. In the beginning he gouerned very well, but yet he did not ouerthrow the hill Aultars where they sacrificed to their Idols, and therefore when he had reigned xxix yeres, he was of his owne people slaine.

3119 / 844

Leycester.

Leyr the sonne of Bladud, or Baldud, after the death of his father, was made ruler ouer the Britons. This Leyr was of noble condicions, and guyded his land and subiectes in great wealth and quietnesse, he made the Towne of Caerleir now called Leycester. And albeit that this man reigned long ouer Briteyn, yet is there no notable thing worthie of memorye written of him, except as Gaufride sayth, that he had by his wife three daughters and no sonne, and the daughters were named Gonorilla, Ragan, and Cordeilla, the which he loued much, but most specially hee loued the yongest, Cordeilla by name.

Leyr.

¶ When this Leyr, or Leyth, after some writers, was fallen into competent

petent age, being desirous to know the minde of his three daughters, he first demaunded of Gonorilla the eldest how well she loued him: the which calling her Goddes to record, sayde, She loued him more then her owne soule. With this answere, the father being well contented, demaunded of Ragan the second daughter, how well she loued him? To whome she answered, and affirming with great othes, sayde, that she coulde not with her tongue expresse the great loue she bare to him: and added further, that she loued him aboue all creatures. After these pleasaunt answeres had of those two daughters, he called before him Cordeilla the yongest: who vnderstanding the dissimulation of her two sisters and entending to proue her father, sayde: Most reuerende father, where my two sisters haue dissimuled with thee, and vttered their pleasaunt wordes fruitlesse, I knowing the great loue and fatherly zeale, that thou euer hast borne toward me (for the which I may not speake vnto thee otherwise then my conscience leadeth me) therefore I saye to thee father, I haue euer loued thee as my father, and shall continually while I liue, loue thee as my naturall father. And if thou wilt be further inquisitiue of the loue that I beare thee: As thy ryches and substaunce is, so much art thou woorth, and so much and no more doe I loue thee.

Gonorilla.

Ragan.

Cordeilla.

¶ The father with this answere being discontent, maried his two elder daughters, the one vnto the Duke of Cornewale, and the other vnto the Duke of Albania, or Scotlande, and deuided with them two in mariage his lande of Briteyn after his death), and the one halfe in hande during his naturall life. And for his thirde daughter Cordeilla he reserued nothing.

¶ It so fortuned after, that Aganippus, which the English Chronicle nameth Aganip king of France, heard of the bewtie and womanhood of Cordeilla, he sent vnto her father and asked her in mariage. To whome it was answered, that the king would gladly geue vnto him his daughter, but for Dowar, hee would not depart with, for he had promised all vnto his other two daughters.

Aganippus or Aganip kinge of France.

¶ Aganippus, by his Messengers beyng thus enformed, remembring the vertues of the aforenamed Cordeilla, did without promise of Dowar, take the sayde Cordeilla to his wyfe.

¶ But here is to be noted, that where this Aganippus or Aganip is called in diuers Chronicles the king of Fraunce, it can not agree with other histories, nor with the Chronicles of Fraūce. For it is testified by Reynulph of Chester, and by Peter Pictauiens, by Robert Gagwyne, by Bishop Anthony, and many other Chronicles that long after this tyme there was no king of France, neyther was it long after called France: But at this day the inhabitaunts thereof were called Galli, and afterwards were tributaries to Rome without hauing any king, till the time of Valentinianus Emperour of Rome, as hereafter in this worke shall be plainely shewed.

Galli.

¶ The story of the Britons sayeth, that in the time that Leyr reigned in Briteyn, the land of Fraunce was vnder. xij. kings, of the which, Aganippus should be one, the which saiyng, is full vnlike to be true, and the same maye be proued many wayes, but I passe ouer, for that it is not my purpose to vse any speciall discourse of the kings of Fraunce.

¶ Then it followeth in the History, when Leyr was fallen into age, the aforesayd two Dukes, thinking long before the Lordship of Briteyn fell into their

Couetousnes the roote of all euill.

Gaufride Maglanus Henninus.

their handes, arose against their father (as Gaufride sayth) and spoyled him of the gouernance therof vpon certaine condicions to be continued for terme of lyfe, the which in processe of tyme were minished, as well by Maglanus as by Henninus housbands of the aforenamed Gonorild and Ragan: But that most displeased Leyr, was the vnkindnesse of his two daughters considering their wordes to him before spoken and sworne, and now found and proued them all contrary.

Leyr fleeth out of his land.

¶ For the which he being by necessitie constrayned, fled his land, and sayled into Gallia for to be comforted of his yongest daughter Cordeilla. Whereof she hauing knowledge, of naturall kindnesse comforted him: And after shewing all the matter to her Husband, by his agreement, receyued him and his to her Lordes Court, where he was cherished after her best maner.

¶ Long it were to shew vnto you the circumstance of the vtterance of the vnkindnesse of his two daughters, and of the wordes of comfort geuen to him by Aganippus and Cordeilla, or of the counsayle or purueyance made by the sayde Aganippus and his Lordes, for the restoring againe of Leyr to his dominion: But finally, he was by the helpe of the sayde Aganippus restored again to the gouernement of the Realme of Briteyn, and possessed and ruled the same as Gouernor therof, by the space of three yeres after. In which season dyed Aganippus. And when this Leyr had ruled this land by the terme of.xl. yeres, as diuerse do affirme, he died and was buryed at his owne towne Carrleyr or Leycestre, leauing after him for to inherite the lande, his daughter Cordeilla.

Aganippus

Leycestre.

3149
814

Ozias plagued with leprosie.

AT this tyme Ozias, or Azarias, the sonne of Amasias, reigned king after his father ouer Juda, and he reigned. Lij. yeres, and towarde the ende of his reigne he began to ware prowde, and would haue vsurped the Priestes office, wherfore he was striken with a leprosie, and dyed. 2. Parali. xi.

3158
805

Cordeilla slaine in prison.

COrdeilla, the yongest daughter of Leyr, was by the assent of the Britons made Queene of Briteyn, and she guyded the land full wisely by the terme and space of. v. whole yeres. The which tyme expired, her two Nephewes Morgan and Cunedagius sonnes of her two sisters, came vpon her land, and made therein great waste and destruction, and at the last tooke and cast her into a strong Prison, where she beyng in dispaire of the recouery of her estate (as sayth Gaufride) slue her selfe.

3162
800

Parasites & flatterers.

CUnedagius, and Morganus, Nephewes as aforesaide of Cordeilla, deuided this land of Briteyn betwene them: That is to say, the Countrye ouer and beyond Humber towarde Catnesse, fell to Morgan, and the other part of ꝑ land toward the West (as sayth Gaufride) fel to Cunedagius.

¶ After two yeres ended, some Pykethankes and Flaterers came vnto Morgan and sayde, that to him it was great reproche and dishonor (considering that he was come of Gonorilla the elder sister, and of Maglanus her Husband: And Cunedagius was descended of Ragan the yonger sister, and Henninus her Husband) that he had not the rule of all the land, to which lewde persons Morgan geuing credence, was enflamed with pryde and couetousnesse, and anone by theyr counsayle, assembled a great host, and made warre vpon his Cosyn, brenning and destroying his land without mercy. Whereof

Pride & couetousnes.

Cunedag

Cunedag being ware, in all haste gathered his people: And after a certeyne message sent by him for reconciliation, seeyng that there was no peace to bee made, but the same must be determined by dynt of sworde, and the iudgement of battayle, he met with his Cosyn in plaine fielde: where the Goddes were to him so fauourable, that he slue many of the people of his sayde Cosyn, and at the length compelled him to flee. After which victory thus had, he pursued Morgan from Country to Country, vntill he came within the Prouince or Country of Wales, in the which the sayd Morgan gaue vnto the sayd Cunedag another Battayle: But for that he was farre the weaker, he was there ouerthrowen, and slaine in the fielde. Which field or Country where the said Morgan fought, and was slaine, is to this day called Glamargan, which is as much to say, as Morgans land. And thus was Morgan slaine, when he had reigned with his Nephew two yeres.

Morgan slaine.

Glamargã fielde.

IOathan the sonne of Ozias, or Azarias was after his father king of Juda, and when he began to reigne, he was. xxv. yere olde, and reigned. xvj. yere. He was a good Man, and one that feared God, and obeyed his commaundementes, but he did not breake downe the hill aultares, that were set vp to sacrifice vnto Idoles.

3176
787

LIuallus or Riuallo the sonne of Cunedagius, was after his father ruler ouer Briteyn, and he ruled with great soberneſſe and kept the lande in great wealth and prosperitie: Albeit that of him is left no speciall memory of anye notable act done in his tyme, except that (as Gaufride sayth) it rained blood in his tyme by the space of three dayes continually within the land of Briteyn. After the which raine ensued a great an exceeding number and multitude of Flies, the which were so noysome and contagious that they slue many people. And after (as sayth an olde Author) ensued great sickneſſe and mortalitie, to the great desolation of this land.

3197
766

Blood rayned by the space of three dayes.

Flies slue many people.

¶ Then it followeth in the history: that when this Riuallus had reigned after most worthy xlvj. yeres, he dyed and was buried at Yorke, leauing after him a sonne, named Gurguſtius. And in this time the Citie of Rome was greatly enlarged and encreased by Romulus, or after the minde of Fabian and others first builded.

Romulus greatly encreased Rome

ACHas the sonne of Jonathan was after his father king of Juda, he was xx. yere olde when he beganne to reigne, and he reigned. xvj. yeres in Jerusalem, he folowed the wicked wayes of the kings of Israell.

3192
771

EZechias the sonne of Achas was after the death of his father king of Juda, and reigned. xxix. yeres in Jerusalem, he loued, feared, and serued the Lorde, and was a Prince, iust, verteous, and religious, he was diligent in the obseruing and keeping of the commaundements of almightie God, and there was not found in any of the kings that reigned before him nor after him, lyke vnto him in bountie and vertue: He brake the Brasen Serpent and restored againe the true honouring of God.

3208
755

Brasen Serpent.

MAnasses the sonne of Ezechias was after his father king of Juda, and he reigned. lv. yeres in Jerusalem, he was a very euill Man, and wrought much wickednesse in Juda, he set vp Idols and worshipped them, he defiled the Temple, and sacrificed his children vnto the Goddes, he filled Jerusalem with the blood of Innocents, he despised the admonitions of the Pro-

3237
726

 phets,

Esay the Prophet put to death.

phets, and put to death the most holye Prophet Esaias, cutting him in the middle with a Sawe: wherefore God being displeased, reysed vp the king of Babilon, who with a mightie power inuaded Jurye, tooke the king by a trayne, and brought him captiue to Babilon. Then in his captiuitie he acknowledged God, and confessed his sinnes, and tooke great repentance, through which, finding grace with God, he was restored againe to his kingdome, where he abholished all Idolatry, and restored the true honoring of God and commaunded that it shoulde be iustlye obserued, and so passed all the rest of his lyfe in the feare of God. He also repayred the walles of the holy Citie of Jerusalem, and ordeyned Garrisons in all his Cities. Lanquet.

Manasses repented.

3242
721

Gurgustus or Gorbodyan.

GUrgustus the sonne of the aforenamed Riuallus was made Ruler of Briteyn after the death of his father. And this man in the Englishe Chronicle is named Gorbodyan the sonne of Reignold, of whom there is small mencion made eyther of his reigne, or of any notable dedes done in his tyme, except that the aforesayde Author doth witnesse, that he reigned xxxviij. yeres: leauing after him none heyre of his body begotten, and lastly dyed and was buried by his father at the Citie of Caerbrank, otherwise called Yorke.

Yorke.

3279
684

Bathe.

SIsillus, or after some writers, Siluius the brother of Gurgustus (as sayth the English Chronicle) was made ruler ouer Briteyn, and reigned as sayth Lanquet. xlix. yeres, and was buried at Caerbadon or Bathe, and left after him none heyre of his body.

3292
671

AMon or Ammon the sonne of Manasses was king of Juda, and reigned two yeres, and his owne seruauntes conspired against him and slue him in his owne house.

3295
668

IOsias the sonne of Amon, was after his father king of Juda, and he reigned in Jerusalem. xxxj. yeres, he was a goodman and feared God, and obeyed his commaundements, and walked in the good wayes of king Dauid, without declyning eyther to the lefte hande or to the right. He purged his lande from all Idols, Images, and Woodes, and burned the bones of the Priestes of Baall, and clensed all wickednesse out of the Cities of Manasse, Ephraim, Simeon, and euen vnto Nepthalim: he repayred the Temple, that the holy thinges might be couered. The Booke of the lawe of Moses which had bene lost of a long tyme, was found againe by his meanes, which he caused to be read vnto the people. Finally, vpon to much presumption, he made warre vpon the King of Egypt, where he was wounded and dyed therof. 4. Reg. 23.

The Bible restored to the people by king Josias.

3326
637

IOachas the second sonne of Josias, was after his father king of Juda, and reigned onely three Monethes, and was taken and brought captiue into Egypt, in whose place his brother Joachim was made king, and reigned. xj. yeres, an insolent and naughtie Prince, who not regarding the prophecies of Jeremie, burnt the bookes thereof, and was at the last slaine, and left vnburied as a Beast.

3327
634

IAgo or Lago, the Cosyn of Gurgustius (as sayeth Gaufrid) as next heyre was made gouernour of Briteyn. Of this man also the writers make small mencion, eyther for the quietnesse of the time, or else for the

rudenesse of his deedes, he reigned. xxv. yeres and dyed without issue and was buried at Yorke.

3337
626

Ezechiel taken captiue

IOachim called also Jechonias reigned ouer Juda three Monthes, and. x. dayes, he yeelded himselfe wyllingly vnto Nabuchodonosor, by the counsayle of Jeremie: who sent him to Babilon, with all the Noble men and ornaments and Jewels: among whome also was the Prophet Ezechiell.

3347
616

Mathanias the last king of the Jewes

IN his stede Nabuchodonoser caused Mathanias the fourth sonne of Josias to take vpon him the rule of Juda, and made him sweare by the name of the Lorde that he should faythfully serue the Chaldeys, in token whereof he named him Zedechias, he was the. xxiij. and last king of the Jewes, and reigned. xj. yeres. This Zedechias brake his amitie with the king of Babilon, and entered into league with the Egyptians. For which cause Nabuchodonoser returned and besieged Jerusalem by the space of one yere. vj. Monethes, and. v. dayes. After which siege, the holy Citie with the most sacred Temple, miserably with pestilence, famine, sworde and fyre, was destroyed. The king himselfe with all his Nobilitie taken, his children slaine before his face, his eyes pulled out and sente into captiuitie to Babilon. ij. Para. xxxvj. Chapt.

Jerusalem & the Temple vtterly destroyed.

The destruction of the Jewes.

¶ Thus was the whole Nation of the Jewes without respect eyther of Age or kinde, eyther slaine or brought into Babilons bondage for their obstinacie against God and his Prophets, and for the sinne and transgression of their kings, Priestes, and all the people, the yere after the vniuersall Flood. M. vj. C. lxxx. after the arriuall of Brute. CCCC. Lxxxij. after the beginning of the kingdom of the Jewes. CCCC. lviij. after the building of the temple. CCCC. xiiij. and after the building of Rome. C. xxxvij.

Here endeth the fift Age of the worlde, and is from the building of the Temple, vnto the captiuitie of Babilon, which the Hebrues accompt. CCCC. lxx. yeres.

The sixt Age, and sixt part of this Chronicle.



The sixt Age

3352 / 619

Kinimacus the sonne of Sisillus, as some writers haue, but more truely as sayth the olde Chronicle, the brother of Lago, was made ruler of Briteyn, as his brother before him was, and passed his tyme without any notable actes or deedes, so that of him there is no more memorye than is of his brother. For the most of them that write the feates and deedes of the Britons, make but a short rehersall of these fiue kings, that is to say, from Rinallo to Gorbodug, saying that after Rinallo succeded Gurgustius, after him Lago, & after Lago, Kinimacus, and after Kinimacus succeded Gorbodug. Of these fiue kinges is made litle other mention. Then it followeth in the olde Chronicle, that when Kinimacus had reigned. Liiij. yeres, he died, and was buryed at Yorke: leauing after him a sonne named Gorbodug.

3360 / 603

Daniel the Prophet.

¶ In this tyme was that most noble Prophet Daniell, and he florished in Babilon. And in his youth by his wisedome, he deliuered Susanna from death, & he expounded the dreames of Nabuchodonosor: And finally, he was cast into a denne among hungry Lions, where by the power of God he was preserued from harme. Afterwarde he prophecied both of the comming of Christ, and also of the Empires of Babilon, Media, Persia, Grecia, and the Romaines.

3383 / 580

¶ The Scots as their Chronicles shew, did at this time first inhabit Scotland,

land where they liued long tyme vnder sundry Capitaines, as they call them, vntill the tyme of Fergus, sonne of Ferquard, King of Irelande, who ayded the Scottes against the Pictes, and was the first king of Scottes, as they say.

England inhabited before Scotlãd as the Scottish Cronicle doth accompt 528. yere.

3404 / 559

Troinouãt

Gorbodug succeded his father Kinimacus, in this Realme of Briteyn, and by most writers he reigned. lxij. yeres, and then dyed, and was buryed at London, which then was called Troinouant, and left behind him two sonnes, named Ferrer, and Porrer, but some call them Ferreus, and Porreus.

3418 / 545

Ierusalem & the Temple againe repayred.

IN this tyme Barachias, called also Zorobabell, Nephew to Joachim, and Jesus the high Priest, with. xlv. thousand, three hundreth, three score and ten Jewes, were deliuered free from Babilon by Cyrus, and returned into their awne land: where they repayred againe their Citie, and cast the foundation of their Temple, renued their lawes and Sacrifices, albeit they were sometyme let by their borderers. 1. Esd. 4. 5. vi. And in the yere of the worlde 3446. the Temple was cleane finished, and with great ioy dedicated againe vnto the Lorde, wherin they offerrd their Sacrifices, and celebrated their Phase, or feast of Passouer, in geuing of thankes to God which had turned the heart of Darius vnto them.

3467 / 496

Ferrer and Porrer his brother, Sonnes of Gorbodug reigned ouer this Realme of Briteyn, and continued in amitie a certain time. After which time expired, as sayth Reynulph and Gaufride. Porrer being couetous of Lordship gathered his people together vnknowne to his brother Ferrer, entending to destroy him. Whereof he being warned, for lack of space to assemble his people for sauegarde of his lyfe, fled sodainely into Gallia or France, and prayed ayde of a Duke of Gallia named by Gaufrid, Gunhardus or Swardus, the which Duke ayded him, and sent him againe into Briteyn with his host of Gallis. After whose landing, his brother Porrer with his Britons met him, and gaue to him Battaile, in the which battaile Ferrer was slaine, with the more parte of his people. But here some Authours write that Porrer was slaine and Ferrer surupued. But whether of them both was lying, him did the mother of the same two brethren named, Widen, setting a parte all motherly pittie, with the helpe of her women, most cruelly murdered, in the night season in his sleepe, and cut him in pieces. And thus ended the afore sayde two brethren, after they had reigned in Briteyn in warre and peace. v. yeres. And here endeth the lyne or ofspring of Brute, after the opinion of most writers, for as Gaufrid sayth, after the death of these two brethren, great discorde arose among the Britons, the which continued long among them, by meane whereof the people were sore vexed and noyed vnder. v. kings, whose names I finde in an olde Pedegre to be Rudancus, that was king of Wales, Clotemis king of Cornewall, Pinnor king of Loegria, Staterius king of Scotlande, Yeuan king of Northumberlande. And as sayth Guydo de Columna the Britons abhorred the lynage of Gorbodug, for so much as first the one slue the other, and chiefely for the vnnatural disposition of the mother, that so cruelly slue her awne child. The English Chronicle sayth, that after the death of the two forenamed brethren,

Ferrer slaine.

A cruell and vnnaturall murder.

thren, no rightfull inheritor was left on lyue, wherefore the people were brought vnto great discorde, insomuch that the lande was deuided into foure partes. So that in Albania was one ruler, in Loegria another, in Cambria the third, and in Cornewall the fourth. But of these foure Rulers, the English Chronicle alloweth Cloten Duke of Cornewall, for most rightful heyre.

Cloto Duke of Cornewal.

¶ Reynulph of Chester sayth, that after the death of the sayde brethren, great discorde was in this lande vnder the gouernement of.x. kynges, but he neyther reherseth their names nor the times of their reignes, sauing that he sayth that the discorde continued vnto the coming of Mulmucius Dunwallo. So that here appereth no time certaine, howe long this discorde and variance among the Britons continued, but who so lust to looke in Fabian, in a draught by him drawne, in the beginning of his Chronicle, shall there finde that it continued here to the terme of.Lj.yeres.

3503 / 406 About this time Esdras, by the lycence of Artaxerses came from Babilon to Jerusalem with.xxij.C.lxxv. Jewes, to repaire the lawe and Citie of God, and to teache the people: For he gathered and brought in order the bookes of the holy Scripture, before scattered and destroyed, and inuented the same Hebrew Charettes, which are vsed at this day.

3510 / 453 Daniell.9. And here also I finde noted by Lanquet, that at this time began the computation of the.lxx. weekes of Daniell, euery weeke conteyning.vij.yere, which finisheth at the death of Tiberius, after whome Gaius caused his Image to be set in the Temple, vnder the name of great Jupiter.

3522 / 441 Mulmucius or Voluntius Dunwallo, the sonne of Cloten, banquished the other Dukes or rulers, and reigned himselfe ouer Briteyn. This man ruled Nobly and builded a house in the Citie of Troynouaunt now called London, which house as some suppose is now called Blackwell Hall. Also he made many good lawes, the which long after were called Mulmucius lawes. These lawes Gildas translated with great diligence out of the Britishe speche into Latyn. And long time after, Aluredus or Alured king of England turned the same out of Latyn into English, or the Saxen tongue. He also gaue priuilege to Temples, to Ploughes and Cities, and to the wayes leading to the same. Wherby as Raynulph sayth, all such malefactours as fled vnto them for succour and sauegarde of themselues, might not be empeched nor molested any maner of wayes of their enimies, so that had a man done neuer so much harme (as Caxton reporteth in his story) if he might once come into the Temple, it was not lawfull for any to misintreate him, and lykewise he shoulde bee suffered therein to go safe and in peace, and afterward go into what Country he would without any harme. And if any man fortuned to set any violent hand vpon him, he then should leese his lyfe. And as some Auctheurs affirme, he began the foure highe wayes of Briteyn, the which was finished and priuileged also by Belinus his sonne, as after shall be declared. The olde Chronicle testifieth that this Mulmucius, whom he nameth Molle and Caxton Douebant made the two Townes of Malmesbury and Wyes. And many other writers affirme that after he had stablished himselfe in this land, and set his Britons in good order, he by the aduise of his Lordes ordeyned him a Crowne or Diademe of Golde, and caused himselfe to be crowned with great solempnitie after the blaunce of the Pagan

Blackwell Hall.

Raynulph.

Caxton.

The foure high wayes.

Mulmucius the first king of Briteyn that ware a Crowne of Golde.

Pagan law. And for this cause, after the opinion of some writers, he was called the first king of Briteyn. And all the other before rehersed were called Rulers, Dukes, or Gouernors. Of the same Mulmucius it is further written by John Bale Doctour and others, that he was a great fauourer and supporter of all learned men, and that by him was restored to the auncient trade and maner, the science of Chiualrie, wonderfully decayed before his tyme, and in maner cleane extinguished.

John Bale.

¶ Finally, when he had guided the lande well and nobly the space of. xl. yeres, he dyed, and was buried in Troynouaunt, now called London, leauing after him two sonnes, the one named Belinus, the other Brennus.

3562 / 401 Belinus and Brennus the two sonnes of Mulmucius, began to reigne ioyntly as kinges of Briteyn: and Belyn held Loegria or Logiers, which is that part that we now call England, Wales, and Cornewall. And Brennus had all the land beyond Humber, with the which partition eche of them held himselfe well contented, and so was the Realme of Briteyn peaceably gouerned betwixt them, the space of.x. yeres, as Polichronica sayth, and in this meane tyme Brennus builded the Citie of Bristow. After which terme, the sayde Brennus entending to haue more lande or all, arose against his brother Belyne, and made vpon him sharpe and mortall warre. In the which warre Brennus was ouerset and compelled to flie the lande, and to sayle to Armorica, nowe named little Briteyn, but as Reynulph and Gaufride sayth, he went into Norway, and there maried the daughter of Elfinge or Elfyng which then was Duke of Norway. When this was shewed vnto Belyn, he considering the sodaine departing of his brother: did in all the hast first seaze Albania, and al the other land that belonged to Brenne into his awne hand, and fortified the Cities thereof and other strong places, with his awne Garisons and Souldiours. Whereof when Brenne was aduertised, he in all possible hast assembled a great armie of people of the Norwayes, and tooke his shipping to sayle into Briteyn. And as he was keeping his course vpon the sea, he was encountred with Guilthdacus king of Denmarke the which had lyen in awayte for him, for loue of a Damsell that he had maried, which before tyme was promised vnto the saide Guilthdacus by the saide Elfinge her father. When these two Nauies were met, strong shot and fight was vpon both parties: but finally the Danes ouercame the Norwayes, and tooke the Ship by strength, wherein the yong Damsell was, who was quickly brought vnto the Ship of Guilthdake. And so in fine Brenne with a fewe of his Shippes left, was faine to prouide for his awne safetie by flight.

Brennus.

Belyn.

Guilthdacus king of Denmarke.

¶ When Guylthdake had thus obteyned the victory, he entending to haue sayled toward Denmarke, the tempestes were so great, and wind so contrary, that he was enforced to land in Northumberland, where at that tyme was Belyn making of preparation of defence against his brothers comming. But when word was brought vnto Belyn, of the landing of the king of Denmarke with a final company he reioyced at it, and commaunded him with his Shippes and company to be put in sure holde and keeping.

Guilthdake

Guilthdake king of Denmarke taken.

¶ It was not long after, but Brenne had newly rygged and victualled his Shippes, and hearing of the arriuall of Guilthdacus in Northumberland with

Brennus sendeth defiance to his brother Belyne.

with his wyfe, sent woordes of manace vnto his brother Belyne, willing him to send vnto him his wyfe, wrongfully rauished and deteyned by Guilthdacus king of Denmarke, and also to restore him to his Patrimony, or else he would shortly inuade his lande, the same for to waste, and as his enemy to destroye. The which request was of Belyne plainly and shortly denied. Wherof when Brenne had knowledge, he shortly after landed in a part of Albania, & made towarde his brother, and his brother towardes him: so that their hostes met nere vnto a Wood, named the Calatere, where betweene them was a mortall and terrible battayle, insomuch, that much people were slaine vpon both parties: But in the ende the Britons wan the fielde, and chased the Norwayes vnto their Shippes. And as Gaufride sayth, the fight was so cruell & sharpe, that there were of both sydes slaine, to the number of. xl. M. men.

A cruell battaile betweene two brethren.

¶ After this discomfiture, Brenne was constreyned to flie, and with a very fewe in number, recouered the land of Gallia.

¶ Belinus hauing obteyned this great victory ouer his enemies, after thankes and oblations made vnto his Goddes, after the maner of the Pagan lawe: he then assembled his Lordes at Yorke, and there tooke their aduice what he should do with the king of Denmarke. In the which counsayle it was concluded, that the aforesayde Guilthdacus should holde and do homage to the king of Briteyn for the land of Denmarke, and yerely pay vnto him a thousand pound for a tribute: which beyng done with suretie and hostages, the sayd Guilthdacus with his woman, was set at libertie, and returned into his owne Country.

Guilthdake king of Denmark became tributary to England.

¶ Now when Belyne had by this victorie possessed the quiet state of this Realme, he confirmed the lawes made before by his father, and did ordeine that iustice was ministred throughout the lande. And where the foure wayes begon by his father were not perfighted and ended: He therfore called workmen and set them to paue the same with stone, that they might the better bee knowen to all trauaylers.

The foure high wayes of England, paued by Belyne.

Fosse.

¶ The first of these foure wayes was named Fosse, the which stretcheth out of the South, into the North, & began at that tyme at Totnesse in Cornewall, and passed forth by Deuonshire, Somersethire, and so forth by Tutbury vpon Cottes wolde beside Couentry vnto Leycester, and from thence by wylde playnes toward Newarke, and endeth at the Citie of Lincolne.

Watling-streete.

¶ The seconde way was named VVatling streete, the which stretcheth ouer twhart the waies of Fosse, out of the Southeast, into the Northeast. This began at Douer, and passeth by the middle of Kent ouer Thamis beside London, by west of Westminster, and so forth by S. Albones, in the West syde of Dunstable, of Stratford, of Touceter, & of Wedon: by South Killingbourn, by Atherstone, and then passeth besides Bewdley ouer Seuerne vnto Gilbertes hill, that now is called the Wrekyn, and so forth vnto Stratton to the middle of Wales vnto a place called Cardican at the Irish Sea.

Erming-streete.

¶ The thirde way was named Ermingstreete, the which stretcheth out of the West, Northwest, vnto the East Southeast, & beginneth at S. Dauids in west Wales, and so stretcheth forth vnto Southampton.

Kykeneldes streete.

¶ The fourth and last way is called Kykeneldes streete, the which stretcheth forth by Worceter, by Wycombe, by Birmyngham, by Lichfielde, by Darby, by Chesterfielde, by Yorke, and so forth vnto Tynmouth, the which were

were sufficiently made. And he graunted and confirmed vnto them, all such priuileges as before were granted by Dunwallo his father. The which priuileges with other lawes by him made, such as are desirous to knowe, let them reade the translation of Gildas, made of Mulmicius lawes, out of Britishe speech vnto latine, and there he shall see the whole.

¶ While Belyne was thus occupied, his brother Brenne beyng as afore sayd in a prouince of Gallia, taking his expulsion very grieuously, and beyng without comfort to attayne to his former dignitie, at the last resorted (being accompanied onely with. xij. persons) vnto the Duke or ruler of that Prouynce or Country.

¶ For ye shall vnderstande, that in those dayes (as sayeth Eutropius and other writers) the Gallis occupied diuers Countries. And therefore Titus Liuius wrote the histories of the Romaynes, made distinction of the Gallis, and nameth them that Brenne lead when he besieged Rome, and afterwards the Capitoll Senones Galli, of whome the Citie of Sene in Tuscayne tooke name, because (as testifieth the Author of Chronica Chronicarum, and other) it was first builded of the aforesayd Galles in the time of Brenne being there Duke and leader before the comming of Christ. CCC. lxxx. yeres. And for this cause the Senenses are of the aforesayde writers reckened also among the Galles.

Fraunce at first was deuided into fiue countries

¶ Now when Brenne was commen to the Duke, whome Gaufride calleth Signinus Duke of Alebrog, the which is to be vnderstande the Duke of Armorica, now called little Briteyn, as Reynulph doth plainely declare, and that he had opened vnto him all his griefe and trouble: the sayde Duke receyued him into his Courte with all curtesie and gentlenesse. And for that he was a personable & of gentle nature furnished with all that belonged to a Gentleman, he within a short time after was had in great estimatiō before any other that apperteined to his Court. By reason wherof at the last he fell in loue with his daughter, and in the ende maried her vpon condicion that if he dyed without issue Male, that he then should be ruler of that Countrie, and if it happened him to haue an heyre Male, that then yet notwithstanding, to ayde and helpe him to recouer his land lost.

Armorice called little Briteyn.

¶ The which condicions well and surely vpon the Dukes partie, by the assent of the Nobles of his land were assured. And the sayde Duke within lesse then one yere following dyed. After whose death, when by a conuenient tyme, it was knowne that the Duchesse his wife was not with childe, all the Lordes of the land did their homage to Brenne. To the which Lordes, the more to winne their loue, he departed much of his treasure, and shortly after with their assent gathered a great armie, and so in all haste sayled into Briteyn to make new warre vpon his brother Belyne, and after a little tyme landed there. Of whose landing when Belyne was informed, he in all haste gathered his Britons together in great number & made towarde Brennus, as to his mortall enimie. But the mother of the two brethren, named Conwenna, or after the English booke Conwey, considering the mortall hatred betwene her two children, of a motherly pitie went betwene her two sonnes, and vsed her selfe so wisely and discretely, that at length she agreed them. After which agreement, both the brethren with their Lordes and friendes sped them vnto Troynouaunt, or London, and there after many things done and ordered

The true office of a naturall mother.

ordered for the weale of the lande, they agreed to leade both their hostes into Gallia for to subdue to them the sayde Countrie. And in as goodly haste as they might prepare for the iourney, they tooke shipping and so sayled into a part of Gallia, brenning and wasting the Countrie without all pittie. And as sayth Gaufrid, they in short time subdued a great parte of Gallia, Italy, and Germany.

Belyne and Brenne were great conquerours.

¶ Here Gaufrid doth vary from Eutropius, Titus Liuius, and other the writers of the Romaine Histories, for where Gaufrid sayeth that at suche time as Belyn and Brenne made warre in Italy, Gabius and Porsena were the Consules of Rome, that saiyng differeth farre from other. For as they affirme, at the time when Brenne besieged Rome, Claudius Æmilius, and Lucius Lucretius were Consules, & Furius Camill' was at that time Dictator of Rome, and none lyke vnto the other were Consules many yeres before nor after.

¶ But truth it is, that the sayde two brethren did many great actes in the aforenamed Countries, but not all agreeable with the saiyng of Gaufrid. For where he referreth all those deedes to both brethren, the aforenamed Titus Liuius speaketh but of Brenne, as hereafter shall appere. Now when Belyn had remained a certeyne of time with his brother Brenne in those partes, by agreement of them both, Belyn returned into Briteyn, & Brenne remayned behinde.

¶ When Belyn was returned into Briteyn, he repayred certaine olde Cities and builded vpon the Riuer of Vske a Citie, and called it Caervske, nere vnto the Riuer of Seuerne. This Citie was after named the Citie of Legions because the Legions of the Romaines were lodged in the same Citie, and now it is called Caerleon, which in the time of king Arthur was an Vniuersitie and had in it two hundred Philosophers, as Gaufride writeth, which being well learned in Astronomie and other Sciences, diligently obserued the courses of the starres, and by true and infallible reasons, shewed before what straunge and wonderfull things should that time happen vnto king Arthur.

Caerleon.

¶ Also he builded in Troynouant an Hauen, with a gate ouer the same, in the Pynacle or top whereof was a Vessell of brasse, in the which was inclosed the Ashes of his brent body, when he was dead. This gate was long after called Belyns or Belynus gate, and at this day it is called Belyngsgate.

Belingsgat

¶ While Belinus was thus occupied in Briteyn, his brother Brenne desirous to winne fame and honour, builded in Italy and in certeyn partes of Gallia certeyn Cities and Townes as foloweth.

Pauy.	Comum.	Vincencia.
Bergomum.	Brixia.	Milleyn.
Seua.	Verona.	Tridentum.
		Cremona.

¶ The which Cities and Townes were builded of the Galles, or at the least were new repayred in the time that Brenne was their Duke and leader, although some writers suppose that Comum, and Cremona were builded after Brenne was dead. Reynulph sayth, that the Senons, which he meaneth by the Galles dwelling about the Citie of Sena, by the leading of Brennus ouercame the Romaines .xj. Myles from Rome, at the Riuer Albia, and

Reynulph

chaced

chaced them to Rome and tooke the Citie, and after layed siege to the Capitoll. And in a night while the warders of the Capitoll slept, the Frenchmen or Galles by a way vnder the earth came into the Capitoll and were lykely to haue wonne it. But a noble Romaine named Mallius or Manlius Torquatus, awoke by the crying and noyse of a Gander or Ganders. The which Manlius resisted the Galles, for which the Romaines long time after held a feast of Ganders the first day of June: Howbeit, afterward, it was called Junos Feast, because they thought that Juno the Goddesse had by her influence geuen that grace vnto the Ganders, that they should by their noyse awake the Romaines. But yet the Galles or Frenchmen, helde the Romaines so shorte, that they were compelled to giue vnto Brenne their Duke a thousande pound weight of Golde, as sayeth Titus Liuius, and he sayeth further that the Galles slue of the Senators of Rome a great many in number, whome they supposed to haue bene Goddes, because of the riche apparell that they sate in. But shortly after this, the aforenamed Furius Camillus, which was called againe from the Citie of Ardea, where he was outlawed before, and by the Commonalty of Rome in this distresse made againe Dictator, pursued Brenne and his people, and gaue to them battaile, and slue of them a great number, and wanne from them all the Golde and Jewels that before time the Galles had wonne of the Romaines. The which deede was done .CCC.lxiij. yere before the comming of Christ.

The noyse of a Gander awoke Manlius and saued the Capitoll.

Ganders Feast.

A great gift not long enioyed.

Furius Camillus a Dictator of Rome, won againe from Brenne, all that euer Rome had lost.

¶ Now when Brenne was this discomfited of the Romaines, he turned his people toward the Macedones or Grekes, and deuided them into two hostes, whereof he reteyned the one with him, and the other he sent into a Countrie called then Gallacia, and after Gallogrecia, and lastly Galates. Then Brenne ouercame the Macedones, with their Duke Sostene, and after spoyled their Goddes and their Temples, and sayde in myth, riche Goddes must geue to men some of their riches. Also he spoyled the Temple of the God Appollo Delphicus, standing in the hill of the Mount Pernasus. Wherefore as sayth Policarpus, the people of that Countrie prayed to God for helpe, and sodainely the earth began to quake, and a great parte of the hill fell vpon the host of the Galles and slue them. And after that, there fell Hailestones of such greatnesse, that it slue another part of the host, and Duke Brennus was sore wounded, whereby he fell in such dispaire, that he slue himselfe with his owne sworde.

Brenne discomfited

Gallacia. Gallogrecia Galates.

Brenne ouercame the Macedons.

A straunge thing.

Brenne killed himselfe.

¶ Now for as much as I haue here shewed you the ende of Brennus, I will now returne to Belinus his brother, who as before is declared, hushed himselfe in the guyding and ordering of his Realme and people of Briteyn, and in executing many notable deedes, like as he constituted and ordeyned three Archflamyns, whose Seas, were at London, Yorke, and Caerleon. And as Master Layland sayth, he buylded the Tower of London, and did many other notable things in his dayes, the which for length I ouerpasse: and finally he dyed and after the Pagan maner, was with great pompe burned and buried at Troynouant in London, when he had reigned with his brother and alone, after some writers .xxvj. yeres, leauing after him a sonne named Gurguinthus, or Gurguint Brabtruc, or after some wryters Gurguint Barbarouge, which is to meane Gurguint with the red beard.

Belyne dead.

Gurguintus

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Gurguintus the sonne of Belyne, a Prince of great wisdome and soberneſſe and when time came succeded his father, & reigned king of Briteyn. xix. yeres, who following his fathers steppes, loued both peace and iuſtice. This king forasmuch as the tribute that was graunted to his father by the king of Denmarke, was nowe denyed to bee payed, assembled a great army, and prepared a great Nauy, and sayled into Denmark, and there wasted & spoyled the Country with swoord and fyre, in such wise, that at length the king of Denmarke, with the assent of his Baronage, graunted to pay and continue the aforesayde Tribute of a thousande pound yerely. Howbeit Gaufrid writeth, that he slue the sayde king in battaile. After which victory thus had of the Danes, he with great triumph returned into Briteyn. And in keeping of his course, he encountered with a nauie of. xxx. sayle beſyde the Iſles of Orcades full of Men and Women, of which flote, the chiefe Capiteyn was called as moſt writers affirme, Bartholomew, ỹ which when he was brought vnto the kinges presence, shewed that he with his people were put or exiled out of Spaine, and were named Balenſes, and had sayled long time vpon the Sea, to the ende to finde some Prince that would geue to them a dwelling place, and they to become his Subiectes, and to holde their lande of him, beseching the king to haue compaſſion vpon them, and to graunt to them some place to inhabite in, that they should no lenger dwell in their Shippes, considering their victuall was spent by reason of their long lyeng vpon the Sea. After which request thus made by their Capitaine, the king with the aduice of his Barons, graunted to them a voyd and waste Countrie, which was and is the farthest Iſle of al the Iſles toward ỹ west, the which, Iſle as saith the English Chronicle, was then named Irelande, after the name of their Capiteyn called as he writeth Irlamall. But who so will know the first cause of the naming of this Iſle Ireland, let him reade the. xxxij. and. xxxiij. of the first booke of Polichronica, and there he shall finde the more certeinty of the naming thereof, with many other thinges touching the sayd Iſle.

Danes tribute.

Spaniardes ſpenced to inhabite Ireland.

¶ Then it foloweth in the story, after Gurguintus was returned into his land of Briteyn, he eſtabliſhed and ordeyned to be kept the lawes made by his forefathers, and exerciſed iuſtice to his Subiectes, and gouerned his lande well and nobly by the space of. xix. yeres, and then dyed, and was buryed at Caerleon, or after some writers at Troynouaunt, leauing after him a sonne named Guyntelinus or after some, Guintellius.

Iuſtice.

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Guintelinus, or Guintellius the sonne of Gurguintus, was made king of Briteyn, and he guyded this lande with great meekeneſſe and soberneſſe. He had also a noble Wife called Marcia, who was learned in many sciences, and among other noble deedes by her done, she set foorth vnto the Britons a wholesome and notable law, which long tyme after was called Marcians lawe. This lawe, for that it was good and neceſſary, Aluredus which long after was king of England, trãſlated out of Britiſh into the Saxons speech, and then was it called euer after in the Sarons tongue, Marthehelag, that is to say, the lawe of Marcia. To this Wooman for her wiſedome, was committed all the gouernance of the land, and (as Gaufride sayth) shee reigned as Queene of Briteyn a certeyn tyme after her Husband was deade. But the yeres of her reigne are accompted with the yeres of her Husband, or with

Marcians lawes.

with the yeres of her Sonne Siſillus, so that the tyme of her reigne is not certeyne.

¶ In this time the said Guintelyn builded the towne of Warwike, which was about the tyme of the birth of great Alexander. But after that the Saxons destroyed it. But it was reedefyed agayne by king Guyderius.

¶ Now when Guinthelinus had reigned well and worthely the space of xxbj. yeres, he dyed, and was buried at Troynouaunt, or London, leauing after him a sonne named Siſillus, or Cecilius.

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Cecilius, or Siſillus, the sonne of Guinthelyn, reigned king ouer Briteyn, but there is no notable thing written of him, but that (as the Scottes write) in the first yere of his reigne, a people of Almaine called Pichtes, arryued here in Briteyn, and poſſeſſed those partes which we now call the Marches of both the Realmes of England and Scotland, and when he had reigned. bij. yeres he dyed, and left after him a sonne named Kimarus.

Pichtes.

3640
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Kimarus, ỹ sonne of Cecilius, reigned king of Briteyn, but of him there is nothing written, but that he was a wilde and wanton Prince, geuen to all pleasure and paſtime, & reigned but three yeres, beyng slain of his aduerſaries as he was a hunting, and left after him a sonne named Elanius.

Elanius the sonne of Kymarus, reigned king after his father, but some Authours write that Elanius was brother to Kymarus, and some write that Kymarus and Elanius was but one person, howbeit: it is moſt lyke they were two persons, now to be short, he reigned but two yeres, but other write (whom I credite) as Lanquet, that he reigned. ix. yeres, and then dyed.

3652
311

Mozindus the baſtard sonne of Elanius (as sayeth Gaufride) was made king of Briteyn. This man was gotten vpon the Concubine of Elanius, named Tanguestela, and was a man of worthy fame in deedes of Chiualrye, but he was so ouercome with wrath and cruelneſſe, that commonly he was the death of any that angred him. Beſides this, he was comely of perſonage, and liberall in rewardes, and was also of a meruelious strength, insomuch, as he had not his lyke of any man that was within the Realme, beyng of Noble birth.

Mozindus a cruell man.

¶ In his time there came a Prince into this realme out of a Country called Mauritania, the which Prince with his cruell and fierce people wasted the land of Briteyn with swoorde and fire, without all pitie and mercy. Whereof when Mozindus was certified, he in all haſte gathered his people, and met with him in the field, and bad him battaile, and fought in such wise, that at the laſt he chaſed the Prince to the Sea againe, and tooke many of his Souldiers Priſoners, whome to be reuenged of the tyrannie vſed by the sayde Prince, he cauſed to be put to death in diuerſe cruell maners, as by hangyng, heading, fleayng, brenning, and other cruell executions done in his sight.

Cruell executions.

¶ Finally (as sayth Guido de columna) and other, this Mozindus on a time walking, or riding along by the Sea coaſt, eſpied a wonderful strange Monſter, the which of his knighthood and courage he thought to slaye. And with a manly

Guydo de Columna.

Mozindus was slaine & deuoured of a Monster in the Sea.

a manly force assayled the Monster, fighting with it a certeyne space: But in conclusion, he was deuoured and swalowed of the sayde Monster, after he had reigned.viij. yeres, leauing behinde him. v. sonnes, Gozbomannus, Archigalla, Elidurus, Vigenius, and Peredurus.

3652 / 311

ABout this time the Scottes beginne their Chronicles at Fergus or Fergucius the sonne of Ferquard king of Ireland: who (as they write) came with a great power out of Ireland to their ayde in the tyme of dissension, betweene them and the Pichtes, where by wisedome and prowesse he so handled the matter that he agreed those people, and obteyned such fauour, that they elected him to be their king, and he reigned among them. xxv. yeres, and finally in passing the Seas betweene Ireland & Scotland, he was drowned.

Fergus king of Scottes drowned.

¶ But these Histories of the Scottes, as they set them foorth are full of lyes, and agree with none other Historiens, for they saye that Fergus slue Coill king of Briteyn, when there was then no such of that name, nor many yeres after, as it maye hereafter appere. But I will take the yeres of the reignes of their kings as they write them, which were from this time vnto the comming of Cesar. CC.lx. yeres, for the which cause I haue here for the better agreement of the Historie and computation of the yeres, begonne to write of them.

3660 / 303

GOrbomannus the first sonne of Mozindus was made king of Briteyn, he was a iust and a righteous man both to his Goddes and to his people, that is to saye, he yeelded and gaue to eyther part that was theirs, he gaue to his Goddes due reuerence and sacrifice, and ministred to his people iustice and equitie. And he renewed and repayred all the olde Temples through his Realme, and builded some new, and as the English Chronicle sayth, he builded the Towne of Cambridge and Grantham. And in the time of his reigne the land was much more welthier than it was in the dayes of his predecessors. But finally to the great sorrow of all his people, he was taken with a grieuous sickenesse, and thereof dyed without issue of his body, when he had reigned after most writers. xj. yeres.

Cambridge builded. 309. yeres before Christ.

Gorbomannus dead.

3671 / 292

ARchigallo or Artogallo, the second sonne of Mozindus, and brother vnto Gozbomannus reigned king of Briteyn. This man folowed nothing the steppes of his brother, but gaue himselfe to all quareling and strife, and imagined causes against his nobles, to pull from them their goodes and dignities, and in their places to set vp vnnoble, and men of rude birth and maner. And so from the riche, by synister meanes he plucked their riches and goodes: by which inordinate meanes, he enriched himselfe and impouerished his subiectes. For which condicions his Lordes and subiectes murmured against him, and at the last by one assent tooke him and depriued him of all honor and kingly dignitie, when he had reigned. v. yeres. And they aduaunced into the kingdome his brother Elidurus.

Archigallo deposed.

3676 / 287

ELidurus the third sonne of Mozindus and brother to Archigallo, was by the assent of the Britons made king. This man became so mylde and gentle to the Britons, that they gaue to him a surname, and called him Elidure the meeke. And among other deedes of meekenesse, this that

that foloweth is not the least to be noted. It happened him on a day to be on hunting in a Wood nere vnto Yorke called Calater; and there he founde hys elder brother Archigallo late king, wandering in the thickest of the Wood, whom louingly & charitably he in secret maner conueyed home to his mansio house, into the Citie then named Alduid or Aclint. And (as Gaufride sayth) to the intent to bring his brother to his former dignitie, as after followeth: For when Elidurus returned home, he feyned him selfe sicke, and in all the haste sent his messengers about his realme to gather an assembly of the Barons of his land together. And when the day of assembly was come, and his Lordes according to his commaundement were present, he called them one by one, as they were of honour into his priuie Chamber, and there by his wyse and discrete wordes he gat graunt of his sayde Lords to ayde and strength him to bring his brother Archigallo to his former dignity and Regality. After which graunt by the Lordes made, he assembled a counsayle at Yorke, and there so persuaded the commons that they were content to receiue Archigallo againe to be their king. And then Elidurus when he had reigned. v. yeres, resigned to his brother the Crowne, and all his kingly honor and dignitie.

Gaufrid.

Elidurus a wyse, and gentle Prince.

AND about this time Ptholomeus Philadelphus, king of Egypt reigned in Alexandria. This prince aboue al other was geuen vnto study & learning. He made a Librarij in Alexandria, which hee furnished with innumerable sortes of bookes of all Sciences. Among which as chiefe was the volume of Moses law. And the king heering that the deuine lawe was in Jerusalem, he being verie desirous to haue it translated, first discharged out of bondage all the Jewes that were in his subiection, who were in number aboue one hundreth thousand persons. And then he sent Demetrius and Aristeus to Eleazar the high Priest of the Jewes with great giftes to the Temple of God, desiring that the law might be sent vnto him, with learned men to translate it into Greke. And forthwith Eleazar sent. lxxij. interpretors, who commonly are called Septuaginta interpretes. These the king honorably receyued, & sent them to Demetrius Clerk of his Librarij in Alexandrie, who prouided a place for them, where they assembled daylie to translate the holye Scripture; and in lxxij. dayes, they finished it. Lanquet.

Ptholomeus Philadelphus.

Demetrius Aristeus.

The.lxxij. Interpretors.

¶ But the Author of Chronica Chronicarum sayth, that when the.lxxij. were come to the king, he caused euerie of them seuerally to be enclosed in seuerall places alone, and euerie of them by him selfe did seuerally translate the lawe, which in. lxxij. dayes they finished, and the sayde Author allegeth for him Saint Augustine, that when the translations were conferred together, they differed not, neither varied in worde nor sentence, the which translation was by the Jewes offered vnto the king, and the king calling vnto him the interpreters, did first geue them thanks, and after licenced them to depart to their Countrie, and gaue vnto euery of them in reward three sutes of Apparell, and two Talents of Golde, and one Cup of one Talent of Golde, and sufficient furniture for all their iourney and expences.

AND in this tyme also Ferithias, brother to Fergus, was chosen King of Scottes during the nonage of his brothers children, who by Feriegus his Nephew, for the desire to reigne, was slaine, when he had reigned, xv. yeres, and Feriegus for that act fled Scotland.

3678 / 288

Archigallo king of Briteyn amended his life.

WHen Archigallo was againe restored to his kingdome as aforesayde, he remembred well the euill life that before tyme he had led, and the punishment that he had suffred for the same, wherfore in the eschewing of like daunger, he chaunged all his olde condicions and became a good and a righteous man, ministring to the people equitie and iustice, and bare himselfe so nobly and honorably towardes his Lordes and the rulers vnder him, that he was beloued and drad of all his subiectes, and so continued during the terme of his naturall lyfe, and finally he dyed, when he had reigned now lastly.x.yeres, and was buried at Yorke.

3691 / 272

ELidurus before named, was now againe by one assent of the Britons made king: But his two yonger brethren, Vigenius and Peredurus bearing indignation at him, for that he was for his vertue and good gouernaunce so well fauoured and beloued of the Britons, conspired against him of malice, and gathering an armie of Souldiours, gaue him battayle: and in the fielde tooke him, and then sent him to the Tower of Troynouant, which now is called the Tower of London, and there kept him as prisoner, when he had reigned now lastly two yeres.

Eldurus a vertuous Prince, committed to the tower of London.

3693 / 270

VIgenius and Peredurus the yongest sonnes of Morindus and brethren of Eldurus beforesayd, reigned joyntly as kings of Briteyn. These brethren parted the land betweene them: So that all the lande from the water of Humber westwarde fell to Vigenius: and the other parte of the land with Albania or Scotland also, fell vnto Peredurus. But as sayeth Guydo, Vigenius was not king, but alonely Peredurus, who as he sayeth, kept his brother Eldurus in Prison, by his awne assent, because Eldurus was not wylling to be king, as the sayde Guydo sayth. Peredurus was cruell and tyrannous to the Briteyns, and slue and intreated the Lordes in most cruell maner, so that in the ende he became so odious vnto them, that they rebelled against him and slue him. But Gaufride sayth, and it appereth to be tru, ethat Vigenius dyed when he had reigned.vij.yeres: After whose death Peredurus seazed all the land into his awne rule, and ruled it with great sobernesse, in such wise that he excelled all his other brethren, so that Eldurus was cleane forgotten of the Britons: But at the last Peridurus was visited with sickneſſe, and thereof dyed, when he had reigned with his brother and alone.ix. yeres, leauing behinde him no childe.

Britayn parted betweene two brethren

Peredurus slaine.

3693 / 270

MAynus yongest sonne of Fergus, after the death of his Uncle, was king of Scottes, and in his time he deuised many superstitious Ceremonies to be vsed in his Pagan law, and when he had reigned.xxix.yeres, he dyed.

3702 / 261

ELidurus before named, as sone as Peredurus was dead, forasmuch as he was nert heyre to the Crowne, was taken out of Prison and made the thirde tyme king of Briteyn: who as before tyme he had vsed himselfe, so he continued still in ministring to all persons, right, and iustice, all the dayes of his lyfe. And lastly, beyng of a good age, he dyed when he had now reigned. iiij.yeres, leauing after him a sonne named Gorbonianus, or Gorbomannus, and the sayd Eldurus was buried at Carlisle.

Gorbomannus

3705 / 258

GOrbomannus, or Gorbonianus the sonne of Eldure, was king of Briteyn, after whome succeded Morgan, and after Morgan Emerianus, brother to the sayd Morgan, the which Emerianus was deprined for his cruelnesse.

PEridure being king gouerned the land well and worthely, and reigned. iiij. yeres, and is buried at Pekering.

VIGEM when he had reigned. iiij. yere, dyed.

Percifull.

REgin put away all maner of cruelnesse, and was gracious, and full of pity among the people, and reigned two yeres.

Percifull.

MOrgan was a cruell king, and reigned. ix. yeres, but Lanquet sayth, he was a mercifull king and reigned. xiij. yeres.

Cruell.

EMerianus, or Ennian, brother to Morgan, reigned as a Tyraunt ouer Briteyn, for the space of. vij. yeres, and then he was deposed.

Percifull.

IDwall, beyng king of Briteyn, was a good Man, and commendable in all his actes, he reigned. xx. yere.

Percifull.

RIMO A vertuous man, and he reigned. xx. yere.

Percifull.

GEroncyus sonne of Eldure was king and liued verteously, and had two sonnes, Cathell, and Coyll, and reigned. xx. yeres.

CATELLVS or Cathell, the sonne of Geroncius reigned. x. yeres.

COILL was brother to Cathell, and reigned. xx. yere.

PORREX the sonne of Coill reigned in Briteyn. v. yeres.

A dronkard

CHerimus, or Cheryn was a great Dronkarde, and he had three sonnes, Fulgenius, Eldadus, and Androgius, and he reigned but one yere.

EVLGEN sonne to Chirinus, reigned two yeres.

A Monster.

ELdadus sonne to Cherin, reigned one yere. And in this time, as sayth Lanquet, there was a Childe borne in Rome with foure feete, foure handes, foure eyes, as many eares, and hauing both natures.

ANDROGIVS reigned after Eldadus king of Briteyn one yere.

Lecherous.

VRian the sonne of Androgius, succeded his father in the Realme of Briteyn, and reigned. iij. yeres, and was a lecherous man, and gaue himselfe wholy to the filthie lustes of the flesh.

ELud Cosin to Urian, was made king by election of the people, and reigned. v. yeres.

ELEDANCVS was sonne to Urian, who liued delicately & reigned but one yere.

CLOTHEVS was king, and reigned two yere.

GVRGVNCIVS reigned.viij.yeres.

MORIAN was a Man of great beutie, he reigned two yeres.

BLEDVD, or Bladunus, reigned after Morian two yere.

CAPENVS, some to Morian, reigned three yeres.

OVINVS ruled Briteyn two yeres.

SILIVS, reigned in Briteyn two yere.

Musicke. BLedgabredus succeded in the gouernement of this realme, and he was the most excellent man in musick that was in those daies, & he reigned.xx.yere.

ARCHIMALVS was king after his brother Bledgabred, & he reigned.ij.yere.

ELDOLVS reigned king of Briteyn. iiij.yere.

RODIAN reigned king of Briteyn two yere.

" REDARGIVS reigned king of Briteyn three yere.

SAMVLIVS reigned king of Briteyn two yeres, & was a very good Man.

PENISELLVS reigned king of Briteyn two yeres.

PYrrus reigned king of Briteyn two yeres, and the heare of his heade was as bright as the shining Golde.

CAPORVS the sonne of Pyrre reigned two yeres.

DIuellus reigned ouer Briteyne. iiij. yeres, he was a verye wyse and vertcous Prince.

Hely. HEly the sonne of Diuellus reigned ouer Briteyn, not full one yere, and he had three sonnes, Lud, Cassibelan, and Stemmius, or rather Nennius, they were wise men, and valiaunt in warres. And of this man the Isle of Elye tooke (as some writers affirme) the first name: notwithstanding, Layland supposeth it to be so called, of Eelys, which are there ingendred in great store, and therefore calleth it in latine Insula Anguillaria.

Ludgate. LVd the eldest sonne of Hely, was after his father King of Briteyn. This Man was honorable in all his deedes, and he builded new temples and repayred the olde. He also repayred olde Cities and townes, and specially the Citie of Troynouant, where he caused many buildings to be made, and also made about the sayde Citie a strong wall. And in the west part of the sayde wall, he erected and made a strong and fayre Gate, and commaunded the same to be called by his owne name Ludds gate, which at this day is called Ludgate. And for that he loued this City, he vsed much and often to lye therin, by reason wherof it was called Caerlud, or Luds towne, & after by corruption of speech, it was after called, & is so named at this day London.

¶ Bale wryteth how there fell great dissention betweene Lud and his brother

ther Nennius aforesayd, about the chaunging of the name of Troynouaunt into Luddes towne, or London, because it might be the occasion that the memorie of Troy and the worthie deedes there done, should thereby be buried in oblition, and be forgotten.

¶ This Lud also (as sayth Gaufrid) was strong and mightie in armes in subduing his enimies. He was also bounteous and liberall and kept a great houshold, by meane wherof he obteyned the great loue and fauour of all the Britons. And when he had reigned in honour. xj. yeres, he dyed, and was buried in his gate called Ludgate, and left after him two sonnes, as Guydo sayth, the one named Androgeus, and the other Temancius, or Tenancius. Lud buried in Ludgate

CAssibelan or as some wryte Cossiuelan, after the death of his brother Lud, was made king of Briteyn, for so much as the two sonnes before named, were to yong and insufficient to take in hande so great a charge. But as sayth the Flowre of Histories, this Cassibelan was not made king of Briteyn, but rather ruler or protector of the lande, for the time of the nonage of the aforesayde brethren: albeit Gaufrid sayth, that after Cassibelan was set in authoritie, he became so noble and liberall that his name sprang farre, and by his exercise of iustice, the Britons ought to him more fauour then to eyther of his Nephewes: Howbeit, he cherished them and brought them vp according to their birth. And when they came vnto yeres of discretion, he gaue to Androgeus, the Citie of London, with the Dukedome or Ereldome of Kent, and to Temancius the Dukedome of Cornewall. 3905 / 58 Flowres of Histories.

¶ In this tyme Caius Iulius Cæsar, who most commonly is called Iulius Cæsar, being sent by the Senate of Rome, as felow and Consull with Lucius Bubulus into the countrie of Gallia, for to subdue the Galles to the Empire of Rome. The which Iulius being vpon the Sea side, as sayth Gaufrid, after he had ouercome the sayde Galles; and beholding the white Clifes or Rockes of Briteyn: enquired of the Countrie; and what people dwelled therein. And when he was sufficiently informed of all the commodities thereof, he had great will to bring the sayde Countrie vnder the obeysance of the Romaynes, as other Countreyes for the most parte then were. But as Bergamo writeth, the time that Iulius made warre vpon the Galles, he knew that they receyued great ayde out of Briteyn, and therefore was he the willinger to conquer it, because they should not be any more ayded by the Britons. And so hauing diligently enquired of the state thereof, he wrote to Cassibelan, willing him as he tendered his owne safetie and the quietnesse of his realme and people, that he would become tributarie vnto the Empire of Rome, like as many other Nations were. Iulius Cæsar.

¶ But Cassibelan hauing great indignation to become subiect, wrote vnto him sharpe and short aunswares, shewing that he and euerie noble man was bounde specially to keepe his Countrie and people from seruitude and bondage, the which to obserue he would doe his vttermost endeuour: with the which aunswere Iulius Cæsar being nothing contented, in all haste made readie his Nauie and people, and sayled towarde Briteyn. And when the Romaines were come nere the land of Briteyn, and should haue landed: the Britons pight sharpe stakes and long vpon the bancks, which caused them to winne the lande with great daunger. And not long after their landing, Cassibelan

belan with a strong hoste of Britons encountered the Romaines, geuing to them a fierce battaile, in so much, that they were faine to flie to their Ships for suretie, and after with sodaine tempest his Nauie being almost destroyed, he returned againe into France there to Winter. Notwithstanding (as Gaufrid and other sayth) after he had renewed his armie, and also rygged and encreased his Nauie, he came againe the second time: But as before time, so he was now againe by the Manhood of the king and of his Britons manfully and knightly withstanded and chased away, and compelled to flee with great dishonour. In the which battaile, the valiaunt courage of the hardy and noble knight Nennius brother vnto king Cassibelan is worthy of perpetuall memorie, who manfully fighting for the defence of his Countrie and the libertie thereof, besides other noble deedes of armes then by him atchieued, ranne vnto Cæsar and plucked his swoorde out of his hande, and therewith slue Labienus Tribune or chiefe Captaine of the Romaine Nobilitie: And receyuing againe as Gaufride writeth his deathes wound by the same Cæsar, dyed thereof verie shortly after, and was buried at the Northgate of Troynouaunt, and the sayde swoorde put in the Coffyn with him by his commaundement.

Iulius Cesar and his Romaines had the repulse.

Iulius Cesar had a second repulse.

Gaufrid.

¶ John Lydgate in his booke named the Serpent of Diuision writeth that Iulius Cæsar buylded in this land diuers Castelles and Cities for a perpetuall memorie of his name, that is to say, a Castell not farre from Douer, the Castelles of Cauntorburie and Rochester, and the auncientst parte of the Tower of London. The Castell and Towne of Cesars Bury, which now is called Sarisburie or Salsburie: he also edefied Cesars Chester or Chichester and the Castell of Excester.

John Lydgate.

¶ For which victorie thus twise obteyned, Cassibelan entending to geue thanks vnto his Goddes, and to rewarde his Knights, in goodly haste caused an assembly to be made of all his Lordes and Knightes at the Citie of Caerlud, or London, where after due obseruaunces done to their Goddes, after the vse of their Pagan lawes, a great and solempne feast was holden by the king to all that would come with most liberalitie and plenty, in all that was necessarie to such a feast. And the more to encrease the kings honor, and to the comforte and delectation of his Lordes and other being there present, there was all maner kinde of games and pastimes, that at those dayes were exercised and vsed. During the tyme of which feast, two noble and yonge Knights among other happed to assay eyther other in wrastling, whereof the one was Nephew to king Cassibelan named Hirelda, & that other was named Euelinus, who was allyed vnto Androgeus, Erle or Duke of London. By meane of this wrestling, deuision, or busitting words fell betwene them, and after wordes ensued strokes, by meane whereof partes were taken on eyther side, which ranne together in great yre and malice, so that on eyther parte, many and diuers were hurt and wounded. Among whome Hirelda Nephew to the king was slaine, which caused great disturbance in the Court among the Lordes.

A Feast made for victorie.

Games.

Wrestling.

Hirelda.

Euelinus.

Hirelda slaine.

¶ Now when that knowledge of the death of Hirelda was brought vnto the King: he was therewith greatly moued, and entending due iustice to be had and ministred by the aduise of his Barons caused the aforenamed Cosyn of Androgeus, who was named Euelinus to be sommoned for to appere before

Euelinus sommoned to appere for the death of Hirelda.

fore him and his Counsayle, and there to acquite him of such crime as to him should be layed, for the death of Hirelda before slaine. But Euelinus by the counsayle of Androgeus his Cosyn, withstoode that commaundement, and shortly after, the sayd Androgeus and Euelyne departed the Court, without taking leaue of the king.

¶ The king disdeyning this demeanour of Androgeus, after diuers monicions to him giuen, gathered his knightes together and made warre vpon Androgeus. Wherfore, after many wayes and meanes sought, at the last he sawe that he was not of power to withstande the kinges great indignation, sent his Letters vnto Caius Iulius Cæsar, then being in the Countrie of Gallia, shewing him the circumstance of the matter, and excusing himselfe of all guilt, prayed him in most humble wise, that he would shortly retourne with his armie into Briteyn, and he with his whole power should be readie to ayde and helpe him against the Britons.

Androgeus sent Letters to Caius Iulius Cæsar to procure him to warre against Cassibelan king of the Britons.

¶ Of this message Iulius was verie glad, and in all haste made toward Briteyn with a great power. To whome the winde was so fauourable, that in shorte time after this message, he drewe nere the lande: But (as Gaufrid sayth) before he would land, to auoyde all treason that might be wrought by Androgeus and the Britons against him, he receyued from him in Hostage his sonne named Scena, with .xxx. other of the most Noble of his Lordship, and that done he landed with the helpe of Androgeus, whereof when Cassibelan had warning, he forthwith made towarde the Romaines, and in a Valey nere vnto Dorobernia, now named Cauntorbury, there he founde the hoste of the sayde Iulius lodged, and with him Androgeus with all his power. After which knowledge had, they fiercely with their habiliments of warre vered and grieued eche other, till at length both hostes met hande to hande, and fought cruelly, in such wise, that many fell to the ground and were slaine on both parties. But when the Britons (as sayth Gaufrid) had long fought ten and knightly defended the Romaines: Androgeus Erle of Kent, came with his people in a wing vpon them, and so sharply assayled them, that they were constreyned to forsake the fielde, and place, that they before had kept: The which slight so discomfited the other, that finally all fled and gaue place to the Romaines, who pursued and slue them without all mercie. So that Cassibelan with his Britons that were left, were faine to get them to a place of suretie, there to rest and encampe themselues that they might newly prouide to withstand their enimies.

Iulius Cesar fulpected Androgeus.

A battell beside Cantorbury.

Gaufride.

Iulius Cesars victory.

¶ But to conclude, all writers agree, that Iulius helde the king so short, that for an vnitie and concorde, hee was faine after many losses to geue pledges and to become tributarie to the Romaines, and to paye yerely as Gaufride sayth, in the name of a tribute, three thousande pounde in Golde. Now when Cæsar had accomplished his will and pleasure, in all thing that to him was thought necessary: He with Androgeus departed the lande with a great number of Hostages and Prisoners, and so syed him towarde Rome, where soone after he was againe by the will of the most of the Senatours made Emperour. But finally, beyng Emperour, he was at the last slaine in the Senate house, by the Senators with Bodkins, as Rastell sayeth. And this tribute was thus graunted, when Cassibelan had reigned as king of Briteyn full .viii. yeres and more. And by the agreement of most writers xviij. yeres;

Iulius Cesar made this Realme tributarie to Rome, in the 50. yere before the comming of Christ.

xlviij. yeres before the incarnation of Jesu Christ, or as some write fifty. And as Lanquet sayeth, this conquest of Britayn made by the Romaines, was M.M.CC.lv. yeres after the vniuersall flood: and M.lvij. after the arriuall of Brute: and. vij.C.ij. after the building of Rome, in the second yere of the.C.lxxxij. Olimpiade, and the. M.C.xvj. yere before the conquest of Englande made by Wylliam Duke of Normandy, and. M. vj.C.xvj. yeres, before this present yere of our Lorde. M. D. lvj.

Lanquet.

¶ Now after this conquest, Cassibelan reigned as Tributary. ix. yeres, and as sayeth Lanquet, he reigned in all, before the Tribute and after the Tribute. xix. yeres, but other write. xvj. yeres, and some other as Caxton, xvij. yeres, and then dyed, and is buried at Yorke.

3909 / 54 Edeir, after the death of Ewyn, tooke vpon him the gouernance of Scotland, and ruled it. xxxviij. yeres. In the time of his reigne, as appereth before, Britayn was subdued to the Romaines, and Scotland also troubled with sundry seditions.

3921 / 42 Theomancius, or rather Tenantius, the sonne of Lud, and Nephew to Cassibelan, succeded in the realme of Britayn. This Man in the Englishe Chronicle is not named king, but his brother Androgeus. But Gaufrid sayth, that for as much as Androgeus feared the hatred of the Britaynes, for his treason wrought against the king and the lande: he therefore coueted to abide with Iulius Cæsar at Rome, rather then to be king ouer such as he thought would neuer loue, nor fauour him.

A trayterous person is fearefull.

¶ The foresayd Tenancius was a noble warryer, and ruled this land of Britayn with great diligence and iustice, and defended it well and knightly against all Alyens and straungers, and paide his tribute to the Romaines, which Cassibelan had graunted, and lastly dyed when he had reigned. xxiij. yeres, and was buried at London.

3944 / 19 Cimbelinus or Kymbelinus, the sonne of Tenancius, as sayeth Guydo, succeded next after him, who was brought vp at Rome among the Romaynes, and there made knight, and was of the Emperour Augustus Cesar so fauoured and beloued, that he was at libertie, whether he would pay the tribute or not. Of him is little written, sauing that all wryters agree, that in the time of his reigne, our Sauioure Christ Jesus was incarnate of the blessed Virgin Marie. And when this Cimbalyn had reigned. xxxb. yeres ouer the Britons, he dyed and was buried in London, leauing after him two sonnes, named Guiderius and Aruiragus.

¶ I haue before as is aboue saide declared that our Sauiour Christ was borne in this Kings tyme, which was in the. xix. yere of his reigne, and that was in the yere of the worlde after the accompt of the Bible and of the Hebrues, which accompt I folow. M.M.M.ix. C. lxiij.

3946 / 17 Ewyn, the thirde sonne of Edeir succeded hys Father in the Realme of Scotland and reigned. vij. yeres. A Prince geuen all to vice and lechery, for being not content, as they write with an hundred Concubynes, with whome he might fulfill his lust, he made a law, that it should be lawfull for his Subiects to haue as many wyues as they were able to keepe, and that the wyues of his Commons should be common to the Nobles: and that the Lorde

Lord should haue the Maydenhead of all Virgins dwelling in his Lordship: the which lawe continued vntill the tyme of Malcolme Cammore, & from thence vnto this tyme, they pay to the Lord of the soyle a redemption of their Maydenhead. And when he had thus continued. vij. yeres, in exercising of his tiranny and filthy lust, he fell into the hatred of his Lordes, and was by them deposed and slaine in prison.

3953 / 10 Metellane, Nephew to Edeir, was chosen king of Scottes, a verteous, and quiet Prince, who peaceably reigned. xxxix. yere.

¶ And here I thinke meete to note to the reader, that the order that I haue kept in this my story hetherto, hath bene chiefly to expresse and set forth vnto you the pedigree and discent from Adam to Christ, in the line of the righteous, wherein is to be learned that all those that heard the voyce of the Lord, and obserued his lawes, prospered and were blessed of the Lord, and brought to high honour and aduaunceinent: And such againe as hearkened not to the worde of the Lord, were deliuered as prayes and spoyles to their enemies. And although sometyme, I haue vpon sundrie occasions made some notes of the lyne of cursed Cain and others, yet I haue chiefly obserued the lyne of the iust, out of the which almightie GOD promised there shoulde issue of the Seede of the Woman, one that should breake the Serpentes head, which Seede was ment by our Sauiour Jesu Christ, who in this tyme was borne of the Virgin Mary. And here I will as it were drawe forwarde the lyne where I left before, at the kinges of Juda, (in the tyme that they were made captiue to Babilon, which kinges discended out of the loynes of Dauid) and will now for the perfighting of my purpose recite the ende thereof. The last king of Juda that I haue spoken of before, was Sedechias the sonne of Josias, who was captiue in Babilon, from whom issued Joachim, and successiuely, Jechonias, Salathiell, Zorobabell, Abiud, Eliachim, Azor, Sadoth, Achim, Eliud, Eleazar, Jacob, and Joseph, who maryed Mary the Virgine, of whom was borne our Sauiour Jesu Christ.

He that heareth the word of God, and doth it, shalbe happy in his deede.

The ende of the lyne and issue of Juda was Christ.

¶ And the Virgin Mary discended also out of the Loynes of Dauid, as first Nathan, the second sonne of Dauid, begat Mathata, and he begat Menna, from whome successiuely came Melcha, Heliachim, Jona, Joseph, Juda, Symeon, Leui, Mathat, Jorim, Eliezer, Jesu, Her, Helmadam, Cosan, Abdi, Melchi, Neri, Salathiell, Zorobabel, Reia, Johanna, Juda, Joseph, Semei, Mathathias, Joseph, Jamna, Melchi, Leui, Mathat, Joachim, and Marie the Virgine, who was borne. xv. yeres before Christ, and maried vnto Joseph. Flores historiarum. Polichronicon, and sundrie others.

And here for order and keping of a iust accompt, endeth the first Age of the worlde, or first part of my booke, and this first Age was from the Captiuitie of Babilon, vnto the Birth of our most blessed Redemer and Sauiour Jesu Christ, to whom be all honor, prayse, and glory, for euer and euer. Which age continued, 627. yeres.

¶ And

¶ And here also I thought it conuenient to make a recitall of the Ages of the Worlde.

1 The first Age is from Adam to the Flood of Noe. 1656. yeres.

2 The second, from Noe to the birth of Abraham. 363. yeres. and. x. dayes.

3 The third, frō Abrahā to the departing of the Childrē of Israel out of Egypt. 430. yeres.

4 The fourth, from their departure, to the building of the Temple. 480. yeres.

5 The fift, from the building of the Temple, to the Captiuitie. 419. yeres.

6 The sixt, from the Captiuitie, to the birth of Christ. 627. yeres.

And thus it may apere, that the number of yeres from the Creation of the Worlde, vnto the birth of Christ, were. 3963. yeres.

¶ And for the better satisfaction of those that knowe not the true summarie or accompt of the aforesayd Ages, I will shew by a perticuler accompt gathered out of the holy Scriptures, how the true knowledge of euery Age is collected, which may appere as foloweth

The first Age conteyneth. M. vj. C. lvj. yeres and is proued thus.

The first Age

Adam being. C. xxx. yeres olde, begat Seth. Seth beyng. C. v. yeres, begat Enos. Enos beyng xc. yeres, begat Cainan. Cainan beyng. lxx. yeres, begat Malalehell. Malalehell beyng. lxv. yeres, begat Jared. Jared at the age of. C. lx. yeres, begat Enoch. Enoch being. lxv. yeres begat Mathusalah. Mathusalah at the age of. C. lxxxvii. yeres, begat Lamech. Lamech beyng. C. lxxxii. yeres, begat Noe. Noe at the beginning of the Flod, was. vi. C yeres olde, as appereth in the fift of Genesis. So that the whole summe of yeres of this first Age, were as is afore sayde. M. vi. C. lvi. yeres.

The seconde Age conteyneth. iij. C. lxiij. yeres, and. x. dayes, and is Proued thus.

The second Age

The Flod continued a yere and x. dayes. Sem (which was Noyes sonne) begat Arpharat two yeres after the Flod. Arpharat beyng. xxxv. yeres olde, begat Salah. Salah being. xxx. yeres old, begat Heber. Heber at his age of. xxxiiii. begat Phalech. Phalech beyng. xxx. yeres, begat Regu. Regu beyng. xxxii. yeres, begat Saruch. Saruch at. xxx. yeres begat Nahor. Nahor beyng at the age of. xxix. yeres, begat Thare. Thare beyng. lxx. yeres, begat Abraham, and Abraham departed from Chaldee, when he was lxx. yeres olde. So that the whole summe of yeres of this second age, as is afore sayde, is. CCC lxiii. yeres, and. x. dayes.

The

The third Age conteyneth. iiij. C. xxx. yeres, and is collected in this maner.

The third age

Abraham was in Charan. v. yeres, and departed in the. lxv. yere of his age. And he begat Isaac, when he was an hundreth yere olde, and in the. xv. yere of his departing. Isaac begat Jacob when he was. xl. yere olde. Jacob went into Egypt with all his family when he was. C. xxx. yere olde. And Israell remayned in Egipt CC. x. yeres, at which tyme Moses departed with the Children of Israell out of Egypt. So that the whole summe of yeres of this third Age is as afore sayd, iiij. C. xxx. yeres.

The fourth Age conteyneth. iiij. C. lxxx. yeres, and is gathered in this maner.

The fourth Age

Moses remayned in the Desart or Wilderneße. xl. yeres. Josue, and Othoniell, reigned. xl. yeres. Aioth. lxx. yeres. Debora. xl. yeres. Gedeon. xl. yeres. Abimelech iii. yeres. Thela, xxiii. yeres. Jair. xxij. yeres. Then were they without a Capitaine xviii. yere vnto the cōming of Jephthe. Jephthe. vi. yeres. Abißam. vii. yeres. Elom x. yeres. Abaton. viii. yeres. Sampson xx. yeres. Hely high prieſt. xl. yeres. Samuell, and Saul. xl. yeres. Dauid. xl. yeres. Salomon in the. iiij. yere of his reigne, began the building of the Temple. So that the whole somme of yeres of this fourth Age as afore sayd, is. iiii. C. lxx. yeres.

The fift Age conteyneth. iiij. C. ix. yeres, and. vj. Monethes, and is collected in this wiſe.

The fift Age

Salomon reigned after he began the building of the Temple, xxxvi. yeres. Roboam xvii. yeres. Abia. iii. yeres. Asa. xli. yeres. Josaphat. xxv. yeres. Joram. viii. yeres. Ochosias one yere. Athalia the Quéne. vii. yeres. Joas. xl. yeres. Amasias. xxix. yere Ozias. lii. yeres. Joathan. xi. yeres. Acas. xvi. yeres. Ezechias. xxix. yeres. Manasses lv. yeres. Amon. ii. yeres. Josias. xxxi. yeres. Joachas. iii. Monethes. Eliachim. xi. yeres. Joachim. iii. monethes: And then began the Captiuitie of Babilon, and not after the. xi. yere of Zedechiah (when both the Temple and the Citie were destroyed and burned) as some suppose. So that the whole somme of yeres of this fift age, are as afore sayd, iiii. C. ix. yeres, and. vi. monethes.

The sixt age is from the captiuitie of Babilon, vnto the comming of Christ, and conteyneth fixe C. xxv. yeres, and is proued thus.

The sixt Age

The captiuitie continued. lxx. yeres. The children of Israell were deliuered and restored to their frēdome in the first yere of Kinge Cyrus. The Temple was begonne to be reedified in the. xi. yere of the sayde Cyrus, and finished in

the. vi. yere of the reigne of Darius. After that Darius had reigned. xx. yeres, Nehemias was reckoned to libertie, and went to builde the Citie, which was finished in
Daniell. ix. the. xxvii. yere of the sayde Darius. Also it is mencioned in the. ix of Daniell that Jerusalem should be builded vp againe, and from the tyme of that building vnto the comming of Christ, should be. lxix. weekes, and euerie weeke is by that text reckoned for. vii. yeres. So lxix. weekes amount to. CCCC. lxxxiii. yeres. For from the xxvii. yere of Darius vnto the xlii. yere of Augustus, in the which yere our Sauiour Christ was borne, are full and complet so many yeres. Therupon we reckon that from Adam vnto Christ are 3963. yeres, vi. monthes and x. dayes. And from the Birth of Christ, vnto this present time is 1567 yeres. And the whole summe and number of yeres from the beginning of the worlde vnto this present yere are 5530. yere, vi. Monthes and x. dayes.

AND here is to be noted that the Ages of the worlde are not called Ages in respect of the number of yeres that they conteyned (as some doe imagine that euery age conteyned certaine thousands of yeres) but for certaine great and maruellous things that happened or were done in the beginning of euery of them.

1 In the beginning of the first Age, God made Heauen and Earth and all the Creatures that are therein, and also made Man vnto his owne Image and similitude.

2 In the beginning of the second, God sent the vniuersall Flood, and drowned all the creatures in the worlde, eyght persons onely except.

3 In the beginning of the thirde, God made his couenaunt with Abraham in Circumcision.

4 In the beginning of the fourth, God brought the children of Israell out of Egypt, thorow the red Sea, and deliuered his holy law vnto Moses out of the Mount Sinai.

5 In the beginning of the fift, was the Temple of Jerusalem builded.

6 In the beginning of the sixt. The Temple was destroyed, and all the Iewes brought captiue into Babilon.

7 In the beginning of the. vii. our Sauiour Iesu Christ was borne of a Virgin, and toke vpon him our nature, who suffered moste cruell death and passion for the sinnes of the whole worlde.

¶ Thus haue I set forth vnto you the Ages of the worlde, and why they are so called, and also the true computation of them as is expressed in the holy Scripture, which computation I obserue throughout this my Chronicle, because the same agreeing with the Scriptures must of force be most true.

WHen Cæsar Augustus, or otherwise called Octauian the Emperour had stablished most sure peace throughout the world, our Redeemer and Sauiour Iesu Christ, very God and man, and the onely pacifier of Gods wrath, and the true peace maker was borne in the. xl. yere of the reigne of Augustus, after the vniuersall Flood 2305. yeres, and from the birth of Abraham 2012. yeres. And after the departure of Israell out of Egypt 1509. yeres. And from the arriuall of Brute in Englande 1107. yres. After the building of the Temple of Salomon 1029. yeres. From the building of Rome 752. yeres. After the captiuitie of Babilon 614. yeres, and in the last yere of the 194. Olimpiade. And here is to be noted that the first yere of our Lord hath but. vii. daies after some computation, for he was borne the. xxv. day of December, and the first day of Januarie folowing began the second yere. Lanquet.

And nowe foloweth the seuenth Age of the Worlde, and the seuenth part of this booke, which Age beginneth at the birth of Christ, and shall continue to the ende of the Worlde.

The seuenth Age, and seuenth part of this Chronicle.



The seuenth Age



Iesus of Nazareth king of Iewes and onely head of the Christians, with the Father and the holye Ghost, one Eternall God, and almightie Lorde of all things, begotten by his Father God in euerlastingnesse, and in the fulnesse of time, taking flesh of the pure Virgin Marie, by the worke of the holy Ghost, and being verie God and man, according to the holy Oracles of the Prophets, to redeeme with his most precious blood the streyed Sheepe, and lost grote, was borne in Bethlem a City of Iuda: where incontinent by the glorification of the Angels, the agnition of the Shepeherds, the veneration of the wise men, the prophecy of holy Simeon, and the admiration of the Doctours, he was had in honour. And then from the. xii. yere of his lyfe, in age, wisedome and fauour both with God and man he encreased: He was in the. xv. yere of the reigne of Tiberius baptised in Iordane by John Baptist, to the example of his, & so executed all things, subduing his flesh with fasting, the Deuill with prayer, and the world with humilitie. At which time the weekes of Danyell being fulfilled, he taught euery where most constantly, euen to the Crosse, partly with his mightie worde, and partly with his effectuall workes, the kingdome of God, that is, the true knowledge of God the Father and his exceeding charitie towardes mankinde, with the sure confidence in him, the sonne of God: declaring also

the way of helth, and the mutuall loue, with the rewardes of the faithfull and punishments of the vnfaithfull. Then for the confirmation of his doctrine and faith, euen with a little beck he commaunded calmenesse to the Elements, helth to all diseases, life vnto the dead, obedience vnto the quick, detection vnto thoughts, abolicion vnto sinnes, and flight vnto the Deuill. For all this, after all the passions and labours of mans miserie, which he suffered (sinne onely excepted) whereby he witnessed himselfe to be a very man, and after the innumerable documents and beneficiall deedes (passing mans power) openly shewed vnto his vnkinde people the Iewes, by which he declared himselfe to be true God, as it was before written in the Prophets: he was by the elders of the Iewes and people (his Disciple Judas Iscarioth betraying him) taken, accused, endited, scorned, scourged, crowned with thornes, crucified betweene theeues, and euen then all things fulfilled, with the quaking of the earth, and darknesse of the Sonne, he dyed. After which being buried, he losed Hell, and the thirde day following, lyke a conquerour of sinne, death and Hell, he rose againe, from which tyme being .xl. dayes conuersaunt with his, in the .xxxiij. yere of his lyfe, with glorious triumph he ascended to the heauens vnto his father, from whence he came. Where being the onely Mediator, Intercessor and aduocate of his, sitting on the right hand of God his father, shall in the ende of the worlde be iudge ouer all the lyuing and the dead, rendring to euerie man according to his deseruing, to the faithfull certeyntie of lyfe, but to the vnfaithfull euerlasting death. Then good and euill segregated, with the whole worlde purged and pacified: our Lorde Jesu Christ the onely and verie almightie Emperour of the Worlde, as he hath from the beginning, so doth he now, and for euer shall reigne, to whom euerie knee of celestiall, terrestriall, and infernall creatures shall bowe, and euerie tongue shall confesse that Jesus Christ is the Lorde, to the glory of God the father. Lanquet.

¶ And from this place foreward vnto the end of this worke, the numbers that are aboue the lyne in the Margent are the yeres of Christ, and the numbers vnder the lyne, are the yeres of the reigne of euery seuerall king.

GUiderius the first sonne of Cunbalyne began his reigne ouer the Britons: This man was valiaunt, hardie, welthie, and trusted much in his awne strength, and for that he thought the Romaines had the aforenamed tribute with wrong, he therefore of a knightly courage denyed to them the payment thereof: wherefore Claudius the fift Emperour of Rome, came into Briteyn with a great armie of Romaines (as sayth Polichronica) and wanne againe the sayde tribute without great fight, and therof came a Prouerbe among the Romaines, that the Britaines were neyther strong in battaile, nor faythfull in peace. And that done, he also subdued the Isles of the Orchades, which stand beyond Scotland within the great Ocean, and after returned againe to Rome, in the firt Moneth that he came from thence.

Hamo.

Guiderius slaine.

¶ But Gaufrid sayth, that in the hoste of the Romaines, there was a Capitaine named Hamo, who entending the hurte of the Britons chaunged his Shilde and Armour, and put vpon him the Armour of a Briteyn, and by that meane being not suspect, he entered into the thickest of the Britons, and lastly came where king Guiderius fought, and shortly after slue the king. But Aruiragus

uiragus seing this sodeyne mischiefe, fearing that the Britons would haue geuen back, quickly caused himselfe to be armed with the cognisaunce and Armour of the king: And as king continued the fight with such manhood and courage, that the Romaines were at that time put to flight. And thus was Guiderius slaine of Hamo, when he had reigned ouer Briteyn .xxviij. yeres, leauing after him none heyre.

30

CAratak, king of Scottes, reigned .xxj. yeres, a Prince more valiaunt then fortunate, he gaue his whole minde and courage to defende his Realme and subiects from the seruage of the Romaines, with whome he kept long warre, and ayded the North Britons.

34
18

AND in this tyme Saint Paule the elect Vessell of God, being called by a vision, was made of an open aduersarie and cruell persecutor of the Church of Christ, the most faythful Apostle and true Doctor of the Gentiles: Among whome he taught the worde of God with so great fruit, and encreased so largely the christian faith, that he was after worthily and rightly named the chiefe of the Apostles.

S. Paule.

45
1

ARuiragus the yongest sonne of Kymbelyn, and brother to Guiderius before slaine, was ordeyned king of Britons in the yere of our Lorde xlv. This Man did well and knightly behaue himselfe against the Romaines, and slue the afore named Hamo, nere vnto a Hauen or Port of the Sea. And when he was slaine, he threw him gobbet meale into the same sea. And for this cause, that Hauen was long tyme after called Hamons Hauen, which at this day is called Southhamtō. Fabian. But here in a very old Pamphlet, which beareth no name, I finde that in the tyme of Hengist afore mencioned, and in the reigne of Vortiger, there was a Saxon named Varius Hani and he builded three townes, one in the South, and named it after his awne name South Hams towne, another North fro thence, which he named North Hams towne. Another West, and by North from thence, which he named (bicause he had there made a staple of Wolles) Wolner Hams towne.

Aruiragus.

Southhātō.

Northhātō.

Wolnerhamton.

¶ Then sayth Reynulph, that Claudius after dyuers happes of Battaile, tooke Aruiragus to his grace, and brought his base daughter Genissa by name from Rome, and maryed her vnto Aruiragus. And because he would make the place of the mariage more solempne, he therefore called the Towne of mariage Claudiocestria after his awne name, and after Glouernia, of a base sonne (as some say) of the sayd Claudius Cesar called Glozus, begotten and borne in the same Citie, which afterwarde was Duke of Demecia or Southwales, and at this day it is called Glocester. Hector Boecius the writer of the Scottish Chronicle sayth, that Aruiragus before this mariage was made, was deuorced from his former wife, named Voada, sister vnto Caretius king of Scottes, of a desire that he had to be alyed vnto the Romaines.

Glocestre.

Hector Boecius.

¶ Then it followeth, after the solemnitie of this mariage, which was with all honour finished, Claudius sent certeyne Legions of his Knightes into Ireland, to rule that Countrie, and returned himselfe to Rome.

¶ It was not long after the departing of Claudius, but that Aruiragus roade about his Realme, and with great diligence repayred Cities & townes before decayed and broken with the strength of the Romaines, and as it is of some mencioned, builded the Castle of Douer, and finally intreated his subiects

Douer Castle.

iects with such iustice and good order, that they loued and drad him more then any of his progenitors. And this in continuance of tyme made him very welthy, and thereof ensued pryde, so that he thought great shame to be vnder the rule or guyding of the Romaynes, wherefore, at the last he denyed the Tribute before graunted to Rome, whereof, when knowledge came vnto the Senate of Rome, in all hast a Duke was sent from Rome called Vespasian, with certeyne Legions of knightes and Souldiours to subdue Aruiragus.

A legion of knightes is vi. hū. dj. C. tuy.

¶ When Vespasianus was landed in Britayn (as sayth Reynulph) he sped him so, that in short tyme he subdued Aruiragus to the Empire, and caused him to graunt payment of the aforesayde tribute.

¶ But Gaufride here writeth howe Aruiragus heering that Vespasianus was about to lande at Sandwich, met him there with a puyssaunt armie of the Britons, and by mayne force kept him off, that he could not enter the Hauen and land: For so great was the multitude of the sayde Britons, that the sight of them made the Romaynes afeard, insomuch that they durst not lande for feare least the other would haue sodeinly set vpon them, before they could bring themselues in aray and order of battaile, wherefore they hoysed vp their sayles, and departed from thence againe, and went to Totnes in Deuonshire and there arryued, and beyng landed, their Capitaine and Generall Vespasianus marched incontinent towardes the towne, which then was called in the British tongue, Cair Penchuet goit, as ye would say, the Towne vnder the Wood, and at this daye is called Excestre, to the entent to besiege it. And when he had continued his siege by the space of seuen dayes, Aruiragus entending to rayse the same, sodeinly came with his armie and set vpon them, and manye went to wracke on both parties, but neither partie had the victorie of the other. On the morow both the Capitaynes were made agreed by the mediation and meanes of the Queene Genissa. Thus it apereth that the tribute was payed againe by her intreatie, and not by any violent constreynt or coaction.

¶ After Vespasian had thus recouered the tribute, he then also made subiect to the Empire an Isle lying in the Sea, which we nowe call the Isle of Wight, and after returned to Rome.

¶ When Aruiragus was thus the second tyme subdued, and brought vnder the yoke of the Romaines, he became more mylde towardes them, so that during his lyfe, from thencefoorth, he payde the tribute with lesse grudge, and kept himselfe in their fauours, in such wise that he was of them very wel beloued. And lastly he dyed, when he had reigned. xxx. yeres, and was buryed at Gloceste, leauing after him a sonne named Marius.

52

Corbreid king of Scottes.

After the decease of Caratake king of Scottes his yonger brother Corbreid obteyned the crowne, and reigned. xbiij. yeres. He was fierce and of a valiaunt courage, and beyng confederate with the Pictes, made often times warre against the Britons.

And for as much as at this time, Nero that notable Tyraunt Emperour reigned at Rome, vnder whome a great number of the true Preachers and Apostles of Christ, suffered most cruell persecution, Martirdome, and death, I thought it not much impertinent to the story to make some speciall mencion of him, and namely because this lande as is aforesayde, was in his tyme againe made tributarie to the Empire of Rome, the saide Nero reigning now as Emperour. But chiefely for that he was a wicked Tyraunt and a cruell

a cruell persecutour of the vniuersall Church of Christ.

56 11

At this time as is aforesayde, Nero the sonne of Domicius, being adopted to be Emperour by Claudius, which maried his mother, reigned. xiiij. yeres. This man, although he was brought vp by the reuerent, wise, and learned Seneca, yet by the inexitable corruption of his nature, he became horrible in all kinde of mischiefe, and so detestable in dissolute wantonnesse, prodigalitie, monstrous lecherpes, beastly crueltie, and couetousnesse, that he seemed to be borne to the destruction of the whole worlde. He was so greatly delighted in singing and playyng with the Harpe, in sworde playing, and drivyng of Cartes or Wagons, that he did not onely these exercises priuately, without all measure, but also wearing the garments of Minstrels, Sworde players, and other vile personages, wandered ouer all Italy and Grece, to seeke and haunt common games, where he might trie masteries, and shewe his cunning in those feates: and at his returne, triumphed in the Citie of Rome, and sent into all Countries letters of commaundement to make supplications and reioysing for his victories.

Nero the Tyraunt.

¶ In vncleane lust of his body, he so furiously raged, that he abstayned not from his naturall Mother, Sister, ne any degree of affinitie or kindred. He tooke vnlawfull mariage a Wyfe of excellent fauour, named Sporus, and bled him as his wife, he vicidully bent and gaue himselfe to filthy imbracings of his awne seruants, & in riotous spending of his treasure he exceeded, for he vsed to fishe with Nettes made of Golde, which should be drawne with Cordes of Purple silke: He neuer ware one garment twise: he caused to be put to death his mother, his brother in lawe, his two Wyues, and his instructor and Schoolemaster, the reuerend Seneca, hauing thereunto no iust cause, nor honest pretence: He commaunded the City of Rome to be set on fyre, and himself in the meane season with all semblant of ioy, sitting in an high Tower to beholde the same, played vpon the Harpe, and sang the destruction of Troy. This Nero was so wicked, that at the last he gaue himselfe openly to such naughtie and wanton lyuing, that in the night season he would haunte Brothell houses, and other suspitious places, and oftentimes breake vp mens houses, and eyther robbe and beate them, or else rauishe their Wyues. And after that he had committed most abhominable incest with his naturall mother, he commaunded her to be put to death. And then maried Poppea, a woman of notable incontinencie. And after all this he caused himselfe to be gelded and cut in the forme & shape of a woman, and so to be abused. And when the Senate had considered of the outragious life & wicked doinges of Nero, they charged him with the setting of Rome on fyre, and he to excuse himselfe charged the christians therewith, whereof folowed a most cruell persecution of the christians, and in this persecution Peter and Paule, the Apostles of Christ, with many other Martirs were put to cruell death. And by his beastly cruelnesse, there were also many noble and vertuous men put to most shamefull death, among the which were the aforenamed Seneca and Lucan, men of excellent learning. Finally, this wicked Tyraunt Nero was proclaymed by the Senate to be an enimie of the weale publique, and iudged to be drawne through the Citie, and to be whipped to death: wherfore he fearing to come into the handes of his enimies, fled into a Farme house of his seruants in the Countrie, where at last he was inforced to slea himselfe. Cooper.

A description of Neroes filthy & abhominable life.

Seneca put to death by Nero.

Poppea, the wife of Nero a shamelesse Harlot.

Lucan a famous Clerk, cruelly put to death by Nero.

At

AT this tyme the Scottes, because Cozbreid Galdus the eldest sonne of king Cozbreid was not of sufficient age, made Dardanius the nephew of Metellane their king, who for his seemely personage was greatly beloued of his people. In the beginning of his reigne, he vsed the counsayle of his Nobles, but after three yeres he left all iustice and honesty, and slipt into most vncleane vices and cruell tyranny, and lastly endeuoured himselfe to haue murdered Galdas with his brethren, and therefore the Scottes deposed him, and put him to death, when he had reigned. iiij. yeres.

Marius. MArius the sonne of Aruiragus, after his father was king of the Britons: Which Marius as Gaufrid sayth, was an excellent wise man, and gouerned this lande very honourably, and greatly prospered and encreased in welth and ryches.

¶ In the time of the reigne of this Marius, a Duke or king of a Nation called Pictes, which descended of the Scithians, named also of some Gothes, or Hunes, came into this Isle. The aforesayde Duke or leader of the Pictes, as Gaufride sayth, was named Londricus, and he landed with a great Nauy in the Prouince of Albania, now called Scotland, and there vnmercifully he began to spoyle the Country, with sworde and fire: Whereof when Marius was warned, he in all haste assembled his knightes and people, and made towardes them, and gaue them a strong battaile, in the which Londricus was slaine, and a great part of his people ouerthrowne. In the remembraunce of which victorie, King Marius caused a great stone to be erected, and commaunded therein to be grauen these woordes, Marii victoria, that is, the victory of Marius.

Londricus a Duke of the Pictes.

Londricus slaine.

¶ This battaile as the English Chronicle sayth, was foughten at a place which now is called Staines Moore. But whereseuer this stone is set, the Countrie thereabout was long after called VVestmaria, and is nowe called Westmerland.

Staines Moze.

¶ Now when the residue of the people of Londricus which were fled from the fielde, vnderstood that their hed & Capitaine was slaine: they made their humble request to the king, that he would accept them into his grace, and that he would geue them some land or country to dwell in. And at the last the king graunted them a place in the farre ende of Scotland, which Gaufride nameth Catheuesia, where the sayd Scottes, or Pictes first inhabited. And forsomuch as the Britons disdeined to geue vnto them their daughters in mariage, therfore they acquainted them with the Irish men, and maryed their daughters, and grew in processe of tyme vnto a great people. And for this allyaunce betweene the Irishmen and them, their Country (as sayth Reynulph, in the xxxvij. Chapter of his first booke) was called Irelande, and after Pictauia, and lastly Scotland. But I find in an olde written Chronicle, that when they tooke the Irish women to their Wyues, and vnderstoode not their language they were therefore called Sottes, and afterward Scottes, and their countrye which before was called Albania named Scotland, and this was the beginning of the Scottes, as it is there alleaged. Howbeit, Mathew of Westminster, Author of the booke, entituled the Flowres of Histories, sayth they were called Scottes, because they were a Nation that tooke their beginning of diuerse Nations: For Scot, sayth he, is a worde signifying an heape of diuerse

Marius king of Britayn graut Londricus people & farre ende of Scotland to inhabite in.

Reynulph.

Scottes were first called Sottes.

diuerse thinges gathered or mingled together, according to our common speeche, thou shalt pay scot and lot, that is to say, all such duties as shall bee charged vpon thee.

¶ And when Marius had thus subdued his enimies, he attended and set his minde to the common weale of his lande and subiects, and continued the residue of his lyfe in great rest and quietnesse, and in the ende payde his naturall debt or tribute, and was buried at Caerleyle, leauing after him a sonne named Coylus or Coyll, when he had reigned. liij. yeres.

Marius dead.

¶ In this time the Citie and Temple of Jerusalem was taken, conquered, spoyled, and destroyed by Titus, in such wise that scarcely any man couldе iudge where the place was that it once stood in: which chaunced in the. xj. C. and one yere, after the Temple was first builded by Salomon, and the same day of the Moneth that it was first destroyed by Nabuchodonosor king of Babilon. And in the time of the siege of the same, were slaine of the Iewes xj. C. thousand, ouer and beside them which Uespasian slue in the subduing of the Countrie of Galile. And. xvij. thousand Titus sent into Alexandria there to be kept in most vile and peynfull bondage. And two thousand he brought in his triumph to Rome, of the which, parte he gaue to be deuoured of wilde beastes, and parte were otherwise most cruelly slaine: at which time apered the most terrible example of the wrath & vengeance of God, for the contempt of his worde & veritie. For what hart is so stony or hard that will not tremble for feare, when it considereth that God tooke so sharpe punishment vpon his owne people, whom before he loued most entirely, & among all other nations of the worlde, chose them for his peculier flock and Vineyarde. And shortly after Vespasian the Emperour, and Titus his sonne, triumphed at Rome for their victorie and conquest in Judea. Cooper. But hereof ye may reade more in Iosephus, and there shall ye finde a most horrible and terrible Historie.

The destruction of Jerusalem and the Temple.

GAldus, after the death of Dardannus, was ordeyned king of Scottes. 79

¶ This was the most valiaunt Prince that euer reigned among them, and was endued with many excellent and Princely qualities. At the first entry he punished the wicked counsaylours of Dardannus, and after called a parliament of his Lordes, wherein many noble acts were deuised, and the naughtie lawe of king Ewyn (by the which the Wyues of the commons were free to the nobles) was repealed and forbone. Of him the Scottes made many goodly remembraunces in the honour of his noblenesse and great victories that he atchieued.

A wicked law.

¶ About this time Petulius Cerealis was sente of the Romaines, as Lieutenaunt to Briteyn, where he discomfited Galdus king of Scottes, vanquished the Pictes and the Silurians, subdued to the Romaynes the Countrie of Brigantes or Yorkeshire men, ouerthrewe and chased Uodicia the daughter of the valyaunt woman Uoada, and quieted the Kentishe men, and certaine other Britons which rebelled. After this Petulius, a Romaine named Iulius Frontinus was Lieutenaunt in Briteyn, who also warred against the Scottes and Pictes.

Petulius Cerealis a Romaine sent from Rome to gouerne Briteyn.

AND after the death of Galdus king of Scotland, succeded Lugtack, an 104

hatefull and wicked tyraunt, & was as much hated of the Scottes for his vice, as his father was beloued for his vertue. He slue many of the rich men onely to confiscate their goods, and committed the gouernance of the Realme to most

Lugtack, king of Scottes.

to most vniust and coueteous persons, and with their company he was most delighted. He defloured his awne Auntes, Sisters, and Daughters, and scorned his wise and graue Counsaylours, calling them olde doting fooles, wherefore in the thirde yere of his reigne he was slaine of his Nobles.

106 Mogallus king of Scottes.

MOgallus, being ordeyned king of the Scottes after Lugtack, at the beginning gaue himselfe to follow the wisedome and maners of his Uncle Galdus, and obteyned diuers great victories against Lucius Antonius the Romaine Capitaine: but in his age he became hatefull in all kinde of Uices, and chiefely in couetousnesse, lecherie & crueltie. He gaue lycence to theeues and robbers to take the goods of their neighbours without punishment. He first ordeyned the goodes of condempned persons to be confiscate to the kings vse, without respect of wyues, children or debtours, for which naughtynesse he was slaine of his Nobles.

126 / 1 Coilus king of Bziteyn.

COilus the sonne of Marius reigned King of Bziteyn after the death of his father. This man was from his infancy nourished and brought vp among the Romaynes, by reason whereof they were louing and kinde to him, and he to them. And for as much as he knewe the power of the Romaynes to be inuincible, he yelded and payde to them the tribute during his life. This Coilus also (as Gaufride sayth) was a liberall man, by reason whereof he obteyned great loue of his Nobles, and also of his commons. And as some write, he made the towne of Colchester, but other ascribe it to one Coill that was king next after Asclepiodatus. And after that this Coilus had reigned in soueraigne peace the terme of. liiij. yeres, he dyed, and was buryed at Yorke, and left behinde him a sonne named Lucius.

144 COnarus, which was the chiefe causer of his fathers death, was made king of Scottes, who dissimuled the vices whervnto he was naturally enclined: But assoone as he was established in his kingdome, he wasted all the rentes perteinyng to the Crowne, in his leude lustes, and gaue landes and riches to most vile and naughtie persons, because they fauoured his corrupt liuyng, he inuented new exactions vpon his people, and therfore was of his nobles cast in Prison, and his wicked counsaylours hanged. In his place Argadus guided the Realme about. xiiij. yeres.

165 Ethodius king of Scottes.

EThodius the first, nephew to Mogallus, was ordeyned king of Scottes, and reigned, xxxiij. yeres. This Man was greatly delyted with hunting, and made many lawes thereof: He rewarded Argadus for his administration of iustice: He quieted the Isles, and being ayded by the Pictes, he vanquished Victorine the Romaine Capitaine, and brake downe the wall of Mzian.

180 / 1 Lucy the first christian king.

LUcius, or Lucy, the sonne of Coilus, was made king of Bzytons, by the ayde and authozitie of Marcus Aurelius Antonius then Emperour of Rome, who fauoured him singulerly: He was a very good Man, and folowed his forefathers steps, in all that was good, and his gouernement was so graue and discrete that he obteyned the loue of all his people. This Lucius as sundzie Authozs doe write, did sende to Eleutherius then Bishop of Rome, two godly learned men named Eluanus and Meduinus with certaine Epistles and Letters, prayng him, that he and his Bzitons might be receyued to

ued to the fayth of Chzistes Church. Whereof Eleutherius being very glad, sent into Bziteyn two noble Clerkes, Faganus and Dunianus, or after some Fugacius and Damianus.

¶ And as the reuerend Maister Jewell, Bishop of Sarisbury, writeth in his Replye vnto Maister Hardings aunswere. Fol. 191. The sayd Eleutherius for generall order to be taken in the Realme and Churches here, wrote his aduice vnto Lucius the King in this maner folowing.

Eleutherius Bishop of Romes Letter.

Ye haue receyued in the Kingdome of Briteyn by Goddes mercy, both the lavve and fayth of Christ. Ye haue both the nevv Testament and the olde: Out of the same through Goddes grace by the aduice of your Realme take a lavv, and by the same through Goddes sufferaunce, rule you your Kingdome of Briteyn: For in that Kingdome you are Goddes Vicare.

¶ Now when these learned men were come, they were honourably receyued of Lucius, the which by their good doctrine & verteous example geuing, conuerted the king and a great part of the Bzitons. Now after that Lucy had thus receyued the fayth, he by the aduice of the aforesayd learned men, & with the instructions sent to him by the aforesayde Eleuthery, did institute and ordeyne, that all or the more part of the Archflamyns, which is to meane Archbishoppes, and Bishoppes of the Pagan law, which at that day were in nunber (as sayth Gaufride and other) three Archflamins, and. xxviij. Flamyns, shoulde be made Archbishoppes and Bishoppes of the Church of Chzist as foloweth.

Bzitaynes first receyued the fayth of Chzist, in the yeare of our Lozde. 188. and in. 1294. yeres, next after the arrinall of Bzute.

¶ The first Sea of the first Archflamyn, was at London. The seconde at Yozke, and the thirde at Glouceste. To these three Archbishoppes were subiect the aforesayd. xxviij. Flamyns or Bishoppes. To the Archbishops Sea of London, was subiect Cornewall, & all middle England vnto Humber. To the Archbishoppes Sea of Yozke, was subiect all Northumberlande, from the Bowe of Humber, with all Scotland. And to the third Archbishoppes Sea, which was Glouceste, there was subiect all Wales: In which Pzouince of Wales were. vij. Bishoppes, where as nowe is but foure. And at that day Seuerne departed Bziteyn and Wales. But after the Saxons had the rule of the land, they altered much of these ozders, and to be shozt, there are nowe but two Archbishoppes in Englande, that is Cantozbury and Yozke, wherof Cantozbury hath the pzemacie, and hath vnder him. xv. Bishoppes in Englande, that is to say, Rochester, London, Chichester, Winchester, Salesbury, Exceter, Bathe, Wozcester, Herefozd, Couentry and Lichefield, Chester, Lincolne, Oxfozd, Ely, and Nozwich. And in Wales he hath. iiij. Bishoppes, Landaffe, S. Dauids, Bangoz, and S. Asaph, commonly called S. Asse. And Yozke hath but two Bishoppes in Englande vnder him, which is Caerleyll, and Durhame.

London.

Yozke.

Glouceste.

Seuen Bishoppes in Wales.

¶ Besydes these good ozders taken, the sayd Lucius destroyed the temple of the false God Apollo, which then stood in a place called the Isle of Thozney nere London, and was so called for that it was a place all ouergrowne with Thozns, and he erected and made the sayde Temple a place dedicated to the honour of God, and named it Westminster, as it is called at this day, and endowed the same with such and so great pzuileges, that what person soeuer could escape to the sayd Church, for what trespasse so euer it were, the same should be safe body and goodes.

¶ Now

¶ Now after that Lucius had thus set this realme in good order, he died, when he had reigned. xiij. yeres, leauing behinde him none heyre, which was the occasion of great trouble to the Realme: For the Britons among themselues coulde not agree vpon a Gouernour, by reason whereof there was among them great discord, which continued the space of. xv. yeres, in the which time, the Empire and Senate of Rome apointed their Lieutenauntes to gouerne and reigne ouer this Realme.

196 Satrahell king of Scottes.

SAtrahell the brother of Ethodius (because his sonnes were not of sufficient age to gouerne the Realme) was ordeyned king of Scottes, he was of false and subtile wit, and geuen to such cruelty, that for feyned causes he slue all the frendes of Ethodius to the intent to defraude his heires of the crowne, wherfore he was murdered of his familiers when he had reigned. iiij. yeres.

199 Money first coyned in Scotland.

DOnald, an humble and gentle Prince was chosen king of Scottes, and reigned. xxj. yeres. He was the first king that coyned any money of Gold or Siluer in Scotland, for the Scots vsed before enterchaunging of wares for chaffer, and one thing for another, and had no money of their owne, but of the Britons and Romaines, and other externall Nations.

The Britõs receyued the faith of christ xx. yeres before Scotland.

¶ About the yere of our Lorde. CC. iij. this Donalde procured certeyne wise and learned men to instruct him, his Wyfe, Children, and Subiectes in the faith of Christ, which happened, 533. yeres after the beginning of the Realme of Scotland.

203 1 Seuerus.

SEuerus Emperour of Rome hering of the great discorde in Britayn, made hast from Rome, and came into this land to apease the vprores of the same. And at this time the Scottes and Pictes inuaded Britayn, and vexed the Britons very sore: wherfore Seuerus caused a Wall of Turues to be made, wherein were driuen great stakes, which Wall as sayeth Polichronica was in length. Cxxij. Miles, and it began at the Riuer of Tyne and stretched to the Scottishe See, or from the ende of the Lordship of Deira vnto the sayde Scottishe See, or after some Writers, from Durham to the See aforesayde.

A wall of Turues.

¶ And now Fulgenius the chiefe leader and Capitaine of the Pictes issued out from Albania or Scotland into the land of Britayn, & destroyed much of the Countrie beyonde Durham. Wherefore Seuerus with an hoste of Britons and of Romaines met with the sayde Fulgenius in a place nere vnto Yorke, where after sore fight, the sayde Seuerus was slaine, when he had ruled this land fiue yeres, and was buried at Yorke, leauing behinde him two sonnes the one named Geta and the other Bassianus, betweene whome there was and euer had bene from the beginning mortall hatred and enmity.

213 1

BAssianus Caracalla, after the death of his father, began to rule thys land of Britayn, he was a Man of nature cruel and fierce and hable to endure all paines and labours, specially in warfare. But as Gaufrid sayth, after the death of Seuerus, great strife arose betweene the Romaines and the Britons then being within the land of Britayn. For the commons helde for their king Bassianus because he was borne of a Britishe Woman: And on the other side, the Romaines allowed Geta for their king, because he descended of a Romaine. And for this dissension a battaile was foughten betweene

twene the sayde two brethren, in the which Geta was slaine, and Bassianus remayned for king ouer all the land. Geta slaine.

¶ In the time that Bassianus was now both Emperour and king of Britayn, one named Carassus a Briton of lowe birth, but valiaunt and hardie in martiall affaires: purchased of the Emperour the keeping of Britayn, or as some write onely of the coastes of Britayn, and promised to withstand the malice of straungers, as the Pictes and others. By meane whereof Carassus drewe vnto him many knightes, and specially of the Britons, promising to them that if they woulde make him king, he would cleerely deliuer them from the seruitude of the Romaines. By reason whereof the Britons (as saith Gaufride) rebelled against Bassianus, and with their Duke and leader Carassus arrered against him deadly warre, conceyuing the better hope of victory because he was priuily certified of the Emperours death, who was then slaine by a seruant of his owne in Mesopotamia, when he had ruled this land fiue yeres.

¶ But Polidore affirmeth that this Carassus tooke on him the gouernance of Britayn in the time of Diocletian, and sayeth that this lande was in good quietnesse the space of. lxxvj. yeres, with whome the Latyn Storyes seeme to agree.

219 1

CArassus reigned after Bassianus ouer Britayn, who as before is expressed, was by the Emperour of Rome deputed for a substitute or a ruler vnder him. This Carassus for that he was not of power to withstande the Pictes, or for the fauour that he bare vnto them for ayding him against the Romaines: gaue to them the Countrie of Albania, that nowe is called Scotland: But here is not meant all Scotlande. For as witnesseth Polichronica, that parte which was thus geuen to the Pictes, was the South parte of Albania, and begaune at Twede, and endured to the Scotishe Sea. Of the nature and kinde of these Pictes, is somewhat shewed before, in the story of Marius, but more shall bee shewed hereafter in place conuenient, both of their offspring and maners.

Note that Albania now called Scotland was wholy in the possession of Carassus, and he gaue the same to the Scottes and Pictes.

¶ Nowe it foloweth when the Romaines had knowledge of the death of Bassianus, they forthwith sent a Duke from Rome named Allectus, with three Legions of knightes to subdue and vanquishe Carassus, who in the ende slue him, when he had ruled ouer the Britons. viij. yeres, and such as are disposed may read more of this man in Fabian and others.

Carassus slaine.

224

EThodius the seconde was ordeyned king of Scotlande and reigned. xxj. yeres, he was of dull wyt, geuen to auarice and gathering of riches, and nothing meete to gouerne the Realme: wherefore his Nobles tooke vpon them the charge, and so continued all the time of his reigne.

226 1

ALlectus a Duke or Consull of Rome, sent as before is sayde from the Senate of Rome, began to rule the Britons: and first he restored the land to the subiection of Rome, and then pursued certaine of the Britons that had fauoured Carassus against the Romaines. And in that doing, he vsed and exercised many tyrannies and exactions, by reason whereof he fell in grudge and hatered of the Britons. Wherefore, they entending to oppresse and subdue the power of the Romaynes, procured and excited a Noble

man of the Britons called Asclepiodatus Duke of Cornewall to take vpon him to be their Captaine, who gathered a great hoste of the Britons, and made warre vpon the Romaines, and chased them from Countrie to Countrie, and from Towne to Towne: and lastly Alectus with his Romaines drewe him to London and there abode for his more suretie. Whereof Asclepiodatus being warned, he with his Britons came nere vnto the sayde City, where by meanes of prouocation of eyther partie vsed, at the last, the Romaines issued out of the Citie and gaue battaile to the Britons. In the which fight many fell on eyther partie, but the more on the partie of the Romaines, among the which was slaine Alectus, wherfore a Capitain of the Romaines called Liuius Gallus, perceiuyng this mischiefe, and the great daunger that the Romaines were in, drewe back into the Citie with the Romaynes that were left aliue, and defended it with their powers. This was Alectus slaine of the Britons when he had reigned and ruled this land vnder the Romaines the space of.vj. yeres.

Alectus slaine.

232 1

ASclepiodatus or Asclepiodotus Duke of Cornewall (as sayeth Gaufride) tooke vpon him the gouernement of the Britons, and with a great armie besieged London, and kept the aforesayde Liuius Gallus and hys Romaines in streight holde, and with knightly force and violence entered the sayde Citie, and slue the aforenamed Liuius Gallus, nere vnto a Brooke which then was within the sayde Citie, and threwe him into the sayde Brooke: By reason whereof, the same was from thence forth called Gallus Brooke, or Wallus Brooke, and at this time the place where that Brooke was, is called Walbrooke. And after Asclepiodatus had thus banquished the Romaines, he held this lande a certaine of time peaceably and quietly, and ruled the Britons with good iustice.

This brooke came from ye place which we call nowe Moore field, and that place being then a marish, ye water ran from thence thorow London into Thames

¶ And in this time by the motion of some lewde and vnquiet persons, there grewe displeasure betweene the kinge and a Duke of this lande, named Coill, the which as some say builded Colchester and named it after his owne name in the Britishe tongue Caercolyn, but what the matter of displeasure was, is not apparaunt. But howsoeuer it was, a great number of people were arreysed and assembled on both partes, and in the ende met in the field, where was foughten a great and fierce battaile, wherin Asclepiodotus was slaine, when he had reigned ouer this realme.xxx.yeres.

Colchester.

Asclepiodotus slaine.

240 ATherco after the slaughter of Ethodius his father, was chosen king of Scottes, and reigned.xij.yeres. At the beginning, he shewed some tokens of honest towardnesse: but after he was so wrapped in all vncleane vice and effeminate lustes, that he was not ashamed to go openly in the sight of the people playing vpon a Flute, and reioysed more to be a Fidelar than a Prince: Finally, being pursued for rauishing of the daughters of Nathalas, by a noble man of Argile, he slue himselfe.

252 NAthalake tooke on him the kingdome of Scotland, by force, murther, and tyrannie, and trusting to the counsayll of Wytches and Inchauntours, was slaine of his owne seruaunt Murrey, whome of all men he vsed most familierly, when he had reigned.xj.yeres.

Coill

226 1

COill, Erle of Colchester tooke vpon hym the gouernaunce of Briteyn, and ruled the same very well for a certeine tyme. But as Gaufride saith: When the Senates of Rome had vnderstanding of the death of Asclepiodatus, they were ioyous of his death, for that he had euer bene an enemie to the Empire: But forasmuch as at those dayes ye Romaines themselues were at great dissention, they could not conueniently send any army to warre vpon this Coilus, by reason whereof he continued the lenger in rest and peace.

Constantius sent from Rome to gouerne Briteyn.

¶ Howbeit at length, the Senate sent a noble and wyse man called Constantius, who when he was arriued in Briteyn with his army, anone Coilus assembled his Britons: But before he proceded further, he sent an Ambassade to the said Constantius, for that he feared the strength and fame of him, which Ambassade declared vnto him condicions of peace, & graunt of the paiment of the Tribute: But finally, while this matter was in talke, Coilus dyed, & then the Britons for peace sake, entreated this noble man to take to wife Heleyn the daughter of Coilus, with the possession of the land of Briteyn, which by him was graunted. And thus Coilus when he had reigned.xxbij.yeres dyed.

263 AT this tyme Findock the eldest sonne of Athirco was made kinge of the Scottes, he kept peace with the Romaines, and Britons, and quieted the rebellion of Donald (a noble man of the Isles) by whose counsayle, through the consent of his owne brother Carance, he was afterwarde slaine, when he had reigned.x.yeres.

Findock king of Scottes.

273 DOnald was king of Scottes one yere, he was taken in battail by Donald of the Isles, and shortly after he dyed.

274 AFter the death of king Donald, great trouble was in Scotland: For Donald of the Isles tooke on him the Crowne, which was Donald the third, and vsed much Tyranny the space of.xij. yeres: He neuer laughed, but when he heard of the disorde and slaughter of his Nobles, and therefore in the end for his crueltie he was slaine of Craithlint the sonne of Findock, with. CC. of his naughtie Counsaylours.

Donald of ye Isles king of Scottes.

286 CRaithlint the sonne of Findock, after the death of Donald the Tyraunt, was made King of Scottes, and reigned.xxiij.yeres, with great wisedom and iustice. In his tyme happened great variance betweene the Pictes and the Scottes (which continued friendes from the tyme of Fergus the first king of Scottes, to these dayes) for stealing of a Greyhounde, whereof ensued great murder and slaughter on both partes.

Craithlint king of Scottes.

289 1

COnstantius aforesayde, tooke vpon him the gouernement of the Britons, and as is aboue sayde, first maryed Heleyn the daughter of Coilus, last King of Briteyn, which Heleyn was very beutifull and fayre, and therewith had learning and many other vertues, and after gouerned Briteyn very wisely and honorablye: But within short tyme after, Diocletian, and Maximinian had geuen vp the Imperiall auctoritie, he was chosen Emperour, and reigned Emperour and king of Briteyn.xxx. yeres, and then dyed, and is buried in Yorke, leauing after him a sonne named Constantine.

Constantius

¶ This Constantius was a Man of great affabilitie, clemency, and gentlenesse, and therewithall very liberall, endeuouring alwaies to enriche his subiectes, little regarding his owne treasure, thinking that to be his that the Commons had. Wherefore he sayde, that it was better that priuate persons had

had the common treasure to the vse of the weale publique, then the same to be locked vp in Princes Cofers. In feastinall dayes when he bade his Nobles to any banket, he borowed Plate of his friendes to furnishe his Cubbardes withall. Cooper.

310
1

Costantine.

COnstantine the sonne of Constantius and of Helyn, daughter of king Coilus, reigned ouer Britayn after his father, and ruled the lande with much equitie. And albeit, that at this time he was a heathen and Pagan, yet he vsed no tirannie, neither did he compell the Britons to refuse their law, and to worship Idols, as other Tyrants before had done.

¶ In this time, while Constantine ruled the Britons, one Maxencius which was the sonne of Herculeus Maximianus sometime felow in the Empire with Diocletian, was of the Pretorian Souldiours declared Emperour. This Maxencius did there behaue himselfe the worst of all men, and enterprised all maner of tirannie, and persecuted the christians with all kindes of torments. And when Constantine heard of the tiranny of this man. He assembled a great hoste of Britons and Galles for to oppresse his outrage and malice.

Christians persecuted.

¶ And for to rule and guyde this land of Britayn in his absence, he ordeyned a man of might called Octauius, which then was king of Wales & Duke of Gwiscop, which some expound to be Westsex, some Cornewall, and some Wynsore, to haue the gouernement of this dominion. Now when he had prouided all things necessarie for his voyage, he betooke the lande of Britayn to Octauius, and sped him forward in his iourney.

¶ After whose departure, and during the time that he was occupied in the affaires of the Empire, Octauius being Lieutenaunt in Britayn vnder the sayde Constantine, ruled the lande to the contentation of the Britons for a certaine time. But when he perceyued that he was in fauour with them, and also that Constantine was nowe farre from him, and considering with hymselfe also, that the sayde Constantine being then Emperour, would not, nor could not so lightly returne into Britayn: he therefore with the helpe of hys friendes and such as he was alyed with, withstood the Romaines that were left in Britayn by Constantine, and vsurped the rule & dominion of the land: whereof when Constantine was truely certified, in all haste he sent a Duke into Britayn, named Trayherne, the which was Uncle vnto Helyn the mother of Constantine.

Octauius vsurped the gouernmente of Britayn.

Trayherne.

¶ When this Trayherne was arriued in Britayn with three Legions of souldiours or men of warre: anon Octauius made toward him with his Britons, and met him nere vnto the Citie then called Caerperis, and nowe named Portchester, but more truely in a Fielde nere vnto the Citie of Caergueut, which at this day is called Winchester.

Portchester
Winchester

¶ Now when the two hostes were met, they ioyned a most eger and cruell battayle, wherein was a long and terrible fight. But in the ende, Trayherne was inforced to forsake the Fielde, and withdrew himselfe and his Romaynes into Albania or Scotlande. Whereof Octauius being warned, followed him, and in the Countrie of Westmerland gaue him the second battaile, where then Octauius was chased and Trayherne had the victorie, the which pursued Octauius so egerly, that he compelled him to forsake the lande of Britayn and to sayle into the Countrie of Norwaye for his safe garde.

¶ But

¶ But it was not long after, but the sayd Octauius gathered a newe power of people, aswell of Britons as also of Norwayes, and was redye to returne againe into Britayn. In which tyme an Erle of Britayn that entirely loued Octauius by treason slue the sayd Trayherne a little before the landing of Octauius aforesayde, who afterwardes reigned in this lande at the least .liiij. yeres, but not without great and often warres made by the Romaines. And this shoulde be as most writers doe affirme, when Constantyne with the ayde of Trayherne had ruled this lande .x. yeres. But Polidore affirmeth that this Realme was in good quiet all the tyme of Constantyne and his successors vnto the .iiij. yere of Gracian, and maketh no mencion of this Octauius, whereby it may apere what great varietie there is euen among the best and most approued story writers.

Trayherne slaine.

Polidore.

¶ This Constantine was a right noble and valiaunt Prince, and the sonne of Helena, a woman of great sanctimony and borne in Britayn, the which Elyn as it is reported of her, founde the Crosse at Jerusalem, on the which our Sauiour Christ suffered his passion, and three of the Nayles wherewith his handes and feete were pierced.

¶ The sayd Constantine was so mightie in Martiall prowesse, that he was surnamed Constantine the great. Of whome it is further written, that when he was in his voyage or iourney, which he made against Maxencius the Tyraunt, who was an extreme persecutor of the Christians, he saw in the night season, the signe of the Crosse shining in the Element lyke a fyre, and an Angell by it saying on this wise: In this signe thou shalt ouercome. Wherefore receyuing great comfort thereby, he gathered such a courage, that shortly after he vanquished the armie of Maxencius and put him to flight, who in the chase was drowned in Tyber.

Constãtine the great.

¶ Finally this good Emperour had the fayth of Christ in such reuerence, that alway most studiously he endeuoured to augment the same. And in witnesse of his beliefe, he caused the booke of the Gospelles to be borne before him. And further made the Bible to be copyed out, and sent into all partes of the Empire. Of this man, the kynges of Britayn had first the priuelege to weare close Crownes or Diademes. He ended his lyfe at Nicomedia, where he receyued Baptisme by Eusebius Bishop there, and was buried at Constantinople, called before Bizance, who lust to know more of his actes and life, may read the sayd Eusebius, who hath written a speciall treatise therof extant among his other workes.

Close crownes came frõ Constantine ỹ Emperour.

FIncormake, after the death of his Cosyn Cairthquint, was ordeyned king of Scottes, and reigned .xlvij. yeres. 310

329
1

OCtauius Duke of the Jesses, tooke vpon him againe to rule as king of Britayn, and in the tyme of his reigne, he gathered such plentie of Treasure that he feared no man, and he ruled the land peaceably, saue that he was now and then as is aforesayd, troubled with warres by the Romaines. And of him is no notable thing written, except that when he was fallen into age, by the counsaile of the Britons, he sent vnto Rome for a yong Man of the kindred of Helyn mother vnto Constantyne called Maximianus, to whome Octauius offered his daughter in mariage, and to yelde vnto him the Kingdome of Britayn, the which when Maximianus vnderstood, he consented

therevnto, and prepared in all haste for his voyage, and shortly after he with a conuenient companie landed at Southhamton, whereof Conan Meriadock beyng warned did purpose to haue fought with the sayd Maximianus, & thought to haue distressed him, for so much as he knew right wel, that by him he should be put from the rule of the land. But this purpose was letted by the commaundement of the king, or otherwise, so that the sayd Maximianus, was conueyed safely to the kinges presence: and shortly after the king with the consent of the more partie of his Lordes, gaue his daughter in mariage vnto the sayd Maximianus, with the possession of this Isle of Briteyn. The which mariage beyng solemnised, and ended, the said Octauius dyed shortly after, when he had reigned as the most writers agree. liiij. yeres.

358 Romake king of Scottes.

After the death of Fincormake king of Scottes, because his heyres were but children, fierce warre was arreared betweene two noble men called Angusiane, and Romak, for the gouernaunce of the Realme: whereof ensued much trouble in the Realme of Scotlande, and great displeasure thereby engendered betwene the Scottes and the Pictes, for as much as by the ayde of the Pictes Romake tooke on him the kingdome, and vsed great crueltie three yeres.

362 Angusian king of Scottes.

Not long after the Nobles of Scotland assembled themselues and set vpon Romake their king and slue him, and then was Angusiane ordeyned king: Betwene whome and the Pictes was great warre for the death of Romake, and in the ende therof both Angusiane and Nectanus king of Pictes were slaine. Then was Fethelmake crowned king, which vanquished the Pictes, and was after slaine in his bed by two Pictes, which were his seruauntes.

366 Eugenius king of Scottes.

About this time one Eugenius the first, was made king of Scottes. Here the Scottishe Histozie maketh a long processe of the fierce & cruell warre that this king kept against Maximus the Romaine Capiteyn, and the Pictes and Briteyns, which I thinke to be of no more credit than the residue of their Histozie, that they haue feyned from the beginning. For vndoubtedly, if they had put the Romaines to so much trouble as their Chronicles shewe, both in the tyme of the Conquest and after: Cæsar, Tacitus, Plinie, and other would haue made some mencion of the Scottes, as they did of the Trinobantes, Cenimagues, Segontiaces, Bibraces, Brigantes, Silures, Icenes, and diuerse other.

379 Note here that the Britons had the possession of all Scotland.

¶ The Scottes say, that in this time, after long and cruell warre made by the aforesayde Maximianus, they were vtterly extermined and driuen out of their Realme into Ireland and other Countries, and that then the said Maximus the Romain, placed in their land the Pictes and Britons. And Hector Boecius sayth, it was for rebellion: But rebellion could it not be properly named, except they had beene subiectes.

383 1

Maximianus or Maximus, the sonne of Leonyn and Cosyn Germain to Constantine the great, tooke vpon him the gouernement of this lande of Briteyn. This man was strong and mightie, but for that he was cruell against the Christians, he was called Maximianus the Tyraunt. Betwene this man and Conan before named, was great enuy and strife, and diuers conflictes and battayles were foughten, in the which eyther parte of them sped diuerslye: howbeit, at the last, they were made friends. So that Maximianus reigned a while in quiet, and gathered ryches and treasure, but not

not altogither without murmure and grudge. Finally, he was prouoked and excited to make warre vpon the Galles, through which counsayle, he with a great hoste of Britons sayled into Armorica that now is called little Briteyn, where he bare him selfe so valiauntly that he subdued that Countrie vnto his Lordship, and after gaue the same vnto Conan Meriadok, to holde of him and his successours the kings of great Briteyn for euer. And then commaunded the sayde land to be called little Briteyn.

Armorica is called little Briteyn.

¶ Now for this victorie, the Souldiours of Maximianus proclaymed him Emperour, by reason whereof, he being the more exalted in pride, passed further into the landes of the Empire, and victoriously subdued a great parte of Gallia and all Germania. For this deede, dyuers Authours doe accompt him false and periured, wherefore it should seeme that before his comming from Rome, he was sworne to Gracian and Valentinian the Emperours, that he should neuer clayme any part of the Empire.

Maximianus proclaimed Emperour

¶ Now after that worde was brought vnto the Emperours that Maximianus had by force of armes thus subdued Gallia and Germania: Gracianus with a great hoste came downe to resist him. But when he heard of the Martiall deedes of Maximianus, he feared and fled back to the Citie of Lyons in Fraunce: where afterwardes the sayde Gracianus was slaine, and his brother Valentinian compelled to flee to Constantinoble, for safegarde of hys lyfe.

¶ Then Maximianus to haue the more strength to withstand his enimies, made his sonne named Victour, felow of the Emperour. And in this time that Maximianus warred this in Italy, Conan Meriadoke, to whome as aforesayde Maximianus had geuen little Briteyn, for so muche as he and his Souldiours had no will to marrie the daughters of the Frenchmen, but rather to haue Wyues of their owne blood: sent Messengers vnto Dionotus then Duke of Cornewall and chiefe ruler of Briteyn, wylling him to send his daughter Ursula with a certaine number of Virgins to be coupled to him and his Knightes in marriage, the which soone after was prepared according to the request of Conan, the aforesayde Ursula accompanied with. xj. thousand Virgins, were sent by her sayde father toward little Briteyn, as sayeth Gaufrid and other. But truely it appereth rather to be a Fable, and the writers herein doe not agree, and therefore I will wade no further therein. But to returne where I left.

Ursula commonly called Saint Vrsula.

A fable.

¶ Maximianus, being thus occupied in warres in Italy, two Dukes named Gwanus or Guanius Capitaine of the Hunes & Melga, king of Pictes, the which as Gaufrid saith, were set on by Gracian and Valentinian the Emperours, to punishe and subdue the Britons that fauoured the parte of Maximianus, warred sore vpon the coastes of great Britaine, and occupied a great parte of Albania. Whereof when Maximianus had knowledge he sente into great Briteyn a Knight and Capitaine called Gracianus, the which with two Legions of Souldiours bare himselfe so valiauntlye, that in a short time he chased the sayde two Dukes into Ireland, and helde the land of Briteyn in good peace to the behoofe of Maximianus.

Gwanus Melga.

¶ In this tyme Maximianus continuing his warre against the Empire, and entending to be Emperour. Theodocius named the elder, being then Emperour of the East part of the worlde hering of the death of Gracian, and the chasing

Maximian beheadded.

chasing of Valentinian his brother, sped him with a great power towarde Maximianus, and shortly after at a Citie in Italie named Aquileia tooke the sayde Maximianus and him beheadded.

391
1

WHen knowledge of the death of Maximianus was come to Gracian, who then had the rule of great Britayn, he seased the land and made himselfe king of Britayn by strength, when or after that Maximianus had gouerned the same, as most Writers doe beare witnesse, the space of viij. yeres.

¶ This Gracian hauing nowe obteyned the souereigne authoritie, became a verie cruell Prince and exercised all tyranny and exaccion vpon the people, for which cause he was abhorred of all the Britons, and by them was slaine when he had reigned foure yeres. Then was the Realme a good space without a head or gouernor, in the which time the Britons were oftentimes sore vexed with the aforesayde Barbarous people and their forrein enimies.

397
7
Augustine whome we call Saint Augustyn.

IN this time was Augustine the most famous & learned Doctor of Christes Church: he was Bishop of Hippone a Citie in Affrique. This man was of such excellent wyt, that in his childhood he learned all the liberall Sciences without any instructor, and in all partes of Philosophy was wonderfully well learned. At the beginning he fauoured the opinions of them which be called Manichees, but by the continuall prayer of his good mother Monica: and the persuasion of holy Saint Ambrose, he was conuerted to the true faith. They both of them being replenished with the holy Ghost, sang the Psalme, Te deum, aunswering mutually one to another. And afterwardes, in prayer writing and preaching he so much profited the Church, that to this daye hys name is worthily had in honour and reuerence of all men.

403
13
Chrisostom

AAnd in this time also was Chrisostomus Bishop of Constantinople, and named the Noble Clerk, and for his eloquence he was called the Golden Mouthed Doctor, and yet escaped he not some persecution by meanes of Theophilus in Alexandria, for he dyed in exile.

423
Fergus king of Scottes.

THe Scottes (according to their Histories) vnder their king Fergus the second, returned out of Ireland into Albion, and continuing the reigne of three kings, that is Fergus, Eugenius and Dongarde, pursued the Britons with most cruell warres. But here they dissent from the English Chronicles, as well in the computation of tymes, as in the relacion of the whole Historie, For after Beda, Gildas and other auncient and credible Writers, the Scottes came first about this time out of Ireland into that Countrie, which they afterwards named Scotland. But howsoeuer these Histories agree, truth it is that the Scottes being confederate with the Pictes, not long from this time, by consent of all Writers, inuaded and spoyled the lande of Britayn so cruelly, that the Britayns were constreyned to sende for ayde to the Romaines, promising that they would perpetually be subiect to the Empire: which request was heard, & a Capitaine sent with a Legion of Souldiours, who within a fewe dayes chased their enimies out of the land, teachyng them to make a Wall of Torues and stakes, ouerthwart the lande, from Sea to Sea, that is to meane from the water of Humber to the Scottishe Sea, and ordeyned them Wardeyns and keepers of the Wall (wherewith their enimies might be kept back out of the land) and then they tooke leaue of the

Beda.

A wall of Torues.

the Britons and departed to Rome. But Polichronicon sayeth, that the sayde Wall stretched from Penulton to the Citie of Aclud.

¶ But notwithstanding the sayd Wall, the Britons were againe inuaded by the Pictes and Scottes, who spoyled the Country verye lore: So that they were driuen to seeke for newe helpe of the Romaines, who sent to them againe a company of Souldiers, which eftsones chased the Pictes, and made a wall of stone of.viij. foote thicke, and in heigth.xij. foote: which thing when they had done, comforting the Britaynes, and admonishing them hereafter to trust to their awne manhood and strength, they returned again to Rome.

A wall of stone.

¶ The Scottes and Pictes yet once againe after the departure of the Romaines, entred the lande of Britayn, and spoyled the countrie, and chased the commons so cruelly, that they were altogether comfortlesse, and brought to such misery, that eche robbed and spoyled other, and ouer this the ground was vntilled, whereof ensued great scarcetie and hunger, and after hunger death. In this necessitie they sent for ayde to Aecius the Romaine Capitaine beyng then occupied in warres in a part of Gallia. But they had no comfort at his hand. And therefore were forced to send Ambassade to Aldroenus king of little Britayne to desyre of him ayde and comfort, which they obteined vpon condicion, that if they atchiued the victory, Constantyne his brother should be ordeyned king of great Britayn, for to that day they had no king. Which thing beyng graunted of the Ambassadours, the said Constantine gathered a company of Souldiours, and went forth with them. And when he had manfully vanquished the enimies, and obteyned the victory, according to promes made, he was ordeyned king, & guyded this land.x. yeres with such manhood and pollecy, that he kept it in quietnesse & from daunger of straunge enemes.

433

Aecius.

Aldroenus.

Constatyne.

Here endeth the Dominion and tribute of the Romaines ouer this land of Briteyn, which had continued the space of. 483. yeres.

433
1

COnstantine the second, who was the brother of Aldroenus king of little Britayn, was crowned king of great Britayn and guyded wel the land the space of.x. yeres, and in great quietnesse. Of this Constantyne is little written, except ỹ he had by his wife thre sonnes, ỹ which were named, Constancius, Aurely Ambrose, & Uter surnamed Pendragon. But for that he sawe his eldest sonne named Constancius to be dull and insolent of wit, he therefore made him a Monke in the Abbey of S. Swithines at Winchester. And the other two brethren, he betoke vnto Gwethelinus Archbishop of London to nourish and instruct. Some wryte that Constancius entred into religion of pure deuocion, without the consent or knowledge of the king his father.

¶ In the Court of this Constantyne (as sayth Gaufride) there was a Piet, that was much loued & greatly fauoured of him, so that he might at all times come to the kinges presence, when he would himselfe. The which beyng an arrant Traytour, and serching conuenient time to execute his detestable treason, by a secret meane slue the king in his Chamber, when he had reigned as king.x. yeres. The Author of the story named the flowers of stories, writeth that he slue him with a knife in a very thicke Coppes, as he was a hunting.

Constantius slaine.

436

¶ In the tyme of this Constantyne of Britayn, their reigned also among the

Constantine king of Scottes.

the Scottes one of the same name, who was named Constantyne the first, he was a wicked Prince, and geuen wholy to filthy lust and pleasure of the body, and without all vertue or pollecye or noblenesse, wherefore in the ende he was slaine for rauishing of a noble maines daughter.

443
1

COnstantius, the sonne of Constantyne, by the meane of Vortigerus Duke of Cornewall, or as some write of the Jewelles, after called West Saxons, was made king of Briteyn. This man as before is mencioned, was thought by his father, for that he was dull of wit and hawtye of minde to be therefore vnmete to take the charge of the Gouernement vpon him, and therfore his father made him a Monke as afore sayde. But now it came so to passe that by the practise and procurement of Vortiger he was taken out of the Abbey and made king: By meane whereof the sayd Vortiger had all the rule of the lande, so that Constance had but onely the name.

Constantius first a Monk and then a king.

¶ This Vortiger then considering the innocencye and mildenesse of the king, cast in his minde how he might be king himselfe. And among other meanes, he practised to haue about the king an hundreth Pictes, to waite and attend vpon his person as a garde, which beyng brought to passe, he bare him selfe so friendly towardes the sayde Pictes, and shewed him selfe so liberall vnto them euery way, that at length he had thereby so wonne their good will and fauour, that they abashed not to say openly, that he was more worthy to be king than Constance.

A Garde first appointed to attend on the king.

¶ And in this while Vortiger gate into his possession the kinges Castels and treasure, and looke what he commaunded, that was done, though some did murmure and grudge thereat, and euer in right or wrong he fauoured the aforesayd Pictes.

¶ Now when he sawe that he had wonne all their fauours, he made them all dronke on a tyme, and then declared vnto them in that case his pouertie and miserie, and that with teares, saying howe he was not able of his awne proper reuenew to wage somuch as fiftie Souldiours, and with that he departed from them vnto his lodging, as a man altogether dismayde, leauing them still drinking and quaffing in the Court. The Pictes hearing him say so, beyng nowe distempered and set in a rage by reason of Wyne, murmured one of them to another, saying, why do we not kill this blockish Monke, that this noble Man Vortiger, who is so good and beneficial a Lord vnto vs may enioy the Crowne. And with that they rose vp in their dronken moode, and fell vpon the king and slue him.

Constantius slaine.

¶ After which cruell deede so by them done, they presented the head of Constance vnto Vortiger. Wherof when he was ware, and to thentent that the Britons should thinke that deede to be done against his minde and will, he wept and made semblaunce of all sorow and heauinesse, and caused the sayd hundreth Pictes foorthwith to be taken, and them by the iudgement of the law of the lande to be beheaded, by reason whereof he was iudged not to be culpable, but innocent of the kinges death.

The kings Garde put all to death.

¶ When the kings death was knowne to such persons as had the keeping of the two yonger brethren, Aurelius & Uter, they in all hast for the sauegard of themselues fled into little Briteyn, & there kept them vntill it pleased God otherwise to prouide for them. And thus as ye haue heard was king Constance

slaine when he had reigned fiue yere.

446

Ongallus, the sonne of king Dongarde was ordeyned king of Scotland after the Death of Constantine. He was geuen to peace, quietnesse, and iustice, and was a good and moderate Prince.

448
1

VOrtiger after the death of Constance, by force made himselfe king of Briteyn, and ruled, but not all without trouble. For it was not long or that the Pictes hauing knowledge of the death and destruction of their knightes and kinsmen, inuaded the Northpartes of the land, & did therin great domage and hurt. And besides this, many of the nobles of the Britons perceyuing that king Constance was not murdered altogether without the consent of the sayde Vortiger, rebelled against him, and dailye sent and sayled ouer into little Briteyn to the ayde and assistaunce of the aforesayde children of Constantine, which put the sayde Vortiger to great vnquietnesse, the more for that that he wist not, nor knewe not in whome he might put his trust and confidence.

Plenty of Corne and Fruite.

¶ Now yet in all this broyle and vnquiet time, there was in this Realme so great plentie of Corne and fruite, that the lyke thereof had not bene seene in many yeres passed, wherewith was ioyned lecherie and pestilence, with many other inconueniences, so that vice was accompted for small or none offence. The which reigned not onely in the Temporaltie, but also in the Spiritualtie and heads of the same. So that euerie man turned the poynt of his Speare against the true and innocent man, and the commons gaue themselues altogether to dronkennesse and Idlenesse, by reason whereof ensued fighting, strife, and much enuie. Of which afore sayd mischiefes ensued much mortalitie and death of men, that the lyuing scantly sufficed in some Countries to burie the dead. And besides this, the king was so heard beset with the aforenamed enemies, that he was constreyned, as sayth Polichronica, to sende for Paynems, as the Sarons, to helpe to withstande his enimies and to defend his land, and also he dailye feared the landing of Aurely and Uter.

Lecherye.

Pestilence.

Dronkénes

Idlenesse.

Mortality.

Sarons.

¶ Vortiger being thus beset with many enimies, and then being for the exployte of sundrie his affaires at Cauntorbury, tydinges was brought him of the arryuing of three talle Ships full of armed men at the Isle of Tenet. Wherefore, first he made countenance, as though he had bene in doubt whether it had bene the two brethren of Constance or no: But when the fame was blowen about, that they were none enimies: anone he caused the leaders and Capitaines of them to be brought vnto his presence, demaunding of them the cause of their landing, and of their Nation and Countrie: who answered vnto the king and sayde, they were of the Countrie of Germany, and put out of their Countrie by a maner & sort of a Lot, which is sundrie times bled in the sayde lande, and the vse thereof grewe for that the people of that Countrie encreased so greatly, that without such prouision had, the Countrie might not suffise to finde the people that were therein: And that therefore sence fortune had brought them into this land, they besought the king that he would take them to his seruice, and they would be ready to fight for the defence of him and his Countrie. And when the king had enquired further, he founde that they had two leaders, named Hengist and Horsus, and they and their people were called Sarons.

Hengist Horsus.

¶ The

¶ The king being thus assertayned of the maner of these strangers, & that they were of the heathen and Pagan law, said, he was verie sorie ỳ they were miscreaunts, but he was glad of their coming, forsomuch as he had neede of such Souldiours to defend him and his lande against his enimies: and so receiued them into his wages and seruice, as saith Gaufride and other writers.

¶ Beda the holye man and faythfull Historian sayeth, that Vortiger sent for the Saxons for that they were strong men of armes, and had no lande to dwell in, the which came in three long Shippes or Hulkes, and receyued a place of him to dwell in, in the East side of Briteyn called the Isle of Tenet beside Kent: but Guilielmus Malmisburiensis in his worke De Regibus, sayth, that the Saxons came out of Germany of their awne will and courage to winne worship and laude, and not by any lot or compulsion. He sayeth also that they worshipped in those daies, a God named WODEN, supposed to be Mercury, and a Goddesse named FRIA Venus. In the worship of which God, the third Feriall daye in the weeke, they named Wodensdaye, which we nowe call Wednesday. And in worship of the sayde Goddesse, they called the fifte daye Frees day, which we now call Friday.

William of Malmesbury

The dayes called Wednesdaye and Friday, from whence they came first.

¶ And these forsayde people were of three maner of Nations, that is to saye, Saxons, Anglys and Jewets. Of the Saxons came the East Saxons, West Saxons, and the South Saxons. Of the Anglys, came the East Anglys, the middle Anglys or Mercays, called Mercij, which helde middle Englande, that stretcheth Westward towarde the Ryuer of Dee beside Chester, and to Seuerne beside Shrewesbury, and so forth to Bristow, and Estwarde towarde the See, and Southwarde towarde the Thamys, and so forth to London, and turning downeward and Westwarde to the Riuer Mercea, and so forth to the West See.

Saxons. Angles. Jewets.

¶ And of the Jewets came the Kentishmen, and the men of the Isle of Wight. Of the first comming of these Saxons into Briteyn, the writers doe varie. But to returne to the storie.

¶ These Saxons with the kings power did beate downe the enimies aforesayde, and defended the land in most knightly wise, so that the king had the Saxons in great loue and fauour: which fauour Hengistus well perceyuing, vpon a season, when he saw conuenient time, he asked of the king so much ground as the hyde of a Bull or Oxe would compasse, which the king graunted him. After the which graunt, the sayde Hengist to the entent to winne a large plot of ground, caused the sayde beastes skinne to be cut into small and slender Thonges. And with the same he met out a large and great circuit of ground, vpon the which he shortly after builded a large and strong Castell. By reason of which Thonge, the sayde Castell was long after named Thong Castle, and it was builded in Lyndsey.

Bull hyde.

Thong Castle.

¶ After this, tydings went into Germany of the plentie and fatnesse of the lande of Briteyn, with other commodities belonging to the same: By meane whereof, the Saxons dailye drewe to the sayde lande, and couenaunted with the Britons, that the Britons should exercise and attende vpon their husbandry and other necessarie traffique, and the Saxons as their Souldiours would defende the lande from incursions of all enimies, for the which the Britons should geue to them competent meate and wages.

¶ Then by the assignement and apoyntment of Hengist, there came out of Germany

Germany .xvj. Sayles well furnished with men of warre, and in them came Ronowen the daughter of the sayd Hengist, which was a Mayden of excellent beutie. After whose comming, Hengist vpon a day besought the king that he would see his Castle, which he had newly edified. To whose request the king was agreeable, & at the day assigned he came to the Castle, where he was ioyously receyued. And there among other pastimes, the sayd Ronowen with a Cup of Golde full of Wyne presented the king, saluting and saying vvassayle. The king which before that tyme had heard no like salutation, neither vnderstood what she ment, asked of her father what she ment by that worde vvassayle. To whome it was aunswered by Hengist, that it was a salutation of good lucke and gladnesse, and that the king should drinke after her, and adding also this aunswere, that it was as much to say, as drinke hayle. Wherfore the king as he was informed tooke the Cup of the Maydens hand and dranke: And after he beheld the Damsell in such maner, that he was wounded with the dart of the blinde God Cupide, in such wise that neuer after he coulde withdrawe his lust from her: but lastly by the instigation of the Deuill, asked her in mariage of her father. And by force thereof as witnesseth Polichronica, he put from him his lawfull wyfe, of the which he had before tyme receyued three noble sonnes, Vortimerius, Catagrinus, and Pascentius. Then the king gaue to Hengist the Lordship of Kent, though Garangonus then Erle thereof thereat grudged with many of his Nobles and Commons.

Ronowen the daughter of Hengist.

Wassayle.

Polichron.

Vortimer, Catagrinus, Pascencius.

¶ For this, and because the king had maried a Pagan woman, all the Britons in a maner forsooke him and his woorkes. Notwithstanding, yet some there were, as well of the Nobles as other, that comforted the King in hys euill doyng. By which meane and other vnlawfull deedes, then dayly vsed, the fayth of Christ began sore to decay. And besides that, an heresie called the Arians heresie began to spring in Briteyn, for the which two Bishops named Germanus, and Lupus (as Gaufride saith) were sent into Briteyn to reforme the people that were infected with the same, and erred from the way of truth.

Arians heresie.

Germanus Lupus.

¶ Then to finish the story of Vortiger, forasmuch as the Britons withdrewe themselues from him, he was therefore constrayned to retayne with him the Saxons. By whose counsayle he afterwarde sent for Octa the sonne of Hengist, the which brought with them another companie out of Saxonie. And from this tyme the Saxons sought alway occasion to extinguish vtterly the power of the Britons, and to subdue the land to themselues.

Octa the son of Hengist.

¶ When the Lordes of Briteyn saw and considered the great multitude of Saxons, & their dayly repayre into this land, they assembled them together, and shewed to the king the inconuenience & ieopardy that might ensue to him and his land, by reason of the great power of these strangers, & they aduertised him in aduoyding of greater daunger to expel & put them out of this realme, or the more part of them: But all was in vaine, for Vortiger had such a mind to the Saxons by reason of his wyfe, ỳ he preferred the loue of them, before the loue of his awne natural kinsmen & frends. Wherfore the Britons of one will & mind crowned Vortimerus the eldest sonne of Vortiger king of Briteyn, and deprined the father of all kingly dignity, when he had reigned .xvj. yeres.

Vortiger deprined.

VOrtimer the sonne of Vortiger, was by the assent of the Britons made king of Briteyn, the which in all haste pursued the Saxons, and gaue vnto them a great battayle vpon the Riuer of Darvvent, where he had

of them the victorie. And ſecondarily he fought with them vpon the Foorde called Epſford, or Aglisphorpe. In the which fight Catrignus the brother of Vortimer, and Horſus, brother to Hengiſt, or Coſin, after long fight betweene them two, eyther of them ſlue other, in which fight alſo the Britons were victours. The thirde battaile he fought with them nere vnto the Sea ſyde, where alſo the Britons chaſed the Saxons, and compelled them to take the Iſle of Wight for their ſuretie. The fourth battayle was nere vnto a Wooze called Cole Wooze, the which was long and ſore fought by the Saxons, by reaſon that the ſayd Wooze cloſed a part of their Hoaſt ſo ſtrongly, that the Britons might not approche to them for daunger of theyr ſhot. Howbeit, in the ende they were chaſed, and many of them by conſtraint were drowned and ſwalowed in the ſayde Wooze.

Catrignus.
Horſus ſlaine.
Cole Wooze.
Vortimer.
Thetford.

¶ And ouer and beſides theſe foure principall battailes, Vortimer had with the Saxons ſundrie other conflicts and ſkirmiſhes, as in Kent, Thetfoorde in Norfolke, and in Eſſex, nere vnto Colcheſter, & left not vntill he had bereft from them the more part of ſuche poſſeſſions, as before time they had wonne, and kept themſelues onely to the Iſle of Tenet, where Vortimer beſieged them, with his Navie, and oftentimes fought with them by water.

Gaufride.

¶ And as Gaufride ſayeth, when they ſawe that they were not able any longer to endure the force of the Britons, and to make their partie good with them, they then ſent Vortiger the father (whome they had preſent with them in all the Fieldes that they fought againſt the Britons) vnto the king his ſonne, praiyng him to lycence them ſafely to depart againe into their country of Germany. And whiles this matter was in talke betweene the father and the ſonne, they priuily conueyed themſelues into their Shippes, and ſo returned home againe, leauing their wyues and children behinde them. Fabian.

Rowen practiſed the poyſoning of Vortimer.

¶ When that Rowen the daughter of Hengiſt perceyued the great miſchiefe that her father and the Saxons were in, by the martiall knighthood of Vortimer: ſhe fought ſuch meanes (as ſayeth Gaufride and other) that Vortymer was poyſoned, when he had ruled the Britons. viij. yeres.

¶ Becauſe the ſtorie touching the end and death of the ſayde Vortimer is verie notable, it ſhall not be amiſſe to recite it here in effect, as it is written by the ſayd Gaufride. When Vortimer had now gotten the victorie of the Saxons, he beganne lyke a good Prince to reſtore againe vnto the Britons ſuch poſſeſſions as were taken from them by the ſayde Saxons, and to loue and honour them: And at the requeſt of the holy man Germaine to reedefie ſuch Churches as were by them deſtroyed and ouerthrowne. But the Deuill by and by enuied at his vertue and godlyneſſe, who entering into the heart of his ſtepmother Rowen, moued her to imagine his death: wherevpon ſhe ſending for all the Wytches and Poyſoners that ſhe coulde hereof, cauſed verie ſtrong Poyſon to be miniſtred vnto him, by a verie familier and nere friend of his, whome ſhe had corrupted before with many great giftes. Now when this noble warryour had receyued this deadly poyſon, he vpon a ſodaine became deſperately ſick, in ſuch wiſe as their was no hope of lyfe in him. Then commaunding all his Souldiours to come before him to ſhewe to them what daunger he ſtood in, and how the houre of death was at hande, he deuyded among them his treaſure and ſuch goodes as his auncetours had left him. And perceyuing them greatly to lament and bewayle the miſerable caſe and daunger

daunger that he was in, he comforted them, ſaiyng, that the waye which he ſhould goe was common to all fleſhe, and ſo exhorted them that as they had before ſticked vnto him like men, and had ſhewed themſelues valyaunt and couragious in fighting againſt the Saxons, euen ſo hereafter they woulde lykewiſe perſeuer in the defence of their native Countrie, againſt all the inuaſions of forrein enimies. That done, of a great heardy courage he commaunded a Sepulcher of Braſſe to be made ſpire wiſe, and the ſame to be ſet in that porte or Hauen where the Saxons were commonly wont to arryue, and his dead corps to be layde in it, that aſſoone as thoſe barbarous people ſhould ſee once the Sepulchre, they for feare might returne backe againe into Germany. For he ſayde that not one of them all durſt be ſo hardie as to approche the lande if they once ſaw the ſayde Sepulchre. O moſt hardie and dowtie king, who deſyred to be feared of them euen after his death, vnto whome he was a terrour in his lyfe time: But when he was dead, the Britons performed not his commaundement, but buryed his body at London.

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Vortiger reſtored to his kingdome.

VOrtiger was now againe reſtored to the kingdome of Briteyn, and ſhortly after Hengiſt eyther of his awne accorde, or as Gaufride wryteth ſent for by the procurement of his daughter Rowen, entred thys land againe with a great multitude of Saxons, whereof Vortiger, being informed in all haſte, aſſembled his Britons and made towardes them. But when Hengiſt heard of the Britons, and of the preparation that was made againſt him, he then made meanes for the intreaty of peace, where in the end, it was concluded that a certaine number of Britons, and as manye of the Saxons, ſhould vpon the next May day aſſemble vpon the playne of Ambrij, now called Sariſbury, or as Gaufride ſaith, nere vnto the Abbey of Ameſburie, founded by one Ambrius: which day being certeynly prefixed, Hengiſtus vſing a new practiſe of treaſon, charged all his Saxons by him appointed, that eche of them ſhould put ſecretly a long Knyfe in their hoſen, and at ſuch time as he gaue to them this watch or bye worde, Nempnith your Sexes, that is, drawe your Knyfes, that euerie one of them ſhould drawe out his Knyfe and ſlea a Briton, ſparing none, but Vortiger the king onely. And at the day before appointed, the king with a certaine number of Britons, not ware of this purpoſed treaſon, came in peaceable wiſe to ẏ place before aſſigned, where he found ready Hengiſt with his Saxons. The which after due obedience made vnto the king, he receyued him with a countenance of loue and amitie, where after a time of communication had, Hengiſt being minded to execute his purpoſed treaſon, gaue forth his watchword. By reaſon whereof anon the Britons were ſlaine lyke ſhepe among Wolues, to the number (as Gaufride wryteth) of. iiij. C. and. lx. barons & noble men, hauing no maner of weapon to defend themſelues withall, except that any of them might by his manhood & ſtrength either get ẏ knife out of his enimies hand, or elſe by ſtones or ſuch like weapō as they might come by, anoy them, by which meanes diuers of the Saxōs alſo were ſlaine, ſo ẏ this there trechery was performed. And among the number of theſe Britons ẏ were thus diſtreſſed, there was then an Erle called Edolfe Erle of Cheſter, or rather after Gaufride Edole, Baron of Glowceſter, who ſeing his felowes & friends thus murthered (as the ſaid Gaufrid ſaith) by his manhood recouered a ſtake out of a hedge, with the which he knightly defen-

Sariſbury.

Treaſon wrought by Hengiſt.

Diſſimulation.

ded himselfe and slue of the Sarons three score and ten persons, and being ouer set by his enimies and not able to make any longer resistance was compelled to flie to his awne Citie. After which treason thus executed, the king remayned with Hengistus as Prisoner. Fabian.

¶ But the sayde Gaufride writeth more fuller hereof in this wise. After the Sarons had accomplished their mischeuous purpose, they woulde in no wise slay Vortiger: But threatning to kill him, they kept him in a holde, and demaunded him to geue vp & delyuer vnto them his good townes and strong holdes as a raunsome for his lyfe: vnto whome the king graunted whatsoeuer they requyred of him, so that he might depart with lyfe. And when he had confirmed his graunt made vnto them by an othe, then was he set at libertie and delyuered out of Prison. This done, the Sarons tooke Yorke, Lyncolne, and Winchester, and wasting al the Countreys as they went, they set vpon the common people and slue them, as Wolues are wont to deuoure the fiely poze Sheepe that are left alone and forsaken of their Shepheards. Now when Vortiger sawe the great murther and slaughter of his people, he gat him into Wales as a man that wist not what to doe, and howe to be reuenged vpon this wicked Nation.

Vortiger taken.

¶ Of the taking of Vortiger, and slaying of the Lordes of Briteyn (Guilielmus de regibus sayth) that Hengist agreed with Vortiger and his Britons that he should enioy the Castell by him before made, with a certeyne lande thereunto adioinyng for him and his Sarons to dwell vpon. And when the

Treason

said agreement was surely stablished, this Hengist entending treason, desired the king with a number of his Lordes to come and feast with him within his sayd Castle, the which of the king was graunted. And at the day assigned

Thong Castle.

the king and his Lords came vnto the sayd Thongcastle to dynner, where he with his, was well and honourably receyued, and also deyntily serued.

A trayterous practise not altogether preuenged.

¶ But when the king and his Lordes were in their most mirth, this Hengist had commaunded before, that his awne knightes shoulde fall out among themselues: which beyng so done, the remnaunt of his Sarons, as it were in parting of frayes, should fall vpon the Britons, and slay them all, sauing only the king. The which thing was done, as ye heard before deuised, and the king was kept and holden as prisoner.

¶ Hengist then hauing the King as prisoner, and a great part of the rulers of Briteyn, thus as aforesayde subdued, was somedeale exalted in pride,

Polichron.

and compelled the king to geue vnto him, as Polichronica sayth, three prouinces in the East part of Briteyn, that is to say, Kent, Sussex, Norffolke and

Hengistes lande.

Suffolke (as sayth the Floure of Histories) But Guido de Columna sayth, that the aforesayde three Prouinces were Kent, Essex, Norffolke and Suffolke. Of the which sayde Prouynces when Hengist was possessed, he suffered the king to go at his libertie. And then Hengist began his Lordship ouer Kent, and sent other of his Sarons to guyde and gouerne the other Prouynces, vntill he had sent for other of his kinsmen to whome he purposed to geue the same Prouynces vnto.

¶ Thus Hengist beyng in the possession of this Prouynce of Kent, com-

Mathew of Westminst.

maunded his Sarons to call it Hengistes land, whereof as some Authors wryte, the whole land of Briteyn tooke his first name of England: But that is not so, as after shall be shewed in the story of King Egbert.

¶ The

¶ The Lordship or kingdome of Kent had his beginning vnder Hengist, in the fift yere of Vortigers second reigne, and in the yere of our Lorde after most wryters. iiij. C. lxxvj. But Denys and other which say, it begonne. xxj. yeres sooner, alloweth the beginning hereof to be when Hengist had first the gift of the same, by reason that Vortiger maryed his daughter. This Lordship conteyneth the Countrie that stretcheth from the East Ocean vnto the Ryuer of Thamys, and vpon the Southeast, Southery, and vpon the West, London: vpon the Northeast the Thamys aforesayde, and also Esser, and in this Lordship was also conteyned the Isle of Thanet, which Lordship or kingdome endured after most wryters, from the tyme of the first yere of the reigne of Hengist, vntill the. xxb. yere of Egbert before named, which by that accompt should be. iij. Cxlij. yeres. At which season the sayd Egbert then king of West Sarons, subdued Baldredus then king of Kent, and ioyned it to his awne kingdome. Howbeit Polichronica affirmeth it to endure by the space of. iij. C. lxviij. yeres, vnder xb. kinges, whereof Baldredus was the last. The first Christen king of this Lordship was Ethelbertus or Ethelbert, the which receyued the fayth of Christ by Austine or Augustine the Monke, in the yere of our Lorde. iiij. C. xcvj. The which Ethelbert caused the Monasterie of Saint Peter and Paule at Cantorbury to be buylded, and as some say, he first began the building of Poules Church in London. He gaue vnto Aulkyn and his Successors Bishoppes of Cantorbury, a place for the Bishoppes See, at Christes Church within the sayd Citie, and endowed it with many riche possessions, as more at large shall be shewed in the lyfe of Careticus.

The kingdome of Kent continued CCC. xlij. yeres.

Ethelbertus the first christian king of Kent.

¶ This Hengist and all the other Sarons which ruled the. vij. principates of Briteyn, as after shall be shewed, are called of most writers Reguli, which is as much to say in our vulgare speche, as small or petie kings: So that this Hengist was accompted as a little king. The which when he had thus gotten the rule of the three Prouinces before mencioned, he sent for mo Sarons, and gathered them together that were sparckled abroade, so that in these Prouinces the fayth of Christ was vtterly quenched and layde a sleepe.

Reguli. Small kinges

¶ Then Hengist with Octa his sonne gathered a great strength of Sarons, and fought with the Britons and ouercame them, and chased them in suche wise that Hengist kept his Lordship in peace and warre the space of xxiiij. yeres as most wryters agree.

¶ Nowe let vs returne againe to Vortiger, the which when he sawe the Sarons in such wise encrease their strength, & the Britons dayly to decrease, for as Gaufride sayth, the Sarons had the rule of London, Yorke, Lincolne, and Winchester, with other good townes. Wherefore the king for feare of the Sarons, and also for that he was somewhat warned of the conning of the two brethren, Aurely, and Uter, sonnes of Constantyne: He therefore considering these manye and great daungers, fled into Cambria, or Wales, and there held him for the more suretie, where before he had builded a strong Castle. Of the which buylding, and impediment of the same, and of the Prophet Marlyn many thinges are written by Gaufride, and reported by the common voyce of the people yet at this day.

¶ Now while Vortiger was thus in his Castle in Wales, the aforenamed two brethren Aurely and Uter prepared their nauie and men of armes,

Aurely. Uter.

and passed the Sea, and landed at Totnesse, whereof when the Britons had knowledge, they drew vnto them in all hastie wise. The which sayd brethren, when they saw that they had a competent number of Knightes and men of warre, first of all made towarde Wales to distresse Uortiger.

¶ Whereof he being well warned, and knowing also that he coulde not make sufficient defence against them, he therefore furnished his Castle with strength of men and victuall, entending there to sauegarde himselfe, but all was in vaine: For the said two brethren with their army, besieged the Castle and after many assaultes, with wyldefyre consumed the same, and Uortiger also, and all that were with him.

¶ Of this Uortiger it is redde, that he lay with his owne daughter, in trust that Kinges should come of his blood. And lastly, he ended his life as before is expressed, when he had reigned now the second tyme .ix. yeres.

475 Ourannus, for so much as the Children of his brother Congallus were but yong, was ordeyned king of Scottes, and guyded them in good peace and quietnesse a long space: but at the last he was slaine for extorcion, that Tomset his Chauncelour vsed in his name.

Extorcion.

481 Aurelius Ambrose, the seconde sonne of Constantine was by the Britons made king of Briteyn. Of him it is written that when he vnderstood of the deuision that was in the land of Briteyn betwene Uortiger and the Saxons, and in what maner the Saxons had subdued the Britons, he in all goodly haste, with the ayde of the king of little Briteyn, sped him into his land, and first came to Yorke, and there chased the Saxons that helde the Citie with Octa the sonne of Hengist, and tooke the sayde Octa, and kept him as prisoner a certeyn season.

1 Aurelius Ambrose.

Octa taken & after escaped.

¶ But howe it was, by treason of his keeper or otherwise, he brake Prison and escaped. And after, he with his father gathered a great hoste, and met Aurelius and his Britons, at a place called Crekynforde, where was foughten a strong and mightie battaile, to the losse of both parties, but the greater losse fell vpon the Saxons: For of them was slaine foure Dukes, and .viij.M. of other men, and the residue chased to their great daunger. Yet this notwithstanding Hengist continued his Lordship in Kent: and Aurelius Ambrose kept the Countrie called Logiers or middle England with Wales, and chased the Saxons that dwelled in the two Prouinces of East Saxon, and East Anglis out of those Countries.

Crekinford battayle.

¶ And in this tyme a Saxon named Ella, with his three sonnes, Symon, Pletynger, and Cissa, came with three Shippes or Hulkes, and landed in the South part of Briteyn, & slue many Britons, at a place then named Cuneuesthre, or Coningsborough & chased many into a Wood then called Andresleger, and after occupied that Countrie, and inhabited himselfe & his Saxons within the sayde Prouince, making himselfe king and Lorde thereof: By reason wherof and by his might and power, the said Prouince or Country was after named the kingdome or Lordeship of the South Saxons. The which after most writers had his beginning the xxxii. yere after the first comming of Hengist, which was the yere of our Lorde 482. and the second yere of the reigne of Aurely Ambrose then King of Briteyn.

Ella. Symon. Pletynger. Cissa.

South Saxons.

¶ The kingdom of the South last aboue named had on the East side, Kent, on the

on the South, the See and the Isle of Wight, and on the West, Hampshire, and in the North Southerey, and conteyned Southhampton, Somersetshire, Deuonshire and Cornewall. Of which sayde kingdome Ethelbald or Ethelwald was the fourth king, and the first christen king. This kingdome endured shortest season of all the other kingdomes: For it endured not aboue an hundred and .xij. yeres, vnder .v. or .vij. kings at the most.

Ethelwald the first christian king of the South Saxons.

¶ But now to returne where we left: Aurely which as before you haue heard, held and occupied the middle part of Briteyn with Cambria or Wales, did his diligence to repayre ruynous places, as well Temples as other, and caused the seruice of God to bee sayde and done, which by the meane of the Saxons was greatly decayed thorough all Briteyn.

Aurely inhabited Wales.

¶ And after this, Aurely besieged the Saxons in the hill of Badon or Baathe, where he slue many of them. But dailye the Saxons encreased and landed in great Briteyn, as shall appere. For shortly after a Saxon named Porth, landed with his two sonnes at a Hauen in Susser, after whose name as some wryte, the Hauen was afterwards called Portesmouth, which Hauen is so called to this day. And lykewise they came to lande in diuers places of Briteyn, so that Aurelius had with them manye conflictes and battailes, wherein he sped diuersly, for he was sometime victour and sometime ouercome.

Portesmouth.

¶ It is written in the English Chronicle and other, that Aurely by the helpe of Marlyn did fetch the great stones now standing vpon the playne of Salsburie, (called the Stone Henge) out of Ireland, and caused them to be set there as they now stand, in the remembraunce of the Britons that were there slaine and buried in the time of the trepterous communication that was had with Hengist and his Saxons as before in the storie of Uortiger is touched: But Polichronica allegeth the same act to Uter his brother.

Marlyn. Stonehege. Salsbury playne.

¶ In the tyme of this Aurely, as sayeth Polichronica, dyed Hengist in his bed, when he had reigned ouer the Kentishe Saxons .xxiij. yeres. After whose death Octa his sonne ruled the sayde kingdome other .xxiij. yeres. Albeit that the Britishe bookes and also the Englishe Chronicle, saye that Aurelius slue in battaile Hengist, & then tooke to his grace Octa his sonne, and gaue to him and his Saxons a dwelling place in the Countrie of Galewaye, which seemeth not lykely, for matter that shall after ensue, and also that which before is touched of the Pictes and Scottes in the time of the miserie of the Britons.

Hengist dead. Octa.

¶ Now it folowth, that this Octa, neyther augmented nor minished his Lordship, but helde him therewith contented as his father had lefte it vnto hym.

¶ And finally in the ende of the reigne of Aurely, Pascentius the yongest sonne of Uortiger, which after the death of his father was fled into Ireland for feare of Aurely, purchased ayde of Guiliamor king of Ireland. And with a great armie inuaded this lande of Briteyn, by the Countrie of Wales, in taking the Citie of Menenia, now called S. Dauids, and in wasting the sayd Countrie with sworde and fyre. In the which season and time Aurelius laye sicke in the Citie of Winchester.

Pascentius.

Guiliamore king of Ireland.

¶ For which cause he desyred his brother Uter to gather an hoste of Britons together, and to appease the malice of Pascencius and his Adherents.

The

The which accordingly prepared his hoste, and at length ouercame the hoste of Pascentius and slue him and the aforenamed Guyliamour in the Fielde.

¶ Howbeit, Gaufride reporteth this storie otherwise, affirming that Pascentius the sonne of Uortiger, who for sauegarde of his lyfe, fled into Germany, came with a great armie of Germaynes out of the same Countrie against Aurelius to be reuenged vpon him for his fathers death, and gaue battaile vnto Aurelius himselfe, in the which the sayde Pascentius and hys Germaines were discomfited and put to flight. Then Pascentius who durst not after the sayde discomfiture returne into Germany, gate him into Ireland desiring ayde of Guillomannius then king of that Countrie, who taking compassion of him, ayded him with all he might. And so by the helpe of the sayde king arriued at Menenia, now called S. Dauids in Wales: At the which season Aurelius being sick at Winchester, commaunded his brother Uter to gather an armie to appease his malice, the which he did, and then went into Wales to meete hym, where was foughten a cruell battaile betweene them, in the which Uter had the victorie, and Pascentius and Guillomannius were slaine.

¶ Now while Uter was thus gone against Pascentius, a Saxon, feyning himselfe a Briteyn, and a cunning man in Phisick, by the entisement of Pascentius & vpon great rewards by him promised, came vnto Aurely where he lay sicke, and by his subtill and false meanes, purchased fauour with those that were nere vnto the Prince, that he was put in trust to minister potions and Medicines vnto the king. This man of some writers is called Copa, and of some Coppa, but of Gaufride Copa. The which when he had espied his conuenient time, gaue to Aurelius a potion enpoysoned: by violence whereof he shortly after dyed, when he had reigned. xix. yeres, and was buried at Stonhenge besides Amesburie.

Treason.

Uffa, first king of the East Anglis.

¶ In the time of the reigne of the aforesayde Aurely (Polichronica sayeth) that the kingdome of East Anglys began vnder a Saxon named Uffa, in the yere of our Lorde. CCCC. xcij. The which conteyned that Prouince which we call now Norffolk and Suffolk. They had in the East and Northsides, the Sea, on the Northwest, Cambridesshire: notwithstanding diuers writers affirme Cambridgshire to be parte of the sayde kingdome, and in the West S. Emondes Diche, and Hertfortshire, and in the South Esser. Thys Lordship was called first Uffins Lordship, and the kings thereof were named Uffins, or as some write, they were called Uffines people, but at the last they were named East Anglis.

Redwallus the first christian king of the East Anglis.

Sebertus was the first builder of Paules Church.

¶ The first christen king of this principate, was Redwallus, but he was not so constant as was meete for his Religion. His sonne named Corpwaldus was more stedfast, which after was slaine of a misbeleuing man, and for Christes faith as some write. But Guido sayth that Sebertus was the first Christian king of this Lordship, and that he made Paules Church of London. This Lordship vnder. xij. kings, endured vntill the Martirdome of S. Edmond the last king thereof, the which was martired in the yete of our Lorde. viij. hundreth. lxir. And of this Lordeship at those dayes was Elman or Thetford the chiefe Towne.

Thetford.

THe Historie of Scotland sayth, that the Pictes and Scottes were alyed with this Ambrose, and made partakers and chiefe doers in all the victories

ries that the Britons atchieued against the Saxons.

500
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UTer the last and yongest sonne of Constantine, and brother of Aurely, tooke vpon him the Kingdome of Briteyn, and gouerned the same verye honourably. This man was surnamed Pendragon. The cause thereof, as sayth the English Chronicle, was for that Merlyn lykened him vnto a Dragon vnder a starre apering in the firmament: whereof there is made long processe in the story of Gaufride, but Layland a man in his tyme very skilfull in the antiquities of this Realme, thinketh this name was geuen him for his great prudence and wisedome wherein Serpentes do excell. But how so euer it were, truth it is, that after Uter (as is aforesayde) was made king, he atchiued many victories against the Saxons, and lastlye slue theyr chiefe Capitaines, Octa, & Cosa, as Gaufride writeth of him: It is also written that he was enamored vpō the Dukes wife of Cornewal named Igerne, and for to obtaine his vnlefull lust, he sought many and dyuerse meanes: So that lastly he made warre vpon her Husbande named Garolus, or Gorleys, and at length slue the sayde Duke at his Castle called Tyntagell, standing in Cornewall, and after maryed his wyfe, and receyued of her the noble knight Arthur, and a daughter named Anne. And in the ende he dyed at Uerolame by force of poyson, when he had reigned. xvj. yeres, and was likewise burned at Stonage or Stonehenge, vpon the plaine of Sarisbury, leauing after him the most puysaunt and noble King Arthur.

Uter Pendragon.

The birth of king Arthur.

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ARthur, the sonne of Uter Pendragon, of the age of. xv. yeres, or as some wryte. xviij. tooke vpon him the gouernement of Briteyn, and hauing continuall battayle and mortall warre with the Saxons, did meruaylously prosper and preuayle.

¶ Here sayth Fabian I would fayne declare the fame of this noble Prince to the comfort of other to follow his martiall dedes, so that I might somwhat iustifie my report by some autentique Authour, but hereof I doubt the more because of the saiyng of Reynulph Monke of Chester, which voucheth vpon William of Malmesbury, wryter of the Historyes of kinges, as is rehersed at length in the. vj. Chapter of the fift booke of the sayd Reynulph, vnto the which place because I would be briefe I referre the reader. But somewhat yet to say to the honour of so great and victorious a Champion as was thys Arthure, I will do my endeuour, so farre forth as I may be able to auouche my saiyng by sufficient warrandise, and therewith glad the Welshmen, that he should discende of so noble a victour, that so many dedes of honour in his dayes executed. For though of him be written many thinges in the Englishe Chronicle of small credence, and farre discordant from other writers, yet all agree in this, that he was a noble and victorious Prince in all his deedes, and testifie that he fought. xij. notable battayles against the Saxons, and had alwayes the vpper hande: But that notwithstanding he could not auoyde them out of his lande, but that they helde theyr Countries, which they were possessed of, as Kent, Southerey, Northfolke, Southfolke. Notwithstanding some wryte that they helde those Countries of him as tributaryes. And the foresayd. xij. battayles as I finde written in the auncient wryter Nennius, who lined about the yere of Christes incarnation. 620. whose authoritie I preferre.

Nennius.

preferre, wryteth thereof as foloweth.

¶ The first battayle (sayth he) was foughten in the mouth of the water of Gleyn, otherwise called Gledy.

¶ The second, the thirde, the fourth and fift, nye vnto another Ryuer called Dugiesse, the which is in the Countrie of Lyneweys.

¶ The sixt vpon the Ryuer called Ballus.

¶ The.vij. in the Wood of Calidon, otherwise called Carcoite Celidon.

¶ The.viij. beside the Castle called Guynyon.

¶ The. ix. in Careillion in Wales.

The.x. in a place by the sea syde called Traphenrith, otherwyse Rytherwyde.

¶ The. xj. vpon an hill named Agned Cathregonion.

¶ The. xij. at the hill or Towne of Bathe, where many a one was slaine by the force and might of Arthure.

¶ For as it is reported of him, he slue with his awne hande in one day by the helpe of God, an hundreth and fortie Saxons, he bare the Image of our Lady in his Shielde, which shielde he called Pridwen, his swoorde was called Calaber, and his Speare was called Rone, after the Britishe tongue or speeche. John Frosard affirmeth, that king Arthure first builded the Castle of Windsour, and there founded the order of the round Table: but some thinke it was rather Winchester, for there is the Table.

Pridwen. Calaber. Rone.

¶ In this tyme also I finde mencion made of a noble and baliant man called Arthgall, and he was the first Erle of Warwike, and he was one of the knightes of the round Table of king Arthure, after whome folowed by succession Morvyde, and Merthrude. This Arthgal tooke a Beare for his beast because the first sillable of his name which is Arth in the Britishe speche, and is in English a Beare.

Arthgall the first Earle of Warwike.

¶ About the fift yere of his reigne, began the Lordship of the West Saxons, vnder the Saxon called Cerdicus and Kenricus his sonne: For Dionice and other say, that this Lordship or kingdome should haue his beginning the lxxj. yere after the first comming of Hengist, or the yere of our Lord fiue hundreth. xxij. which agreeth with the fift yere of Arthure aforesayd.

Cerdicus first king of the west Saxons.

¶ This Lordship conteyned the West Country of England, as Wiltshire, Somersethire, Berkshire, Dorcethire, Deuonshire, and Cornewall, and had in the East syde, Southhamton, on the North Thamys the famous Ryuer, on the South and West, the Sea Ocean.

¶ The aforesayd Cerdicus, which of some is called Childericus, landed first at Cerdishore, which now is called Yermouth, an hauen Towne in the Countie of Norffolke. And by the helpe of other Saxons which then dwelled there, the sayde Cerdicus at length obteyned the aforesayde Countries, and named them West Saxons, and reigned therein as Lorde and king a certeyn of yeres, and after him Kenricus his sonne.

Yarmouth.

¶ The first christian king of this Prouince: was named Kyngilsus, and conuerted to the fayth by meanes of that verteous man Brennus Bishop of Dorchester. To whome Quichelinus brother of the aforesayde Kyngilsus, gaue the sayde Citie to make there his See, after that he also had receyued Baptisme of the sayd Berinus. And as Guydo sayth, the sayde Quichelinus gaue after to the Bythoppe of Wynchester. vij. Myle compasse of lande to buylde their a Bishops See, the which was accomplished and finished by Kenwalcus

Kingilsus the first christian king of the west Saxons.

Berinus bishop of Dorchester.

Kenwalcus his sonne.

¶ This kingdome endured longest of all the other, which were seuen in number, or sixe beside this. Some writers accompt the continuance of thys kingdome from Cerdicus to Egbert, and some to the last yere of Alluredus. But Guydo accompteth the continuance of this kingdome from the first yere of Cerdicus vnto the last yere of Edward the Confessor, and by that accompt it should endure fiue hundred and.liiij. yeres: But most agree that it should be reconed from the first yere of Cerdicus to the last yere of Alluredus, for he made one Monarchy of all the.vij. kingdomes, in the which time passed away. CCC.lxxviij. yeres.

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Guydo.

The kingdome of the west Saxons cõtinued fiue C.liij. yeres.

¶ But nowe to returne to Arthur, the which by a long tyme dwelled in warre and mortall battaile with the Saxons, by meane of their daylie repaire into this lande. The which also alyed them with the Pictes and other Nations, and made their partie the stronger by that meane: But yet king Arthur brought them into such an obedience, that they knowledged him to be the chiefe Lorde of Briteyn.

¶ Finally, when he had by a long time maintained his warres against the Saxons, and specially against Cerdicus king of West Saxons: he for a tynall concorde gaue vnto the sayde Cerdicus (as sayth Polichronica) in his sixe Chapter of his fift Booke, the Prouinces of Hampshire and Somersetshire. And when he had set his lande in some quietnesse, he betooke the rule thereof vnto his Nephew Mordred, and with a chosen armie sayled (as sayth Gaufride and other) into Fraunce where as sundrie Authors write, he wrought wonders.

Mordred.

After the departure of Arthur (as Polichronica sayeth) the aforesayde Mordred being desirous to be king, feared somewhat the might of Cerdicus king of the West Saxons: he therfore sought for his fauour and to obteyne his good will, gaue vnto him certaine Townes, Forces, and Castels, and other great giftes, so that at the last he wanne him, in such sort that he consented to Mordreds request: in so much that Mordred was shortly after at London crowned king of Briteyn, and Cerdicus was after the maner of the Pagans crowned king of West Saxons at Wynchester.

Treason.

¶ Now when knowledge came to Arthur of all this treason wrought by his Nephew Mordred: he in all the haste made towarde Briteyn and landed at Sandwiche, where he was met of Mordred and his people, which gaue vnto him a strong battaile at the time of his landing, and there Arthur lost many of his Knightes, as the famous knight Gawen and other. But yet this notwithstanding, Arthur at the length recouered the land and chased his enimies, and after the buriall of his Cosyn Gawen and other of his, that were there slaine, he set forward his hoste to pursue his enimies.

¶ Mordred being thus ouerset of his Uncle at the Sea side withdrewe him to Winchester: where he being furnished of newe Souldiours, gaue vnto Arthur the second battaile, wherin also Mordred was put to the worste and constrained to flee. Thirdly and lastly, the sayde Mordred fought with his Uncle Arthur at Baath, where after a long and daungerous fight, Mordred was slaine, and the victorious Arthur wounded vnto death, when he had reigned. xxvj. yeres, and after buried in the vale or Isle of Aualon, nowe

Mordred slaine.

nowe called Glaſcenburie, whether he was conueyed to bee cured of hys woundes. Who ſo luſt to know more touching the certeyntie and truth of theſe matters maye reade the booke of the excellent antiquary John Leyland, intituled the Aſſertion of Arthur, where euerie thing is more at large diſcourſed.

534 EUgenius the thirde, the ſonne of Congallus, was made king of Scotland after Conrannus, and reigned. xxiiij. yeres. The Scottiſhe Hiſtorie affirmeth, that he with his Scottes were preſent in the battailes that Mordred fought againſt Arthur.

¶ The Scottes ſay that this Mordred was king of Pictes, and that Arthur was ſlaine in battaile, and the Britons diſcomfited, and Guanora the Queene taken priſoner by the Scottes with great ſpoyle.

543 1 COnſtantine the thirde, the ſonne of Cador Duke of Cornewal, and Cosyn to king Arthur by aſſent of the Britons was crowned king, and he was by the two ſonnes of Mordred grieuouſly vexed, for that they claymed the lande by the right or title of their father. So that betweene him and them were foughten many and ſundry battayles, but where or when, it is not ſhewed, neyther are the names of the two ſonnes of Mordred expreſſed.

¶ But ſundrie Authors agree that after the aforeſayde two battailes thus foughten finally the two ſonnes of Mordred were conſtreyned of pure force to flie for their ſafetie. And ſo the one fled to London, and the other tooke Sanctuarie in the olde Abbey Church of Wincheſter, dedicated to Saint Amphibalus.

¶ Whereof Conſtantine being warned, left not vntill he had ſlaine the one within the Monaſtery of Wyncheſter, and the other within a Church or Temple of London, of the which crueltie of his, Gildas ſore complayneth.

Gildas.

¶ When Conſtantyne had thus ſubdued his enimies and thought himſelfe now in a ſure and quiet ſtate: then aroſe by his awne kynſman named Aurelius Conanus and arrered mortall battaile againſt him, and at the laſt ſlue him in the Fielde, when he had reigned three yeres, who was buried at Stonehenge. But ſome writers ſay, he dyed by the hande of God of a great ſickneſſe.

Aurelius Conanus.

546 1 AUrelius Conanus after the death of Conſtantine was crowned king of Briton. This man was noble and liberall, but he vſed to cheriſhe and make much of ſuch as loued ſtrife and diſſention within his lande, and gaue light credence to them that accuſed other, were it right or wrong. And as ſayeth Gaufride and other, he tooke by ſtrength his Uncle, which of right ſhould haue bene king and caſt him into a ſtrong priſon, and after ſlue traunorously the two ſonnes of his ſayde Uncle: But his reigne continued not long, for as ſayth Gaufride, he dyed in the ſecond yere of his reigne leauing after him a ſonne named Uortiporius.

¶ And here is to be noted, that after this time, the Britons decreaſed of Lordſhip and rule within Briteyn, and drewe them toward Wales, ſo that the Countrie about Cheſter was the chiefeſt of their Lordſhip within Briteyn. For daily the Saxons landed with their companies, and occupied the principall partes of the ſame, as ſhall after appere.

Britons decayed.

¶ Now

¶ Now in the time of the reigne of the aforeſayde Aurely (as ſayeth Polichronica, Guydo and other) begamne the kingdome or Lordſhip of Bernicia, vnder a Saxon named Ida in the. D. xlviij. yere of our Lord, and in the laſt yere of the ſayde Conanus. This Lordſhip was in the North parte of Briteyn, and grewe in ſhort while more and more, ſo that finally, it was named the kingdome of Northumberlande, and was firſt deuyded into two kingdomes, whereof the firſt as aboueſayde was called Bernicia, and the other Deyra. The meres or markes of this kingdome of Northumberlande, were by Eaſt and by Weſt the Ocean Sea, by South the Ryuer of Humber, and ſo downeward toward the Weſt by the endes of the Shires of Notyngham and Derby, vnto the Ryuer of Merſe, or Martia, and by North the Scottiſhe Sea, which is called Foorth or Frith in Scottiſhe, and in Britiſhe, the Werde.

Ida the firſt king of Bernicia, or Northumberlande.

Deyra.

¶ The Southſide of this Lordſhip is called Deyra, which is now called the Biſhoprick of Durham, and the Northſide was called Bernicia, which were then departed or ſeuered with the Ryuer of Tyne, Deyra conteyned the lande from Humber to the Ryuer of Tyne, and Bernicia included the Countrie from Tyne to the Scottiſhe Sea.

Biſhoprick of Durham.

¶ In Bernicia reigned firſt as is aboueſayde, Ida or Idas, and in Deyra reigned firſt Ella, which Lordſhips beganne both within three yeres. But in proceſſe of time both in one were named the kingdome of Northumberlande, which ſo continued, ſome while vnder one king, and ſome while vnder two, the ſpace of. CCC. xxj. yeres, as ſayth Reynulph Monke of Cheſter. And the name continued afterward vnto the Saxons and Danes, vntill the comming of Edredus brother of Ethelſtane, and ſonne of Edward the elder. The which Edredus in the. ix. or laſt yere of his reigne ioyned this to his awne kingdome. By which reaſon it ſhould ſeeme that this kingdome endured vnder that name foure hundreth. ix. yeres.

Ella firſt king of Deyra.

¶ The firſt chriſtian Prince of this kingdome was named Edwynus, that receyued the fayth of S. Paulyne (as Guydo ſayth.) In this Lordſhip alſo were included theſe Shires and Countries now called, Yorke, Notyngham Shire, Derby Shire, the Biſhoprick of Durham, Copelande and other.

Edwinus the firſt chriſtian king of Northumberlande.

¶ Among the many kinges of Saxones that reigned in thys Lordſhip, which after ſome writers were to the number of. xxiij. there was one which was accompted the. viij. king, named Ethelfridus, who deſtroyed moe Britons than all the other Saxon kings, and he was father to Oſwy, called Saint Oſwald.

Ethelfridus.

¶ But moſt cruellye raged he againſt them in a battayle that he had beſyde Cheſter, where by the inſtigation of Ethelbert king of Kent, he ſlue alſo two thouſande Monkes of the houſe of Bangor, as ſayeth Polichronicon in the. x. Chapter of his fift Booke, the which Monkes were come together to praye for the good ſpeede of the Britons. And beſyde this number of Monkes, there were fiftie that fled, whereby they with their leader Brocinall were ſaued. Of ſuch a number of Monkes in one houſe, might be demed a wonder: But Reynulph and Guydo alſo do affirme that in the houſe of Bangor at thoſe dayes, were three tymes ſeuen hundreth Monkes which liued by the trauayle of their handes.

A ſlaughter of Monkes.

Gaufride.

¶ The cause of the great slaughter of the aforesayd Monkes is declared by Gaufride in the. viij. booke and. iiij. Chapter, who wryteth thereof as followeth. Their Abbot sayth he named Dionotus, was a man singulerly well learned in the liberall sciences, who when Austyn required the Britishe Bishoppes to submit themselues vnto him, and perswaded him to take paynes with him to preach the Gospell vnto the Englishe Nation, proued by diuerse reasons that they ought not to yelde any such subiection vnto him, forasmuch as they had an Archbishop of their awne, nor yet to preach to their enemies the Saxons, which ceased not dayly to take from them theyr awne naturall Countrie, for the which cause they hated them deadly, and weighed not what sayth or Religion they were off, neyther did they communicate with them in any thing more than with Dogges. Therfore when Ethelbert king of Kent saw how the Britons disdeyned to submit themselues vnto Austyn, and contemned his doctrine, and preaching, beyng highly displeased therewith he incensed Ethelfride king of Northumberland, and other of the Saxon kinges also, to assemble a great power of men of armes, and then to go to Bangor and destroy Dionotus, with the Clergie there, & all the sayd religious persons that had so dispised the sayd Austyn. The which Princes folowing his aduice and counsayle, gathered together a wonderfull great army, and so marching forwardes towardes Wales, came into the towne of Chester, where Brocuall head ruler of that towne wayted for theyr comming: whether also came at that same season an innumerable sort of Monkes and Heremites out of diuerse Prouinces of the Britons, but especially out of the Citie of Bangor, to pray to God to saue and defende their people.

¶ Nowe when Ethelfridus king of Northumberlande had arrered a great power out of all quarters, he set vpon the sayde Brocuall, who by reason he had the lesse number of Souldiers, was constreyned to forsake the Citie and flie away, but not before he had slaine a great number of his enemies. Now when Ethelfridus had taken the City, and vnderstood the cause of the comming of the sayd Monkes, he commaunded them first of all to be set vpon, and so were there of them the same day a thousand and two hundred martyred. Hetherto Gaufride.

Oswald or Oswy. xvij. yd. Lordships to Monoc. xij. Abbeyes.

¶ The aforenamed Oswy or Oswolde, was after king of this Prouynce, which gaue with his daughter Elfleda a Nonne. xij. Lordshippes vnto the Church, to buyld therewith. xij. Monasteries, whereof. vj. of the sayd Lordshippes were in Bernicia, and. vj. in Deyra, as sayth Guydo and Reynulph in his fift booke, and. xvj. Chapter.

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VOrtiporius the sonne of Conanus, reigned after his father ouer the Britons: Of this man is no notable thing written, but that Guydo sayth he was a victorious knight, and that in sundry battayles he discomfited the Saxons.

¶ In the tyme of the reigne of this king, a Saxon named Ella the sonne of Iffus, began to reigne on the Southsyde of the kingdome of Northumberland called Deyra, as before is expressed.

¶ When Vortiporius had ruled the Britons foure yeres, he dyed, leauing none heire of his body.

¶ And forasmuch as all writers agree that the kinges of West Saxons, at

at length subdued all the other kingdomes in Briteyn, and made the whole lande of Briteyn but one kingdome or Monarchy, and all other aswell of Britons as Saxons left off: Therefore I entende to bring in the name of euery king of the west Saxons from the first Cerdicus or Childricus, and ioyne them with the kinges of the Britons, for so long as hereafter the sayde Britons continued their reigne within any part of Briteyn.

552 / 1

MAlgo a Duke of Briteyn, and nephew to Aurely, reigned ouer the Britons. This Malgo by the testimonie of many writers was the comlyest and most personable man of all the Britons that then lyued, and therewithall was a hardie knight. And he so withstood the Saxons, and kept them vnder, that they damnaged not the lande, the which he then had possession of, and as Gaufride sayth, he subdued fiue Prouynces, that is to say, Ireland, the Iles of the Orcades, Gothland, Iseland, Norway, and Denmarke, and held them in quiet possession.

Malgo.

Iselande.

Orchades.

¶ In the tyme of the reigne of this Malgo, reigned in the Lordeship or kingdome of Kent Ethelbert, who (as sayth Reynulph) assembled a great armie, and gaue battayle vnto Ceaulinus sonne of Kenricus, and then king of west Saxons, the cause whereof is not expressed. But this battayle was the first battaile that was foughten betwene the Saxons, after that they obteyned land and dwelling within Briteyn, which was foughten in a place called Wilbaldowne. And in that fight were slaine two Dukes of Ethelbertes, and himselfe with his people put to flight and chaced.

¶ Also the sayd Reynulph witnesseth that the yere folowing Cutwolphus the brother of Ceaulinus before named, fought strongly against the Britons at Bedford, and recouered from them foure Cityes or townes, named Liganborough, Egelsborough, Besington, and Eynsham.

¶ But now to returne to Malgo king of the Britons, the Authour of the Flowre of Histories sayth, that notwithstanding the many vertues, the which God had endued him with, yet in the ende he forgat God, forsaking all vertue and gaue himselfe to sundrie vices and sinnes, namely to the abhominable sinne of Sodomy: whereof ensued to him the wrath of God, wherby he was afterward sore persecuted of his enimies the Saxons.

Sodomy.

¶ It was not long after the aforenamed battaile done at Bedforde, but that the aforesayde Cutwolphus dyed: But yet his sayde brother Ceaulinus desirous of honour, mainteyned his warre against the Britons, so that after he made a newe voyage against them, and gaue them another discomfiture, and tooke from them the Cities of Bathe, Glouceſter, and Worcestre, which should be as Reynulph accompteth in the. xxix. yere of the reigne of Malgo.

¶ About the. xxviij. yere of his reigne Ceaulinus before named, gathered his Saxons, and fought with the Britons at a place called Fechanlege: where after long fight the sayde Ceaulinus chased the Britons, and wan of them victory: but his brother called Cutha, was slaine in the fight, for whom he made great sorow. Thus in his latter dayes, Malgo beyng oppressed and pursued of his enemies, lastly dyed, when he had reigned. xxxv. yeres.

568 / 17

COnwall was made king of Scottes, and reigned. x. yeres. He was a Man of great deuocion, and gaue much to Churches. He made many lawes concerning the libertie of Priestes. In his tyme Saint Colme of Ire-

land,

land, and Mungo the holy Bishop of Blasquew were in Scotland.

578
27 Kincatill brother of Conwallus reigned in Scotlande foure Monethes, and after him Aidane.xxbij.yeres. In his tyme variaunce happened betweene the Pictes and Scottes, because that Lerudeus kinge of Pictes would not restore to Aidane certaine Traytors which fled out of his land.

586
1 Careticus, or Carencius, as some call him, after the death of Malgo, reigned ouer the Britons. This Man was a louer of ciuile battayle, and was in maners and condicions the worst of all men, and therefore was hated of God and his subiectes, in such wyse as they excited and prouoked the Saxons to warre against him (as sayth Guydo) and chased him from Citie to Citie, and from Towne to Towne, vntill they had recouered from him all such land as his predecessor Malgo, had holden before him.

Ciuile battaile.

¶ But Polichronicon addeth more therevnto, and sayth, forasmuch as the Saxons knewe of the dissension betwene Careticus and his Britons, they in all haste sent into Ireland for the king called Gurmundus, king of the Affricans, and he warred so sore vpon the Britons, that lastly the sayd Careticus was faine to take the Towne nowe called Sicester, and therein besieged him with his Britons a certaine time, where, by dailye skirmishes and assaultes he lost many of his people.

Gurmundus king of Ireland.

Sicester.

¶ When Careticus had a season assayed and prooued the strength of hys enimies, and sawe that they still encreased and his people lessened and minished: he sodainely left that Towne, and with a certaine number of Britons tooke ouer Seuerne water and so into Wales, then called Cambria, which should be in the thirde yere of his reigne.

¶ Truth it is, that after Careticus and his Britons were thus driuen into Wales, yet he lefte not continually to make assaultes vpon the Saxons that were nere vnto him.

IN this time, or sone after, Ethelfridus ruled the North Saxons, for as sayeth Guydo, he began the reigne ouer Deyra and Bernicia, in the yere of our Lorde fiue hundred.xciij. This is Ethelfridus the sonne of Ethelricus that pursued so sore the Britons, & slue so great a number of the Monkes of the Towne of Bangor as is before rehersed, the which daylie warred vpon the Britons, and the Britons vpon him, so that he destroied & subuerted much of Christes fayth, with the helpe of the aforesayd Gormond: insomuch as the Bishops of London and Yorke, with other ministers of the Church, fled into diuers Countries, so that their Church dores were shut vp after them, or else occupied in the worshipping of their Idolles and false Goddes.

Ethelfridus the sonne of Ethelricus.

Bishops fled out of this Realme.

¶ Thus the fayth that had endured in Briteyn from the time of Lucius the first christian king in Briteyn till this day, neere vpon the space of foure hundreth yeres and odde, was almost extinct throughout all the lande.

Fayth of Christ decayed in Englande.

¶ And when the aforenamed Gurmond had finished his tirannie within the lande of Briteyn, then he sayled into France, where he was after slaine (as sayeth Polichronica) albeit the French Chronicle speaketh nothing of any such man during this persecution, as witnesseth Guydo.

Persecutiõ.

¶ During also this trouble betweene the Saxons and the Britons, the Lordship or kingdome of the East Saxons beganne to take place, as after shall be shewed.

¶ In

¶ In this time also Ethelbert reigned in Kent, and bare himselfe verie valiantly, in such wise that he enlarged his kingdome to the bounds of Humber. In which time Gregory, who for his notable deedes was surnamed the great, was made Bishop of Rome: This Gregory as before is touched in the storie of Ethelbert, hauing compassion on the Countrie from whence so fayre children came, as he before had seene, and thinking it not meete that it should be inhabited with Pagans or people of misbeliefe, sent into Briteyn a learned man named Austyne, with other of his brethren, to preache to the Anglis the fayth of Christ. But as sayeth Antoninus in the thirde Chapter, and xij. title of his aforesayde worke: when Austyne was three dayes iourney gone and passed, such a sodaine feare entered into him and his felowes that they turned againe. Then Gregory comforted the sayde companye, and sent them with Letters to the Bishop Arelatensis, wylling him to helpe and ayde him in all that to him needed. The tenour of which Letters and other sent to Ethelbert king of Kent, with their aunsweres, are written with other questions in the Register of Gregory, and in the bookes of Beda and other.

Gregory Bishop of Roime

Antoninus.

Austyn sent into Englãd to preache.

¶ Austyne being thus comforted, sped him on his iourney and landed on the East side of Kent in the Isle of Thanet with.xl. of his felowes, whereof some were Interpretours, or such as could speake all languages. Nere vnto the place before named, where Austyne landed, stood at those dayes, the manour or Palace of the sayde king Ethelbert, where at this daye appere some of the ruynous walles, and is called of the inhabitaunts of that Isle, Richbourgh. It is apparaunt betweene the Isle and the Towne of Sandwiche, vpon a Myle and a halfe from the sayde Towne, Eastwarde from Cauntorbury.

Richbourgh

¶ Then when Austyne was landed, he sent the sayde interpretoures vnto Ethelbert, saiyng that they were sent from Rome for the saluation of the king and his Realme. The king before time had heard of the fayth of Christ, for he had to wyfe a French woman that was christened, named Berta, and had receyued her vpon condicion that he should suffer her to lyue after her lawe.

¶ Then after a certaine time, the king spake with Austyne, but that was without the house, after the maner of his lawe, who against the comming of the king arrered and displayed a Banner of the Crucifixe, and preached to him the worde of God. Then the king sayde, it is fayre that ye promise, but for that it is to mee straunge and newe, I maye not so soone assent vnto yott. But for that ye become so farre for my sake, ye shall be well entreated, and haue all things that shall be vnto your necessarie, and we graunt you leaue to conuert of oure people as many as ye can. And when they had receyued this comfort of the king, they went with procession to the Citie of Cauntorbury, singing Alleluya, where they led their liues, like as holy fathers did first begin in the Primatiue Church, in fasting, praying, watching, and such lyke godly exercises. Fabian.

Procession.

¶ At length, when the king had well considered the cõuersion and godly lyfe of Austyn and his felowes, he heard them the more gladly, and lastly, by their good exhortacions & ghostly loue, he was conuerted, and christened in the yere of our Lord fiue hundreth. xcvj. and the first yere of his reigne, as sayth Polichronicon.

Ethelbert conuerted to the fayth of Christ.

Polichro.

Christes Church in Cauntozbury.

Saint Austines in Cauntozbury.

¶ Then the king gaue to Austyn a place foz his Bishops See, at Christes Church in Cauntozburie, and builded the Abbey of S. Peter and S. Paule, on the East syde of the sayde Citie, where after Austen and all the kinges of Kent were buried, and that place is called now Saint Austynes.

¶ Then Austyn sayled into Fraunce to the Bishop of Arelatensis, and was of him consecrated Archebishop of Cauntozburie.

Melitus. Iustus. Paulinus.

¶ Now when Gregozy was certefyed of the good expedition of Austyn, he sent to him mo helpers, as Melitus, Iustus, and Paulinus, with bookes and answeres to Austynes questions: that was, that all such goodes as fell to the Church, should be deuided into foure partes: The first part should go to the house and maintenance of the Bishoppes housholde: The seconde to the Clergie, the thirde to the amendment of the Churches, and the fourth to the relefe of poore people and deedes of mercie.

A charitable deuident.

Archbyshops to Cauntezburie & Yozke

¶ When Austyn had baptised a great part of the kingdome of Kent, he after made two Archbishops by the commaundement of Gregozy, the one at Cauntozburie, the which before was at London, and the other at Yozke, as sayth the wryter of the flowers of stozies: and by the helpe of Ethelbert, he assembled and gathered together the Bishoppes and Doctours of Briteyn, that were before disparkeled. The place of the assembly was long tyme after called Austynes Oke, which is expounded to be Austines strength, & is in the Marches oz confines of the people then called Wictij, now Wigornienſis, that is to say Wozcester. Foz this synode, as Bale writeth was holden in Wozcestershire.

Austynes Oke

¶ In this place, he charged the sayd Bishoppes, that they should ayde him to preach the wozde of God to the Anglis, and also that they shoulde among themselues amend certaine errozs then vsed in the Churche, and specially foz the tyme of keping their Easter, the contrary wherof, the Bishoppes of Briteyn held an opinion vntill (sayth Fabian) that Austyn by his prayers shewed there a Myracle by a blinde Angle oz Saxon.

Myracle.

¶ After the which Myracle shewed, the sayd Bishoppes applyed them to the will and minde of Austyn in that matter: But foz all this, there were of them that sayd, that they might not leaue the custome which they so long had continued, without the assent of all such as had vsed the same. Then he gathered a Synode, to the which came. vij. Bishoppes, but they agreed not.

¶ The Authour of the flower of stozies, sheweth howe Austyn hauing conference with the Britishe Bishoppes and Clergie, coulde in no wise perswade them at the first, to receyue his doctrine: And beeing by him required to come to a second Synode oz counsayle, as they were goyng to the same, they came first vnto a discrete godly man, which had of a long time led an Anchozes lyfe amongest them, to aske him counsayle, whether at the preaching of Austen they should forgo their olde tradicions oz no: who aunswered on this wyse: if he be a man of God, folowe him. To whom they sayd againe, & howe may we knowe that? you knowe (sayth he) that the Lozde gaue this commaundement, saiyng: Take my yoke vpon you, learne of me because I am lowely and meeke in heart, then is it likely that he beareth the yoke of Christ him selfe, and also offereth the same vnto you to beare. But if he be proude and hye minded, you may be sure that he is not of God, neyther ought you to take any regarde vnto his wozdes. Then sayde they againe, and how may

we discerne this? Yrouide (sayth he) that he and his may come first into the Synode, and if when you come, he arise vp and reuerence you, then you may be sure that he is Christes minister, and is to be heard obediently of you: But if he dispise you, and thinke himselfe to good to geue any such reuerence vnto you beyng the greater part, dispise you him againe. And it so foztuned afterwardes, that Austyn beyng set downe before they came in, sate still in his Chayze, and made them no countenaunce at all, neither yelded any reuerence vnto them. The which thing they beholding, were by and by in a chafe, and notyng him to be hautye and yzoude, endeuoured themselues, to contrary and speake against al that euer he spake: But who so desyzeth to read moze hereof, shall finde the same set out at large in Fabian in his fift part and. C. xix. Chapter.

These following were the names of the Britiſh Biſhoppes that were in thoſe dayes.

Henfortēſis, Tanenſis, Paternenſis, Bāchorenſis — The B. of — Hereford, Cardiffe, Llandaffe, Bangor

Elinenſis, Wiccenſis, Morganēſis — The B. of — S. Aſaph, Worceſter, Morgan

And all theſe were vnder the Archebiſhop of Peneuia, called at this day Saint Daupes.

Ethelbert founded Paules church in London, but some say Sigebert founded it.

¶ Ethelbert as diuers wryters doe wzite being now confirmed in the faith, among other chargeable and costlye deedes began the foundation of Paules Church within the Citie of London, and ozdeyned it foz the Bishops See of London. Foz the Archbishops See that before tyme had beene there, was by Austyne and Ethelbert at the sute and request of the Citizens of Cauntozburie, translated to Cauntozbury. But of the building of the Church of S. Paule, dyuers opinions be. Foz some wzite that it was builded oz begonne to be builded by Sigebert king of East Anglis, but moze truely king of Esser. This Ethelbert also foūded the Church of S. Andzow in Rochester in Kent.

Archebishoprike of Lōdō translated to Cantozbury.

S. Peters at Westminster.

The building of westminster.

¶ Also (as Fabian sayth) he excited an inhabitaunt oz Citizen of London to builde a Church oz Chappell in the wozship of Saint Peter in the West ende of London then called Thozney (and now the Towne of Westmynster, the which at that time was exceedingly fozgrowen with Thozns, Bushes and Bzyers,) where the sayde Citizen began to builde the Church of Westmynster, which afterwarde was by Edwarde the Confessour enlarged oz new buylded. But by king Henry the thirde it was newly edified and made as it is now a bewtifull Monastery, and he endued it with goodly possessions and riche Jewels.

¶ And as Reynulph sayeth, this king when he had reigned. lvj. yeres ouer the Lozdship of Kent, dyed in the. xxj. yere after that he had receyued the fayth of Christ.

595 AIdane king of Scottes, being confederate with the Britons about thys tyme warred fiercely against Ethelfride king of Nozthumberlande and the Pictes, and ouerthzewe them in two great battailes.

606 KEineth keir the some of Conwallus was ozdeyned king of Scotlande, and reigned onely foure Monethes. And after him Eugenius the fourth of that name, xb. yeres. He was a iust and verteous Prince, and instructed in his youth by the holy man Colme. He commaunded all Juggelers, Mynstrels,

Minstrels, Juggelers, & Scoffers banished as vagabonds.

strels, Scoffers and such idle persons eyther to auoyde his lande, or else to finde some honest craft or occupation to lyue by.

¶ During also the aforesayde persecution of the Britons, before anye ruler of them were specially named, began the reigne of the East Saxons (as sayeth Reynulph) vnder Sebertus their first king. Albeit that Guydo de Columna sayth, that it began when the kingdome of the East Anglis began. This kingdome, that is to say, Essex, hath on the East side the Sea, on the Weast Middlesex and London, on the South the Thamys, and on the North Suffolke, and endured two hundreth yeres, as most writers affirme.

Sebertus first king of the East Saxons.

¶ The first christian king of this Lordship was the aforenamed Sebertus, conuerted by the meanes of Mollitus Bishop of London, as sayth Guydo: But after his saiyng this Sebertus should be the thirde king of Esser. All writers agree that the kings of this Lordship were most commonly named vnder kings, or Pety kings, & were subiects vnto the kings of Mertia.

Sebertus conuerted to the christian sayth.

¶ But now to returne to the Britons, which in all this time occupied a part of Cornewall and the Countries of Cambria, as Northwales & Southwales, and there held them in making of assaultes vpon the Saxons as before is sayde, the which so continued by the space of.xxiiij. yeres. At which tyme the Britons of one assent chose for their souereigne and ruler the Duke of Northwales named Cadwane.

Cadwane.

613
1

CAdwane Duke of Northwales, was by one assent of the Britons made their Lorde and gouernour.

¶ Ye haue heard before what discorde and trouble was among the Britons in the time of Careticus last king, and long after, by reason wherof the Saxons wanne the more lande. And as before it is shewed that Ethelfride king of Northumberlande ouerset the Britons at the Citie of Chester, and forced them to flee ouer Seuerne, and so into Wales, where they then chose or elected this Cadwane to be their Duke and leader. The which after he was put in aucthoritie, assembled his Briteynes and came againe into Briteyn, and gaue battaile vnto the sayde Ethelfride, in the which they sped diuersly, so that some season the Saxons wanne, and sometime the Britons: But the Britons helde Chester and other good Townes, which they recouered at their last comming.

¶ It should seme by the meaning of Reynulph, that this Cadwan should at the length slea the sayde Ethelfride and Osricus, both kings of Bernicia and Deyra. But Guydo and Gaufride saye, that after this Cadwan had the better of Ethelfride, it was agreed by Mediatours that Ethelfride should enioy all the lande ouer and beyonde Humber into Scotland: and Cadwan also should haue the lande from Humber toward the South. To the which saiyng agreeth the Englishe Chronicle, affirming also that he should be the sonne of Brucinall King of Leycester, the which of other Writers is not testified.

Brucinall king of Leycester.

¶ It is also there shewed, that after the sayd accorde betwene Ethelfride and Cadwan, that then they continued during their lyues as two most speciall friendes and louers, during the reigne of this Cadwan, the two sonnes of Colricus, Kingilsus and Quichilinus after the death of their fathers brother, Colwolphus ruled ioyntly the principalitie of the West Saxons. The which in their

in their beginning fought against the Britons at Abyndon beside Oxford, and wanne of them the Towne and other holdes, which the Britons in that Countrie occupied. But by agreement of writers, this Cadwane was not at this conflict, neyther medled he so farre within the lande. But as it should seeme by Guydo, these Britons should be some company that should lyue vnder the tribute of the Saxons, the which for the manhood that they had heard reported of Cadwan, rebelled against the Saxons.

¶ Then it followeth, when this Cadwan had thus continued his amitie with Ethelfride, it fortuned, that this Ethelfride for hatred or otherwise, put from him his wyfe being great with childe, and tooke to him another. Wherfore this woman being remediless, calling to minde the great loue that was betweene her husbande and Cadwan, she went vnto him and most instantly besought him to reconcile hir Lorde and husbande, that she might be restored to his companie. But for that Cadwan, after many meanes and requests made, coulde not bring it about, he therefore tendring her necessitie kept her in his Court vntill she was delyuered of a man childe, whome she caused to be called Edwyn. And soone after was the wyfe of Cadwan delyuered of a sonne, whome the father named Cadwalyn. But the Authour of the Flowre of histories sayeth, that these two children were borne long before this time. The which should seme to be true, for so much as this Cadwalyn was of lawfull age to gouerne this lande when his father dyed, the which he coulde not do if he had bene borne but now, and of this ye may reade more in Fabian, in his fift booke and.C.xxviij. Chapter.

Edvvyn.
Cadwalyn.
Mathew of westminster.

¶ But to returne to the storye of Cadwan: About the.xiiij. yere of his reigne Quinchelinus that was brother vnto Kyngilsus, and ioyntly ruled the West Saxons, sent vpon an Easter day a Ruffian called Eumerus, to slea Edwyn king of Northumberland. This Cutthrote ruffian came to a Citie beside the water of Darewent in Darbishire, & wayted his tyme, and at the last finding the king finally accompanied, entending to haue runne through him with a swoorde enuenomed: But one Lylla the kinges trustie seruaunt, beyng without eyther childe or other weapon to defende his Maister, start betweene the king and the sword, and was striken through the body and dyed, and the king also was wounded with the same stroke: and after also he wounded another which was a knight, and then was he taken, and confessed by whom he was apointed to woorke that treason. The knight and the kinge that were wounded, lay long sicke before they were healed. And the night following the Queene was deliuered of a Daughter, the which King Edwyn caused to be Christened of Paulinus Archebishop of Yorke, in token that he woulde fulfill such promise touching the receyuing of baptisme as he before had made. And she was named Enfleda.

A vile Creytour.

Enfleda.

¶ And after Whitsontide then next following, Edwyn beyng scantly whole of the wounde, assembled his hoste, and made toward the kinges of the West Saxon, and after a great and sore fight, he vanquished and ouerthrew them. But for all this victory he forgat to be thankefull vnto God, the geuer not onlye of his health, but also of the same victory. And afterwarde he receyued letters of exhortation from Boniface then Bishop of Rome, to take vpon him baptisme: And the sayd Bishop likewise exhorted the Queene, and sent vnto her a Glasse to looke in, with a combe of Iuory richely garnished, and a shirt for

Tokens sent from the Bishop of Rome

for the king wrought in sundrie places with letters of Golde: But all this preuayled nothing at all.

¶ How be it, it was not long after, that the king assembled his counsaile, and by their agrement he was of the sayde Paulinus baptised within the sayde Citie, the.xj. yere of his reigne, and the yere of our Lorde. 627. He was the first Christian king that reigned in that Countrie. And after him, many of his Lordes and subiectes were also Christened of the sayde Paulinus, and the Flamyns or Bishops which were worshippers of false Goddes, were conuerted and made the Ministers of Christes Fayth. In token whereof, they armed themselues as knightes, and bestrydde good horsses, where before by their law, they might vse no armour, nor ryde but onely on a Mare. Fabian.

Edwyn the first christian king of Northumberland.

¶ From this tyme forwarde by the terme of. vj. yeres, during the lyfe of king Edwyn, Paulinus christened continually in both the Prouynces of Bernicia, and Deyra, in the Ryuers of Gueny, and Swala, which he vsed for his Fontes, and Preached in the Shire of Lyndesey, and builded a Churche of Stone at Lincoln; the which of some is supposed to be the Minster Churche. And in this tyme was so great peace in the Kingdome of Edwyn, that a woman might haue gone from one towne to another without griefe or anoyaunce. And for the reliefe and refreshing of wayfaring men, this Edwyn ordeined at cleere Welles and Springes, certeyne Cuppes or Dishes of Iron and brasse, and caused the same to be fastned vnto them with small cheynes, and no man was so hardy to take away any of those Cuppes, he kept so good iustice, and therewith was knightly of his deedes.

Christening first vsed in Ryuers.

Cuppes of Iron.

¶ He was the first that wanne the Isle of Eubonia, now called the Isle of Man. And by his meanes Orpewaldus, or Corpewaldus the sonne of Redwaldus king of the East Angles, or Norphis, to whom Edwyn had fled for succour, was conuerted to the true fayth, & a great part of his men with him.

Eubonia now called the Isle of Man.

¶ And about this season began the kingdome of Mertia or middle England, vnder the strong Saxon or Panyme called Penda, which Lordeship conteyned Huntingtonshire, Herefordshire, Glocestershire, and other, and that was the greatest of all the other kingdomes. And at that tyme reigned in diuerse partes of this land seuen kinges: Sibertus among the East Saxons: Redwold king of East Angles, nowe called Essex, Norffolk, Suffolk, and Cambridgeshire: Ethelbert king of Kent: Ethelwolphus king of Sussex: Kingilsus, and Quinchelimus king of West Saxons: Penda, of Mertia, and Edwyn of Northumberland.

¶ And for that this Edwyn excelled the other kinges, they enuied at him, and specially Penda king of Mertia, the which prouoked Cadwan king of Britons against him. So that they two assembled a great hoast against Edwyn, and lastly met in a place called Hatfield, and after sharpe and sore fight on both sides, there Edwyn was slaine, when he had reigned ouer the Northumbers. xvij. yeres. Fabian.

¶ When these two kinges Cadwan, & Penda, had thus ouercome the king, and slaine both him & many of his people, they became so cruell to men of that countrie, ỹ they destroyed therin great numbers of people, not sparing, men, women, children, religious persons, nor other. Wherfore Paulinus the Archebishop, beholding their cruelnesse, tooke with him the Queene, and Enfleda her daughter, & fled by water into Kent. And because the Bishoprich of Rochester

Paulinus.

chester was then voyde, by reason that Romanus the last Bishop was deade: Paulinus was there ordeyned and made Bishop of that See, and there dyed, and also as Reynulph sayth, he left there his Pall, and the Archbishoprick of Yorke was void. xxx. yeres after. But the Queene which was named Etherberga, sayled into Fraunce, and became there a Nonne, and lykewise her daughter Enfleda kept her possession, and was after Abbesse of Stemshalt in the Vale of Whytbie.

¶ After the death of Edwyn, Osricus that was the sonne of Elfricus, which was brother to Ethelfridus, tooke vpon him to be king of Deyra, and Eafricus the eldest sonne of Ethelfrida, was made king of Bernicia, both the which reuolted from Christes fayth, and became Myscreantes. For the which the wrath of God shortly after fell vpon them, for they were both slaine in the yere folowing, of the aforenamed Cadwan and Penda.

Osricus.

Eafricus

¶ And when the sayd two kinges were thus slaine, Oswalde the second sonne of Ethelfride began his reigne ouer the prouince of Bernicia, as chiefe of that kingdome of Northumberland, and had the rule of Deyra likewise, whereof when Cadwan was ware, he gathered his Britons, and thought to haue slaine him, as he had before slaine his brother Eafricus. But when Oswalde was warned of the great strength that Cadwan had, he made his prayers to God, and besought him meekely of helpe to withstand his enemye for the saluation of his people. Then after he had thus prayed, the two armyes met in a fielde named at that tyme Denysborne or Denysslake, where was foughten a strong battaile, and in the ende Cadwan was slaine, and his people chased, the number whereof did farre exceede Oswaldes hoste. And thus ended the sayde Cadwan when he had reigned ouer the Britons. xxij. yeres, leauing after him a sonne named Cadwallyne.

Oswalde.

Cadwan slaine.

622

FErquhard the eldest sonne of Eugenius was king of Scottes. xij. yeres. In the tyme of this mannes reigne, by his negligence was great diuision, and debate among the Nobles of the Realme, and for his cruelty and negligence in the affayres of the common weale, he was of the Lordes disgraded, and cast in Prison, and for sorrow thereof slue himselfe.

625

MAhomet, of Arabia, at this time when there was great confusion of things both in the East and West, then began his errour, he came out of a base stock, and being fatherlesse, one Abdemonaples, a man of the house of Ismaell bought him for his slaue, and loued him greatly for his fauour and wyt: For which cause, he made him ruler of his merchandise and other businesse. Then one Sergius a Monke, which for Heresie fled into Arabia, who instructed him in the heresie of Nestorius. In the meane season, his master dyed without children, leauing behinde him much ryches, and his wyfe a riche Widowe of fiftie yeres of age, whome Mahomet maried, and when she dyed, he was made heire, and greatly encreased in ryches: And for his magicall artes, was had also in great admiration and honour of the foolish people. Wherfore by the counsayle of Sergius, he called himselfe the Prophete of God, and shortly after, when his name was published, and then taken to be of great authoritie, he deuised a lawe or kinde of Religion, called ALCARON, in the which he tooke some parte well neere of all the heresies that had bene before his time, With the Sabellians he denyed the Trinitie;

Mahomet.

Abdemonaples.

Sergius a Monke.

Alcaron.

Trinitie: with the Manichees, he affirmed to be but two persons in the deitie: he denied the equalitie of the father and the sonne with Eunomius: and sayd with Macedone, the holy-Ghost was a creature: and approued the multitude of wyues with the Nicolaites: He borowed of the Iewes, circumcision, and of the Gentiles much superstition, and somewhat he tooke of the christian veritie, beside manye Heneliche phantasies inuented of his awne braine: Those that obeyed his lawe, he called Saracens. When he had lyued fourtie yeres, he dyed of the falling sickneſſe, the which he had of long time dissembled, feynyng that when he was taken therewith, the Aungell Gabriell appered vnto him, whose brightneſſe he coulde not beholde. Cooper.

631 Donewald kinge of Scottes.

Donewald the thirde sonne of Eugenius was ordeyned king of Scottes, and gouerned the realme verteously and wisely.xb.yeres.

635 1

Cadwallyn, the sonne of Cadwan, after the death of his father tooke vpon him the gouernement of the Britons, and he was valiaunt and mightie, and warred strongly vpon the Saxons, which were neere about him, and he wanne from them both Castelles and Townes, and droue them back into the lande toward London: whereof, hearing Penda king of Mertia, assembled his Saxons and made towarde the sayde Cadwallyn: But he was in the ende distressed, and glad and fayne to seeke and purchase his fauour and friendship, and to lyue vnder his tribute.

Penda.

¶ And after this Penda was in great fauour with Cadwallyn, insomuch as he tooke parte with him against the other Saxon kings. And about this time Kyngilsus one of the kings of the West Saxons, was by the preaching of Berinus conuerted to the right beliefe, and christened of him at the Citie of Dorchester, within.vij. Myles of Oxforde. And Oswald king of Northumberland, or rather king of Bernicia, was his Godfather, & wedded his daughter afterwarde. And then that Citie was geuen to the Bishop, to the ende that he shoulde there ordeyne his See, where the sayde Berinus sate viiij.yeres after, and there was buried, vntill Beda Bishop of Winchester trãslated his body to the City of Winchester, albeit, the Chanons of Dorchester said, that ỹ body of Beryne was not taken thence but another in the stead thereof, & yet in token that it was not remoued thence a Beare of a wonderfull worke stood of late daies ouer that graue where this holy man was first buried. It should seeme that this Citie of Dorchester, is now called Dorset.

Dorcester, Lincolne.

This See was in the time of William Conquerour translated to Lyncolne.

¶ About this time Sigebertus or Sigisbertus king of the East Anglis set vp certaine scooles in diuers places, and ordeyned ouer them Scoolemasters and Vshers, as he sometime had seene in Fraunce. And after the opinion of many writers one of them was by him erected in Grantbridge, being then the head Citie of his dominion, now called Cambridge, the which in processe of time grew to be a famous Vniuersitie, as it is now at this day. And the sayde Sigebert was conuerted to the faith of Christ, by that holye man named Felix a Burgonnion: and finally the sayd king betooke his kingdome vnto his Nephew Egritus, & became himselfe a Monke in an Abbey which he himselfe buylded.

Cambridge

¶ But when Penda king of Mertia warred after in that Countrie, the sayde Sigebert was against his will pulled out of the foresayde Monastery, and

and went in armes, or as some write vnarmed with a whyte rod in his hande vnely, and so was slaine, and well neere all his hoste that came with him to that Fielde. Sigebert slaine.

¶ After the death of this Sigisbert, Anna was made king of East Anglis. Anna.

¶ About the. vij. yere of the reigne of Cadwallyne, a Saxon reigned in Kent named Ercombertus, who helde that principate. xx. yeres nobly. And among other of his famous deedes, he reuiued and quickned againe the faith of Christ, that in some places of his kingdome was sore apalled. For he destroyed the Temples of false Gods thorough all that Countrie and ordeyned by the aduice of his Clergie the time of Lent to be fasted. He wedded the daughter of Anna king of East Anglys, named Serburga, of whome he receiued a daughter & named her Eukendoga, the which after was a Nonne in a Monastery in France. Ercõbertus. The institution of the time of Lent.

¶ About this time, as it were about the. viij. yere of Cadwallyne, dyed Kyngilsus king of the West Saxons, when he had reigned with his brother and alone. xxxj. yeres. And Kenwalcus his sonne was king after him, the which at the beginning of his reigne would not be christened, and forsooke his wyfe the daughter of Penda, and tooke to him another. Wherfore Penda to be auenged for his daughters cause, gathered his host and chased Kenwalcus out of his kingdome, and kept him thence three yeres. In the which time, he was with Anna king of the East Anglis and was christened of Felix, and after by the helpe of the sayde Anna recouered his kingdome. Kenwalcus.

¶ When Kenwalcus was thus restored to his lande, he made a Bishops See at Wynchester, and ordeyned there a Bishop named Agilbert, a Frenchman borne, but he came out of Ireland. The which when he had sitten there a certaine of time, he was deposed and put from thence, but the cause why, I know not, and in his place was set one named Wyn, of whome sayeth Polichronichon, the Citie tooke the name of Wynchester, as it were Wynnes Citie. But he was also deposed: And then was Leutherius Bishop, and after Leutherius succeeded Cedda: And after him Theodorus Archebishop of Cauntorbury ordeyned two Bishops to the Prouynce of West Saxon. The one at Winchester, and to that was subiect two Countyes, Southrey and Southhampshire. And the other See he ordeyned at Sherborne, to the which were subiect fiue Counties, that is to saye Barkeshire, Wyltshire, Somersetshire, Dorsetshire, Deuonshire, and Cornewall, but in Wylliam the Conquerours time, the See of Sherborne was turned to the See of Sarisbury, as was also the See of Rammesbury. Agilbert. wyn, of whõ the towne of Winchester tooke his name.

¶ It was not long after but that Kenwalcus warred with the king of Britons, the which fought with him at a place called Whyte Gosneborough, and was of him there ouercome. Then Cadwallyne assembled a newe hoste of Britons, and met with Kenwalcus at a place called the hill of Pent, where after a long and sore battaile, the Britons were put to flight. White Gosneborough.

¶ Ye haue heard before how Oswald was made king of Northumberland, the which continued his lyfe in iustice and vertue as a king should do, by the space of. ix. yeres: But Penda king of Mertia, who to him and to all christian men had great disdeyne and enuie, about the. ix. yere of Cadwallyne made warre vpon Oswald, and slue him in a field called Meserfelde, where after his death (as Fabian sayth) God shewed for him many miracles. But Oswalde. Meserfelde

after one yere of his death Oſwy his yonger brother recouered the kingdome, and buried his head in the Churchyarde of Lyndeſar, for the bodye was conueyed by the Pagans, and deuyded in ſundrie peeces.

¶ When Oſwy had a ſeaſon ruled his kingdome, he by vnlawfull meanes procured the death of Oſwyn king of Deyra. This Oſwyn was the ſonne of Eaufricus eldeſt brother of Oſwald, which Oſwyn was good of condition and therewith both meeke and mylde, and being thus ſlaine, as is afore ſayde, the ſayde Oſwy tooke to him as felow of that kingdome his brothers ſonne Odylwald, the ſonne of Oſwald. This Oſwald gaue vnto Cedda Biſhop of Wynchester before named, a grounde in a place of the North Countrie in the high hilles called Laſtyngery, for to buylde an Abbay vpon, which he there buylded, and after taught his brother Chymbillus how he ſhould rule and gouerne that place.

Oſwyns. ſlaine.

Penda.

¶ Nowe Penda kinge of Mertia, which forgat not the ſtrengthening and fauouring that Anna kinge of Eaſt Anglys had ſhewed to Kenwalcus his daughters huſbande, and his enemye, and therefore deſirous to be reuenged on him, gathered a power of men of warre and went againſt the ſayde Anna, and ſlue him in plaine battaile.

¶ After the which victory, the ſayd Penda, beyng puffed vp with pryde, and glory, went forward with his hoſt into Northumberlande, entending to ſlea Oſwy, as before he had ſlaine his brother Oſwald. Wherof when Oſwy had knowledge, he aſſembled his power and made towardes him. And for affinite of mariage that was betwene their children, and other cauſes as after ſhall apere Oſwy offered vnto him many great offers, to the intent to haue had him to haue ſtayed from battaile, and to haue had peace with him.

Oſwy.

¶ When Oſwy perceyued the obſtinacie and pryde of Penda, and ſawe that by no reaſonable meanes he coulde moue him to peace, he ſayde, ſeeyng this Paynym will not receyue our giftes and proffers that we haue offered vnto him, we will now offer it to him that can receyue them. And foorthwith he made his bowe vnto God, that if he had the victorye ouer his enemies, he woulde offer his daughter Elfleda vnto him, with ſufficient poſſeſſions for to buylde. xij. Abbeys. And ſhortly after, he toyned in battaile with Penda, in the countrey of Leedys, not farre from Yorke, which battail was ſo ſore foughte that the lyke was not ſeene many yeres before: But in the ende Penda was ſlaine, and. xxx. of his chiefe Capitaynes, and yet he had three tymes the number of people that Oſwy had. And thoſe that eſcaped the ſhot and ſword, were for the greateſt part drowned in the Ryuer Wynwed, which was nere vnto the place of that battaile. And among the Priſoners that were taken at this fielde, the wife of Penda was one, and her ſonnes Uncle named Egfridus was another. Fabian.

Nowe.

Penda ſlain

¶ Then Oſwy yelded his thankes vnto almighty God, and accordyng to his former promes, he offered his daughter Elfleda beyng of the age of three yeres vnto God, and tooke her to the Lady of Hilda, Abbeſſe of Hertſey, or Hertes Iſlande. And after that the ſayde Hilda remoued to the Abbey of Stremſhalt in the vale of Whitby. xxx. Myle from Yorke, where ſhe was after Abbeſſe, and ſo was Elfleda alſo. And Oſwy as he had promiſed gaue landes and rentes to builde. xij. Abbeyes, whereof ſixe were in Bernicia, and ſixe in the Prouynce of Deyra.

¶ This

¶ This aforenamed Penda had dyuerſe ſonnes, as writers report, that is to ſay, Wolferus, Weda, Egfridus, beſyde other not mencioned. To this ſeconde ſonne Weda, Oſwy had before time maryed a daughter of his by conſent of Penda his father: Wherefore, by the helpe of Oſwy his father in law he was made king of South Mertia, the which Lordſhip is ſeuered from the North Mertia by the ryuer of Trent, & it conteined by the recorde of Beda fiue thouſand houſholdes. This Weda alſo promiſed when he maryed the ſayd daughter of Oſwy, that he would become a Chriſtian man, the which he perfourmed after the death of his father. But when he had ſcantly reigned three yeres ouer the ſayde South Mertia, he was by treaſon of his wyfe ſlaine (as ſayth Fabian) but he ſheweth no cauſe. And after that kingdome fell to Wolferus the other brother, the which had wedded the daughter of Ercombert king of Kent, named Ermenilda. This Wolferus was ſhortlye after chriſtened, ſo that he is accompted for the firſt Chriſtined king that reigned in Mertia, and was father to Keneredus, and to Mereburga.

Wolferus.

Ercombert king of Kent.

¶ And for that it is long ſithen I ſpake of Kenwalcus king of Weſt Saxons, it is to be noted that after he had ouercome the Britons (as before is ſhewed) and at that tyme had not perfited the Biſhops See of Wincheſter, he then buſied himſelfe thereabout. And accordyng to the will of Kingilſus his father, he gaue to the ſuſtentation of the ſayd See, all the land which lay within. vij. miles of the ſayde Citie (as ſayth the floure of Hiſtories) and finiſhed it ſomedeale to his purpoſe, but farre from that it is nowe.

Kenwalcus.

Kingilſus.

¶ Soone after that Kenwalcus had ended this worke, he made warre vpon Wolferus of Mertia. But in that iourney fortune was not friendlye vnto him, for he loſt thereby and wanne nothing of his entent and purpoſe.

¶ It was not long after, but Ercombert king of Kent dyed, and his ſonne Egbert was king after him. ix. yere. And ſhortly after chaunced great mortalitie and death throughout this land of Briteyn, the which continued and encreaſed more and more during the life of this Cadwallyn, and the lyfe of Cadwallader which folowed him. In the which ſeaſon or beginning of this mortalitie and ſickneſſe, dyed many Biſhops in this lande, inſomuch that Vitalcanus then beyng Biſhop of Rome ordeyned Theodorus Archebiſhop of Cantorbury to haue the rule of the Churches of Briteyn. Somewhat before this tyme, Benet that was in good fauour with king Oſwy, and deſcended of riche kindred, forſooke ſeruice and houſe and all his kindred, and became a Monke. This Benet was he that firſt brought the craft of Glaſing into this land, and tooke to his ſcholer Beda, when he was but. vij. yeres of age, and taught him during his lyfe.

Mortalitie.

Glaſing firſt brought into this land.

¶ And here for that ſpeciall mencion is made a little before that Benet was the firſt that brought into Briteyn the Arte and craft of making of Glaſſe, I thought it well to adde this note therunto, which I find written in Reynulph in his fourth booke and fourth Chapter. That in the tyme of the reigne of Tiberius Emperour of Rome, which was not long after Chriſtes incarnation, a certeyn craftes man had found out the Art of myxture and melting of Glaſſe in ſuch ſort, as he made the ſame malliable, that is to ſay, to abide the Hammer as Tynne and other metalles do: And he came to the Emperour thinking to haue receyued ſome reward, and ſhewed it vnto him. The Emperour when he ſaw it, cauſed ſome of his awne Glaſſes to be fet and broken,

Reynulph.

Tiberius Emperour of Rome put to death him ſ inuẽted glaſſe to abyde the Hammer.

and the Artificer forthwith amended them. And when the Emperour had well conſidered of the man and of his cunning, he demaunded of him if there were any man liuing beſide himſelfe that could do the like, and he ſimply anſwered, none that he knewe or euer heard of, and the emperour anſwered, neither ſhalt thou euer do it againe, for this Art would make golde and other precious metall to be of no valure: wherefore he commaunded him to be behedded, and it was done, which certainly was a tyrannous deede, namely for that he would attempt to ſuppreſſe the giftes of God.

Claſſe made to adore to Mammon.

¶ Nowe I will returne againe to Oſwy: the which when he had long reigned ouer the Norththumbers, he made Cedda that was Abbot of Laſtingay, Archebiſhop of Yorke, more of wyll then of good ſkill, and put out Wilfride the Archebiſhop of that See: But it was not long after but that Cedda was depriued of that dignitie, by the authoritie of the Archebiſhop Theodorus, as he depriued other at that tyme, which came to their benefices againſt the lawes of the Church, and made him by great inſtaunce after this, Biſhop of the Weſt Saxons. And about the.xxx. yere of the reigne of Cadwallyn, Ciſſa that was father to Jne king of Weſt Saxons builded the Abbey of Abingdon. Fabian.

Monkes religious.

¶ In theſe dayes the Monkes and Clergie of Briteyn ſet all their minds to ſerue God, and not the worlde, and were wholy giuen to deuocion, and not to filling of the Paunch and pampering of the bodye: wherefore they were then had in great reuerence and honour, ſo that they were then receyued withall worſhip. And as they went by the ſtreetes and wayes, men that ſawe them, woulde runne to them and deſire their bleſſings: and well was him then that might geue vnto them poſſeſſions, and to builde them houſes and Churches. But as they encreaſed in ryches of worldly treaſure, ſo they decreaſed in heauenly treaſure, as in the dayes of Aluredus ſomedeale began, and ſithen that time hath ſprong not all to the pleaſure of God. Then they applyed nothing that was worldlye, but gaue themſelues to preaching and teaching of the worde of our Sauiour Jeſu Chriſt, and folowed in lyfe the doctrine that they preached, geuing good example to all men. And beſides that, they were vtterly voyde of couetouſneſſe, and receyued no poſſeſſions gladly, but were inforced therevnto. Fabian.

Monkes had in great reuerence.

Decay of Religion.

¶ At this time Oſwy king of Northumberlande dyed and Edfridus hys ſonne was kinge after hym and reygned fiftene yeares, after hys father had reygned with hys felowes Oſwyne and Oſwalde, twentye and eyght yeares.

¶ Then dyed alſo Kenwalcus king of Weſt Saxons, about the.xxxix. yere of Cadwallyne, when he had reigned ouer them.xxx. yeres, and his ſonne Kenewynus ſucceded him, but entred not into poſſeſſion before Sexburga his mother had ruled that Prouynce one yere.

¶ Ye haue heard before howe Wilfride was depoſed & put out of the See of Yorke, wherfore he went to Rome and complayned vpon him to Agathon then Biſhop of that See, and was well allowed in ſome things. But the king and Theodorus had there ſuch Procters and friends, that he fayled of his purpoſe, wherefore he returned to the South Saxons, and after he had preached among them.xv. yeres, he then taught them the arte or craft of Fiſhyng.

The arte of Fiſhing.

¶ Egfridus

¶ Egfridus or Edfridus king of Northumberlande, claymed the lande that Etheldred king of Mertia helde, for the which diuers aſſembles of intreatie were had, but they tooke none effect, wherefore either partie gathered his ſtrength, and met vpon a playne, neere vnto the Ryuer of Trent, where was foughten betwene them a long and ſharpe fight: In the which among a great number on both parties, was ſlaine the brother of Egfride named Elfwinus, but yet the ſaide Egfride had the better. Then after this battail, meanes of peace was againe made, ſo that finally Egfride had great ſommes of money in recompence of his brothers death, and ſo the ſayde two kings agreed and reſted afterwards in quiet.

Theodorus holdeth a Synode. Hatfielde.

¶ Sone after this time, Theodorus for diuers cauſes kept a Synode or Counſaile of Biſhops and other men of the Church, at Hatfielde: By auctoritie of which counſaile (ſayth Fabian) he deuyded the Prouynce of Mertia that Serwolphus then ruled alone, into fiue Biſhopricks, that is one to Cheſter, the ſecond to Worceſter, the thirde to Lichefielde, the fourth to Cedema in Lyndeſey, and the fift to Dorcheſter.

¶ About the.xlvj. yere of Cadwalyne, Kenewinus king of Weſt Saxons had occaſion of warre againſt the Britons, ſo that they met neere vnto the Weſt See, where after a ſharpe ſkirmiſhe, the Britons were chaſed. And ſone after Edfridus king of Northumberlande made warre vpon the Pictes or Scottes, becauſe they fauoured & ayded the Eaſt Anglys againſt him. But in the ende by colour of fliyng back, they brought Edfride into a ſtreyte among hilles and mountaines, and ſlue him there with a great parte of his people. And after his death a baſtarde brother of his, named Alfridus, the baſtarde was king of Northumberlande and reigned among them xviij. yeres.

Egfridus ſlaine.

¶ And ſhortly after, dyed Cadwalyne king of Britons, when he had reigned.xlviij. yeres, and many other things are written of him by Gaufride, but neyther by Reynulph nor by any other authour of good authoritie, and therefore I paſſe them ouer.

Cadwalyn dead.

FErquhard called Ferquhard the ſecond, the ſonne of the late king Ferquharde was made king of Scottes, and reigned.xviij. yeres. This man in his priuate lyfe was verie liberall aboue his power, but when he was authoriſed king, he became a cruell coueteous and glottenous Tiran, wherefore he was ſtriken of God with a vile and peinfull ſickneſſe, whereof he dyed. 646 / 12

MAldwyn the ſonne of Oswald was authoriſed king of Scottes, and reigned.xx. yeres: he made peace with the Pictes and Saxons, and at the laſt was murdred of his wyfe for ſuſpicion of Adultrie. 665 / 31

CAdwalader, began to rule the Britons and alſo the Weſt Saxons. He made warre vpon Lotharius king of Kent, and deſtroyed much of that Prouince, and wanne the Ile of Wight, and gaue the fourth part to S. Wilfride, in the which fourth part were accompted three hundred houſholds. 683 / 1

The Ile of Wight.

¶ The whileſt that Cadwalader was buſied in one part of Kent, his brother named Mulkyn with a certaine of Knights were beſieged, and laſtly brent in another parte thereof. In reuengement whereof, Cadwalader of newe deſtroyed the more parte of the ſayde Prouynce. And the ſayde warre

continuing Lotharius aforenamed was wounded and dyed, after whome Edricus was king, and reigned but a short tyme.

¶ Then Cadwalader made warre vpon the king of Southsex named Athelwalde, and slue him in plaine battaile, and after made his prouynce subiect to him.

¶ When Cadwalader had ruled the Britons, and also the west Saxons by the terme of three yeres, he then (as sayth Reynulph Monke of Chester) of pure deuotion renounced the pompe and pride of the world, and went on pilgrimage to Rome, where of Sergius then Bishop of Reme, he was confirmed, and after made a whyte Monke, and so continued all his lyfe tyme.

Nicholas Brodugan.

¶ But other write as namely Nicholas Brodugan in his Epitome, that king Cadwalader reigned ouer Briteyn in great peace and tranquilitie .xij. yeres. And then there happened so great a death among his people, that in maner the lyuing did scarsely suffise to burie the dead, and therefore he fled into little Britteyn, whose Cosyn Iuor and Iue, being repulsed out of Englande by the Saxons, went into Wales, where among the Britons, they and their posteritie remayned Princes. And now vpon this great death and cruell warres among the Saxons, the Scottes thought to slip the Coller of obedience, and entered into league with Charles then king of Fraunce, the articles whereof folow in the historie of Achaius king of Scottes.

¶ And here endeth the lyne and gouernement of the Britons, nowe called Welshmen, which tooke that name of their Duke or leader called Walle, or Gallo, or else of a Queene of Wales, named Galaes, or Wales. But how soeuer that name came first to them, nowe they are called Welshmen, which sometime were named Britons, or brutons, and descended first of the Troyans (sayth Fabian) and after of Brute, and lastly of Mulmucius Dunwallo: Albeit they were mingled or medled with sundrie other Nations, as Romaynes, Pictes, and others. And now they be English, that in their beginning were named Saxons or Anglis.

Wallo or Gallo.

Welshmen

¶ And after the departure of Cadwalader, this Realme was called England, and the Inhabitantes therof were called Anglis, or English men. And this happened 1972. yeres, or as sayth Fabian 1822. yeres after that Brute first arriued in this Islande: And after the conquest of Cesar 735. yeres: And from the entring of the Saxons vnder their leaders Hengist and Horsus in the tyme of Vortiger 235. yeres.

686 / 1647

¶ Thus then apereth by the former procesle of this worke, that the last yere of Cadwalader, was the yere of our Lord fyue hundreth. lxxxvj. which maketh the yere of the worlde foure thousand, fyue hundreth. xlvij. So that as Fabian sayth, the Britons had the rule of the more part of this land, reconing from Brute vnto this tyme, a thousand. viij.C.xxij.yeres. And now the Saxons or Anglis began fully to reigne, and to haue the whole dominion of this Realme.

After the departure of Cadwalader (as Fabian sayth) this land of Briteyn was in great dissention, by meane of variaunce betwene the Britons and Saxons, and the sayde contencion continued .xj.yeres. And beside this, the great death and mortalitie before mencioned, behemently and greatly encreased, and by reason thereof folowed great scarcitie, whereof ensued

hunger, and vniuersall famine through the Realme: So that by the occasion of one thing and other, the people of this Realme were wonderfully minished and decayed, and that so many and so much (as sayth Gaufride, and also the English Chronicle) the quicke bodies suffised not to burye the dead.

Famine.

A pitifull and horrible plague.

EUgenius the fift of that name was king of Scottes, and reigned foure yeres. In his tyme, as sayth the Historie of Scotland, he warred vpon Edfride king of Northumberlande, and slue him in battayle.

685 / 3

IEwe, or Iuas, discending of the blood of the Saxons, was ruler or king of west Saxons, next after that Cadwalader had renounced the pompe of the worlde. He ruled the west Saxons verye honourably, and maintayned such warre against the kentish Saxons, that they of Dorobernia or Cantorbury, graunted him to haue peace, and also gaue vnto him for a recompence of the death of Mulking brother to Cadwalader before slaine, three thousand pounde.

687 / 1

¶ In the .xj. yere of the reigne of this Iewe, chaunced the wonder & meruaile that is written in Polichronica, in his fift booke, and .xxj. Chapter, and he allegeth Bede for his Authour, of one Brigthwaldus, the which after that he had beene a long while dead, was restored againe to lyfe, and tolde manye thinges of great wonder to many men. Whereby he caused great almose, and many deedes of charitie to be done.

Brigthwaldus raised frō death to lyfe.

¶ In the .xbj. yere of this mannes reigne, Ethelredus before mencioned, which was king of Mertia, forsooke his worldly honor, and became a Monk at Bardeney, when he had long tyme ruled the men of Mertia.

701 / 16

¶ In the .xxiij. yere of this Iew, Colredus then king of Mertia assembled his people, and warred vpon Iew. Wherof when Iew had knowledge he likewyse gathered his people together, and they met to both their harmes at a place called Wodensburgh: where after long fight, eyther of them sped so vnhappely, that it was not knowen whether part had greatest dammage.

708 / 23

¶ Nowe when Iew had ruled the west Saxons nobly by the space of xxxvij. yeres, by the importunate labour of his wife Ethelburga, he renounced his honourable estate, and tooke on him the wede of a poore man, and became a Pilgrime to Rome. And Ethelburga his wife made her selfe a Nonne in Barking. vij. myles from London.

721 / 37

¶ Also some Authours write that this Iew was the first king that graūted of euery house that had fyre burning in it a penny, to be payed to the Bishop of Rome & his successors, and it was called Rome shot, or Peter pence.

Rome scot, Peter pence.

¶ And as Fabian sayth, when he should renounce his estate and gouernment, he resigned the same vnto Ethellardus his Nephewe. This man also as sayth Cooper, builded the Colledge or Cathredrall Church of Welles, and the Abbey of Glastenbury.

Welles College.

EUgenius the first of that name, reigned .x. yeres in Scotland. He made peace with the Northumbers, and hated extremely the Pictes.

688 / 3

AWerkeleth, a cruell Tyrant, reigned in Scotland two yeres, and was slaine by one of his seruaunts, as he was goyng with an army against the Pictes.

698 / 13

EUgenius the .viij. was king of Scottes .xviij. yeres. He was mightye of body, and of honest maners: he made peace with the Pictes, and caused the Actes

700 / 15

A worthie note. Actes of his auncetours to be put in wryting, and commaunded that Historiographers should be found of the common cost.

716 / 31 MOrdack was king of Scotland, and reigned .xvj. yeres. In his tyme the foure diuerse Nations reigning in Albion, had peace betwene themselues, that is, the Britons, the Anglis, the Scottes, and the Pictes.

¶ And about this tyme Germanie receyued the fayth of Christ.

724 / 1 EThelard the Nephewe of Iewe, reigned ouer the west Saxons: Of this Man is little written, sauing that he reigned fiue yeres, and then dyed, leauing behinde him none issue of his body. And in his tyme, the reuerend and holy Priest Beda, was famous, who wrote his booke called Anglica Hystoria to Offrike king of Northumberland.

Beda that reuerend father.

729 / 1 CUthert the Nephewe of Ethelarde, reigned ouer the west Saxons next after his sayd Uncle, of whome also is little mention made, sauing that in the first yere of his reigne, holy Beda dyed, who in his tyme wrote .xxviij. bookes. And this Cutbert when he had reigned .xvj. yeres, departed out of this worlde also. This man made often warre vpon Ethelwalde of Mercia, and sped therein dyuerslY.

Beda dyed.

733 / 47 EDfine the sonne of Eugenius the seuenth, reigned in Scotland .xxx. yeres: This man was geuen to iustice and peace, and kept the league that was made with the Britons, Englishmen, and Pictes.

745 / 1 SIgebert the Cosyn of Cutbert, reigned ouer the west Saxons. He was cruell and tirannous to his subiects, and turned the lawes and customes of his forefathers, after his awne will and pleasure. And because a noble man of his Realme named the Erle Combranus, did somedeale sharpely aduertise him to chaunge his maners and to be more prudent and temperate towarde his people, he therefore maliciously caused him to be put to most cruell death.

Tirannie.

¶ Now for as much as this king Sigebert continued in his malice and cruell condicions, and would not amend, his subiects conspired against him, and depriued him of all kingly dignitie: so that he fell after into great desolation & miserie, for being on a season found in a wood or desolate place, wandering alone without all comfort: he was by a Swynheard or villaine, murdred & slaine, in the reuengement of Earle Combranus death, whom Sigebert being king had before most cruelly caused to be put to death in the same place: vnto the which Earle the sayde villaine had beene sometimes belonging. And thus was Sigebert deposed and murdered, when he had reigned two yeres.

A plague due to a tyraunt.

748 / 1 KEnulph of the lyne or blood of Cerdicus the which Cerdicus was the first king of the west Saxons, tooke vpon him the rule and gouernment of the sayde West Saxons. The vertue of this man passed hys fame: For after that he with the agreement and consent of his people had depriued Sigebert their king from his regall authoritie, he then first of all appeased dyuers murmures and grudges that kindeled among his subiects, for the sayde deprivation, and so set his Lordeship in great quietnesse, and rest touching

touching their ciuile discorde.

¶ About the .viij. yere of the reigne of this Kenulphus, Offa slue a Tyraunt named Beorwredus, who before had slaine Ethelwald king of Mertia. After whose death the sayde Offa, Nephew to the sayde Ethelwald, reigned as king of that Prouynce. 756 / 8

¶ Of this Offa is tolde many things, whereof something I entende to shewe. He had warre with the Northumbers, and them for a tyme subdued. He also had warre with Ethelbrede king of East Anglis, and with Egbert otherwise called Wren king of Kent, whome he tooke prisoner, and led him bounde with him into Mertia.

Egbert king of Kent imprisoned.

¶ Then after these victories, Offa buylded the Church of Winchecomb. In the time of the which buylding, and in the presence of .xiij. Bishops and many other great estates, he discharged the sayde Egbert of imprisonement, and set him at libertie, for ioy whereof the people there present, made such a shouting and cry of reioysing and gladnesse, that al the Church rang thereof.

Winchcōb Churche.

Egbert king of Kent enlarged.

¶ This king had such displeasure to the Citizens of Cauntorburie, that he remoued the Archebishops See, by the agreement of the first Adrian then Bishop of Rome, vnto Lichefielde. He furthermore chased the Britons or Welshmen into Wales, and made a strong Dyke betwene Wales, and the vtter boundes of Mertia, or middle Englande, the which to this daye is named Offdiche. And after he builded there a Church, which long time after was called Offkirck: he also buylded the Abbey of Saint Albons. Besides this it is written of him that he maried one of his daughters to Brigthricus that was king of west Saxons. And for that in his time there was variance betwene him and the Frenchmen, and that passage and traffique of Marchaunts was forboden: therefore he sent the famous Doctor Anselmus vnto Charles the great, then king of France to intreat of peace. Which Charles had the sayde Anselmus euer after in such fauour, that he became hys Disciple. Eabian.

The Archebishops See of Cauntorburie remoued to Lichefielde.

Passage of Merchantes forbodden.

¶ But nowe let vs returne to Kenulphus, who before time had often warre with Offa, and also had with him many conflicts, but lastly they were agreed. About the .xj. yere of this Kenulphus, Egbert king of Northumbers, renounced his kingly dignitie, and became a Monke. 759 / 11

¶ And finally, when Offa had reigned ouer Mertia .xxxix. yeres. as saith Guydo, he left the kingdome to his sonne, who also was named Kenulphus, or as some write Egfurtus, and went himselfe to Rome.

¶ And the forsayde Kenulphus king of the west Saxons kept strongly his Lordship against the power of all his enimies, and had his subiectes in due order of obedience. Lastly, he was surprised with the loue of a woman that he kept at Merton, whose companie he haunted more secretly, then stoode with his honour. Whereof hauing knowledge, a kinsman of Sigebert late king, entending to reuenge the deposing and murthering of his kynsman, awayted the tyme, and beset the house where Kenulph and his Paramour were smally accompanied. But so soone as the sayde Kenulph had espied his enemies, he set vpon them, and as Reynulph sayeth, though they were in number .xxx. yet fought he with them a long while, but in the ende he was slaine of Clito his enemie.

Lechery.

Murder.

Clito.

¶ It was not long after or worde sprang of the kinges death: wherfore Offricus

Offricus then beyng maister of the kinges Souldiers and garisons, armed himselfe, and tooke with him a certaine of the sayde Cheualrye, and pursued the sayd murderers, and at the last encountered with them, and slue the sayde Clito their Capitaine, with the moze part of his companie. And that done, he retozned to Werton, and there tooke the Cozps of Kenulph, and with great solemnitie conueyed it to Winchester, where it was with all reuerence buried, when his father and he had ruled .xxxj. yeres.

Murder vpon murder.

761 EUgenius the .viij. was king of Scottes, and was slaine of his Lozdes foz his couetousnesse, filthy lust, and cruelty, when he had reigned thzee yeres.

764 FErgus the thirde was made king of Scotland, and reigned thzee yeres: He was a foule dzonken glutton, and so outragiously geuen to Harlottes, that he neglected his awne wife, and bzought her to such penurye, that shee was faine to serue other noble women foz her liuing. Wherefoze, she murdered him in his bed, and after slue her selfe also.

Lechery. Murder.

768 SOluathius reigned in Scotland. xx. yeres, and then dyed of the Goute. In his tyme rebelled Banus of the Isle of Tyze, and Gillowham of Galloway, which were bzought to due obeysaunce.

778 BRithricus of the blood of Cerdicus, began his reigne ouer the west Sarons, in the yere of our Lozde .viij.C.lxxviij. This Man befoze tyme had maryed one of the daughters of Offa king of Mertia, as befoze is touched, by whose ayde and power, he put out of his rule Egbert the sonne of Alcumundus, the which Egbert at that day was an vnder king oz ruler in the Lozdeship of west Sarons, which Egbert was discended of the blood of Genulphus, of whome some part of the stozy is declared in the .xxv. Chapter of the fift booke of Polichronicon. And after he was thus of Brithricus expulsed, he sayled into Fraunce, and there exercised himselfe in the feates of warre with the knightes of Charles court the French kyng during the life of the sayde Brithricus.

1

Polichroni.

779 ¶ About the second yere of this Brithricus, was seene in great Briteyn a wonderfull sight: Foz sodeynly as men walked in the streete, Crosses lyke vnto blood fell vpon their clothes, and blood fell from heauen lyke dzoppes of raine.

2

A straunge & terrible sight.

788 ¶ This after some expositozs, betokened the comming of the Danes into this lande, the which entered shortly after. Foz as sayth Reynulph, about the .ix. yere of Brithricus the Danes first entered this land. In defence wherof, this said king sent fozth his Steward of his houshold, with a small companye, which shortly was slaine. But by the strength of Brithricus and the other kinges of the Sarons, they were compelled to auoyde the land foz that time.

9

The first entering of the Danes.

¶ Brithricus thus well and knightly ruling his lande, his wife named Ethelburga, not contented with him as she ought to be, sought diuerse wayes and meanes howe she might bzing her Lozde out of lyfe, so that finally shee poysoned him with many other of his family: wherefoze she fearing ponishment, fled into Fraunce, and by such frendship as she there had, was well cherished in Charles Court the French king surnamed the great.

Ethelburga.

Poysoning.

¶ Of her it is tolde, that when he had infozmation of the vnstablenesse of this womans condicions, he at that season beyng a Widower, and at a time talking pleasantly with her, sayde: Nowe I put to your choyse, whether ye will

will haue me vnto your wedded Lozd, oz else my sonne standing here in your presence: and him that you choose, him shall ye haue and enioy foz your husband: But she chose the sonne, and left the father. Then sayd the king, if thou haddest chosen me, thou shouldest haue had my sonne: but foz that thou hast forsaken me, thou shalt haue neyther of vs. And after he closed her in an Abbey, where in processe a lewde man kept with her such companie, that shee was voyded that place, and after demeaned her selfe so viciously, that in processe of tyme she fell in such pouertie, that she dyed in great penury & misery.

¶ Nowe because of the misdemeanoz of this Woman, that shee had thus vnnaturally slaine her Lozde and husbande, the king of Anglis, and specially of west Sarons, would not suffer their wyues to be called Queenes, noz yet suffer them to sit by them in places of great honour oz kingly seate, by a long tyme after.

The names and preheminence of Queenes forbodden.

¶ Thus as befoze is shewed, dyed Brithricus, beyng empoysoned by his awne wyfe, when he had ruled the west Sarons .xviij. yeres.

788 ACHaius was ordeyned king of Scottes, and reigned .xxxij. yeres. In his tyme was made the solemne league betweene Scotlande and Fraunce, against the Sarons oz Englishmen: which tooke such effect, that euer sithen that day, the Scottes haue moze enclined to the French men, than to Englishmen. And here I haue entered the Articles of the sayd league as they are written by Hector Boecius in his Scottish Chzonicle.

A league betweene Frãce and Scotland.

Articles betweene the Frenche men and Scottes.

¶ First that the Amitie and confederacie of French men and Scottes to be made foz euer, both foz the people present, and to come.

2 The Iniurie of Englishmen done to any of those people, shall be perpetually holden as common to them both.

3 When French men are inuaded by English men, the Scottes shall send their armie in defence of Fraunce, so that they be supposted of mony and victualles by Fraunce.

4 When the Scottes are inuaded by English men, then the French men shall come vpon their awne expenses to their support.

5 And if any priuate person, eyther Frenchman oz Scot support the English men, against any of them, with counsaile, money, oz victualles, oz remaine among them during the tyme of battayle: the doer thereof shall be holden a Traytoz and an enemy to them both.

6 None of these two people shall take peace oz truce with the Englishmen, but by the aduice eyther of other. Hector Boecius. x. Booke. iii. Chapter.

795 EGbert, oz after the Englishe Chzonicle Edbzight, the sonne of Alcumundus, reigned ouer the west Sarons. This man as is befozesayd, was dziuen out of the lande of Briteyn by the fozce of Brithricus. But he hauing knowledge of his death, sped him out of Fraunce, and in so knightly wyse behaued himselfe, that he obteyned the gouernement abouesayd, and was made king of west Sarons.

1

¶ Bernulphus king of Mertia had this Egbert in great derision, and vsed against him sundzie scoffes, and made of him trifling and rayling rymes, the which foz a tyme he paciently suffered. But when he was somwhat stayed in his kingdome, and had proued the heartes of his subiectes, he at the last assembled his Knightes and Souldiours, and gaue vnto Bernulphus a battayle

Bernulphus

Elindone. taple in a place called Elindone, in the Prouince of Hampshire. And albeit that in that fight was great diuersitie of number, as. vj. or. viij. againe one, yet Egbert had the victory: For his knightes were leane, pale, and long breathed, so that they might endure to fight long: But Bernulphus Souldiours were fat, corpulent, grosse and short breathed, and therfore could not endure.

¶ Here is to be noted, that after the death of Offa king of Mertia, or middle England (of whom somewhat is spoken in the story of Kenulphus) reigned his sonne Egfertus, and after Egfertus reigned Kenulphus, the which was father vnto Kenelme, and vnto the two fayre Virgines Quindreda, and Burgemilda. And after Kenulphus reigned the sayd Kenelme: And after Kenelme, Colwolphus, and after him Bernulphus before named.

¶ And nowe to returne to Egbert, who when he had as before is sayde ouercome Bernulphus, he sealed that Lordship into his awne hand: and that done, he made warre vpon the kentish Saxons, and at length obteyned also of them the victorie. And lykewyse, he subdued the Northumbers, and caused the kinges of these three kingdomes to liue vnder him as tributaries, and ioyned them to his kingdome.

¶ This Egbert also wanne from the Britons or Welshmen, the towne of Chester, which they had kept in their possession vntill that daye. For the which victoryes thus by him obteyned, he shortly after called a counsayle of his Lordes at Winchester, and there by their aduises, he was crowned king and chiefe Lord of this land, which before this day was called Briteyn: But nowe he sent into all the Costes of this lande his commaundementes and commissions, that from that day forwarde the Saxons should be called Englis, and the land Anglia, in Englishe, England.

Briteyn.

Anglia first named.

England.

819
24

¶ About the. xxiiij. yere of the reigne of Egbert, Kenelme before mencioned the sonne of Kenwolphus was admitted for king of Mercia, beyng then but a childe of the age of. vij. yeres. The which by treason of his sister Quendreda was slaine in a thicke wood, by a tyraunt called Helbertus.

Treason. Quendreda

824
29

¶ In the. xxix. yere of the reigne of Egbert, the Danes with a great hoste entered the second tyme into this land, and spoyled the Isle of Shepey in Kent, or nere to Kent. Whereof, when king Egbert had knowledge, he assembled his people and met with them at a place called Carrum: But he wan in that fight little worship, for the Danes compelled him and his knightes to forsake the fielde. And beyng encouraged by that victory, they drewe westwarde, and made a confederacie with the west Britons, that lined in seruitude: By whose power they assayled Egberts landes, and did much harme in manye places of his dominion and elsewhere, so that after this day they were continually abiding in one place of the Realme or other, vntill the tyme of Herdikenitus or Canutus fortis the last king of the Danes blood, so that many were maryed to Englishe women, and many that nowe are, or in tyme passed were, are discended of them. And albeit they were many and sundrye tymes chased and driuen out of this land, and chased from one country to another, yet that notwithstanding, they euer gathered new strengthes & power, so that they abode still within the land.

The entrāce of the Danes.

¶ Of the king of these Danes, and of what people they be discended, dyuerse opinions of writers there be, which here I passe ouer, because afterward I purpose somewhat at large to say more therein.

¶ Nowe

¶ Nowe it foloweth, in the tyme of the persecution of these Paganes, and Danes, Egbert dyed, when he had well and nobly ruled the west Saxons, and the more part of Englande the terme of. xxxvij. yeres, and was buried at Winchester, and left behinde him a sonne named Ethelwolph, otherwise called Edelphus.

832
37

COnwallus, succeded Achaius in the kingdome of Scotland, and reigned fiue yeres.

819
25

DOngallus reigned in Scotland fiue yeres, & as he was going with an armie against the Pictes (in the quarrell of Alpine a Scot, which clayned the crowne of the Pictes) he was drowned in a ryuer.

824
30

ALpine the sonne of Achaius was made king of Scottes: He pursued the warre against the Pictes, and slue their king Feredech, but not long after he was vanquished and slaine by Bzudus king of Pictes, when he had reigned foure yeres.

829
35

EThelwolph, or Edelphus the sonne of Egbert reigned ouer the Saxons or Anglis, in ỹ yere of our Lord. 832. This man in his youth was very willing to be a priest, and was entered into the order of Subdeacon. But after he was maried to Osburga his Butlers daughter, a womā of low birth, but in an old writtē Chronicle, I find ỹ he was maried to Judith, daughter of ỹ French king, which was Lewes ỹ first, by whom he had foure sonnes, Ethelwald, Ethelbert, Ethelbzead, and Allurede, the which after their father, reigned as kinges of Englande, the one after the other as shall apere.

832
1

Ethelwolph

¶ This Ethelwolph after he had bene a while king, went to Rome, and tooke with him his yongest sonne Allurede, or Alfrede, and taryed there the space of a yere. In the which season he repayred the Saxon schole, the which before tyme was there founded by Offa king of Mercia (as saith Guydo) but more truely by Iewe king of west Saxons, as sayth Mathew of Westminster. And for that he graunted of euery house in his kingdome a pennie, as in his story before is shewed: But this schoole was sore decayed, and the house thereof lately brent, the which this Ethelwolph newely repayred, and set it in much better order than before it had bene.

A Schole at Rome builded by the Saxons.

Peter pēce.

¶ This king also to reforme the grieuous corrections that he sawe there executed to Englishe men for spirituall offences, as in wearing of Irons and Gyues, he graunted of euery house of his lande wherein fyre was brent a pennie, as Iewe before had done, for the mittigating of the sayd corrections. By the which it should seeme, that there was two pence graunted of euerye house throughout the land. For this Rome shot, or Rome shot as it was then called, was of euery house a penny and no more. And therefore it is mistaken of the writers, that alege the dede to the one king for the other: Howbeit, it may stande by reason, that Iewe made the first graunt, and this king confirmed the same. But the Author of Chronica Chronicarum sayth, that Ethelwolph graunted to Saint Peter the Peter pence, and speaketh no worde of Iewe, nor of none other.

Euery house that had fire a peny.

Rome shot, or Rome shot.

Chronica chronicarū,

¶ It is also shewed by Polichronica, that this king for the acquitting of the Churches of England, of all maner of kinges tribute, payed yerely to Rome three hundreth Markes: that is to saye, to Saint Peters Church, an hundreth Markes, to the light of Saint Paule, an hundreth Markes, and to the

M.i. Bishop

Bishop of Romes treasure, an hundreth Marks. And ouer and beſydes all this, of his deuotion he gaue to the Church of Rome, the tenth part of his moueable goodes. Deuotion.

¶ When Ethelwolph had thus ſped his buſineſſe at Rome, he retorned by Fraunce, where at that tyme was king of that land Charles the Balde, of whome he was ioyouſly receyued. And after he had diſported him there a ſeaſon, he maried the daughter of the ſayde Charles in the .xx. yere of his awne reigne. Charles the Balde.

¶ Then Ethelwolph taking leaue of the Frenche king, tooke ſhipping and landed in England with his wife Judith by name. And for that he contrary to the lawe (made in Brithricus time) ſet his wife in the kinges throne, and magnified her like a Queene, the Lordes of his land aroſe againſt him, and tooke from him a great part of his dominion, and made his eldeſt ſonne ruler thereof, the which was done altogether in the reproch of Ethelburga, that ſlue her Lorde Brithricus as before is ſhewed. But in the end, the matter was appeaſed, and he to his kingly honour was reſtored. And in the yere folowing died the ſaid Bertulphus king of Mertia. After whoſe death, Burdredus was made king of Mertia, or middle England, who before had ſpouſed the daughter of this king Ethelwolph. Judith daughter to Charles the French king. The name & honour of Queenes reſtored.

¶ In the latter dayes of this Ethelwolph, the Danes did much harme in Lyndſey, and alſo in Kent, and from thence came to London, and robbed and ſpoyled the Citie. Wherefore Ethelwolph gathered his people, and at the laſt met with them in Southſey, vpon a downe called Orlea, and there diſcomfited them, not without ſhedding of great plentie of the Anglis blood, and forced them to take the Sea, ſo that afterward they landed in East Anglia, as ſhall appere. And nowe this good king ended his life when he had reigned .xxij. yeres.

835 / 4 KEnneth reigned in Scotland .xx. yeres, he mainteyned hys warre againſt the Pictes ſo fiercely, that he vanquiſhed them in diuers great battayles and ſlue their king, and laſtly chaſed them vtterly out of the bounds of Scotland .115. yeres (as ſayth the Scottiſhe Chronicle) after they began to haue dominion in that Countrie, and from the comming of the Scottes into Albion (after their opinion) a thouſande three hundred .xxj. yeres.

855 / 1 ETheluald the ſonne of Ethelwolph after his father reigned ouer the weſt Sarons or Anglis. This man was very wicked, and maried the woman which his father ſometime kept for his Concubine, or as ſome write his ſtepmother: But to be ſhort, there remayneth in ſtory no worthy thing written of him, but that he reigned not aboue one yere, & then dyed, but howe he came to his death as teſtifieth Reynulph it is vncertaine, except it be as one writer ſayeth that he was ſlaine of the Danish princes, Hunger and Hubba.

856 / 1 DOualde the fift of that name (a vicious and wicked Prince) reigned in Scotlande .vj. yeres. In his tyme Osbret or Osbright and Ella which were kings of the Anglis and Britaines made warre vpon the Scottes, tooke their king and ſubdued all the Countrie from Streueling to the Iriſh Seas, and from the water of Fryth and Clyde to Cumber, with all the ſtrengthes thereof. The Engliſhmen had the landes betwene Sterling and Scotland conquered.

Northumber-

Northumberlande. This was Clyde March betweene the Scotties and Britons one the one ſide, and the water of Frith named the Scottiſh Sea March betwene them and the Engliſhmen on the other ſide: and Sterling common March to three people. Britons, Engliſhmen, and Scottes. And in the Caſtle of Sterlyng the ſayde king Osbright cauſed his firſt money to be coyned, which yet we call Sterling Money. And the Engliſhmen did there build a bridge of ſtone for paſſage ouer the water of Frith, in the midſt whereof they made a Croſſe, and vnder the ſame writ theſe two Verſes. Starling money.

I am free Marche, as paſſengers may ken
To Scottes, to Britons, and to Engliſhmen.

¶ Nicholas Bradyngham in his Epitome ſayeth, that after Ethelwald their reigned one Osbright king of Britayn, who conquered Scotland, and at the laſt an agreement was taken that from thenceforth the water of Frith ſhould be the March betwene the Scottes & Engliſhmen in the East parts, and ſhould be named the Scottiſh Sea. The water of Clyde to Dunbriton, to be Marche in the weſt part betwene Scottes and Britons. And at Dunbriton was a Caſtle called Aclude, and now Dunbriton. So that the Britons had all the landes from Sterling to the Iriſh Seas, and from the water of Frith.

856 / 1 ETheldert the ſeconde ſonne of Ethelwald reigned ouer the greater parte of England. And in his time the Danes with more ſtrength entered the weſt part of this land, and robbed and ſpoyled the Countrie before them, vntill they came to Winchester, and tooke the Citie by ſtrength, and did therein what they would: but the king made ſuch proviſion, that by him and his Dukes they were forced to forſake the Citie. And as they went toward their Shippes, they were fought withall, and a great parte of them ſlaine and taken.

¶ Of this king, nothing elſe is left in memorie, but that he dyed when he had reigned ſixe yeres, and was buried at Sherborne, leauing after him none iſſue.

860 / 1 COnſtantine the ſecond, a good and vertevous Prince, reigned in Scotlande .xiij. yeres.

863 / 1 ETheldred the thirde ſonne of Ethelwald tooke vpon him the gouernment of the weſt Anglis. And in the beginning of his reigne the Danes landed in East England, called Northfolke and Suffolke: but they were compelled to forſake that Countrie, and ſo to make againe into their Shippes, in the which retire they were foughten withall and many of them taken and ſlaine, and then they ſayled Northward, and landed in Northumberlande, where the two kinges that reigned there, met with them, and gaue them battaile, their names were Osbright and Ella, and there was a ſtrong fight: But the Danes with the help of ſuch as inhabited in the Countrie, wanne the Citie of Yorke and held it a certaine time. Danes landed in Northfolke & Suffolke.

¶ Then the people of Northumberlande, varied within themſelues, and were more readier to ayde and helpe the Danes, then to lyue vnder the gouernment of the king of weſt Sarons. For here is to be noted, that all ſuch kings as reigned there after Egbert, were tributaries, and therefore op-

pressed the people that lyued vnder them.

¶ Wherfore Etheldredus hering of the ayde and comfort that the Danes had there, assembled his people and sped him thetherward, and sent vnto the aforesayd two kings that had the rule of that Countrie, commaunding them also to prepare their people against his comming. But howe it was, or the king came with his hoste, the Danes so prouoked the Northumbers to battaile, that they met in playne fielde, and fought a long fight: But in the ende the Danes wanne the price, and slue both the aforesayde kings with a great multitude of their people. After which victorie, they subdued much of the sayde Countrie and destroyed the towne of Aclint, the which as sayth Beda, was one of the strongest townes of the North.

Aclind or Aclint, a Towne or City by west the arme of the Sea that departeth Englande and Scotlande, and it standeth at the ende of the wall that was made to deuide Englande and Scotlande, and it is thought not to be farre from Carlile.

¶ When Etheldred had prepared all thing for the warre, and was set forward towarde the North, worde was brought vnto him of the great discomfiture of the Northumbers, and also of diuers of the sayde Danes, with other that were come to Mertia, and howe that they had wonne the Towne of Notyngham, which tydings letted him of that iourney, and so the Danes kept possession of that Countrie, in suche wise that no Angle had rule therof vntill the time of Adelstone, or as some write, vntill the time of Edredus, so that they helde it in possession the terme of.xl. yeres.

¶ Then the Danes being thus possessed of the North Countrie, manned the same, and fortefied the strong holds thereof. And the other companie of them came downe into Mertia or middle England and wanne a part therof with the aforesayde Towne of Notyngham, and dwelled there the more part of the yere following.

¶ Wherefore king Etheldred with the ayde of Burdredus, then king of Mertia, layde siege vnto the Towne: the which when the Danes perceyued should be wonne, they refused the towne & tooke the Tower or Castell, and defended it in strong maner, in so much that they helde it vntill a peace or appointment was concluded betweene the two kings and them: which was, that they should go free where they woulde, and carie with them their horse & harneys without any pillage. And when this peace was thus made, eyther of the kings departed to their awne, and the Danes returned into Yorke and dwelled there the yere following.

¶ And in the yere following, a certaine number of the sayde Danes, taking shipping in the North, purposed to sayle into East Englande, and vpon the Sea, they chaunced to meete with a great flote of Danes, whereof the Capitaines or chiefe leaders, were named Hungar and Hubba: The which by exhortation of the other comming out of the North, made all one course, and lastly landed in East England or Northfolke, and in processe of time came vnto Thetford.

Hungar Hubba.

¶ When Edmond king of the Prouynce heard hereof, he assembled an hoste, and gaue vnto them battaile. But Edmond and his hoste was forced to forsake the fielde, and Edmond with a fewe persons fled into the Castle of Fremingham, whome the Danes pursued: But he in short tyme after yelded himselfe vnto the persecution of the Danes. And for that this vertuous Man Edmond woulde not denie, or renie Christ, and his lawes, they therefore most cruellye bound him vnto a Tree, and caused him to be shot to death, and in the ende caused his head to be smitten from his bodye, and cast amongest

Fremingham Castell.

The martirdome of king Edmond.

amongest the thickest of the Bushes, as sayth Fabian.

¶ Then his friendes with great solemnitie caried the body vnto the Abbey, then called Eglidon, or Eglysdon, and nowe called Saint Edmondes bury, and there buried him in the yere of our Lord. viij.C. lvij.

Saint Edmonds bury.

¶ But now to returne againe to the Danes. When they had as before is sayd martired this godly Man Edmond, and robbed and spoyled that Countrye, they tooke againe their Shippes, and landed in Southerey, and continued their iourney vntill they came to the towne of Reding, and wanne the Towne and Castle.

Reding.

¶ And as Polichronicon sayth, the thirde day after they came thither, Hungar and Hubba, as they went in purchasing of praye, were slaine at a place called Englefield, which Captaines of the Danes beyng thus slain the rest of them kept close together, in such wise that ỹ. west Saxons could take of them none aduauntage. But within fewe dayes after, the Danes were holden so short, that they were forced to issue out of the Castle, and to defende themselues in plaine fielde. In the which by the comfort of king Etheldred, and of Alured his brother, the Danes were discomfited, and many of them slaine: whereof the other beyng ware, fled againe to the Castle, and kept them within the same a certeyne tyme.

Hungar Hubba. Englefield. Danes discomfited.

¶ Then the king commaunded Ethelwold who at that tyme was Duke of Bareoke, or Barkshire, to attend with his people vpon that Castle, and to see that the Danes brake not out at large, while he went into other partes of that Countrie to subdue other of the sayde Danes. But when the Danes knewe of the kinges departure, they brake out, and tooke the Duke vnprouided, and slue him and most of his people, and caused the rest to withdrawe themselues from that towne and Castle.

Barkshire or Bareokshire.

¶ It was not long after, but that the king was certified of the death of Ethelwolde Duke of Barkeshire, and of the discomfiture of his people, and of the great victorie of the Danes: which vnto him were heauie newes. And forthwith also, he heard that a Dane was landed named Ofricke, whome Polichronicon nameth to be the king of Denmarke, the which Ofricke in a short tyme had gathered together by the helpe and assistance of the other Danes a great hoste, and were embattayled vpon Ashedowne.

Ofrike. Ashedowne

¶ Vnto this battayle Alured was sent for, to his brother the king with great spede, that he should set forward vpon the Danes. But before he could be ready, the hostes of the Anglis, and the Danes were ioyned together with great violence. And although the Danes had wonne the hill, and the christian men were left in the valley: yet by the grace of God, and manhood of themselues, the christian men recouered the hil of the Danes, and slue their Duke or king called Ofricke, and fiue of their Dukes, with many of their people, and chased the rest vnto the towne of Redyng.

Ofricke slaine.

¶ Wherefore the Danes reassembled theyr people, and gathered a newe hoste, so that within. xv. dayes, they met at a towne called Basingstoke, and there gaue battaile vnto king Etheldred, and had the better. Then the king gathered his people, the which at that fielde were sore scattered, and seperated, and with freshe Souldiours to them accompanied, met the Danes within two Monethes after, at a Towne called Merton, and gaue vnto them a sharpe battayle, so that many people were slaine on both parties, that is to

Basing Stoke.

Merton.

say, aswell of the Christians, as of the Danes. But in conclusion, the Danes had the honour of the fielde, and the king of Anglis was wounded and faine to sauegarde himselfe by pollecy, because might and strength fayled him.

¶ After these two fieldes thus wonne by the Danes, they obteyned and enioyed a great circuite of grounde, and destroyed man, woman, and childe, that to them were disobedient. And Churches and Temples they turned to the vse of Stables and other vile occupations. And to this great sorow was yet added another.

¶ For where the king hoped well to haue recouered his losses by the ayde and helpe of his subiectes, aswell of other partes of the lande, as of hys owne which was the west Saxons, he sent his commissions into Northumberland, into Mercia, and East Anglia: But he had of them small or little comfort, & in effect it was no comfort at all, so that the Countrie of west Saxons was brought into great desolation. For the king was beset with enemies on euery syde, and besydes that, his knightes and Souldiours were tyred, and wearied with ouer watching and labour. The number of which aduersities and troubles entring, and deepelye sinking into the kinges minde, with his sore broose and hurt ensuyng of the wound taken at the battaile beside Merton, shortened his dayes, so that he dyed when he had reigned in great veration and trouble of the Danes. viij. yeres, without issue of his bodie, and was buryed at Winbourne: By reason whereof, the rule of the lande fell vnto his brother Alurede. Some write that he first founded the Cathedrall Churche at Exceter.

Exceter.

872 / 1

ALurede the fourth sonne of Ethelwolphe, and brother to Ethelred reigned ouer the west Saxons. This Alured was borne at wantage, v. Miles from Oxforde then a Towne of the king of the west Saxons, who as some write was. xij. yeres of age before he was set to schole: but for all that, he spent so well his tyme, that he exceeded all his brethren that were long set foorth to schole before him. And by the counsayle of a verteous and well learned Monke named Neotus, and other learned men of that tyme, he founded the Vniuersitie of Oxford, and fraunchised the same with many great liberties and priuileges. But the historie of that Vniuersitie of Oxforde seemeth to make it to be of a much greater antiquity, and to referre the beginning thereof vnto certaine Greeke Philosophers that came into this Iland with Brute and the Troyans, and afterwards placed themselues in a place not farre distaunt from Oxforde, called corruptly Crekelad for Grekelade. The which Philosophers being afterwarde allured with the pleasaunt situation of the place, remoued from thence to the soyle where Oxforde nowe standeth, and there taught the liberall Sciences. And the same schole being at the length decayed, and brought to extreme ruyne by ciuill warre and alteration of time: Alfred (say some) otherwise called Alurede as a seconde founder restored againe vnto the auncient state, who besides many other godly actes done for the encrease and maintenance of good learning, founded there a College, named the Myckle Vniuersitie Hall, nowe called the Vniuersitie Colledge: and in the same ordeyned a Gouernour by the name of a Master and a societie of. lxxviij. felowes, whereof there were. xxj. Diuines. xxvj. Philosophers. xxj. Grammarians, to the maintayning and sustenance

The founder of the Vniuersitie of Oxford.

sustenance of the which number, he appointed a competent yerely reuenew to be payde out of the Kings Cofers, by his heires and successours for euer, the which payment did still continue, as the monuments and auncient wrytings of the sayde College doe testifie, vntill the comming of Wylliam the Conquerour, who was the first that vpon displeasure conceyued against the students and scholers there, withdrewe the sayde payment.

¶ Also he translated manye lawes, and namely the lawe of Mertia, and other out of the Britishe speeche into the Saxon tongue. He was also verye cunning and skilfull in building and making of Plottes, and excellent in hunting. He was of goodly stature and the best beloued of his father of all his other children. In his youth he was somewhat giuen to the pleasure of the flesche, which hindered him from many a verteous purpose, for the repressing whereof, he euening and morning and oftentimes in the night season woulde resort vnto Churches and there deuoutly praye a long season, and at the last he fell into an extreme sickneese called Ficus. For it is sayde that he desired of God that his flesche might be chastised with suche a sickneese, whereby he might serue God the better, and yet not to be vnapt to worldly businesse. And when he was cured of the aforesayde sickneese, then he fell into another more grieuous than that, the which continued with him from the. xx. yere of his age, till he was. xlv. But yet notwithstanding he wedded a noble woman named Ethelwyd, aby whome he had two sonnes, Edward surnamed the Elder, and Egelward, and three daughters: Elfleda that after was Lady of Mertia, Ethelgotha which was made a Nonne, and the third was called Elfrida. And he caused all his children as well daughters as other to be brought vp in science and learning, and for that purpose reteyned the learned man Asserius and Meneuia and other.

Ficus.

¶ Nowe after this Alured was admitted king, he considering the great daunger that his lande was in, gathered vnto hym his Lordes, and those whom he coulde not winne without strife, he wanne by strength and power: So that shortly, he assembled a great hoste, and in the seconde Moneth that he was made king, he met with the Danes on Wylton hil on the South part of Wilye Bourne, and there gaue vnto them a great battaile, but not without great daunger and losse of men on both partyes. Fabian.

¶ Mathew of Westmynster, Author of the flowres of stories, sayth that the victory fell vnto the Danes, because Alureds army was much fewer in number than the other were: For the force of the nobles and people of the west Saxons was then sore minished and abated, by reason of. ix. battailes that had bene foughten against the sayde Danes the yere past on the Southside of Thames, beside diuers roades and skirmishes made by their horsemen. After the which victorie, the Danes returned to London and wintered there, and thether came also vnto them, Buthredus king of Middle England, and friendly compounded with them for mony and tooke a truce.

¶ Then he remued his people, and in sundrie places fought with the Danes in the first yere fiue tymes: By meane whereof his people were so sore minished and weakened, that he was forced to take peace with his enimies, vpon condicion that they should auoyde the Countries and Prouinces that he had dominion of.

¶ Upon which agreement firmelye concluded, the Danes for a tyme voyded

voyded these Countries, and drewe towards London, and rested them about that coast the greatest parte of the yere folowing: and from thence to Lyndsey in robbing and spoyling the Townes and Villages as they went, and holding the common people in seruitude and bondage, and so continued the space of two yeres and moze. But before the thirde yere was ended, they went vnto Repindon, and there put downe oz slue Burdzedus then king of Mertia, and they delyuered the kingdome vnto a seruant of his named Colwolphus, vpon condition that he should kepe it to their vse. And then they besieged a towne thereby called Hambourgh, and assaulted it right sharply. After the which assault the inhabitaunts of that Towne of Hambourgh fled vnto Winchester. Fabian. But this storie in all pointes agreeth neyther with Huntyngdon, noz the Aucthour of the Flowzes of storiesand other auncient Wzyters.

Colwolph⁹

¶ Then the king made againe peace with the Danes, as he had done oftentymes before, and in trust thereof he roade with the fewer people, whereof the Danes hauing knowledge, layde buschementes foz him, and set so nere him, that they slue a great part of his companie, in an euening as he rode towarde Winchester. But Polodoze wzyteth, that this was done in a Manour of the kinges not farre from London, whether the kinge came at that tyme to recreate himselfe with hunting.

¶ And foz this treason, Alured was soze amoued against them, and in as secrete maner as he might, he assembled a chosen companie of knightes, and Souldiours, and as Guydo sayth, fell vpon them sodeynlye and distressed a great number of them, and left them not til he had chased them vnto Chester, oz as some say to Exceter, and there kept the Danes so short, that he constreyned them to geue to him pledges to kepe the peace, and to dwell no lenger there then they could pzouide shipping to sayle into Denmarke.

The Danes distressed.

¶ After the which agreement, the king returned to Mertia, oz middle England. And foz that he heard that Colwolphus was dead, to whome the Danes had taken that Lozdship to keepe, he therefoze seased that kingdome and ioyned it to his awne. By reason whereof the kingdome of Mertia surceased, which had continued from their first king named Penda vntill ỹ time.

Penda.

¶ And in the fift yere of the reigne of Alured, the Danes (as affirmeth Polichronicon) sayled from Werham toward Excetoz, in the which iourney they lost. C. r. of theyz small shippes by a tempest on the Sea: But some of them remayned and occupyed the kinges towne of Chipnam, and the Countrey thereabout, and chased the Anglis and put them to flight, oz made them as subiectes vnto them. And so soze their power encreased, that the Anglis lost and decayed dayly, and they pzeuayled the moze a great deale, by reason of the landing of a Pzince of the Danes, called Gytrus, which was named king of Denmarke.

Gytrus.

¶ King Alured beyng thus ouercome with a multitude of enemies, did lead an vncerteyne, troublesome and vnquiet lyfe, and hauing very fewe folkes about him would walke about in the Wood Countrye of Sommersetshire, and had scant to liue withall, but lyued of suche as he and his people could get by hunting and fishing.

A poore lyfe of a king.

¶ Now be it, at the length he was well comforted, and shewed him selfe more at large, so that dayly resorted to him men of Wiltshire, Somersetshire, and

and Hampshire, vntill that he was well and strongly furnished. Then as sayth a wryter called William of Malmesburye de Regibus, the king put himselfe in a great ieoperdie: for he put on him the garment of a Minstrell, and with his Instrument of Musicke he entered the tentes and Pauilions of the Danes, and in shewing to them his pastime, with ieastes and songes, he espied all their slouth and idlenesse, and also heard much of their counsayle, and after returned againe vnto his company, and tolde to them all the maner of the Danes.

A straunge enterprice of a king.

¶ Then the king with a chosen companie fell vpon them by night, and distressed, and slue of them a great multitude, & chased them from that coast. And when he had thus chased the Danes, by counsayle of his knightes, he buylded there a Tower, and named it Edeling, that is to say, a Tower of noble men: Out of the which Tower he and his souldiours made many assaultes vpon their enemies and did to them much griefe and domage, and at the last clerely aduoyded the Countrie of them betwene that and Selwoodes.

Edelyng.

¶ This Edeling standeth in a greene Mareste oz Moore, so that men can not come at it without Ship, oz Boate, and it conteyneth no great ground, but yet therin is Uenison & other wilde beastes, and foule, & fish great plenty.

¶ Thus king Alured dayly pursued his enemies, by the helpe of God and his Subiectes, who heering of his victozies and manfull deedes, drewe to him continually out of all Coastes: By whose power & strength he helde the Danes so short, that he wanne from them Winchester, and many other good Townes, and compelled them at the last to sue foz peace, the which was concluded vpon certeyne conditions, whereof one and the Pzincipall was, that theyz king named as before is sayde, Gytrus, shoulde be Christened, and a certeyne of his Dukes with him. And foz that the king would haue the Danes banished out of the West partes of Englande, he graunted to him East Anglia, to abide and dwell in.

Peace taken with the Danes.

¶ Then this Pzince of Danes, according to the couenauntes, was christened at Winchester, (oz as Mathew of Westminster sayth, at a place called Alre, not farre from Edeling afozesayde) and. xxx. of the greatest of his Dukes with him. And to the Danish Pzince, king Alurede was Godfather at the Font stone, & named him Athelstane. And after he had a season feasted the sayd Danes, he according to his pzomes gaue vnto their king the Countrie of East Anglia, which then conteyned, Nozffolke, and Suffolke, and a part of Cambzidgeshire. And also, as sayth Polichronicon, he graunted to the Danes that were christened, the Countrey of Nozthumberlande. And the other that would not be christened departed the land, and sayled into France, where they rested them with their cosyns and kinsmen, and at those dayes they wasted and spoyled the Country of Fraunce in most despitefull maner.

The Danes christened.

Athelstane.

¶ When this Danishe king Athelstane, had the possession of the Countries aboue mencioned, then were all such Anglis, as inhabited there vnder his obedience. And albeit that he helde the sayde Pzouynce as in fee of the king, and pzomised to dwell there as his liege man, yet that pzomise notwithstanding, he continued lyke a Tyzaunt, by the terme of. xi. yeres full, and in the. xij. yere he dyed.

¶ About the. xv. yere of the reigne of Alured, the Danes which before as ye haue heard, sayled into Fraunce, returned nowe againe into England, and landed

landed in Kent, and at the last came to Rochester, and besieged that Citie, and lay there so long, that they builded a Tower of Tymber, and not of Stone, against the gates of the Citie. But by the strength of the Citezens that tower was destroyed, and the Citie defended vntill king Alured reskewed them. The which had made such purueyaunce for the distressing of them by water, and land, that they were so nere trapped, that for feare they left their Horses behinde them, and fled to their Shippes by night. But when the king was thereof ware, he sent after them, and tooke. xbj. of their Shippes, and slue many of the sayde Danes. After this iourney the king returned to London and repayred certeyn places of the same, which the Danes had hurt & febled.

¶ And in the. xxj. yere of the reigne of this king, the Danes landed in foure places of this Realme, that is to say, in the East England, & the North, and in the West in two places. But by reason the king before their landing had warning of the death of Athelstone the Danishe king of East England, and of other complaintes of the Danes, he therefore went thether himselfe, and in the tyme of his there beyng, the aforesayd newes came to him.

Athelstane dead.

¶ And so soone as he heard thereof, and that some of the Danes were landed in that coast, and knewe well that the further that they drewe into those partes, the more they shoulde be ayded and strengthened: he therfore sent messengers in all hast vnto Etheldred Erle or Duke of Mertia and the borderers thereabout, to make resistaunce against the Danes which landed in the west. And that done, the king sped him towarde his enemies and set on them so egerly and sharpely, that in the ende he droue them out of East Anglia. And then they landed in Kent, whether also the king and his people folowed, and likewise draue them from thence. Howbeit, of anye speciall fight or battaile, authours make no mention. After this againe the Danes tooke shipping and sayled into Northwales, and there robbed and spoyled the Britons, and from thence returned by Sea into Est England, and there rested them, for so much as the king was then gone westwarde.

Etheldred.

¶ In this meane tyme, the aforesayd Danes had wonne the Towne of Chester, but the Countries adioinyng therevnto, came so sore and so thicke vpon them, that the Danes were compelled to keepe them within the sayde Towne or Citie, and to defende themselues therein as well as they coulde. But their holding and keeping of that Towne continued so long, that they were compelled to eate their Horses for hunger. And at the last by apointment they gaue ouer the Towne, and went thence to Northumberland.

¶ And in the while that the king with his hoste sped him thetherward, they leauing their strong holdes & Castels garnished with men and victuall, tooke againe shipping, and set their course in such wise that they landed in Sussex, and so came to the Towne of Lewes, and from thence toward London and they builded a Tower or Castell nere vnto the Ryuer of Lewes.

Londiners.

But the Londoners hearing of their doings, made out a certaine number of men of armes, who hauing the ayde of the Countrie, put the Danes from that Tower, and afterward did beate it downe to the grounde.

¶ And shortly after, the king came downe thether, and for that he thought that the sayde Ryuer would be a meane to bring enemies eftsones into that Countrie, therefore he commaunded the streame to be deuyded into diuers streames, so that by reason thereof, where a Ship might haue sayled in tyme passed

passed, then a little Boate might scantly rowe. And now by reason of the presence of the king, the Danes were enforced to flie and to auoyde that Countrie, and from thence tooke againe their way toward Wales, and kept along the Ryuer of Seuerne, and vpon the border thereof they builded them a Castell nere vnto Wales, and so rested them there for a time. And three yeres after this land was vexed with three maner of plagues, the one was warre with the Danes, the other was death and pestilence of men, and the thirde Morcyn of Cattell. The which troubles & aduersities notwithstanding, the king honourably and valiauntly resisted his enimies, and gaue God hartye thankes whatsoeuer came, and susteyned it with great humilitie & patience.

Three great plagues, warre, pestilence and Morcyn of Cattell.

¶ And finally, this martiall Prince continuing in all prowes and vertue, at the last dyed, when he had ruled this lande. xxbiij. yeres, and first was buried at Wilton, and after certaine yeres remoued and caryed vnto Winchester, leauing after him a sonne named Edward the Elder, for the other brother called Egelward dyed before his father.

Thus reigned in Scotlande two yeres, he was so swifft that in running, he coulde ouertake a Harte or Greyhounde. 876 5

Regour reigned in Scotland. xbiij. yeres. This was a sage, wise, and gouernaunt Prince, and a man of great prowes. He recouered Fiffe and Louthian, & the countries that were taken from the Scottes, by the Danes and other enimies, he also droue the Danes out of Northumberland (as affirmeth the Scottish history) and made that Prouince tributarie to him: he tooke from the Britepns Chumber and westmerlande, and vanquished and subdued the Irishmen. 878 7

Dnald the. bj. reigned in Scotland. xj. yeres. He made a lawe, that all men that did forsweare themselues, or spake of the Deuill, should be burned in the lips with a hoate Iron. 894 23

EDward surnamed the Elder, the sonne of Alured began after his father to gouerne the Realme of England. This man was not so well learned as was his father, but in honour, fame, and martiall prowes, he was nothing inferiour. Howbeit, Mylliam of Malmesbury in the. xiij. Chapter and second booke of the story of Kinges, affirmeth that he was excelently learned, and folowing the diligence of his father king Alphrede, caused his base sonne called Ethelstane, who afterwards succeded him, to be well instructed in the Latyn tongue. He was also very profitable to the common weale in building and repayring many Castels, Townes, and Cities, which were rased and broken by the Danes, he adioyned to his Lordship all this lande, sauing only Northumberland, which was possessed of the Danes. By his first wyfe he had a sonne named Ethelstane the which was king after him. But the Authour of the flowers of Histories sayth, that he begat Ethelstane of a Concubine named Egwine. By his second wyfe he had two sonnes, Edredus, and Edwynus, and. bij. daughters. And of the thirde wife, he receyued two sonnes, Edmond, and Edred, and two daughters, Edburga, and Edgina. 901 1

This was Edward the Martir.

Ethelstane sonne of king Edward.

Edredus.

Edwynus.

¶ The first of these three wyues was called Edwyna, the second Edgina, and the thirde Ethelswida. Of the aforenamed seuen daughters, which he had by his second wife, one named Alunda, was maryed to the first Otto

Alunda.

the

Algina. the Emperor, and another named Algina, was maried to Charles the Simple, King of west France, & the yongest of his daughters as sayth Reynulph, he wedded vnto Lewes king of Guyan, but hereof speaketh nothing the Frenche Chronicle. He set his sonnes to schoole, and his daughters to woorke, taking example of Charles the Conquerour.

Charles the simple king of west France.

Lewes king of Guyan.

¶ But because there is diuersitie among writers touching the names of his wiues and children, and also of the number of them, he that findeth fault with the Author whom I folow, may read Mathew of Westminster in the lyfe of Edward the sonne of Alphred, and Reynulph in his sixt booke, and fourth Chapter, and there he shall see howe, and wherein they disagree, and so try out what is most probable and lykely to be true: But yet that the reader may haue some present tryall hereof, I will shewe what the Authour called Mathew of Westminster, which compiled his story at the commaundement of Richard the seconde, writeth hereof, whose woordes are these.

¶ King Edward sayth he, of his first wife named Egwina, begat his eldest or first borne sonne Ethelstane: of his wife Edgina, he begat Edredus, Edwinus, and sixe daughters, of the which he maried one vnto the Emperor Otho, another to Charles, king of the west French men, & the third vnto Schitericus, Duke of Northumberland. Of his thirde wife named Ethelwitha, he begat Edmond and Eldred, which reigned both after Ethelstane. He begat also by the sayd thirde wife, two daughters, that is to say Edburga, which was professed a Nonne, and lyeth buried at Winchester, and Edgina the fayre, which maryed with Lewes king of Aquitaine. But Polidore agreeth not herewith, but sayth much otherwise.

Clito Ethelwoldus.

¶ In the first yere of his reigne, Clito Ethelwoldus a neere kinsman of his (for he was Cosyn germaine vnto him on the fathers syde, but as Polidore sayth his brother) rebelled against him, and occupied the towne of Winborne besydes Bathe, and tooke thence by force a Nonne thinking to marry her, and went thence vnto the Danes dwelling in Northumberland, and procuroked them to ryse against king Edwarde. But the king pursued him so sharpely, that he constrayned him to leaue that Countrie, and so he sayled into Fraunce, and left the Nonne behynde him, the which the king caused to be restored againe to the house that she was taken from.

Winborne besides Bathe.

Clito with his company landed in England.

Crekinford Crickland.

Bradenestok Basingstoke.

The next yere folowing, the sayd Clito with his companie landed in East England, and gathered to him the Danes of that Countrye, and with theyr ayd destroyed and pilled the Countrie about Crekinford, and Crickland. And then he passed the ryuer of Thames, and spoyled the land vnto Bradenestoke or rather Basingstoke, and so from thence returned againe into East Anglia aforesayde. But where mine Authour hath here Crekynfoord, and Cricklande, Reynulph hath Crecanefoorde otherwise called Kreklade, whome I do rather alowe.

¶ Now the king folowed still his enemies, and spoyled their landes which they helde by composition of him from the Ryuer of Owse, to the border of Saint Edmondes lande, commaunding the knightes of his hoste, that none should drag or tary after his armye, for feare least the enemies should snatch them vp. But the Kentish men trusting to much in their owne strength, came not away as the king commaunded: Wherefore the Danes wayting theyr praye, fell vpon them by bushments, and slue a great number of them, wherewith

wherewith the king was sore discontented.

¶ Sone after, both the Armies met, where after long and cruell fight, Clyto with a great number of the Danes were slaine, and the residue constreyned to flie, and to crie and seeke for peace, the which was graunted vnto them vpon certeyne condicions, namely, that they shoulde keepe them within the boundes to them limitted, & besydes that to pay yerely a certeine summe of money in way of Tribute. After which peace so stablished with them, the king repayred Cities, Townes, and Castels, that by the sayde Danes were battered and broken.

Clito slaine

Peace vpon condicions.

¶ And in the. viij. yere of his reigne, king Edward repayred the walles and also the Citie of Chester. To the which were great helpers, Etheldredus Duke of Mertia, and Elfleda his wife, daughter of Alured, as before is shewed, and sister of this king Edwarde. And after the king builded a strong Castle at Hereforde in the edge of Wales. And he enlarged so greatly the Walles of Chester, that the Castell which before time was without the wall, is now within, and the sayde Citie of Chester is at this day much more bewtified and enlarged.

Chester repayred.

Hereford Castle.

¶ In the. xij. yere of his reigne the Danes repentyng them of theyr couenantes before made, and mynding the breach of the same, assembled an hoste and met with the king in Staffordshire at a place called Toten hall, and soone after at Wodnes field: At which two places the king slue two kinges, two Earles, and many thousandes of the Danes that then occupyed the countrye of Northumberland. And soone after, dyed the noble man Etheldredus, Duke or Earle of Martia or middle England, after whose death, the king forsomuch as he had often proued her wisedome, tooke the rule of that countrie to his wife Elfleda (London onely excepted) the which he tooke vnder his owne rule.

Toten hall, Wodnes field.

Etheldredus Duke of Mertia dead.

Elfled ruled Mertia.

¶ In the. xiij. yere of this king, a great nauie of Danes which in the time of Alured were driuen into fraunce nowe returned againe, and sayled about the west countrye, and landed in dyuerse places, and tooke prayes, and went to their Shippes againe. And at one tyme among other, they robbed and spoyled at a place called Irchinfielde, and tooke a Britishe Bishop, and caryed him to their shippes, and finally raunsomed him at. xl. pound. But assoone as king Edward had knowledge of their beyng in that place, he assembled his people and made towardes them by lande, and sent another armie by water to encounter with the Danes Shippes vpon the Sea: whereof the sayd Danes hauing knowledge, fled to Irelande, and by that meanes both escaped the king by land, and his nauie by Sea.

Danes sore vexed Britayne.

Irchinfield.

¶ Then the king for the strengthening of that country made a Castell at the mouth of the water of Auene, and another Castle at Bokingham, and the thirde nere therevnto, that is to say, on eyther side of the Ryuer of Owse one. And after this he returned into Northamton shire, and Bedfordshire, and fought there with the Danes of those Countries, and at the length subdued them and their leader or Duke called Turketillus.

Auene water.

Bokyngh̄ Castle.

¶ In the. xvij. yere of this king, Elfleda Lady of Mertia, gathered together her knightes: And where the Britons or Welshmen brake into the land about Brekenocke, she with her people withstoode them, and among other prisoners and prayes, tooke there the Queene of Welshmen.

Tocester, Wigmore, Temesford

¶ And the yere folowing, king Edward builded or newely reedefyed the Townes of Tocester, and Wigmore, and destroyed the Castell that the Danes had made at Temes foord. And the sayde yere the noble Ladye Elfleda wanne the Towne of Darby from the Danes, where they put her in suche aduenture, that foure knightes which were called the Gardians of her body were slaine fast by her.

¶ And in the. xviij. yere of his reigne dyed that noble Princes Elfleda, in the Moneth of June, and was buryed in the Monasterye of Saint Peter, which her Lorde and she before tyme had buylded within the Towne of Gloucester, which Monasterie was after throwne downe by the Danes.

¶ When Elfleda was dead, her daughter named Elfwyna helde the Lordship of Mertia for a season: But for that the king considered it to be a thing ouer chargeable for her gouernement, he therefore discharged her thereof, and ioyned it to his kingdome, but not all without some strife. For dyuerse Townes she kept of the king for a tyme, as Notyngham, Tomworth, Derby, and other, he supposing that the daughter would haue defended them, as the mother by her lyfe had done, but at the last they came all to the kinges subiection.

¶ When king Edward had reconciled the aforesayde Townes, he then builded a new Towne, right against the olde Towne of Nottingham, on the South syde of the Ryuer of Trent, and made a Bridge ouer the sayd Riuer betweene the sayde Townes. And as sayth Reynulph, the yere folowing in the sayd Citie or Towne of Nottingham, there were two kinges, that is to say of Scotland and Wales, that yelded themselues vnto king Edward. And sundry Authours, as Marian the Scot, William of Malmesbury, Henry of Huntington, and other, doth shew that this king Edward subdued the kings of Scotland, and of Combris, about the. ir. yere of his reigne. And of the sayde Authours it is also witnessed, that about the. xx. yere of the sayde Edwardes reigne, the sayd kinges of Scotlande and Combrys, chose king Edward for their chiefe Lorde and Patrone, which should be aboute the season before expressed.

King Edward possessed all Scotland.

¶ Then this noble Prince, after all thinges were set in order as aforesayde, he builded on the North parte and in the ende of Mertia, a Citie or Towne, and named it Thilwall, and strengthened it with knightes. And after he repayred the Citie of Manchester, which was sore defaced with the warres of the Danes. After which notable deedes by this puyssant prince finished, with the mariage of his children, and many other thinges which I passe ouer for length, this noble Prince sickened, and dyed when he had victoriously reigned ouer the greatest part of this lande. xxiij. yeres, and was buried at Faringdon, leauyng after him dyuers sonnes, as is before rehersed, of the which Ethelstane was the eldest.

¶ Marion the Scot in hys Chronicle doth wryte that thys Edwarde subdued Constantine king of Scottes, which reigned in his tyme, and that he helde the Realme of Scotland vnder the obedience of the aforesayde king Edward, the space of. xxiij. yeres.

904 4 COnstantine the thirde of that name was ordeyned king of Scottes, and reigned. xl. yeres.

925 1 ATheIstane, or Adelstane, the sonne of Edward the elder, after the death of his father tooke vpon him the gouernement of this Realme. He was a worthy Prince, valiant, and politique in all his actes and doinges.

¶ In the seconde yere of his reigne, for an vnitie and peace to be had betweene the king and the Danes of Northumberland, he maryed his sister to Sithricus their king, vpon promes that he would be Christened, the which he performed, but shortly after he put away his wyfe, and returned to Paganisme, and finally dyed miserably.

¶ And when he had thus accorded with the Danes of Northumberland, soone after he made subiect to him Constantine king of Scottes, and the whole Realme of Scotland at Brouningfielde, where also he discomfited the Danes, & slue Malcolme Deputie in that behalfe to the king of Scots, with xx. thousand Scottes, in the which battayle the Scottes confesse to haue lost more people than were remembred in any age before. And this Athelstane folowed this his good lucke throughout all Scotland, and wholy subdued it, and beyng in possession of it, gaue land there lying in Annandale by his dede, the Copie wherof foloweth. I King Athelstane, geues vnto Paulan, Oddam and Roddam, as good and as fayre, as euer they mine vvere, and thereto vvitnesse Mavvde my vvife. By which course wordes, not onely appereth the plaine simplicitie of mennes doynges in those dayes, but also proue fullye that he was then seazed of the whole Realme of Scotland.

Constantins lynge of Scottes.

Scotlande conquered.

¶ And after this conquest, the sayde Constantine so humbled himselfe vnto the king, that he restored him to his former dignitie. Wherefore, the sayde Constantine sayde in the prayse of a king, that it vvas more honour to make a king than to be a king.

The right honour of a King.

¶ It is also witnessed by Reynulph, and other, that this Athelstane, or Adelstane, should marry one of his sisters named Edith vnto Otho the first of that name Emperour of Almaine, and (as some wryte) receyued from him many precious Jewelles: But of this speaketh nothing the Chronicles of the Romaynes. Howbeit, it is shewed there, that the aforesayde Otho had a wyfe named Alunda, which as before is sayde in the story of King Edward the elder, might be the daughter of the sayd Edward, & of Edgina his second wife, and sister vnto this king Athelstane. But Vincentius sayth, that Henry Duke of Saxony, which was father vnto the first Otho, sent vnto Athelstane, requiring of him his sister to marry vnto his sonne Otto: By which reason it maye be truely sayde that Otho or Otto maryed the eldest sister of Athelstane, but not Edith.

Otho Emperour of Almaine.

Of the aforesayd Jewels sent by Otto, one was a precious vessell of stone called Onychites, which was of such cleerenesse and also so finely and artificially wrought, that it appered to mans sight that grene corne had growne within it, and moued and waued as corne doth standing in the field: Moreouer in it appered Vynes burging and bearing of fruite, and men also to fight, mouing and stirring. He also receiued the great Constantines swoord, wherein was grauen in great letters of Golde the name of the owner: and the hiltes thereof were couered with great plates of Golde, and one of the Naples was fastened to the Crosse of the sayde swoord, that crucified and nayled Christ to the Crosse. Fabian. But Reynulph sayth otherwise. He also receyued the Speare of Charles the great, which after the opinion of some

Onychytes a precious stone, of great value.

Wryters, was the Speare wherewith Longeus opened Chriſtes ſide. And the Baner of Saint Mozice, with a part of the holye Crolle, and a parte of the Crowne of Thozne that our Sauiour Chriſt was crowned with. Of the which Jewels, king Ethelſtane gaue part vnto S. Swithines of Winchester, and ſome he gaue vnto the Abbey of Malmeſbury. And ſome write that this Athelſtane was the firſt annointed king at his cozonation. Fabian.

Athelſtane ſ firſt annoynted king of Bziteyn.

¶ Now it followeth in the Hiſtozie, how Conſtantyne king of Scottes, foz all his humilitie, and foz all the pzincely fauour that he had ſhewed vnto him by king Athelſtane, forgetting altogither both fayth and loyaltie, as the maner and cuſtome of the Scottes is, reuolted and bzake couenaunt wyth the king. Wherefoze king Athelſtane aſſembled his knights and power, and made towarde Scotlande, and in his waye he turned to the Towne named Saint Johns of Beuerley and offered there his knyfe vpon the Altare ſaiyng, that if he returned with victozie, he woulde redeeme his knyfe with a noble pzice, and that being done, he marched fozward on his iourney, and in concluſion, diſcomfited the Scottes, and bzought them againe into due ſubiectiõ. And after accozding to the pzomiſe befoze made, he returned to Yozke, and ſo to Beuerley, where he redeemed his knife wozthily as befoze he had pzomiſed by endowment and great pziuileges graunted vnto that towne.

¶ And Reynulph in the bj. Booke, and bj. Chapter, ſayeth that king Athelſtane after he had ſubdued the Scottes being then with his Lozdes and familiers, neere vnto the Caſtle of Dunbarre, pzayed to God that in that Countrie he might leaue ſome remembzance oz token, that thoſe that were then liuyng, and alſo ſuch as ſhould come after, might know that the Scots by right ſhould be ſubiects to Engliſhmen. And fozthwith he toke his ſwozd in hande and ſmote vpon a great ſtone ſtanding neere vnto the ſayde Caſtel, with which ſtroke the ſtone did cleaue an Elle in length, which in the tyme of Edward the third was there to be ſeene, as Fabian ſayeth.

ye may beleue this if ye will.

¶ Ye haue heard befoze, that king Athelſtane, after the death of Sithericus king of Nozthumberland, ſeaſed that lande oz pzouynce into his awne hande, and put out his ſonne: which after allyed himſelfe with Conſtantine king of the Scottes and maryed his daughter. By whoſe pzouocation and ſtirring, he gathered a company of Danes, Scottes, and other, and entered the mouth of Humber with a ſtrong Nauye. Whereof king Athelſtane when he had knowledge, did in all goodly haſte pzepare his armie, and at length met with him and his people, at a place called Bzimfozd, where Athelſtane obteyned a great and notable victozie. Foz after the king by the helpe of God had defended the ſubtile aſſault made vpon him by night by his enemies, he in the mozning by the helpe of his bzother Edmond, and Oddo the Archbiſhop chaſed his ſayd enemies, and ſlue there Conſtantine king of Scottes, and fiue petye, oz vnder kinges, and. xij. Dukes, with the greateſt part of all the ſtraungers that were there gathered at that time: The which battaile ſhould be done by the meaning of the ſayd Reynulph, about ỹ laſt yere of his reigne.

Conſtantins kinge of Scottes ſlain

¶ It is alſo written of dyuerſe Auchours, that the king after this victozye, ſubdued alſo the Nozth Bziteynes that dwelled at Herefozd, and there about, and compelled them to pay him yerely three hundzed pound of Siluer rrb. C. head of Neate, and. rr. pound in Golde. But Guido ſayth, that the king cauſed at Herefozd Citie, to come befoze him all the rulers of the Nozth Bziteyn,

Bziteyn, and there had with them ſuch communication, that he fozced them to graunt vnto him as a yerely tribute. rr. pound of Golde, thzee hundzed pound of Siluer, and. rrb. C. heade of Neate, with Dogges, and Hawkes to a certeyne number. After which victozies, he went vnto Exeter, and repayzed it and the walles thereof ſufficiently. Tribute.

¶ John Lidgate a Monke ſometyme of Saint Edmondes bury, made a goodly treatiſe of this king Athelſtane, ſhewing that he was in ſo great perſecution of the Danes, that he was conſtrayned to call at Winchester a great counſayle of his Lozdes. Where, after long debating of the matter, and dyuerſe Imbaſſades and meſſages ſent about by the king, and the Danes: It was firmely concluded, that the king ſhould pzouide him a Champion to fight with Colybzond oz Colbzond, a Gyaunt and Dane, which the Danes had appoynted foz theyz Chiefteyne. Wherefoze the king in ſearching thzough his landes foz ſuch a knight, and none could finde, was in great daunger and diſtreſſe of heauineſſe. And foz ſomuch as he well pertceyued, that mannes power fayled, he by the aduice of his Lozdes Spirituall, and Tempozall, fell to faſting and pzayer, and continued therein by a certeyne of tyme wyth perfect and charitable deuotion. John Lydgate.

Colbzond a Giant which was a Dane.

¶ In the tyme of which ſayd abſtinence, a viſion was ſhewed vnto Athelſtane, comfozting him, and alſo commaunding him, that earely vpon the next mozning, he ſhould ſtande at the Nozth gate of the Citie of Winchester, and there he ſhould finde amongeſt the number of the pooze people, a man clothed in Palmers wede whome he ſhould chooſe foz his Champion.

This man was Guy of Warwike.

¶ After which viſion thus to him ſhewed, he did accozding, and founde a man of goodly ſtature, & ſomedeale ſtriken in age, and apparelled as he was tolde in the viſion. Wherof the king firſt gaue vnto God his heartie thankes, and after made requeſt to this man, that he would take vpon him this Combate foz the defence of the lande: And the man layd foz himſelfe many cauſes and conſiderations, as well foz his age as otherwiſe, that he ought to be hold excuſed to take vpon him ſuch an enterpzice. Howbeit, after much diſcourſing at the laſt he graunted the king to fulfill his requeſt and commaundement.

¶ And at the day aſſigned and appoynted, he met in the fielde with the afozenamed Gyant, called Colbzond without the Gate of the Citie in a Medowe, called Hide Mede, where betweene them two was foughten a long and cruell fight, ſo that the king was in great feare of his Champion. But finally by the helpe of God, the man wonne the honour of that fight, and ſlue that Gyant that was of exceding ſtature, & alſo of great and paſſing ſtrength.

Hide Mede beſide Winchester.

Colbzand the Giaunt ſlain by Guy of Warwike.

¶ Which victozie by the man thus obteyned, with the helpe and fauour of God: the king then with his Baronny fet the Man into the Citie of Winchester with ſolempne Pzoceſſion, & conueyed him vnto the Cathedzall Church of the ſame, where he thanked God with great deuotion, and offzed there the Axe with the which he had ſlaine the Danes Champion. After which oblation with due reuerence, and other obſeruaunces by him and other finiſhed: The king cauſed him to be conueyed vnto his Court, where he taryed that night with much entreatye. And in the mozning earely he made ſuch meanes that he would needes depart, and that in the ſame apparell that he came thether. When the king was aduertiſed that this man would ſo haſtely depart, whome he entended to haue holden with him in his Court, and to haue en-

Guy of Warwicks Axe.

dowed him with riche possessions: He commaunded him to be brought vnto his presence.

¶ And when he sawe that he could not cause him to tary, he requyred him to shew vnto him his name: wherof also he besought the king to pardon him. Wherfore the king considering his hasty departing, with many other thinges in him to be considered, was then the more desyrous to haue of him some knowledge. And therfore the king was earnest in his desyre and request, and would haue no nay, but that he should declare his name: Then the man perceiuyng that without the kinges displeasure he could not depart without disclosing of his name, sayde, he might not discouer his name within the walles of the Citie, without the offence of his conscience.

¶ Wherfore, the king graunted to go with him vntill he were in the brode fieldes: Upon which graunt thus made, the king commaunded dyuerse great giftes to be to him presented, which all he vtterly refused. Shortly to conclude, the king with a certeyne of his Lordes conueyed this sayde man vnto the Townes ende: And when he was thether come, he there requyred him of the performance of his promes. And then the man kneling on his knee, besought the king of his especiall grace, that he woulde put apart his Lordes and other, so that he might shewe his name vnto him onely.

¶ Which beyng done, he besought him that he would kepe his name secret for the space of. xxiiij. houres: the which the king graunted vnto him, and then he sayd, that he was his naturall liege man, and subiect, and that his name was Guy of Warwike. Of which tidynges the king was very ioyous, and offered him then of newe, many riche rewardes and giftes: But all was in vaine, for he would receyue nothing, so that the king and he lastly departed with weping eyen. And after the sayd Guy of Warwicke purchased in a Wilderneſſe a lodging in an Hermitage, where, by the terme of two yeres and more, he dwelled and kept an hard life. And he heering that Dame Felice his awne wife fed dayly. xiij. poore men for Christes sake, he went thether sondry tymes, and fet there his Almose, his sayde wife then lyng at the Castell of Warwike, not knowyng of any man what he was, vntill at the last, he was visited with sore sickneſſe, and that he knewe well he should dye: Wherefore he sent his wedding ring vnto his wife, requyring her in all the haste to come and speake with him, which shee obeyed in humble wise, and sped her vnto the sayde Hermitage with all womanly diligence, and founde him dead at her comming, whome shee besprent with many a salt teare. And as shee was enformed of the Messenger, at the tyme when he dyed, he determined to be buryed in the same place, and euen there she did bury him. And moreouer, as sayth the aforesayde Auctour, he admonished his sayd wyfe, by the sayd messenger, that she should prouide, for she should die within. xv. dayes next after: which shee also obeyed, and made such prouision that shee was buried in the same place. All which matter the sayd John Lydgate affirmeth, that he tooke out of a certeine booke of Giraldus Cambrensis, otherwise called Siluester Giraldus, which wrote many thinges of the Princes of Englande, as Reynulph also and others doe witnesse.

Guy of Warwick.

Guy of warwike dead.

¶ All which sayd treatise is shewed at length in meter of. viij. staues, by the diligent labour of the sayde John Lidgate, the which I haue here omitted for breuitie sake. This Athelstane by the recorde of sundrie writers, brought

brought againe this land into one Monarchy, and reigned as king thereof xvj. yeres, and was buried at the Monastery of Malmesbury, leauyng after him no childe, & therefore the rule of this land fell vnto Edmond his brother.

940

1

LEdmond the brother of Athelstane and sonne of Edwarde the Elder, reigned next after his brother.

Danes rebelled.

¶ In the first yere of his reigne, the Danes of Northumberlande rebelled against him: And for to make their partie the stronger, they sent for a Prince of the Danes named Aulaffe, then being in Irelande, the which brought with him another prince or ruler of ꝑ Danes named Reignald, with a great hoste of Danes and other straung Nations, and entered the foresayd Countrie, and warred vpon the next borders, in wasting and spoilyng the inhabitaunts of the same.

Reignald a Captaine of the Danes.

¶ When king Edmond had knowledge hereof, anone he assembled hys people, and sped him towarde the Countrie, and at the last fought with the sayde two Princes of the Danes, and chased them from Towne to Towne, vntill he forced them with all their company of straunge Nations to forsake vtterly that Prouince, and further he did beate downe the Countrie of Comberlande, that had much fauoured and ayded the sayde enimies against him, and tooke therein great prayes, and deuyded the spoyle amongst his knights. And that done, eyther for the good seruice that Malcolyne king of Scotlande had in his voyage done vnto the king, or for the truth & allegeance that he in tyme following should beare vnto him, or for both, the king gaue there to the sayde Malcolyn the Countrie of Comberland, and seased the residue of the Lordship of Northumberlande, and ioyned it vnto his awne kingdome. But yet the Danes returned againe in the time of Edred the next king, as after shall be shewed, so that as yet the ende of his kingdome, is not to be accompted. But Polidore alloweth not them that ascribe the vanquishing of the Northumbers vnto this Edmond, affirming that to haue beene Athelstanes deede, who also subdued the Scottes: and so as it seemeth is of opinion that the kingdome of the Northumbers, ended in the sayde Athelstanes tyme.

Malcolyne king of the Scottes had for his seruice done to King Edmond, geuen vnto him the Countrie of Comberland

¶ This king Edmond had a noble woman to his wyfe named Elgina, of whome he receyued two sonnes, named Edwyn and Edgar.

Elgina the wife of king Edmond.

¶ This king Edmond, as sayeth Henry Archdeacon of Huntingdon, had warre oftentymes with the Danes, who held many good Townes in middle England, as Lyncoln, Nottyngham, Darby, Stafford, and Leyceter, the which by his knightly manhood, he wanne from them, and he also amended many things within the Realme that had beene long time out of frame, by meane of the Danes: and as Polydore sayth, established many good lawes very profitable for the common wealth. Of the ende and death of this Edmond, there are diuers opinions, for Marianus the Scot sayeth, that while this king Edmond endeuoured himselfe to saue his Sewer from his enemy, that would haue slain him in a towne or place called Pulkre Church, the king in parting of the fray, was wounded to death, and dyed shortly after.

King Edmond slain.

¶ But Wylliam of Malmesbury de Regibus sayth, that the king being at a Feast at the foresayde Towne or place, vpon the day of Saint Augustine, espyed a Felon, sitting in the Hall named Leof, which he before tyme for his

Felony

Felony had exiled, and therfore he lept ouer the table and plucked that theefe by the heare of the head to the ground. In which doing the sayde Felon, with a knife wounded the king to death, and also with the same knife wounded many other of the kings seruaunts, and at length was himselfe all to hewen in peeces. Fabian. If this be true, it should seeme that kings at those dayes were neyther so honorably garded nor accompanyed, nor yet kept so princely estate, as they now vse.

A straunge tale of the death of a king.

¶ But which of these two meanes was vsed in the kings death, it appereth not certainely, but all writers agree that he dyed when he had reigned. vj. yeres and more, and was buried at Glastenbury, the which before he had sumptuously repayred, and left after him two yong sonnes, as before is remembred Edwyn, and Edgar, but for that they were to yong to rule the land, therefore the rule thereof was committed to Edredus their Uncle, and brother to their father.

Edwyn, Edgar.

944
5

MAlcolme the first and the sonne of Constantine reigned King of Scottes xv. yeres, and at the last was slaine by conspiracy of certaine Traytors.

946
1

EDred or Edred the brother of Edmond and sonne of Edward the elder, was made king, for ꝑ the children of king Edmond were thought to yong to gouerne.

This Eldred was annointed king of Oddo or Otho Archbishop of Cantorburie, in the Towne of Kingstone vpon Tamys, and soone after, he warred vpon the Danes that then were entered into Northumberland (or after some writers, that then were there dwelling vnder tribute of the king) subdued before of Edmond his brother, and bet them downe, and caused them to holde and obey vnto their former couenaunts. And the Scottes then also began to varie, but he brought them vnto due obedience.

Rebellio of the Danes.

¶ After a certaine terme, the Danes of Northumberlande, which euer continued full of guyle and doublenesse, not being content to holde and keepe the couenaunts before made and promised vnto Edred the king, called vnto them their olde accessaryes and helpers, and bereued from the kings subiects the Citie of Yorke and other strong Townes and Castels, to the great hurte and anoyance of the Countrie, and vtter displeasure of the king.

Yorke taken by ꝑ Danes.

¶ Wherefore, he being therof aduertised, in goodly and conuenient haste, assembled his people, and sped him thether, and destroyed much of the land. And in that furie brent the Abbay of Rypon, which the Danes kept for a Fortresse and strength, and wanne from them muche of their strengthes which they before had wonne, and brought them again vnder his subiection.

Rypon Abbey brent.

¶ When this king Edred had thus sped his iourney and was returning into England, nothing suspecting the sayde Danes, a company of them by the exciting of Hircus a king or prince of the Danes, then folowed the kings hoste, and before he came at Yorke set vpon the kings rereward, and destroyed and slue many a man. For the which doing the king was sore amoued, and turned his people againe, entending to haue destroyed the Countrie vtterly.

Danes hauing to their Capitaine one named Hircus did again rebell.

¶ Wherof the Danes beyng ware, so lowly meked themselues vnto him, and presented vnto him such giftes, that the king refrayned of that great yre that he purposed to them. But amongest other Articles that he bound them vnto,

vnto, one was, that they should banish and vtterly refuse their forsaid Duke or king called Hercus: which thing with dyuers and many other they graunted and firmely bound themselues to keepe, as well by hostages taken, as by other surety, and the king returned into England, and ioyned this kingdome to his other. So that here is reconed the ende of this kingdome, which endured iiij. C. ix. yeres.

Danes that inhabited Northumberland were againe ouercome and put from gouernment for euer

¶ In the same yere that the king had thus subdued the Danes, a strong sickenesse tooke him, so that he dyed, and was buried in the Cathedral Church of Winchester, in the .xxbiij. yere of his age, & when he had reigned .x. yeres.

¶ Polidore sayth, that when he had quieted the Realme, and vanquished his enemies, he became a great benefactor vnto religious houses, but specially vnto the Abbey of Abindon, who thinking to please God therby, & to gratefy Ethelnoldus then Abbot there accompted for a very holy man, and at the request of his mother Edgina, repayred the same Abbey, first founded by king Ina, as before is said; and at that season sore decaied, and in maner destroyed.

955
1

EDwyn the eldest sonne of Edmond, brother of Athelstane, tooke on him the gouernement of this Realme.

Kingstone or kings towne.

¶ This Edwyn was crowned at Kingstone beside London of the Archebishop of Cantorbury: The which selfe daye of his Coronacion, brake sodeynly from his Lordes, and entered into a secrete Chamber, and there occupyed himselfe sinfully, and rauished another mannes wife, beyng his nere kinswoman, whose husband as one Auctour doth testifie, the king had caused to be slaine before, for that he would haue the vnlawfull vse of her bewtie, and not considering the allyaunce of affinite & kyndred betwene them. Some write that he committed the sayd Act in maner openly lyke a brute Beast, and Guydo sayth that Edwyn contrary to the lawes of the Churche, helde a woman as his Concubine. Wherefore Dunstone who a little before was made Abbot of Glastonbury, first monished him of his fault, and afterwardes accused him vnto Oddo Archebishop of Cantorbury, by whose power the kinge was caused to refuse and forsake the company of the woman. For the which Edwyn bare great malice vnto Dunstone, and at length by his extort power, he banyshed him the lande, and forced him for a season to kepe himselfe in Flaunders. And for the malice that he bare towarde him, he did much displeasure to all the Monkes of England, by banishment, and otherwise. Insomuch, that at Walmesbury he put out the Monkes, and set in secular prieستes in their steede. Fabian.

Dunstone banished.

¶ But Mathew of Westminster writeth, that Edwyn had to his Paramoure, the daughter of a noble woman of the Realme, and the mother also at his commaundement. And that on the day of his Coronation, he arose sodeynly from the Table, as he was feasting with his Lordes and Nobles, and departed vnto his priuy Chamber, where those two gentlewomen were, to the entent he might dally with them, and satisfie the sensuall appetite and beastlye pleasure of the body. The which fact of his, sore displeased all his sayde Nobles: and therefore they sent incontinent Dunstone vnto him, to perswade with him to returne againe, and to be mery with them at the table, who as he was by them commaunded, taking his kynsman Bishop Cynesius with him, entered into the kings Chamber, where they found the Crowne of

of the Realme, all of glystering Golde very riche and bewtifull, plucked off his head and hurled after a retcheleſſe ſorte on the ground a ꝓety way from him: And the king himſelfe tumbling in the duſt betwixt the mother and the daughter, vnto whom the ſayd Dunſtone ſayd on this wyſe. My liege Lord, your Princes and Nobles haue ſent vs vnto you, to beſech you to returne againe vnto your Hall, where is a meete ſeate for your Royall perſon and eſtate, and there to ſolace your ſelfe, and to make mery with them, and then blamed the lewdeneſſe and folly of the Women: and perceyuing the king ſo vnwilling to aryſe, he caught him by the hande, and ſo brought him backe againe with him vnto the feaſt Royall, ſtorming and chafing like a mad man. After this one of the Harlotets called Algina roſe vp in a great chafe and fume ſaying, how he was a rathe and a ſawcie Meſſenger, that thus would preſume to enter into the kinges priuie Chamber, not beyng called. And ſo from thence forth, the ſame woman neuer ceaſſed to perſecute Dunſtone, till ſhe had brought him into the kinges deadly hatered, and highe diſpleaſure: And it foloweth in the ſame Writer, howe by the conſent of King Edwyn after ſhe had ſpoyled his Abbey of all his mouables, ſhee cauſed him at length to be baniſhed out of the Realme by the kinges commaundement. After the which baniſhment, he was faine to flie into Fraunce for his ſauſegard, during the tyme of his ſayde exile. And howe there were certeyn tormentors ſent beyond the Seas to haue put out his eyes, if they could haue met with hym.

¶ It is read of him, that he tooke ſuch precious Jewels as Athelſtane had receyued before from Otho the Emperour, geuen vnto Wincheſter and Malmeſbury, and gaue them vnto alyauntes and ſtraungers. And thus was he not onely vnkinde to Monkes, but alſo vſed ſuch tyrannie, and other vnlawfull meanes to his ſubiectes, that laſtly they abhorring his wicked lyfe, and deteſtable maners, rebelled againſt him, and ſpecially the inhabitantes of the Countrye of Mertia, or middle Englande, and alſo the Northumbers and put him clerely from all kingly honour and dignitie, the which depoſition greued him ſo much that he died for ſorow, when he had reigned foure yeres, and was buried at wincheſter, leauing none heyre of his body, and therefore the rule of the land fell vnto Edgar his yonger brother.

King Edwyn depoſed.

959

1

EDgar, the ſeconde ſonne of Edmond, and brother of Edwyn the laſt king, beyng of the Age of. xb. yeres, tooke vpon him the rule of this Realme. In the beginning of his reigne, he called home Dunſtone that before was exiled of king Edwyn. Then he made Dunſtone that was Abbot of Glaſtenbury, Biſhop of Worceter, and he ioyned and vnited together all the Prouinces and Lordſhips of England, and made them one Monarchie, and one Kingdome.

King Edgar vnited all the prouinces of this realme into one kingdome, where before they were deuided into ſeuen kingdomes.

¶ In many places he put away Clerkes and Prieſtes that liued viciouſly, or as ſome write that had wiues, and ſet there for them Monkes. And as ſayth Guydo, Reynulph, and other, he buylded and repayred to the number of. rl. houſes of Religion, whereof Abyndon, Peterborough, Thorney, Ramſey, & Wilton were cheefe of them. And at Wincheſter, he put in Monkes, where before were maryed Prieſtes.

¶ The cauſe wherfore (as ſayth Fabian) was, for ſo much as the Prieſtes were

were negligent in the deuyne ſeruice, and ſet Vicars in their places, while they liued at their pleaſure in other places, and ſpent the Patrimonie of the Church after their ſenſuall will.

¶ Then king Edgar gaue to the Vicars the lande that before longed to the Prebendaryes, truſting thereby that they would do their dueties: But it was not long after, but that the ſayd Vicars were as negligent as the other, wherfore the king adnoyded the Prieſtes and placed there Monkes, though ſome of his Prelates were not contented therewith.

¶ This Edgar kept ſuch iuſtice and did ſo ſharpe execution vpon Malefactors, that neuer before his dayes were vſed leſſe felonyes or robberyes then was in his tyme. And to the entent that he would haue the rauenous beaſtes deſtroyed throughout his lande, he cauſed Ludallus Prince of Wales, to yelde to him yerely by way of Tribute three hundred Wolues. By meane whereof, within foure yeres after, in Englande and Wales myght ſkantly be found one Wolfe alyue.

Execution of iuſtice hath worthy commendation.

The deſtruction of wolues.

¶ Polidore here noteth that the Welſhmen, which could neuer willingly abyde to be gouerned of the Engliſhe Nation, founde the meanes at the length to make themſelues a Prince of their awne Nation, as in this kinges tyme they had to their Prince and gouernour Ludallus, and long tyme after diuerſe other in diuerſe kinges dayes, which were tributaries vnto the kinges of England: But when they firſt obteyned this benefite of the ſayde kinges, the ſayde Polidore confeſſeth that he hath not found in any auncient Chronicle or autentike Writer.

¶ It is written of ſundrie Authours, that Kynadus king of Scottes deſpiſed Edgar, for that he was little of ſtature, whereof king Edgar beyng warned deſyred the ſayde Kynadus to dynner, and made to him good countenance. After which dyner ended, he tooke the ſayde Kynadus by the arme, and ſo with him helde company vntill they came to the Fields: where being diſſeuered from their ſeruauntes: Edgar drewe from vnder his garment two ſwordes, and deſyred Kynadus to take the choyce of them, and ſayde vnto him, nowe thou haſt good leaſure to ſaye thy ſtrength with mine, which before tyme thou haſt ſo much deſpiſed: Nowe let vs proue which is more worthy to be ſubiect to other: It is not fitting for a Knight to make great boaſt at the boorde, and to doe little in the field.

Kynadus king of Scottes.

A chalenge made by Edgar vnto Kynadus the Scottiſhe King.

¶ When the Scottiſh king heard the king thus chalenge him, he remembred well his wordes before ſpoken, and perceyued that they were diſcloſed vnto Edgar, whereof being ſomewhat abaſhed, he anſwered ſo humbly and behaued him ſelfe ſo lowly and gently, and gaue vnto the king ſuch pleaſaunt wordes, that he forgaue the treſpaſſe.

¶ This Edgar among other of his Politique deedes, vſed in the Somer tyme, to ſcoure the Sea with certaine Shippes of warre, and had a great number alwayes in a readyneſſe. And againſt the Winter, he prouided to lay by the ſayde Shippes in ſure Hauens, and had readie in his awne ſeruice and in his Lordes, a certaine number of Souldiours that were alway ready to man the ſame, when the king had neede of them. And his Shipmaſters were in wages with him throughout the yere, who euer attended vppon the Shippes, to ſee that nothing lacked that was neceſſarie. By meane wherof he kept his lande in great quiet from outward enimies. And in the Wynter

Edgar in Somtyme ſcoured the Sea with his ſhippes, and in Winter laid them vp.

he

he vsed to ryde ouer the lande, and to vnderstande how his officers intreated the people. And if any were accused of extorcion or other crymes, and that duely proued against them, he did vpon all such, sharpe correction.

¶ And for so much as in his dayes, great multitude of Danes dwelled in dyuers places of England, which vsed many vices, and specially great drinking, wherof ensued dronkennesse and many other vices, to the euill examples and hurtes of his commons and subiects: He therefore ordeyned certaine Cuppes with pinnes or nayles set in them, and ordeyned and made a law, that whatsoeuer person dranke past the marke at one draught, shoulde forfeyt a certaine payne: wherof the one halfe should fall to the accuser, and that other halfe to the ruler of the Borough or Towne that the offence was done in, where the same should be examyned and tryed.

A pollecie for the stape of Dronkardes.

A good president for the making of penall lawes, and bestowing of the forfeytures.

¶ It is tolde of this Edgar by dyuers Authours, that he vpon a season being at Chester, entred the ryuer of Dee, and there sitting in a Boate, tooke the rule of the sterne, and caused. viij. Kinges, which Guydo calleth Reguli, that is small or vnder kings, and commaunded them to rowe him vp and downe the Ryuer, vnto Saint Johns Church, which lately was an Abbey of black Monkes, and from thence to his owne Palace, in token, that he was Lorde and king of so many Prouynces.

King Edgar had vnder him seuen kings within this Realme.

¶ This Noble Edgar had two Wyues: By the first that was called Egelfleda the whyte, he had a sonne that was named Edward, who was after king, and slaine by treason as afterwards shall be shewed. And vpon his second Wyfe Elfrida or as the English Chronicle calleth her Estrild, he begat a sonne named Egelredus or Ethelredus, and after the Englishe Chronicle Eldred, which was king next after Edward the Martir, and of Wilfride, which of some is called a Nonne, he had a daughter named Edith, but shee was base and not in Wedlock. For as Guydo sayeth, this Wilfride, knowing that the king cast to her vnlawfull loue, put vpon her the habite of a Nonne, thinking thereby to withdrawe the kinges loue: But that notwithstanding, she was brought to the kings bed. For which deede he was greatly blamed of the Bishop Dunstane, and by him enioyned to doe therefore seuen yeres penance. And the aforenamed Wilfride, after the childe borne, lyued vertuously, as sayeth Fabian. Of her daughter Edith, it is read that at lawfull age she was at Wilton shorne a Nonne.

Ethelfleda the mother of Edward, and wyfe of Edgar.

Edith the daughter of Wilfride. Which Wilfride was a Nonne and Concubine to king Edgar.

¶ Edgar, thus ruling the lande after the death of his first wyfe Egelfleda, worde was brought to him of the bewtie of a yong Damsell named Elfrida, or Estrild, daughter of Orgarus Erle of Deuonshire: wherefore he sent a Knight of his Courte named Ethelwold, to espie whether the Mayde were of such bewtie, as shee was reported of, or not, charging him, if shee were so bewtifull, that then he should aske her to wyfe for him.

¶ But this Knight hauing sight of this Mayden, was so wounded with the darte of blinde Cupide, that he forgate his truth and allegeance, which he did owe to his Master and souereigne, and returned, shewing to the king, that shee was nothing of the bewtie as she was reported to be, but of meane fayrenesse as other women are. Wherfore he besought the king, considering she was her fathers Heyre and a good mariage, that he woulde be so good Lorde vnto him, as to write vnto her father, that he might haue her vnto Wyfe. The which the King graunted, and at the last he obteyned her and maryed

Ethelwold vsed dissimulation with the king hys Master.

maryed her.

¶ In processe of tyme the fame of this woman sprang so wyde, that at the last it came to the vnderstanding of king Edgar: wherewith the king notwithstanding, he were in his minde discontented with Ethelwold, which had so deceyued him, yet kept he good countenance and made semblance as though he had nothing forced of that matter at all.

Deepe dissimulation.

¶ And vpon a tyme, as it were in game, warned this Ethelwold that then was an Erle by reason of his wyfe, or otherwise, that he woulde one night come and lodge in his house, and appointed the tyme when it should be. The Erle being nothing contented with this monition, ranne home almost dead for feare, and prayed his wyfe of helpe in that tyme of neede, and that shee would in all that she might make her selfe as foule and as vnseemely as shee could, and shewed to her all the residue of the matter. Then the woman cast in her minde, the great displeasure that might ensue towardes her against God, to make that foule, which he had made goodly and fayre, and also to her Lorde and husbande against the king, thinking that he should cause her thus to do, to the entent to mocke and deceyue him. Wherefore, in consideration of the premisses, shee trimmed and decked her selfe in most costly and shewing apparell. And ouer that, if Dame Nature had any thing forgotten or misprinted in her, she left not what might be done by womans help to haue it amended and reformed, and at the kings comming receyued him with all ioye and gladnesse. By which meanes, this yong amorous king was soone caught in the Deuils snare, so that he set reason aparte and folowed his owne sensualitie. And for to bring his purpose the better about, he kept forth a countenaunce as he had bene well contented with all thing, and desyred the Erle, that he would ryde with him on hunting, into the wood of Weluerley, that now is called Horsewood, where he awayting his tyme, strake the Erle thorow the body with his shaft, so that he dyed soone after. And then he maried this Elfrida or Estrild shortly, and had by her Egelredus. For the which deede sayth Reynulph, this Elfrida buylded a house of Nonnes at Warwell. But some write that it was for the slaiyng of her stepsonne Edward.

Ethelwold was sowly deceyued, for women are not crafty

Ethelwold slaine and murdered.

¶ Then Edgar, was crowned king at the Citie of Bathe, or as some write at Kingstone of Dunstone Archebishop of Cantorbury, and Oswolde Archebishop of Yorke, when he had ruled this land. xij. yeres, but Polidore sayth, that Dunstone was not at his sayde Coronation, but remayned yet a banished man. The cause why it was so long or this Edgar was crowned, was sayth Guydo, for his vnlawfull lechery, and specially for the offence done with Wilfride. For the which deede he was enioyned. vij. yeres penaunce, during the which tyme of penance, he was kept from the sayd annoyntment.

Coronation

The simplicitie of kings in those dayes

¶ It is also reported of this king Edgar, that he beyng vpon a season at the Towne of Andouer beside Sarisbury, and was enamoured of a Noble mannes daughter, which was of passing bewtye, made such meanes by force or otherwise, that the parentes were agreed that the king should haue his pleasure. But the mother beyng subtyll of wyt, bethought her of a wyle, and when night came, sent a seruaunt of hers, which was both comely and fayre, vnto the kinges bed. In the Morning, when the day began to ware cleere, the woman began to stirre, and would haue departed from the king: But the king stayed her, and asked the cause of her so hastie departing: The

Women are wily.

The king deceyued.

woman aunswered, I must be at my worke with my felowes at mine houre, to kepe my taske. And when the king had questioned with her further, he learned that she was a bond woman, and she asked of the king freedome for that nightes seruice. The king at this had good game, and cherished that Damosell so after, that he made her Lady of Ladies. For these insolent and wanton deedes, it is sayd, that by the counsayle of Dunstone, he buylded and repayred so many Abbeyes and houses of religion as is before named. Fabian.

¶ Thus this noble Edgar, passing his tyme in vertue, and sometymes medled with vice, at the last had knowledge of the rebellion of the Britaynes or Welshemen: wherefore he assembled his knightes, and entered the land, and did them great harme and waste. And among other prayes, he spoyled the Countrey of Glamorgan and the Countrey of Ono: But the king dyed within ten dayes after, when he had reigned the full terme of.xvj. yeres, and was buryed at Glascenbury, leauing after him two sonnes, Edward the Martyr, and Egelredus by two sundry wyues. And here Fabian setteth fourth a story of a lewde and false Judge, the which the Reader may there finde set out at large.

959 2 — Idulph reigned in Scotlande.ix.yeres: He kept peace with the Englishe men, and banquished the Danes that inuaded his Realme.

966 8 — King Duffus reigned among the Scottes foure yeres, and was slaine by the treason of a noble man called Donewalde. After his death apered neither Sonne, Moone, nor Starre, the space of.vj. Monethes.

972 14 — Culme a vicious and wicked Tiraunt reigned among the Scottes. He deflowred his awne sisters, and ranished other mennes wyues, and daughters, wherefore he was slaine the fift yere of his reigne.

975 1 — Edward the sonne of Edgar, reigned after his father: And here ye shal vnderstand, that after the death of Edgar, great strife arose among the Lordes, for the admission of their king. For Elfrida or Estreld, with Alphzide Duke of Mertia, made diuerse friendes to haue her sonne Egelredus promoted vnto that dignitie, a childe of seuen yeres of age, that she and he might rule the land together. But Dunstone with the ayde of other Bishoppes, and of the Erle of East England, or Esser, so withstood that doyng, that he crowned this Edward king at the Towne of Kingstone, to the greeuous displeasure of the sayd mother Elfrida, and other of her affinitie.

¶ In the tyme of this Edward apered a blasing starre, after the which ensued many inconueniences, aswell to men as to beastes, as sickenesse, hunger, moreyne, and other lyke calamities: But none of these thinges fell in the dayes of this Edward, but after his death. The aforenamed Alphzide, Duke of Mertia, which in all thinges fauoured much the dedes of the Queene, put out the Monkes at Winchester, that king Edgar had ther set in, and brought in for them wanton Clearkes, or as Reynulph sayth, Clerkes with Concubines (or rather that had lawfull wyues.) But Dunstone, and the Erle of Esser withstood that doyng, and helde against the Duke and such as fauoured his partie: For the which arose great strife betweene the Priestes, and the Monkes of England. For the Clerkes that were before tyme put out by Edgar, sayd that it were a wretched and cursed deede, that a newe common company vnknowen, shoulde put out olde landishe men from their places:

Sickenesse, hunger, moreyne and manye other plagues.

These I thinke were priestes with their wyues.

and

and it shoulde not be pleasing to God that had graunted the place to the olde dwellers, neyther ought any good man to alowe such doyng, for the yll ensample that thereof might ensue. The Monkes sayde, that Christ allowed neyther the olde dweller, nor yet the person: But who so woulde take the crosse of penaunce vpon him, and folowe Christ in verteous liuyng he should be his disciple.

¶ For this matter was there holden a generall counsayle of Bishoppes, and all the Clergie of England, at winchester, but for all this the strife ceased not. In so much that a newe assembly of the Clergie and other was apoynted after at a place called the strete of Calue, where the counsayle was kept in an vpper loft. In thys counsayle Dunstone was grieuously despised and rebuked of some vnskilfull men (as sayth Fabian.) And while they were there in this great deuision and argument, which way should be admitted and alowed, sodeynly the Joystes of the loft fayled, and the people fell downe, so that many were slaine, and the people greatly hurt: But Dunstone with few other that tooke his part escaped vnhurt. This wonder, and other caused silence among them that entended to mainteyne the aforesayd quarell, so that Dunstone had all his will.

Dunstone was fore against priests wyues.

Some write that this was done by a deceytfull practise, and after was taken for a miracle.

¶ But to returne to the tyme of the reigne of king Edward, he came vpon a tyme from hunting in the Forest, nere vnto the Castell of Corfe, in the West Countrie: where he losyng his companie and seruauntes, resorted vnto the Castle aforesayde, where at that tyme his Stepmother with her sonne Egelredus kept her houshold.

Corfe castel

¶ When the Queene was warned of his comming, anone she called vnto a seruaunt of hers, whome she much trusted, and tolde to him all her counsayle, shewing to him further, how he should behaue himselfe in the accomplishing of her will and minde. And that done, she went towarde the king, and receyued him with all gladnesse, and desyred him to tarie with her that night: But he in curteous maner excused himselfe, and for speede, desyred to drinke vpon his horse sytting, the which was shortly brought.

A traiterous deuice of a mother in law

¶ And while the Cup was at his mouth, the seruaunt strake him to the heart with a sword, or long dagger sharpe on both sydes. After which stroke by the king receyued, he set spurres to the horse, and thought to ryde to the place from whence he came, or else such a way as he thought to mete with his companie. But he bled so sore, that for faintnesse he fell from his horse, hys one foote beyng fast in the Stirrop: By reason wherof, he was drawen of the horse ouer waynes and fieldes, vntill he came vnto a place then named Corfisgate, where he was found dead. And for that the maner of his death was vnknowne, and also he for king not knowen, he was buryed vnworthely at the Towne of Warram, and there rested by the space of three yeres after. In which tyme and season, God shewed for him dyuerse myracles, as sight to the blinde, health to the sicke, and heering to the deafe, with diuerse other, as sayth Fabian. But Polydore writeth, that his Stepmother Elfrida caused the dead corps to be caryed in, and buryed in a secret place, where it was after found by miracle.

A vile murther.

Kinge Edward murthered.

¶ At the last the same Elfrida sore repenting her fact, entended to visite him by way of pilgrimage. But how or for what cause she entended inwardly I can not say, but the horse or beast that she rode vpō, might not come nigh the

place

place by a certeyne space, for beating, nor for any other thing that might be done for him by man.

Septon now called Shaftesbury.

¶ But after this, by her meanes, or as Mathew of Westminster sayth, by Elfrius Duke of Mertia, or middle Englande, he was translated from thence to Septon, that now is called Shaftesbury, and there buryed with great honour.

Ambrisbury Warwell.

¶ And as it is sayd for a testimony of her great repentance, she founded two Monasteries of women, the one at Ambrisbury, and the other at Warwell. In the which place of Warwell in her latter dayes, she refusing the pompe of the worlde, heide there a solitary and strept life, and ended her life with great penance and repentance, and was there buryed when she was dead.

¶ Thus as ye haue heard, was this yong king Edward murdered, when he had reigned foure, or as some wryte three yeres, leauing behind him none issue, wherefore the rule of the lande fell to Egelredus his brother.

977
3

Kenneth king of Scottes.

KEnneth reigned in Scotland. xvb. yeres. In his tyme, the Danes arriued in Angus with a great company, and wasted the Countrie very sore, with whom the Scottes met, and after sore fight and great slaughter, by the manhood of one Hay (an vplandishman, and his two sonnes) obteyned the victory. This Kenneth was slaine by meane of a Lady called Fenella, because he had poysoned Malcolme Prince of Comber.

978
1

EGeldred or Etheldred the sonne of Edgar, and Elfride his last Wyfe, after the death of Edward his brother reigned ouer this Realme. And in the beginning of this mans tyme, the grounde waxed barrein and all the miseries before signified by the appering of the blasing starre in the dayes of Edwarde, now began to take place and encrease vpon the earth. This king as his other progenitors before him were, was crowned at Kingstone, of Dunstane, and Oswald, Archebishops. To whome as it is written in the lyfe of Dunstane among his prophecies, Dunstane shoulde saye at the day of his coronation. Thou commest to this kingdom by the death of thy brother, in whose death Englishmen conspired with thy wicked mother, they shall not be without bloudshedding and sworde, vntill there come people of an vnknowne tongue, and bring them into thraldome. And this trespasse shal not be cleused without long vengeance.

Dunstones prophecies.

¶ This Egeldred was a man of goodly visage and tall of personage, but his nature was mired with Lechery, crueltie, and dyuers other vices. It is also read that when Dunstane should christen him, as he helde him ouer the Fonte, he hyled the same with his ordure, and that then Dunstane sware by God and by his mother, this childe shall be vnkinde both to God and hys Churche. Fabian. Although myne Auethour wrote this as matter in that tyme whiche he thought to bee true, yet iudge you nowe thereof as you thinke best.

An angrie Bishop.

¶ In the second yere of his reigne, a cloude was seene in England in the morning tyme the which appered halfe lyke blood, and the other halfe lyke fyre, and chaunged after into sundrie colours, and at the last vanished away.

¶ In the thirde yere of his reigne, the Danes allured by his cowardise, and chiefly for that he was vnskilfull of armes, arriued in sundrie places of his lande, as in the Isle of Thanet beside Kent, also in Southhampton,

The Danes arriued in Kent, Cornewall, Sussex, and diuerse other places of this realme

Cornewall,

Cornewall and Sussex, and in those coastes much harme: and afterwards, some of them came to London, but there they were put of: howbeit, they destroyed a great parte of Chester and Chestershire.

London, a great parte thereof consumed by fire

¶ And in the ende of the same yere, a great parte of the Citie of London was consumed with fyre, but how it began is not expressed. But ye shall vnderstande, that at this daye the Citie of London, had most housing and buylding from Ludgate toward Westmynster, and little or none where the chiefe or hart of the Citie is, at this day, except in dyuers places were housing, but they stood without order. So that many Townes and Cities, as Cauntorbury, Yorke, and other, diuers in England passed London in building at those dayes, as I haue sene and knowen by an olde booke in the Guildhall in London named Domes day. But after the conquest it increased, and shortly after it passed and excelled all the other. Fabian.

From the little Conduit in Chep vnto Fleete bridge and Holborne bridge was the first and chiefest parte of the Citie of London.

¶ About the. viij. yere of his reigne, the king maried Erle Egbertus daughter, named Ethelgina or Elgina. Of the which he begat a sonne, and named him Edmond, which after was surnamed Ironside, and two other sonnes named Edwyn and Ethelstane, and a daughter named Edgina.

¶ In the. ix. yere of this king, for strife and displeasure that was betwene the Bishop of Rochester and him, he with his knightes besieged the sayde Citie: whereof Dunstane sent to the king, admonishing him, that he should refraine from that crueltie, and to suffer the Bishop and his Citie to be in peace. But this message abated nothing at all the kings courage. Then the sayde Dunstane sent vnto him an hundreth pounde in Golde, willing him to refrayne of that enterprise, the which he receyued and brake vp his siege.

Golde was of more force then Dunstane.

¶ About the. xj. yere of his reigne, Dunstane died, but it was not long after his death, before the Danes entred into many and sundrie places of the land, in such wise as the king was to seke to which coast he should go first to withstande his enimies. And in conclusion; for the auoyding of more harme, he was compelled to quiet them with great summes of money: But when that money was spent, they fell to new robbing of the people. Then the king graunted more money: But for all that the Danes robbed and spoyled the Countrie of Northumberland and at the last besieged London. The which their outrage troubled the king very sore because he thought they would now haue beene quiet.

Dunstane dead.

The Danes sore spoyled this realme.

¶ And for the encrease of the kinges sorrow, Elfricus that then was maister or admirall of the kings Nauie, fled as a false traytour vnto the Danes. And after that was reconciled: and fled yet againe the second time vnto them.

Elfricus a Traytour.

¶ Wherfore the king to be auenged on the father, commaunded the eyen of hys sonne Algarus to be plucked or done out of his head.

King Egeldred punished the sone of Elfricus in pulling out of his eyen for the offece of his father.

¶ But while this persecution thus contynued, by meanes of Elphegus Bishop of Winchester, a peace was concluded for a tyme betweene the king and the Danes. And the Prince or chiefe Capitaine of them named Aulaff, was so exhorted by the sayd Bishop, that he became a christen man, to whom the king was Godfather, so that shortly after, the sayde Aulaff returned to his owne Countrie, without doing of any more hurte, so that for a whyle the warres of the Danes ceased. But while they rested, the bloudy Flixe with brenning Feuers so vexed the people thorow the land, that many dyed therof.

Bloudy Flixe, and brenning Feuers.

¶ And now againe the Danes assayled this land, and did in diuers places great

great harme, ſo that for lacke of a good head or gouernour many things in the lande periſhed. For the Lordes were at ſuch diſſenſion one with another, that when they were aſſembled to ſpeake or treate of peace betwene that one Lorde and that other, and if any good thing were deuyſed for the hurt of their enemies, anone the Danes were warned thereof by ſome of the ſame counſaile: whereof were ſuſpected Elfricus and Edricus.

Diuiſion and diſſenſion among the Lordes.

¶ And to this ſorrow was ioyned hunger and penury, amongſt the commons, that euery one of them was conſtreyned to plucke & ſteale from other, ſo that what by the pillage of the Danes, and inward theeues and briboures, this land was brought into great miſery and miſchiefe.

A miſerable realme.

¶ The king being thus wrapped in miſerie, left not to gather of his ſubiectes what he might, as well by vnlawfull meanes as otherwiſe. For ſayth Reynulph, he would for feyned or ſmall cauſes diſherite men of their poſſeſſions, & after cauſe them to redeeme their awne with great ſummes of money.

How one miſerie begat another.

¶ And beſides this, he gaue himſelfe altogether to lechery, and to the filthy luſt of the body: By which vngracious meanes, he brought this lande into ſuch ruyne, that what he might not helpe by ſtrength, he redemed with great ſummes of money. So that from the firſt entrie of the Danes, as witneſſeth Reynulph in his. vj. booke and. xviij. Chapter, and Guydo and other Authors, and from the firſt tribute of ten thouſand pound, he brought it at the laſt in proceſſe of fiue or ſixe yeres, to. xl. thouſand pound. The which yeerely during his lyfe and after, to the comming of king Edward was leuied of his ſubiects, and named for the continuance therof Dane Gelt, which is to meane, money payde to the Danes, or Dane money.

Sinne and miſchiefe come together.

A tribute called Dane Gelt.

¶ In the. xv. yere of his reigne dyed Oſwald Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and ſone after dyed Ethelgina the Queene. And thus the land continued vnder the greuous Tribute of the Danes, and alſo the Engliſhe men ſuſteyned of them great numbers of bilanies and iniuries, as partly hereafter ſhall appere. The king at this tyme by counſayle of his familiers, about the. xxj. yere of his reigne maryed Emma the daughter of Richard Duke of Normandy: The which Richard was the thirde duke of Normandy, and the firſt of that name, and alſo was ſurnamed Richard without feare, or Richard the hardy, by whome he had iſſue Edward the Confeſſor, which after was king of Englande.

A miſerable Englād

Emma the daughter of Richarde Duke of Normandy.

¶ By this mariage, Egeldred began to looke a loft, and thought much of himſelfe, and toke vpon him with much more courage then before he had done. Wherefore he ſent into all the good Boroughes, Townes, and Cities of his land, ſecret and ſtreight commiſſions, charging all the rulers, that vpon a certeyne day, which was the day of S. Brice, at an houre aſſigned in euery place of this land, the Danes ſhould be ſlaine, and ſo it was done. And as the common fame telleth, this murder began at a little Towne in Hertfordſhire, within. xviiij. Myles of London called Welwen: For the which deede it tooke the firſt name, becauſe that the weale of that countrie (as it was then thought) was there firſt wonne. But who that doth well conſider the ſequele of the Storye, ſhall finde little wynnyng or weale that enſued of thys deede.

The Danes murdered.

¶ But before I proceede further, I will here touche ſomewhat of the pryde and abuſion of the Danes, which they exerciſed in Englande, as I haue

haue ſene in an olde Chronicle. The Danes by ſtrength cauſed huſbandmen to eare and ſowe their land, and to do all other vile labour that belonged vnto huſbandry, and the Dane helde his wyfe at pleaſure, with daughter and ſeruaunt. And when the huſband man came home, he ſhould ſcantly haue of his awne as his ſeruauntes had, ſo that the Dane had all at his commaundement, and did eate and drinke his fill of the beſt, when the owner had ſcant his fill of the worſt. And beſydes this, the common people were ſo of them oppreſſed, that for feare and dreade, they called them in euery ſuch houſe as they had rule of, Lord Dane: But in proceſſe of tyme, after the Danes were voyded the lande, this worde Lord Dane, was in diriſion and diſpite of the Danes turned by Engliſhe men into a name of oppробry called Lurdane, which yet is not forgotten, for if one Engliſhe man will rebuke another, he will for the moſt part ſay, thou art but a Lurdane.

The cruelte of the Danes

Miſerable bondage and villanie.

Lord Dane, of the which ſprang this worde Lurdane.

¶ But nowe to returne to our firſt matter: Truth it is when the Danes were thus murdered throughout Englande, tydinges thereof ſprang into Denmarke: which kindled in them ſuch a fury, that the king thereof named Swanus, aſſembled ſhortly a great hoſte and nauie of Shippes. And within ſhort tyme after, he with his Danes landed in Cornewall. And by treaſon of a Norman named Hughe, which by fauour of Queene Emma was made Earle of Deuonſhire, the ſayde Swanus tooke Exceter, and after bet downe the walles.

Swanus king of the Danes entered into England.

¶ Then he entered further into the land: In which ſeaſon the king ſent vnto Edyrus, charging him to aſſemble the weſt Saxons, and to withſtand the further entry of the Danes: The which according to his commiſſion aſſembled the weſt Saxons, and made good countenance to withſtand the ſayd enemyes: But when the hoſtes ſhould ioyne, were it for feare or for treaſon, he fayned himſelfe ſicke, and fled from his people. The which for lacke of an head were faine to geue backe to their great hurt, and to their enemies great aduauntage and comfort.

¶ Wherefore the Danes, then reſorted to Sherborne and Wylton, and anone ſpoyled both thoſe townes, and there refreſhed them: But Swanus had vnderſtanding, that the king was comming towardes him with the power of his lande, he therefore departed thence, and returned with great pillage vnto his Shippes, and ſayled about the land, and at the laſt landed in Norffolke: Where he waſting and ſpoilyng the Countrie, came to the Citie of Norwich, the which he robbed and deſtroyed, and after went to Thetford, and did lykewiſe to that Towne, and fyred it, and ſpoyled all the Countrye nere there about.

Swanus fled to his ſhippes

Swanus lāded in Norffolke & ſpoiled that countrie.

¶ But ſoone after, a noble man of that Countrie called Duke Uſkatell, met with the hoſt of Danes, and gaue vnto them a hard and ſharpe battayle, and ſlue many of the enemies and put them backe. For this and for hunger that then aſſayled this land, Swanus returned to his Shippes, and departed againe into Denmarke, and taryed all the Winter folowing. In which ſeaſon he made great prouiſion to reenter the land of England.

Uſkatell a noble man of Norffolke, & named a duke gaue the Danes a foyle, & repulſe, and Swanus fled into Dēmark

In the. xvb. yere of the reigne of the king, the aforeſayde Swanus with a ſtrong army landed at Sandwich, and ſpoiled all the country nere vnto the Sea ſyde, and reſted him there, vntill he heard of an armie comming againſt him. And when he was ware thereof, he returned to his Shippes againe: and

Swanus returned againe into England with a great power.

and heering that the king was farre Westwarde, he landed in Susser, and spoyled it wonderfull sore, and there also he was warned of the comming of the English men, and then anone he tooke shipping againe. So that when the Englishe men had thought to haue met with him in one coast, then would he flie and land in another. And when the king prouided to meete with them on the Sea, eyther they would fayne themselues to flie, or else they woulde with giftes blynde the admirall of the kinges Nauie.

Admiralles of the Sea were as it apereth blinded in this tyme.

¶ By which subtiltie and crafty meanes, they wery ed and tyred the host of Englishe men. And where euer they went they slue, brent, and robbed, without all compassion and pitie.

¶ The king then beyng at Shrewesburie, & heering of the great sleight and crueltie of the Danes, called his counsayle to take aduice what were best to be done for the defence of his enemies. Where it was concluded, that the king to haue peace with the Danes, should pay vnto them. xxx. thousand pound. But while this was in doyng, the Danes destroyed a great part of Barkshire.

A great tribute payed to the Danes.

¶ But when this peace was thus made, Swanus with his company returned into Denmarke. And the yere folowing, the king made Edrycus aforenamed, Duke of Mertia. Thus Edricus beyng but of base birth was made riche, he was of tongue false, and subtile of wit, soft and eloquent of speeche, vntrustie, and inconstant of thought and promes, as of him somthing before is shewed, and after more shall apere.

Swanus returned againe into Denmarke.

¶ In the. xxvij. yere of the king, a Prince of the Danes named Turkillus landed in Kent. The which so grieuously warred in that countrie, that the Kentishmen were faine to make their peace, and so he departed. But yet the persecution of the Danes seased not: For in one countrie of England or other, they euer were robbing and pilling the English men. So that all the Countrye along the coast, from the North part of England, vnto the Ile of wight, was by them eyther vtterly destroyed, or greatly empayred. And when the king entended to make prouision for to withstande them, euer Edrycus would counsayle him to the contrary, shewyng him that he should spend his treasure, and trauayle his people in vaine. By meane whereof the Danes entered fiftie mile into England, and brent and destroyed diuerse Villages, and Townes. So that they encreased and waxed passing riche, and the English men, nedy, bare, and poore. Thus continuyng this misery, Swanus then being in Denmarke, and heeryng of the encrease of his people within England repented him of his former couenantes, and thought that the whole dominion of England should of right belong to him. For the which he prepared his armie and nauie in most defensable wise, and sped him into England, and to the ryuer of Humber, and landed in Northumberland, where the Earle and ruler of that Countrye with all the other rulers of the same, sware fealty vnto the sayde Swanus, and promised to kepe that Countrie vnto his vse. And when he had done his will in that Coast, he entred againe the water, and by the Ryuer of Trent, he passed to Gaynsburgh, and so by North Watlingstreete, and subdued the inhabitauntes of that Countrie, and forced them to geue him pledges. Which pledges, with also his nauie, he betooke vnto Canutus his sonne, while he went further into the land. And he and his people kept on their Journey vntill they came vnto Mertia, killing and sleyng the men

Turkillus a Prince of the Danes lãded in Kent.

Edrycus a false traytor.

Swanus againe entered England.

Canutus the sonne of Swanus.

men of that prouince, and reserued the women to vnclean liuyng, aswell the religious as the other, and tooke by strength Winchester, and Oxford, or rather Exceter, and did in them what him liked.

¶ And after he had thus passed the lande, he drewe the next way toward London: But in passing the Ryuer of Thames he lost some parte of his people, eyther for lack of a Bridge or for ieoparding their passage vnaduisedly. And so in fine he came to London and besieged it, where at that tyme the king was. Wherefore Swanus left the Citie, and drewe into Esser, and againe by water passed into Kent and so towarde the Citie of Cauntorbury without any let, welding the Countrie at his will, and lastly besieged that Citie. The which manfully defended themselues against their enimies by the space of. xx. dayes, and then was the sayde Citie taken by the treason of a Deacon named Almaricus, the which before tyme Elphegus then Archbishop of that See had preserued from death. Fabian.

Cauntorbury besieged by Swanus king of the Danes.

Almaricus a Deacon, a Traytour.

¶ Polidore affirmeth that the Danes besieged the Citie of London, and the Londoners though they were somewhat dismayed at the first, by reason of the sodaine feare, yet they so manfully defended themselues, that at the length they were not afeard to set open the gates of the Citie, and to go out themselues in great multitudes and fight with their enimies: And so valiantly behaued they themselues against them, that they slue many of them, and in fyne compelled Swanus or Sweno their king to get him awaye with the residue of his armie with such hastie expedition, that he ceased not trauailyng day and night vntill he was two dayes iourney from London, and then went he to Bath and there taried, where he was so sore distressed for lack of victualles, that he was fayne to let Egeldred redeeme the tribute, the which he had a little before graunted and bounde himselfe to paye. And hauing receyued of him a great summe of money for the redemption thereof, he returned into Denmarke, minding ere it were long to repayre to this lande againe with a greater armie then euer he had before.

Tribute redemed.

¶ Mathew of Westmynster writeth also that after the saide Swanus or Sweno was in dispaire to winne the Citie of London, both because of the losse of his Souldyours that through rashnesse & misaduenture were drowned in the Thamys, and also the manly resistance made by the Londoners in defending themselues, he gate him awaye with speede, and went first to Wallyngford and then to Bathe, exercising much crueltie all the waye as they went, and lefte nothing vndestroyed, and at Bathe rested him a space to refreshe his armie, whether Almarus then Erle of Deuonshire, with all the Nobilitie of the west Saxons together wyth their seruantes and retynue, fearing his tiramie, came vnto hym and delyuered hym hostages, praiyng withall that they might, be at peace with him. And afterwardes, when he saw that he might nowe do what he woulde, and that no man durst chalenge the Crowne and fight with him for the same, he caused himselfe to be proclaymed king of England. But the sayde writer maketh mention neyther of the scarcitie of victualles that shoulde then be amongest the Souldiours, neyther of the redemption of the sayde tribute, nor yet of his sodeyn returne into Denmarke: But here to returne to mine Authour.

¶ Then the Danes first spoyled the Citie of Cauntorbury, and tooke the Archebishop and put him in a strong prison, and then set the Citie on fyre.

And

Monkes tithed. Antoninus Vincent.

And the Monkes of Saint Austynes Abbey they tythed, that is to saye, they kylled nyne, and the tenth they kept alyue, the which after were solde and set to all seruile labour. And as witnesseth Antonynus and Vyncent Historiographers, they slue and brought in seruage aboue the number of nyne hundred persons of religion. They slue of men, women, and children, in the Citie of Cauntorbury aboue eyght thousande, and that with much crueltie as is shewed in the. viij. Chapter, & xvj. Title, of the worke of the sayde Antoninus.

Elphegus ♄ Archebishop of Cãtorbury stoned to deth by the cruell Danes.

¶ And finally, for that this Bishop Elphegus, would not condescende to geue vnto them, as sayth Reynulph, three thousand pounde, or elles as Polydore sayth, bicause by his preaching and godly lyfe, he went about to conuert these barbarous people vnto the fayth of Christ, after they had kept hym in harde prison by the space af. viij. Monethes, vpon an Ester euen, they after many vilanyes vnto hym done at Greenewich within three Myles of London, stoned him to death, where he laye in the fielde vnburied a certaine of tyme, and after was caryed to London, and buried reuerently in the Church of Saint Paule. But afterward in the tyme of Canutus, he was taken vp againe, and caried to his owne Church.

King Egelbred sent Emma ♄ Quene and her two sonnes Alphred & Edward vnto Richard the fourth Duke of Normãdy, which was brother vnto the sayde Emma.

¶ The king fearing the ende of this persecution, sent Emma the Quene, with her two sonnes Alphred and Edward vnto Richard the second of that name, then fourth Duke of Normandy, which was brother vnto the sayde Emma, with whome also he sent the Bishop of London.

¶ In the. xxxiiij. yere of the king, when the Danes had wonne a great parte of the Countrie of west Saxon, they returned againe to London warde: whereof hering the Londoners sent vnto them giftes and pledges.

¶ In all this season I finde no mention that euer the king gaue vnto the Danes any notable battayle, but kept hym in holdes and places for his owne sauegarde, and to the small benefite or aduauntage of his Realme. And at the last he was chased vnto the Isle of Wight, where, with a small company he kept himselfe secret a great part of the Winter, and finally without battaile or comfort, sayled ouer to his wyfe into Normandy, and there helde him a certeyne of tyme.

Swanus being certified that the king was fled began to vse many exactions vpon the people of England.

¶ When Swanus was asserteyned of the departure of the king out of the land, he was enflamed with excedyng pryde, so that he arrered excedyng impositions of the people & grieued them wonderfully. And among other of his Tirannyes he demaunded a great summe of money out of S. Edmondes landes, which the rulers denayed, for so much as they claymed to be free, of all kinges Tribute. Wherfore he entered into that territory, and wasted and spoyled the Countrie, and besydes that, despised that holy martyr, and threatned the place of his Sepulchre: But the men of that countrie fearyng this Tyrant, gaue them to fasting and prayer, so that shortly after he was slaine or sticked in an Euening amongest his knightes, with the sworde or dagger of Saint Edmond in the Towne of Thetford, as sayth Guydo, but Reynulph and other, in the Towne of Gaynesborough, where he dyed yellyng and cryng the thirde day after: But Saxo Grammaticus sayth, that the sayd Swanus or Sweno, beyng converted vnto the Christen fayth dyed at the length very repentauntly and lyke a good christian man: And that he suffered Etheldred after that peaceably to reigne all his lyfe time as king of this lande by a composition betweene them.

Swanus the Danish Tyraunt slaine by Gods prouidence.

The miserable death of Swanus kinge of Denmarke.

¶ In

S. Edmõds bury enclosed by Canutus Sonne of Swenus.

¶ In feare whereof Canutus his sonne, after that he was king, closed in the lande of that holy Martir with a deepe diche, and graunted to the inhabitauntes thereof great fredome, and quit them of all kingly taske or Tribute. And after builded a Church ouer the place of his Sepulture, and ordeyned there a house of Monkes, and endued them with fayre possessions. And afterward it was vsed that kinges of England when they were crowned, sent for an offering their Crownes vnto S. Edmonds shrine, & redemed them again with a condigne price. Fabian. The which Polydore thinketh not to be true.

Kinges of this Realme were accustomed to offer their Crownes to Saint Edmondes shrine, and to redeme them againe with a great summe.

¶ Nowe when king Egeldred was certified of the death of Swanus, he by the procurement of his friendes returned home againe to his owne: But the Nobles of the Realme condicioned with him, that he should reforme his olde maners. And for performance thereof, he sent his sonne Edward into Englande before him, and in the Lent folowing the king came himselfe, and with his people sped him toward Lyndsey, where Canutus was at that tyme resiant, not prouided for the kinges so hastie comming.

Canutus the sonne of Swanus fled into Denmarke.

¶ Wherefore Canutus, beyng not purueyed to withstande the king, fled to Sandwich in Kent. And for that he there proued such persons, as before tyme his father and he had taken pledges off, and finding them not firme in their promyses, he caused all theyr noses and handes to be cut off, and then sayled into Denmarke, and returned the next yere with a great Nauye, and sayled about the land, and tooke prayes in the South countrye, whereof the kinges eldest sonne named Edmond, made prouision with the ayde of Edrycus to go against him.

Edrycus a false traytor.

¶ But when he should haue met with Edrycus at a place assigned, and his hoste, he was of him deceyued, and therfore was compelled to geue place vnto his enemies. And as it was after knowne, the sayde Edrycus had promised his fauour and ayde vnto the sayde Canutus. By reason whereof Canutus entered the Countrie of West Saxons, and forced them to sweare to him fealtie, and to geue to him pledges.

The death of King Egeldred.

¶ In this season, the king beyng at London, was taken with a greuous sickenesse and dyed, and was buryed in the Church of Saint Paule, where at this day in the North Isle behynde the Quyer, apereth a token in the wall of his Sepulture, he reigned. xxxvj. yeres, leauing after him two sonnes, Edmond, and Edward.

1000 / 23

COnstantine the fourth, reigned among the Scottes thre yeres, by meane of him, and of Malcolme the sonne of Kenneth, the Realme of Scotland was miserably tormented with ciuile warre.

1002 / 25

Grime king of Scottes.

GRime reigned in Scotlande. ix. yeres, and against him Malcolme made fierce warre for the Crowne, which was appeased by the counsayle of a Bishop called Fothadus. But the Scottes not contented to sustaine the Tirannie of their king Grime, rose vp against him, whereof ensued much trouble in Scotland. Malcolme vanquished and slue Grime, and tooke on him the kingdome, and reigned. xxxj. yeres. To him the Lordes of Scotlande graunted first the wardes and mariages of their heyres. And not long after Olanus, and Duetus, two Capitanes of the Danes inuaded Scotland, and vanquished king Malcolme, and subdued Murrey: But not long after, Malcolme repayred his army, and discomfited the Danes, and slue Duetus.

Wardes and mariages of the heyres first graũted to the king in Scotland.

¶ And shortly after, Camus another Capitaine of the Danes, inuaded Scotlande,

Camus stand.

Scotlande, and nere to Ferrey was discomfited and slaine, and the place to this day is called Camus stand. Fabian.

¶ Then Canutus by the commaundement of Swanus, brake into Scotland, with whom the Scottes fought a terrible battail, to the great damage, losse, & hurt of both partes: But after this battaile a peace was concluded.

1016

Edmond Ironsyde, the sonne of Egeldred, or Ethelred, and also Canutus, the sonne of Swanus king of Denmarke, did by the consent of certeyne of their friendes on eyther syde, take vpon them the gouernement of this lande. The Londoners with the assistance of some Lordes of Englande fauoured Edmond: But the more part of the Lordes fauoured Canutus, and specially the spiritualtie that before tyme had sworne fealtie to his father. And he then beyng at Southampton swore vnto them, to be a true and good Justice, and to entreate the people soberly and righteously.

¶ Then Edmond beyng of the Archebishop of Yorke crowned at London and the solemnitie finished and ended, he sped him to West Saxon, and subdued that Country. In which tyme Canutus drewe with his people to London, and would there haue entered: But that was forbodden him of the Londoners. For the which he layde his ordinance about the Citie, entendyng to haue entered perforce: But it was not long or he was faine to breake his siege and to depart thence.

Canutus assaulted y citty of London.

¶ When Canutus was put off from London, he drewe Westwarde, and in short tyme after met with king Edmond in Dorsetshire, beside Gyllingham, where betwene them was foughten a strong and cruell battaile: But in the ende Canutus was ouercome, and compelled to forsake the fielde.

¶ After this, they met againe in Worcester shire, or as Polydore sayth, at Andouer in Wiltshire, where they fought a more strong and fierce battaile: For this was so strongly foughten on both partes, that men could not iudge which part had the better, nor which the worse: But as Reynulph sayth, eyther of them departed from other, eyther for werynesse of fight, or for lacke of the day.

A cruell fight.

¶ But on the Morowe folowyng, both hostes met againe and fought egerly. The which fight continuyng, Edricus espiyng king Edmond to be at a vauntage of wynning of the fielde, sodeinly pight a dead mannes heade vpon the head of a Speare, and cryed to the hoste of English men, flye, flye, you English men and saue your selues, lo, here is the head of Edmond your king. But Edmond beyng thereof warned, sped him to that part of the field, and behaued himselfe so comfortably amongest his men, that by his knightly courage, his people recouered that which before they had lost, and continued the battaile vntill night, and caused Canutus to flye that Countrie, and to returne againe towarde London.

Edricus a wife traytor.

¶ Then king Edmond beyng aduertised that Canutus was returned toward London, he folowed him and passed the Ryuer of Thamys, and deliuered the Citie from the daunger of the Danes, and after encountered the Danes at a place called Brentford within seuen myles of London, where he had with them a cruell fight, and at length discomfited them. Fabian.

Brentford which we nowe call Brainford.

¶ But because the Aucthor whom I here folow leaueth many thinges vntouched worthy of remembrance, which were done after the sayde battaile foughten

foughten by Andouer, I haue here thought good to supplye his defect by Polydore, who writeth hereof, as foloweth: When Canutus was this discomfited, he trauayled all night long to Winchester warde, and gate him to a place of safetie: But Edmond as some do write pursued him not, but turned to Sarisburie to rescue the Citizens there besieged of another company of Danes. Thether also shortly after came Canutus, where not farre from the same Towne they pitched a newe fielde, and as men hauing nowe gathered a new courage & refreshed themselues, fought very fiercely and egerly together, but with equall fortune tyll night came that parted them beyng weryed with long fighting. The next morning the Englishe men anone after the Sonne rising, stoode ready aranged in battaile ray, awaityng the comming of their enemies, vntill Canutus came and set vpon them. Then fought they together verie fiercely, but doubtfully withall, and in such wise that many went to wrecke and were slaine on both sydes. And when it drewe towardes the euening they gaue ouer on euen hande, neyther partie hauyng victory of other. On the next morowe both the hostes rested themselues, and tooke their repast, & gathered together the deade corpses of them that were slaine the day before, and burned them as the maner was then to do. And all this while they neuer vnarmed themselues. There were slaine at that time aboue .xx. M. on both parties. The night folowing Canutus dislodged as priuely as he could, & marched towards London: The which city his Fleete had now in a maner besieged by water. But assoone as this theyr fliyng was once discried by the day light, Edmond folowed him at the heeles, and with a little ado raysed the siege: Wherefore, he entered the Citie triumphauntly, with great ioy and solempne pompe. Canutus beyng thus disapoynted of his hope, hauing gotten great praye and bootyes out of the Countries there about, departed thence to see his shippes which were newely entered into the Riuer of Rochester, called in olde tyme Medeganara, and nowe Medway, where the sayde Canutus taryed a season, partly to encrease his armie, and partly to learne by espyals the secret purposes of his enemies, the which he soone vnderstoode. For Edmond whose nature was not to sleepe hys matters, hauing assembled his power with incredible celeritie, lay in campe not farre from Canutus, & there made a long exhortation vnto his Souldiours, the effect wherof was, that they should call to minde the number of battayles that they had foughten with the Danes already, and remember withall that the time nowe serued if they would play the men, to represse their cruelty and violence: and therfore he moued them in most earnest maner, that they would not cease to pursue and vrge them, till they had with one battaile cleane vanquished and conquered them, that an ende might once be made of their long and great trauayles. The Souldiours beyng incensed with this exhortation, and also wery of the intollarable pride and hautinesse of their enemyes which dayly molested and prouoked them, went with a fierce courage to set vpon them. In like maner Canutus, who had commaunded his Souldiours before, to be dayly and hourely in a redinesse against the comming of the English men, came into the field, and ioyned battail with them, where they fought more then foure houres together, but at the length the Danes began to geue backe. The which when Canutus perceyued, he commaunded his horsemen to rescue them in the foreward. But whiles it so chaunced that some of them

London besieged.

gaue backe for feare, and some made no hast thether, the whole army brake aray, and then feare hauing the vpper hand of shame, they fled away. There were of the Danes slaine at that tyme three thousand and fiue hundred, of the which number many were Dukes, and Capitaynes of great birth: But of Englishe men. vj.C. at the most, and they all footemen. King Edmondes intent and purpose was to haue had the vse and fruition of that victory, that is to say, so narrowlye to haue pursued his enemies, that he woulde then haue cleane destroyed them, the which vndoubtedly had beene done, if fortune had not bene against him. For whiles after this great battayle he was in great consultation about the pursuyng of his sayde enemyes, he thought it would be greatly for his aduauntage, if he both rested himselfe the residue of the same day, and the night folowing, and permitted his Souldiours to do the lyke. And so this little time seemed sufficient vnto Canutus to saue himselfe, but not to Edmond. In like maner on the next morow, king Edmond assone as it was once day, mindyng to haue the spoyle of the fielde, brought his Souldiours out of the Campe, to the entent they should afterwardes pursue their enemyes, and the rather because he had intelligence howe they that were the day before dispersed, were nowe gathered together againe, and had passed the ryuer of Thamys, marchyng as fast as they could towardes Norffolke, and Suffolke. Wherefore king Edmond hasted thether with all he myght, to ayde his people there against his sayde enemies. And so vpon a watchworde geuen he set vpon them. And albeit some layde vpon the hindmost, and some stroke in the middest, aswell on the right hand as on the left, yet the Danes for all that gaue not backe. Euery Captayne encouraged his owne Souldiours to sticke vnto it manfully: But specially king Edmond admonished his Captaines that they should cause their Souldiours to kepe aray, ceassyng not to say vnto them with a loude voyce that the same day if they woulde play the men a little while, they should confirme vnto them all their former trauayles & victories, or else should be the beginning of most grieuous sorowes and miseries, if they gaue neuer so little backe. By the which words the Souldiours were sodeynly so animated to fight, that the Danes began a little to shrinke and geue backe. The which when Canutus perceyued, by and by he set vpon the left wing of Edmondes hoste, the which were likeliest to do most harme, and so releued his distressed Souldiours, and that did he with such violence and manly courage, that he felled and layde on the ground as many as were in his way: By reason whereof it came to passe, that a great number of the English men nowe wearied with long fightyng, and heering the rumor of the great slaughter of their company on euery syde, sodeynly fled away for feare. The which when king Edmond perceyued, he gate before them, and stayed them for a whyle: But when at the length his whole armye was quite disordered and out of aray, it was not then possible for him to set them in araye, and bring them into the fielde againe which they had once forsaken. Here the English men, when the streytes and passages were all stopped by theyr enemyes, so that none of them had any minde to make resistance, or hope to flye away and escape, were almost all slaine, specially such of them as were the best and worthyest Souldiours.

¶ Now king Edmond with a verie few with him, neuer ceassed iourneying Westward till he came to Gloucester, whome Canutus chased the space of

of two houres, but could not ouertake him.

¶ This losse and discomfiture, though it greatly weakened and dismayed the Englishmen, specially because London and manye other good townes and places were then for feare, rebelled vnto the Danes: yet king Edmond vsed neuertheless diligence in preparing a newe armie, and so did likewyse Canutus, which at length came vnto his enimie by long and great iourneys. For they knewe well that if they did fight againe, they should with one battaile trie who should haue all. And king Edmond was nowe vtterly determined at the next conflict to put himselfe in extreme hasard, and eyther to wynne all or lose all. And therefore both the armies being nowe readie to fight, stood so nere together that the one might see the other, not farre from Seuerne side. At what tyme Edricus (as some reporte) began to perswade with the two kings, that they should common together before the beginning of the battaile, to see whether they coulde fall to any agreement betweene themselues, because he knewe right well that this thing should be as much for the commoditie of the Danes as of the Englishmen. For now he that before time was wont to be the chiefe worker of all trechery and mischiefe, beganne to counterfeyt honestie, in going about to set an vnitie and peace, betwixt the two sayde most redoubted and valiant princes. The which princes not misliking with his counsayle, for that present season, refused not to follow it, albeit they thought it would be to small effect and purpose. And so they communed together a little while, not without the great expectation of the beholders what would be the ende and come of it. But where vpon they concluded among themselues it is altogether vncertaine. Some saye that peace was agreed vpō condition that Canutus should haue Mertia or middle England, and Edmond all the west part of the realme.

¶ And in this time Emma the wyfe of Egeldred, fearing the fortune of warre, sent her two sonnes Alphred and Edward vnto her brother Richarde the second of that name and fourth Duke of Normandy.

Emma sent her two sōnes Alphred and Edward vnto her brother Richard duke of Normandy.

¶ But Edricus, which as before is sayde was euer subtile of wyt, considering the good fortune of king Edmond and his knightly courage, thought that at length he should ouercome the Danes. Wherefore to saue his lande, and to bring about his malicious treason, he sought the wayes and meanes how he might stand in his grace and fauour, and at length obteyned his entent, and swore to him to be his true subiect.

Edricus by subtiltie obteyned the kings fauour

¶ When king Edmond had a whyle stayed at London, he then made toward the Danes that then were in Kent, and met with them at a place called Otford, and there discomfited them, and chased Canutus to the Isle of Shepey. And there he tooke shipping and sayled about the lande, and at the last entred into the Countrie of Mertia, and spoyled a parte thereof.

The Danes discomfited at Otford in Kent.

¶ Then the two hostes met soone after at a place called Assedowne, where after a long fight Edricus with his retinue fled to the comfort of the Danes: By meane whereof king Edmond was put to the worsse, for many noble men were slaine vpon his party: among the which the Bishop of Lyncoln, and the Abbot of Ramsey were two, and were come thether to haue intreated a peace betweene the two princes. But when this was layde to the charge of Edricus, he by his vntrue meanes, so excused himselfe, that no man myght charge him with any default.

Edricus gaineth a traytor reuolted to the Danes.

Edricus hath a subtile wit

¶ Thus this mortall warre continuing betwixt these two martiall princes, to the great desolation and mortalitie of the people, one of the knightes of the partie of king Edmond, gate him to an high place, where he might be somewhat heard of the hoste, and spake in this wise: daylie we dye, and no man hath the victorie: For Edmond maye not be ouercome for his great strength, and Canutus maye not be ouercome for fauour of fortune. What shall then be the fruite of thys continuall strife? none other but when the knightes bene all slaine on eyther partie, then the Dukes compelled by nede will accord, or else they must fight alone without knights. Then seing thys must be the ende, why do they not one of these two? If they accord? why is not this kingdome sufficient for twaine, that sometyme suffised for.vij. If their couetousnesse and greedie desire of Lordships be so great, that eyther hath indignation to take and part with other, or else the one to be vnder that other, then let them fight alone, that will be the Lordes alone, least if all men fight, all men be slaine, by meane whereof no men shall be left to be vnder the Lordship or leading of Dukes, nor yet to defend kings against their strong enimies or nations. Fabian.

A good oration.

¶ Some sayth Polidore, whome it repenteth not me to follow, doe write that the matter was done after this maner. One of the Capitaines, whether it were Englishman or Dane, it is not knowne, hauing first lycence graunted him to saye his minde, spake in the presence of both the kings on thys wise.

¶ O most doubtie and baliant Emperours, you haue nowe sought long ynough one against another: There hath beene bloud ynough shed betwixt you both. Your valiantnesse and the manly courage also of your Souldiours is sufficiently tryed. And yet can neither of you awaye with good or euill fortune. For if it so chaunce that one of you haue the vpper hande of the other, he more fiercely pursueth his vanquished enimie: Agayne, if his fortune be to be ouercome, yet prepareth he a freshe battaile against his vanquisher. O what wilfulnesse is this of yours (noble Princes) that can not be ouercome and perswaded by reason? doe you more regard warre then peace? whether rageth this your greedie desyre of Empire? If you fight for a kingdome, and that be your quarrell and the cause why ye thus warre one against another, deuide you then this most flourishing and wealthie Realme betwixt you, the which in times past was counted sufficient to maintaine. vij. kings: But if glorie doe pricke you to hasard the vncertaine chaunce of Empire or seruitude, deuise you some wayes by your selues whereby the matter maye be determined without any great slaughter or bloudshed which of you both shall haue the souereintie. Thus spake this Capitaine vnto them. But the latter sentence pleased king Edmond, and so did it Canutus also whome fortune fauoured. And so by his perswasions they accorded at the length to trie the matter in their awne persons by dynt of sworde, hetherto Polydore.

A truce taken.

¶ These wordes thus spoken, were right well allowed of both hostes, for at this time, a truce was made betweene both the princes for a certaine tyme, after which tyme ended, were it by the occasion of these wordes, or otherwise, the sayde two princes Edmond and Canutus, agreed to trie their quarels betwene them two onely.

¶ And for this was assigned by both their agrements, a little Isle then called

called Olney nere vnto Gloucester. In which place, at the daye and tyme appointed, the two Champions met without company or assistance within the sayde Isle, the hostes of both parties standing without the Isle, and there abyding the fortune of this combate. There eyther proued other, first with sharpe Speares, and after with kyne and cutting swordes. What shall I of this make any longer processe, when eyther had other well proued and assayed, by receiuyng of harde and sore strokes, by the first motion of Canutus, as most Writers testefie, they at the last agreed and kissed together as louers, to the great comfort of both the hostes.

A Combate betweene two Princes.

¶ And shortly after, by the aduise of both their counsayles they condiscended and agreed vpon a partition of the lande, which immediatly was done to both their contentations, and they loued after, as two brethren, during their naturall lyues.

This realme was deuided betweene king Edmõd & Canutus.

¶ But the Serpent Ire, of enuy and false conspiracie which euer burned in the heart of Edricus, was kindeled so sore, that of pure force it must breake out into a light flame, so that what he might not accõplish by his awne person, he fulfilled by his awne sonne, as testifie diuerse Authors. For as affirmeth Guydo, this sonne of Edricus awaityng his time, espyed when the king was at a house of easement to purge nature, and with a Speare strake him into the fundament, and so into the body, whereof king Edmond shortly after dyed at Oxenford. Notwithstanding there is great diuersitie amongest writers touching his death which for breuities sake I omit. For Martin sayth, that he dyed at London by naturall sickenesse.

Edricus his sonne slue king Edmõd with a speare as he sate in a house of easement.

¶ The king thus being slaine, anone Edricus thinkyng thereby to be greatly exalted, sped him in all hast to Canutus, and saluted him as king, and shewed him of this treason, onely done for his loue.

¶ When Canutus had well considered the confession of this Edricus, he lyke a discrete and righteous Prince, sayde vnto him in this wise. Edricus, for that thou hast for the loue thou beareste to me, slaine thine naturall Lorde, which I most loued, I will exalt thine head aboue all the Lordes of England. And forthwith commaunded him to be taken, and his head to be striken off, and pight vpon a Speares head, and after set vpon the highest gate in London. But the Auctheur of Polichronicon sheweth in the.xviij. Chapter of his.vi. booke that Canutus after the death of Edmond gaue vnto Edricus the Lordship of Martia or myddle Englande, and by his counsayle exiled Edwyn the brother of Edmond called the king of Chorles, and through his counsayle also executed many cruell deedes.

Iust reward for a Traytor.

¶ Finally, howsoeuer this noble Prince came to his death, it is agreed that he dyed, when he had reigned one yere, and somewhat more, and is buryed at Glascenbury, by his Grandfather Edgar, and left behynde him two sonnes, that is to say, Edmond, and Edward, as sayth Fabian.

1 0 1 9

CAnutus or Knot, by the death of king Edmond had the whole gouernance of the Realme, and forthwith he assembled a counsayle at London, and then was consecrated and annoynted king, of Aluredе Archebishop of Cauntorbury, where among other thinges that were debated in that counsayle, a question was moued, whether in the composition made betwene Edmond, and Canutus, any speciall remembraunce was made for the

childzen oz bzethzen of Edmond foz any pozcion of any part of the land.

¶ Wherebnto, it was aunswered of the Lozdes, naye, affirming furthermoze with an othe (foz the kinges pleasure) that they to the vttermost of their powers would put off the blood of Edmond in all that they might. By reason of which aunswere and pzomes, they thought many of them to haue stand in the great grace and fauour of the king, but it turned all otherwise.

Flatterers.

¶ Foz many, oz the mozepart of them, specially such as Canutus perceyued and knew, were swozne befoze to Edmond and his heyzes, and also were native Englishmen, he mistrusted and disdeyned euer after. In so much, that some he exiled, and some were slaine, and some by Goddes punishment dyed sodeynly, and came to a miserable ende.

Dissemblers well rewarded.

¶ But shortly after by the counsayle of dyuerse of his Lozdes, he outlawed Edwyne the bzother of Edmond surnamed king of Chozles. But yet he was afterwarde reconciled to the kinges fauour, and lastlye was slaine by one of his owne seruauntes.

¶ Canutus also by the sayde counsayle, sent the two sonnes of Edmond, named as befoze is sayde Edmond and Edward, vnto his bzother Swanus then king of Denmarke, to be slaine after the opinion of some wzyters: But he abhozring that deede, sent them to Salamon then king of Hungary, as sayth Guydo and other. Where in pzocesse of tyme Edmond dyed, and hys bzother Edward maryed Agatha the daughter of Henry the fourth, then Emperour of Almaine.

Edmond and Edward the sonnes of king Edmond, were sent to Swanus king of Denmarke.

¶ Of the which Edward and Agatha, pzoceded Margaret that after was king of Scotland, and Chzistian that was a Nonne, and a sonne named Edgar, and surnamed Etheling: oz as Polydoze wzyteth two sonnes, Edmond and Edgar.

¶ Canutus, after he had set certaine things in some ozder within ꝑ realme, he then deuyded the same into foure partes. That is to say, the first and pzincipall parte, which at those dayes was west Saxon, he held vnder his owne guyding. East England the which conteyned Nozffolke and Suffolke, he betooke to the rule of the Erle Turkillus a Dane, oz as Polydoze calleth him Thzugillus. Mertia he betooke (as some wzite) to the subtile Erle Edzicus. And the fourth part which was Nozthumberland, he betooke to a Dane named Hircius. But lyke as the man of Indee, can at no time chaunge his colour, so this Edzicus neuer chaunged his false maners. And notwithstanding the great benefits that he daylie receyued of his pzinces, euen lyke as he had bene false and deceyueable to other pzinces befoze, euen so now he vsed himselfe toward Canutus.

Canutus deuided the gouernement of this realme into foure partes.

¶ Wherefoze he being accused and pzooued faultie, was commaunded of the king to haue iudgement: The which was done immediatly, and his head foz dyuers causes smitten off, and the same head with the body, foz spite, cast into a foule and filthie place. But Reynulph Monke of Chester sayeth, that he was slaine by the kings agreement, within his palace at London, and his body with the head thzowne after into the Towne Diche: Thus with shame he ended, that in falshood and dissimulation continued most of his life.

Edzicus the false Traytour put to death.

¶ In the. xv. yere of his reigne, he called a Parliament at Oxenfozde, where among other things, it was enacted, that Englishmen and Danes should holde and firmely keepe the lawes of Edgar late king.

A Parliament.

¶ And

¶ And in this tyme dyed Swanus, that was bzother to Canutus king of Denmarke without issue, wherefoze that land fell vnto Canutus. Foz the which cause, he with a strong armie sayled thether to take the possession, and to set the Countrie in an ozder, oz after some wzyters, to appease and withstand the Vandales that then had pierced that lande, and done therein much harme. Wherein Goodwyn the Erle, whose daughter Edward the confessoz after maryed with a certaine number of Englishmen, fell vpon the Vandales by night, and distressed them in suche wise that Canutus had of them his pleasure. Foz this deede the king had Erle Goodwyn euer after in good fauour and loued Englishe men moze specially.

Swanus king of Denmarke dead and Canutus succeded him in the sayde kingdome.

Erle Goodwin.

¶ But Polydoze repozteth this stozye touchyng the kinges goyng into Denmarke farre otherwise, after this maner. When the Parliament (sayth he) was ended, he determined with himselfe to refozme many misozders in the common welth, and to bewtifie and furnishe the Realme with Nobilitie, and to do things that generally should redound to the great wealth and commoditie of all English men. But it so fell that he was sodeinly certified of the inuasion made by them of Nozway into Denmarke, and desyzed withall of his people there to come and ayde them with all speede. The which thing seemed vnto Canutus to be a matter of no small inpozтance. Foz when Olanus king of Nozway heard how the power of Canutus dayly encreased in such wise as he thought was daungerous foz his estate, beyng afearde that he would make clayme vnto the sayd kingdome of Nozway, which somtymes belonged vnto his auncestours, and therefoze desyzous to cut off, and empeach his victozyes, he together with his bzother Harolde, a right doughty knight, inuaded the Realme of Denmarke, destroiyng and wastyng the Countrie euery where as he went, dayly fighting and skirmishing with the Garrisons that lay in sundzy places of that Countrie, in such wise that it was thought he would in shozt space winne all, if speedy resistance were not made to deliuer the Realme from such an iminent daunger. Wherefoze Canutus mustered both Englishmen and Danes with a tryce, and hauing nowe all thinges redyly pzepared foz warre, tooke shipping, and the winde seruyng him well, was soner arriued in Denmarke then a man would haue thought, where he found his enemies in armes, and the Country wasted and destroyed on euery syde. Then commaunded he his Banners and Pennons to be displayed, and his Standard to be aduaunced and the army to follow, where euery thing was done as soone as it could be spoken.

¶ And here nowe were the Englishe men specially desyzous to do some noble deedes of armes, as well thereby to winne honour and shewe their manly courage and pzowesse, as to purchase themselues the greater grace and fauour with their pzince. Then met the two armies and fought so fiercelye together, that they filled the Elament with great cry and noyse that they made. Long it was oz it apered to whether partie the victozy should encline. At the length the English men so fiercely assayled the enemies that they ouercame them. On the Mozow Canutus pursuyng his enemies, tooke his iourney towardes Nozway. And when he was entred into the Countrye, there met him incontinent Imbassadozs, which were sent vnto him to intreat of peace, and submission, and to desyze him of a generall pardon, whome he heard very curteously, and after he had receyued Hostages of them, he pardoned

doned them of all trespasses and offences whatsoeuer they had done against him: And so was the kingdome of Norway recouered againe. Olaus despeyring nowe of victory fled for succour vnto his father in law the Duke of the Easterlynges that he might lyue with him more safely in exile: The which Olaus whiles he went about to disturbe the quiet state of another mannes kingdome, lost his awne: yet to say the truth, the same godly and innocent man lost nothing at all, in asmuch as in all these his aduersities and troubles, he behaued himselfe alwayes in most honest and verteous wise, and therefore was counted of all men a very holy man. And it foloweth a little after in the same wryter: In this battaile Canutus proued the lyuelye and manly prowesse of the Englishe men, whome for that cause, he euer afterwardes loued out of measure, and rewarded them with great giftes accordingly. And when the king had thus taken order with his affayres in Denmarke, he returned shortly into England. And soone after he maried Emma the wife lately of Egelredus, of the which he had a sonne, & named him Hardycanutus, and after the English Chronicle, Hardyknought.

Canutus maried Emma late wife of Egelredus & had by her a sonne named Hardicanut.

¶ But Polidore wryteth that this mariage was concluded on in the former Parliament. For Canutus hauing none issue, but onely two sonnes base borne, and begotten of a Concubine of his named Aluina, of the which two sonnes the one was called Harold, and the other Sweno: And desirous to haue suche issue as might lawfully succede him, maryed Emma the wyfe of Etheldred, which with her sonnes Alfred and Edward were banished the realme & lyued in Normandy with Richard her brother Duke of that countrie, vnto the which Duke the sayde king maried also his sister Hestritha, at the same tyme.

Malcolme kinge of Scots ouerthrowne and brought to subiection to the king of England.

¶ In the.xbj. yere of his reigne, the Scots rebelled against him: wherfore he with a great armie entred Scotlande, and at length ouercame the king of that lande, named then Malcolme and brought them againe to hys subiection, as sayth Marian the Scot. By reason of which victorie, Canutus was then king of foure kingdomes, of England, of Scotland, of Denmarke, and of Norway.

Leofricus, Egelnotus.

¶ Then as sayth sundry Authours, after that he had betaken this land of England to the guyding of Leofricus, Egelnothus and other, he then returned into Denmarke. And from thence he went in pilgrimage to Rome in the.xbij. yere of his reigne, and redeemed the Schoole of Sarons free of all former Tribute graunted as before in the stories of Iew and Offa is somedeale touched: which redemption of Tribute (as sayeth Guydo) was called Rome Scot, as ye maye reade more in Fabian.

Rome scot redeemed.

Canutus king of foure kingdomes.

¶ After his returne from Rome, he beganne somewhat to swell with pride: But to say truth, he was a king of great magnificence, and he vsed such iustice mixed with temperance that in his daies, in the west partes of the worlde, there was no Prince of renowne lyke to Canutus and besides that, he was greatly beloued and drad of all his subiects.

Canutus dead and left behinde him two sonnes.

¶ Thys king Canutus when he had reigned ouer this Realme.xix.yeres, he dyed and was buried at Winchester, leauing after him two sonnes begotten vpon his wiues, the eldest named Harold, and the yongest Hardikanutus, the which while his father lyued, was made king of Denmarke. Fabian.

But Polydore sayeth that Canutus dyed in Normandy, and was buried at Roane,

at Roane, whose wordes are these: It was not long after, but Canutus was enforced to make great warre vpon Richard Duke of Normandy, because he hauing no feare nor regarde vnto the Lawes, had caused himselfe to be deuorced for a verie light and trifling matter from his wyfe Estritha sister (as is afore sayde) of Canutus, who being desyrous to be reuenged vpon the sayde Duke for the same iniurie, prepared a great Nauie and sayled vnto Normandy. Nowe his armie was scarcely set a lande and encamped in the enemies Countrie when worde was brought him of the death of his sonne Sweno Lieutenaunt or Lorde Deputie of Norway, whome he specially loued, the which thing so wounded his hart with anguishe and sorrow, that he fell into an Ague, whereof he dyed shortly after. Then (as it foloweth in the same Authour) his funerall obsequy being finished at Roane: the Souldiours vpon safe conduyt and lycence graunted them to depart in safetie, returned home againe into England.

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Harold harefote.

Harolde the base sonne of Canutus and of Elgina, or Algina, after the death of his father reigned ouer England. This man for his nymblenesse and swiftnesse of foote, was surnamed Harefoote. In his beginning there was great strife among the Lordes, in a Parliament holden at Oxford, for that some were in doubt of his birth, and whether he were the kings sonne or not, and specially Erle Goodwyn which did the vttermost of his power to haue set him by, and to haue preferred his brother Hardikinitus the sonne of Etheldred and Emma, or anye of the sonnes of Etheldred and Emma that were in Normandy vnto that honor. But Leofricus whom Canutus so much loued and trusted, with the ayde of the Danes and Londoners, so stoutly withstoode Goodwyne and hys sonnes, that they fayled of their purpose.

Emma the Stepmother of Harold is banished.

¶ Assoone as this Harolde was crowned, he gate him in all haste to Winchester, and there tirannically seased vpon all the goodes and treasure which Canutus had left vnto the sayd Emma, and then banished her the lande. The which Emma sayled then into Flaunders, and there of Baldwyn the Erle was reuerently and curteously receyued, and obteyned of him the Castell of Bruges, where she made her aboade during the lyfe of this Harolde. The cause why she went not into Normandy, was because William then Duke there was by reason of his tender yeres and minoritie, not able to gouerne of himselfe, but was vnder the tuition and gouernance of others.

¶ This Harold continued his life and reigne with little fruite, and lesse profite to the land, nor yet of the Subiectes, so that of him, either for vice that was in him, which learned men thought not meete to put in memory, or else for the rudenesse of his lyfe, and spending vainely of his tyme, which was not worthy of memory, nothing at all is put in remembraunce, but that he dyed at London, or as some write, at Orenford, and was buried at Westminster, when he had reigned three yeres and odde Monethes, leauyng after him none heyre, and therfore his brother Hardikinitus which was king of Denmarke, was king next after him.

Harolds dead.

Dvncane king of Scottes reigned at this time, seuen yeres, and was slaine by his brother Germayne Makebeth.

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Hardikinitus

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HArdikinitus, or Hardiknot, the sonne of Canutus, and of Emma, was made king of Englande: This man after the death of his brother Harolde was sent for into Denmarke, or as some write into Flaunders, where he was with his mother Emma, and was most ioyously receyued and crowned at London of Ethelnotus, then Archebishop of Cauntorbury: But he was of such a cruelty, that he sent Alfricus then Archebishop of Yorke, and Erle Goodwyn vnto Westminster, commaundyng them for the iniury by his brother Harolde done vnto his mother Emma, that they should drawe the Corps and dead body of the sayd Harolde out of the ground, or place where it was buried, and cause it to be throwne into the ryuer of Thamys, which was done according to his commaundement. The which Corps after, as sayth Guydo and other, was found by a Fisherman, and buried bureuerently within the Church yarde of Saint Clement standyng without the Temble barre of London.

A cruell reuengement.

¶ And as Reynulph sayth, for a more cruelty, he caused first the dead hed of his sayde brother to bee smitten off from the bodye, and then throwen into the sayde Ryuer.

Dane Gelt.

¶ This king also leuyed the aforenamed Tribute named the Dane gelt, and spent it to the little profite of the Realme, but gaue the same vnto Mariners and Shipmen, and to sundry lewde persons, he gaue great and vnsitting fees and wages, and was of such prodigality, that his Boordes and Tables were couered foure tymes in the daye, and the people serued with great excesse both of meate and drinke.

Excesse of fare.

Murther & mischiefe.

¶ Nowe for the leuiyng of the aforesayde Tribute, the Commons greatly grudged, so that in Worcester two of his seruauntes, which were assigned to gather that money, were there slaine. For the which murder the king was so sore displeased, that he brent a great part of that Towne.

Erle Goodwyn a subtill man.

¶ Some Authours write that the king betooke all the rule of the lande vnto his mother Emma, and to the Erle Goodwyn, the which Goodwyn had maried the daughter of Canutus, gotten vpō his first wife Elgina: by whom many things were misordered, & specially by the subtilty of ỳ Erle Goodwin.

¶ This Erle had many sonnes, as sayth Reynulph, in his first booke, and 11. Chap. By his first wife that was king Canutus sister, & not his daughter, he had one sonne: The which with the stroke of a horse was throwne into the Ryuer of Thamys and drowned: and the mother was smitten with a blast of lightning, and so dyed. Of whome it is there remembred that she was so vngracious, and of so vile condicions, that she set yong women to whoredome, for to gather by that vnlawfull meane riches. After which wife so dead, he maryed the seconde, of whome he receyued sixe sonnes, that is to say, Swanus, Harold, Tostitus, Wilnotus, Sirthe, & Leofricus, & a daughter named Goditha, which after was maryed vnto Edward the Confessor.

A plague among Erle Goodwyns wyfe and children.

Alphredus Edward.

¶ The two sonnes of Egelredus, that is to say, Alphredus, and Edward, which as ye before haue heard were sent into Normandie by Emma their mother came in the time of the reigne of this king into England to visite and see their mother, and brought with them a great number of Normans. Then this Goodwyn imagined in his minde, howe he might preferre his daughter Godith to one of these brethren, and thought with himselfe that the eldest would disdaine that mariage, and therefore he thought to ioyne her to the yonger,

yonger, and to make him king, and her Queene, and to that purpose he compassed the death of the elder.

A trayterly practice of Goodwyn

¶ And first Goodwyn practised with the Lordes of England, and sayd, it was a great ieopardie for the lande, to suffer so many straungers to enter the land without licence, wherefore it were necessary that they were restrayned in tyme. By which meanes he gate authoritie to order the matter in such sort as to him should seeme best, and that of his owne power, because he was of most might next vnto the king: Wherefore he went and met with the sayd Normans, and slue of them the greatest number. For vpon Guyld downe, he slue alway. ir. and saued the tenth. And yet because he thought there was to many of them liuyng, he eftsoones tithed them againe, and slue euerye tenth knight of them, and that by most cruell death, as windyng theyr guttes out of their bodies (as sayth Reynulph) and among other, put out the eyen of the elder brother Alphred, and sent him to Ely, where he dyed in short tyme after: But Edward was conueied some other way, and was brought to his mother. But she fearing the treason of Goodwin, sent him sone ouer the Sea againe.

Normans cruelly murdered by Goodwyn.

Alphred had his eyen put out and was sent to Ely, and there dyed.

¶ When Goodwyn was after accused for this cruell deede, he excused him selfe, and sware depely that he was forced of the king so for to do.

¶ Then it followeth, that this Hardikinitus beyng at a feast or mariage dinner at Lambeth beside London, merry and iocund, while he stood drinkyng he fell downe sodeynly and dyed, or waxed dumbe, and lay vntill the. viij. day after, not without suspicion of poysoning as some wryte, when he had reigned two yeres and was buried at winchester, leauing after him none issue.

The death of king Hardikinutus.

¶ *Here endeth the line or offspring of Swanus, and all the other Danes that ruled in England, so that after this king, the blood of the Danes was cleerely extinct and put out from all kingly dignitie within this Realme of England. And also the persecution of them ceased cleerely after this kinges death, the which had continued to reken from their first landing in the tyme of Brithricus king of west Saxon, and the.ix. yere of his reigne, by the terme of. C C. Lv. yeres.*

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EDwarde the sonne of Egeldred or Etheldred and of Emma his last wife, reigned ouer the realme of England next after the death of Hardikinitus: The which Edwarde, immediately after the death of his brother in lawe aforesaide, was sent for into Normandy, and pledges layde for him, that he without fraude should be made king. And then he came with a fewe straungers. But Marian the Scot sayth that some of the Lordes had sent for Edward the outlawe, sonne of Edmond Ironside for to be theyr king, but after the affirmance of the same Authour, when he knewe that Edward his nephew was in possession of the land, he would meddle no further.

This was Edward the confessor.

¶ Then this Edward by the great aduice of Goodwyn Erle of west Saxon, and Leofricus Erle of Chester, was chosen king at London, and of Edsius, or Cadsius Archebishop of Cantorbury, and Alfricus Archebishop of Yorke on Easter Monday following consecrated at Winchester, and in processe of tyme after, he wedded Goditha the daughter of the Erle Goodwyn, which he had by his wyfe Thira, sister vnto Canutus the second, that of Guydo is called Editha, the which he entreated in such wise, that he put her not from his bed, nor yet had carnally with her to do. Whether it were for hate of her kinne, or for loue of Chastitie, the truth is not shewed: But all Writers agree that he continued his life without the vse of Women.

King Edward maried Goditha the daughter of Erle Goodwyn.

¶ This

Dane Gelt discharged.

¶ This king discharged Englishe men of the great Tribute called Dane gelt, the which before is often mencioned, so that after his time it was no more gathered. And also he subdued the Britons or Welshmen that made warres within the boundes of the lande or fronters: But soone after theyr Duke or leader called Griffin, or Griffith, with the ayde of the Irishe men entered the Ryuer of Seuerne, and tooke manye prayes, and departed againe without fight.

Griffyn a rebellion in Wales.

Emma the mother of king Edward accused of incõtinency with the Bishop of Winchester.

¶ In the tyme of the reigne of this Edward, Emma his mother was accused to be familier with Alwyn or Adwyne, Bishop of Winchester. Upon which accusation, by counsayle of Erle Goodwyn, he tooke from her many of her Jewelles, and caused her to be kept very streightly in the Abbey of Warwell, and the Bishop he committed to the examination and correction of the Clergie: notwithstanding, Polidore saith, they were both committed to ward in Winchester. But his mother more sorowyng the defamation of Alwyne the Bishop, than her awne estate, wrote vnto diuerse Bishoppes, & besought them of iustice, affirming that she was ready to abyde all lawfull and most sharpest tryall.

A beastly Bishop.

¶ Then dyuerse of the Byshoppes made labour to the king for her, and for the Bishop. But Robert then Archebishop of Cantorbury, beyng with their labour discontented, sayde vnto them in this maner. My brethren Byshoppes, sayde he, howe dare ye defende her, that is a wilde beast and not a woman? she hath defamed her awne sonne the king. Fabian, and called her lecherous Lemman the Bishop, Christ her God. Polydore.

A cruell penance.

¶ But be it so, that the woman would purge the Priest, who shall then purge the womã, that is accused to consent to the death of her sonne Alphred, and procured venome to the empoysonyng of her sonne Edward? But how so it be, that she be giltie or giltlesse, if she will go bare footed for her selfe ouer foure ploughe shares, and for the Bishop ouer fiue ploughe shares brennyng, and fire hote: then if she escape harmelesse, he shall be assoyled of thys chalenge, and she also.

It is most lyke that he durst not be there for shame that he awarded such a tryall to a kings mother

¶ This was of her graunted, and the day of purgation assigned: At which day the king and a great part of his Lordes were present, but this Robert the Archbishop made default and was not there, were it for pitie or otherwise. This Robert was a Monke in an house in Normandy, and came ouer by the sending for of the king, and was first made Bishop of London, and after Archebishop of Cantorbury.

A great miracle if it were true.

¶ Then shee was blindfolde, and led vnto the place betweene two men, where the Irons lay glowyng hote, and passed thē, ix. shares vnhurt. Then at the last she sayde, good Lord, when shall I come to the place of my purgation. When they vncouered her eyes, and shee sawe that she was past the paine, she kneeled downe and thanked God. Fabian.

The Archebishop was glad he was gone.

¶ Then the king repented him, and restored vnto her, and the Byshop also, that which he before had taken from them, and asked them forgeuenesse: But the Archebishop of Cantorbury fled into Normandy.

¶ Polydore wryteth that king Edward was offended with his mother, for other causes aswell as for that she was suspected of the incontinent liuyng with the sayd Bishop: For it was layde vnto her charge that she was maried vnto Canutus beyng both a straunger and an enemy vnto the Realme: And that

that she succoured not her children in the tyme of theyr exile and banishment, and lastly because there went a brute that she should imagine their deathes.

¶ It was not long after, that king Edward gathered a strong nauie at Southampton, or to saye more truely at Sandwich, forsomuch as he was warned that Swanus king of Denmarke entended to make warre vpon hym. But Reynulph sayth that he gathered this Nauie to withstande Harold Harfagar, then king of Norway which entended to haue entered England. But he was letted by the aforesayde Swanus, that shortly after made warre vpon the sayde Harold and other.

¶ It is also reported of this king that being on a tyme in a certaine extasie of minde or high contemplation in the time of seruice, he fell sodenly into a great laughter, contrarie to his wonted and accustomed maner. And when the standers by meruayled thereat, and asked of him what was the matter that he so did: he answered how the Danes and Norwayes were about by common consent to haue inuaded England with a great Nauie, and as they were in a readynesse to hoyse vp their sayles and to set forward, one brought forth a Bolle full of Mede or Methe to drinke vpon a bone voyage: and after that came Bolle after Bolle, so that after drinke came drunkennesse, and after that iangeling, and then strife, and at the last fighting: in the which many were slaine, and the rest returned to their awne home, so that they are now dispersed and gone from their purpose, and I trust (sayth he) that in my tyme forrein Nations and straungers will neuer inuade and disquiet thys Realme againe.

Dronkennes causeth madnes and mischiefe.

How a folish act begat a great fray.

¶ In the. x. yere of his reigne (as sayeth Reynulph) and in the Moneth of September, Eustace Erle of Bolongne came a lande at Douer, which Erle had wedded king Edwards sister. And it so came to passe, that when this Erle was landed he conueyed himselfe in so secret maner from his company that none of them could tell what was become of him, and they thought he had bene slaine in the towne: And in this search made for him, the hurly burly was such that a Citizen of the towne of Douer was slaine. By meane whereof the people arose, and in the questioning of this mans death, they came at length vpon the Erles company, and slue. xx. of his men, and wounded many mo: then the Erle appered and tooke his mens parte: But in the ende he was fayne to withdrawe himselfe with a fewe persons, and roade vnto the king then being at Glouceſter, or as Polydore sayth, at Cauntorbury, and made vnto him a greeuous complaynt of the men of Douer.

¶ But Mathew of Westmynster reporteth this storie otherwise, saying: About this time Eustachius Erle of Bolongne, who had maried king Edwardes Sister named Goda, landed with his trayne at Douer, where hys Souldiours as they sought for lodging after a proude and vndiscreet maner fortuned to kyll a Townes man. The which outrageous fact when another Burgesse of the same towne perceyued, he kylled him againe that had done the murther. By reason wherof the sayd Erle and his company were greatly moued, and in their rage slue much people both men and women, besides children and olde folkes that were troden to death with men and horses. But when the straungers saw that the Burgesses came still mo and mo, flocking on euery syde to rescue their neighbours, they toke their heeles like cowards and. xviij. of them beyng slaine in the flight, the rest fled to Glouceſter where

the king lay. Howbeit, Polydore sayth that this conflict was at Cauntorbury and not at Douer: But nowe to returne to the matter. After this ryot, Erle Goodwyn, forasmuch as to him was committed the rule of Kent, was charged to ryde thether, and to take wreche vpon the inhabitantes of that towne. But he withsayde that commaundement, and counsayled the king to send for the Wardeynes of the Castle of Douer, and the Rulers of the Towne, for to aunswere vnto such matters as should be layd against them, and if they were guiltye, to punish them, or else not.

Erle Goodwyn sent by the king to take order with the men of Douer for the death of ỹ straungers.

¶ This Counsaile of Goodwyn pleased nothing the king, nor such as were about him, wherefore many mo Lordes were sent for. Among the which Leofricus Erle of Chester, & Seward Erle of Northumberland were two.

¶ After which assembly of the Lordes Erle Goodwyn had such monition of some of the counsayle, that he withdrewe himselfe from the Court, and gathered to him strength of knightes out of dyuerse shires, as west Saxon, and Kent, and houed at Beuerston vntill his sonnes came vnto him with mo people. Sone after, came vnto him his eldest sonne Swanus, and brought with him a faire companie, that he had arrered in Orenfordshire, and Glouceſterchire: And Harolde his other sonne with a felowship that he had assembled in East Englande and Huntingdonshire, so that of these people were made a great hoste.

Goodwin accused for vnlawfull assemblies.

¶ Then Goodwyn was accused to the king for gathering of so great an hoste: But he excused him and sayde, it was done to withstande the Welshe men, the which prooued contrary. Then he was commaunded to send away the people, and to come himselfe with a certeyne number vnto the Court: but that he refused.

¶ Then the king and his Counsayle beyng at London, Goodwyn and Harolde, was againe sent for, and charged to come to the Court with. xij. personnes to attend on them, and no mo, and to render into the kings handes all knightes fees that he and Harold his sonne had within England. To this by them was aunswered, that they might not come to the counsayle of Treachors & guilefull men, and that also with so fewe men in number they might not without perill or shame passe by the Country.

A lewde aunswere of a subiect.

¶ Nowe during this tyme, a part of Goodwynes knightes withdrewe them, and his power began to deminiſhe, and the king in this meane season had gathered a strong host. Then Proclamations were made that Goodwyn should come to the Court, as before is sayde, or else to auoyde the lande within fiue dayes. Wherefore, Goodwyn considering the ieopardie that he was in, tooke with him three of his sonnes, that is to say, Swanus, Tosty, and Gurth, or Biorno, and sayled into Flaunders, where he was receyued of the Erle Bladwyn, whose daughter Swanus his sonne had before maryed, named Judith. And Harold and Leofricus, two of his other sonnes with a fewe shippes sayled out of Bristowe into Ireland. Fabian.

Goodwyn an obstinate rebell.

Swanus, Tosty, and Gurth, ỹ three sonnes of Goodwyn fled & theyr father into Flaunders.

¶ Of this foresayde variance betwene the king, Erle Goodwyn, and his sonnes, I finde much diuersitye among wryters: For Mathewe of Westminster somewhat dissenting from my Authour, wryteth hereof as foloweth. Erle Goodwyn beyng greatly moued for the sleyng of his men at Douer, assembled a great power out of Kent, Sussex, and the west Saxons. And so did likewise his eldest sonne Swanus out of his Seignory or honour, that is to

is to wete, out of Oxfordshire, Glouceſterchire, Herefordshire, Sommerſetshire, and Barkeshire, as did his sonne Harold also out of his honour of East England, Grantbridge, and Huntyngdon. When king Edward was informed hereof, he also assembled a great army, because he would be in a redineſſe to fight with his enemies if neede were. Then came Goodwyn with hys army into Glouceſterchire, and sent his messengers vnto the king to require him to deliuer Eustachius and his company vnto him, and if he refused so to do, then to shewe him that he would proclayme open warre against him. Vnto whome the king beyng now in a redineſſe and well furnished of all things necessary for warre, sent aunswere againe, that he would not sende him Eustachius, chargyng the sayd Goodwyn further, forsomuch as he had rayſed an army against him, and without his leaue and licence disturbed the peace of his Realme, personally to apere at the Court at a day apoynted, and there to make aunswere to the sayde iniury, and misdemeanour before him and his Counsayle. But as Goodwyn durst not fight against the king, because hee thought himselfe to weake, so likewise would he not make his personall aperance as he was required. Wherefore, the sayd king by the decree and sentence of his Counsayle, banished him the Realme, with his fiue sonnes: who shortly vpon his banishement, with his wife Gina, and Tostius or Tostio his sonne, and his wife Judith, the daughter of Baldwyn Erle of Flaunders, and two other of his sonnes, that is to say, Swanus, and Gurth, taking wyth them great store of treasure, tooke shipping, and sayled streight into Flaunders vnto the sayde Erle. His other two sonnes Harolde, and Leofwinus, went vnto Bristowe, and from thence gate them into Irelande. After that the king put away Edith the Queene, onely of displeasure conceyued agaynst her father, and appoynted that she should be kept in safe custody in the Abbey of Redwell by the Abbesse there, without any honourable entertaynement, hauyng one gentlewoman only to wayt vpon her. Hetherto Mathew. &c.

Goodwyn outlawed by the authoritie of parliament, and his three sonnes.

¶ When the king was asserteyned that the Erle Goodwyn with his fiue sonnes was in this maner departed out of his land, he shortly after called a Parliament, and by the authoritie of the same banished Goodwyn and his three sonnes that were gone with him. And that done the king put his awne wife which was the daughter of Goodwyn called Edithe, a Lady of singuler vertue and learning, into the Abbey of Warwell with one mayden to be safely kept, and tooke from her such Jewels as she had, as sayth Marian. And so Goodwyn and his said sonnes continued two yeres banished. In the which season he or his retinue tooke dyuerse tymes prayes in the Marches of England and in the ende drew to him such strength, that he was purposed to haue entered the land with force, and to haue warred vpon the king. But by mediatours that fauoured Erle Goodwyn, a peace was made betwene the king and him, so that in the ende he was receyued to grace with his sonnes, and his daughter the kinges wife restored to hir first and former honour. And for this peace to be continued for Goodwynes part was deliuered for pledges, a sonne of his called Wilnotus, and a sonne of Swanus, named Hacun, or as Polydore writeth, two sonnes of Goodwyn, named Tosto, and Biorna. The which two pledges, king Edward sent to William Duke of Normandy to be kept. And Algarus the sonne of Leofricus Erle of Chester, to whome the king had geuen the Erledome of Harolde, & he ruled it discretly in the tyme

Goodwyn & his people became pirates and theeues.

Goodwyn againe restored to fauour.

of his absence, and at his returne, delyuered it to him againe, gladly and without grudge.

William Duke of Normandy came into England, to visite and see the king.

¶ During the tyme of this Banishment of Goodwyn, William Bastard, Duke of Normandy, came with a good company into this land, and was honourably receyued, to whome the king made great cheere.

Emma the kinges mother dyed.

¶ And after he had taryed here a certeyne of tyme to his contentation, and pleasure, he returned to his awne with great giftes and rewardes. And Emma the kinges mother dyed shortly after, and was buried at Winchester. And Swanus the eldest sonne of Goodwyn went to Jerusalem, and from thence toward Licia, and dyed by the way of colde that he had taken in going barefoote. Then the Normanes that had geuen to the king euill counsaile against Englishe men, were by Goodwyn and his friendes exiled. Among which, Robert Archebishop of Cantorbury that had spoken sore against them was one, of whome Fabian speaketh.

The Scots rebelled.

¶ In the.xiij. yere of this king, the Scottes rebelled against him. Wherfore Seward Erle of Northumberland by the kinges commaundement gathered a great host, and entered that land, and behaued him so manfully, that in the ende he subdued the Scottes, and chased the king out of his Country, so that after king Edward gaue that kingdome vnto Malcoline, sonne of the king of Cambris, or Cumberland, to be holden of him and his heyres kings, as chiefe Lordes of Scotland.

How king Edward gaue y kingdom of Scotland to Malcolyne, to hold the same Realme of him and his heyres, as chiefe Lords of Scotland.

¶ Upon Easter Monday the sayd yere, Goodwyn sittyng at the kinges boorde, with other Lordes in the Castle of Windsore, or as some report, of Winchester, it happened one of the kings Cup bearers to stumble, and to recouer againe, so that he shed none of the drinke: whereat Goodwyn laughed and sayde, nowe that one brother, hath susteyned that other, whereby he meant, that the one foote or legge had stayed the other from falling. With which woordes, the king marked him and sayde. Right so my brother Alphred should haue holpen me, had not Goodwyn beene. The Erle then conceyued that the king suspected him of his brothers death, and sayde vnto the king in defending his vntruth: Sir, I perceyue well that it is tolde thee that I shoulde be the cause of thy brothers death. So mought I safely swalowe this morsell of bread that I heare holde in my hande, as I am giltlesse of the dede: But he had no soner spoken the word, and put the bread in his mouth, but he was choked. Then the king commaunded him to be drawen from the boord by the legges, & so was he conueied to Winchester, & there buried. Fab.

A wise reply of a king.

A notable plague and iust iudgement of God.

¶ Mathewe of Westminster sayth, that the king when he sawe him fall downe starke dead before him, spake vnto them that were present, saiyng: haue away this dogge and traytour, and burye him in some common highe way, for he is not worthy of Christian buriall. Then his sonnes that stoode by drewe him from the Table, and vnwares vnto the king, buried him in the olde Abbey of the same Citie.

¶ But Marian the Scot sayth, that as Erle Goodwyn sate at the kinges Table on Easter Monday, he was sodeynly taken with a Palsey, or some other sickenesse, and dyed the thirde day after: and his Lordshippes were geuen vnto Harolde his eldest sonne then liuyng, and Haroldes Erledome was geuen to Algarus the sonne of Leofricus, which was the Erledome of Orforde after some writers.

¶ It

¶ It was not long after that king Edward sent vnto the fourth Henry then Emperour of Almaine, Aldredus Bishop of Worcester with other noble men, prayng him that he would sende into England his Cosyn Edward the sonne of Edmond Ironside, for so much as he entended to make hym as heyre. The which request was fulfilled, so that he came into England sone after, the which as ye haue heard before was named Edward the outlaw. But as sayth Guydo and other, the yere after he came into England, he dyed at London and was buried at Westmynster.

Edward the sonne of Edmond Ironside, returned into England, and shortly after dyed.

¶ The yere following king Edward through euill counsaile exiled without gilt Algarus the sonne of Leofricus, the which did associate himselfe with Griffyn king or Duke of Wales, and destroyed the Countrie of Herforde, and did much harme to the Towne, and set the Mynster on fyre, and slue.bij. Chanons therof. Then the king sent Harold against him, the which chased the Welshmen into their awne boundes, and recouered the sayde Towne by appointment, holden by the sayde Algarus, and trenched it about and amended all hurtes before done by the Welshmen, and lastly reconciled the sayde Algarus and his company vnto the kings grace.

Griffyn prince of Wales, rebelled.

Algarus was againe reconciled to the kings grace.

¶ About the.xv. yere of king Edward dyed the Noble Duke Seward, ruler of Northumberlande of a Fluxe, of whome Guydo reherseth dyuers notable actes whiche I passe ouer. Of him it is read that when he sawe well he should dye, he caused his armour to be put vpon him, and so armed and sitting in a Chayre, sayde, thus it becommeth a knight or man of honour to dye, and not lyng in his bed as another meane man, and so he dyed and was buried at Yorke, or as Reynulph writeth died at Yorke and was buried in the Abbey of Galmahan which he himselfe had founded. And his Erledom was after geuen to Tosty sonne of Goodwyn.

Seward ruler of Northumberland dyed with a valiant courage.

¶ In the.xvj. yere of this king dyed also the good Erle Leofricus Erle of Mertia and of Chester, & was buryed in the Abbay of Couentrie the which before he and his wyfe Godina had builded. This man purchased many great priuileges for the towne of Couentrye & made it free from any maner of Tolle, except onely of Horsse. For the which also to haue free, the common fame telleth, that after long request made to the king by his wyfe named Godina, he graunted her to haue it thereof freed, if that she woulde ride naked thorow the Towne, which she did, by meane whereof, it was freed.

Couentrie made free.

¶ But Gaufride sayth that this gentle and good Lady did not onely for the freeing of the said Citie and satisfying of her husbands pleasure, graunt vnto her sayde Husband to ryde as afore sayde: But also called in secret maner (by such as she put speciall trust in) all those that then were Magistrates and rulers of the sayde Citie of Couentrie, and vttered vnto them what good will she bare vnto the sayde Citie, and how shee had moued the Erle her husband to make the same free, the which vpon such condition as is afore mencioned, the sayde Erle graunted vnto her, which the sayde Lady was well contented to doe, requiring of them for the reuerence of womanhed, that at that day and tyme that she should ride (which was made certaine vnto them) that streight commaundement should be geuen throughout all the City, that euerie person should shut in their houses and Wyndowes, and none so hardy to looke out into the streetes, nor remayne in the stretes, vpon a great paine, so that when the tyme came of her out ryding none sawe her, but her hus-

bande and such as were present with him, and she and her Gentlewoman to wayte vpon her galoped thorough the Towne, where the people might here the treading of their Horsse, but they saw her not, and so she returned to her Husbande to the place from whence she came, her honestie saued, her purpose obteyned, her wisedome much commended, and her husbands imagination vtterly disapointed. And shortly after her returne, when shee had arayed and apparelled her selfe in most comely and seemely maner, then shee shewed her selfe openly to the people of the Citie of Couentrie, to the great ioy and maruellous reioysing of all the Citizens and inhabitants of the same, who by her had receyued so great a benefite.

¶ Then Algarus his sonne was Erle after him. But Mathew of Westmynster writeth that his wyfe Godina obteyned the sayde liberties of the Erle her husbande then Lorde of the sayde Towne.

Algarus againe accused and banished the realme.

¶ Harold the eldest sonne of Goodwyn was now in great authoritie, and ruled much of the kings armie. The yere folowing Algarus was accused by malice, and was banished the lande. Wherefore he fled againe to Griffyn Duke of Wales as he before had done, of whome he was ioyously receyued and mainteyned. The king being thereof informed, sent Harold into Wales to make warre vpon Griffyn, the which quit him in so knightly wise, that he chased the Welshmen, brent the sayde Griffyns palace at a place called Rutlane, and destroyed his nauie, and then returned into England about mydlent. But about the Rogation dayes the sayde Harold and his brother Tosty were sent thether againe with a strong armie: at which season they destroyed a great part of Wales, and in conclusion brought the Welshmen vnto due subiection, and forced them to geue pledges for the continuance of the same.

Griffyn prince of Wales slaine.

And that done pursued so sore vpon Griffyn by the commaundement of the king, that in the ende, his owne people for to purchase their owne lyues slue him, and sent his head vnto Harold in the Moneth of August: so that after the death of this Griffyn, by the commaundement of the king, the Countrie of Wales was committed to the guyding of the two brethren of Griffyn, the which fauoured more the kings partie in the time of warre, than they did their brothers. And this warre in Wales thus brought to an ende, Harold by his pollecie reconciled againe Algarus Erle of Mertia to ỳ kings grace, so that he continued in his fauour during his lyfe after.

Algarus once againe reconciled to the kinges fauour.

¶ In the.xx. yere of the reigne of the king: Harold sayled toward Normandy to visite his brother Wilnotus and Hacun his Nephew, the which as ye before haue heard, were layd there for pledges for the peace to be holden vpon Erle Goodwynes side against the king. But he in his course of sayling was wether driuen by tempest into the Countrie or Prouynce of Pountith, where he was taken as a prisoner of the Duke there, and sent vnto Duke Wylliam of Normandy: The which forced hym to sweare that he in tyme folowing should mary his daughter, and that after the death of king Edward, he should keepe the lande of England to his behoofe, according to the will and minde of king Edward as some writers affirme. And it is further written that Harold to be in the more fauour of Duke Wylliam, shewed him that king Edward had in the presence of his Barony of England, admitted the sayde Wylliam for his heyre, and couenaunted with him, that if he ouer lyued the king, he would in safe wise keepe the lande to his vse. For the which

Harold take and brought into ỳ keping of William Duke of Normandy.

which tydings and promise, the sayde Wylliam graunted him his daughter to wife, which then was vnder lawful yeres of mariage with a great dower.

¶ And for to cause Harold to be the more constant in his promes, he deliuered to him Hacun his Nephewe and sonne of his brother Swanus, the which he much desyred, and kept still Wilnotus the brother of the sayde Harolde. After which couenaunts, sufficiently stablished and enacted: Harold departed from Duke William with great and riche giftes, and shortly after landed in England. And at his comming to the kinges presence, he shewed to him all that he had done in the aforesayd matters, wherwith the King was well contented, as affirmeth Fabian mine auctour.

¶ Mathew of Westminster reporteth the matter thus. Tostius Erle of Northumberland, tooke his brother Harold by the heare as he was bringyng a Cup of wine vnto the king, and pulled him downe vnto the ground, all that stood by and behelde it meruelyng thereat. Then Harold againe desirous to be reuenged vpon him for that vilanye, tooke him in his armes, and flong him on the pauement: But by and by the kinges Garde ranne betwixt them, and parted them. After the which altercation, Tostius departed the Court in a great rage, and comming to the Citie of Herford, where Harolde had prepared a great feast agaynst the kinges comming, slue all his brothers seruauntes that he found there, and mangled and cut them in peeces, and into euery vessell of Wine, Meethe, Ale, or any other kinde of drinke else, hee casteyther a legge, an arme, or some other peece of the bodyes so mangled, sendyng the king woorde withall, that whensoeuer he came to his brothers house, he should be sure to finde powdred flesshe ynoughe to serue him, but if he would haue delicates, he must then be faine to prouide them himselfe. The which mocke of his when the king heard thereof, he commaunded him for his sayde detestable fact and lewdenesse to be banished the Realme. But as Polidore writeth, he was offended with him, and sayd vnto him as followeth: Tolde I not thee before that this mischiefe and inconuenience would ensue hereof vnto this Realme by thy meanes, if thou wentest to William of Normandy: But God eyther turne this harde destenye from vs, or else if it must needes come to passe, graunt that it chaunce not in our dayes.

¶ This cruell deede sprang wide, so that for it he was hated of all men, in somuch that his owne Tenantes, the men of Northumberland, of which prouince he then was Lorde of, arose against him, and in the ende chased him into Flaunders, with a fewe persones then awayting vpon him.

A stout speech of subiectes.

¶ But the verteous king Edward not beyng contented with the commons doyng, consideryng it to be done without his aduice or commaundement, sent thether Harolde to do correction vpon the heades or Captaynes of the Northumbers: Wherof they beyng asserteyned, continued their strength and met with Harolde, and his people, and made them to vnderstand that they were freely borne, and freely nozithed, and that they might not suffer the cruelnesse of any Dukes.

¶ When Harolde had receyued this message, and had well regarded the strength of the Northumbers, he perceyued that without great effusion of blood, he could not correct the misdoers: Wherefore it seemed to him better to fauour the Country, then to take heede of the singuler profite of his brother, so that he returned to the king with this aunswere, and purchased their

pardon

pardon of him, and also so laboured the king, that he assigned them another Duke or Erle that was named Malcharus. And Tostius his brother with his wife and children remayned in Flaunders during the kinges life.

The common lawes of this Realme.

¶ This king also purged the olde and corrupt lawes, and picked out of them a certain, which were most profitable for the commons, and those were called the common lawes of this Realme, for the institution whereof, there happened many commocions and much trouble.

¶ And nowe for an ende of this story, this king dyed the fourth day of January, when he had reigned.xxiij. yeres.viij. Monethes, and odde dayes, and was buried at Westminster, and left after him no childe, for he was accompted for a virgine when he dyed.

¶ It is written of him also that he was wont by touch of hand, to heale such as were diseased of the kinges euill, & that of him other kinges and princes of this Realme haue as it were by inheritance receyued the gift of healing that disease, by touch of hand and certeyne prayers, and ceremonies vsed withall, like as they receyued also the custome to halowe and consecrate Rynges on Good Friday, which were reputed good and auaylable against the Crampe.

1044
2

Mackbeth Kyng of Scottes.

Mackbeth reigned among the Scottes.xbj. yeres, which at the beginning did many thinges to the profite of the Realme: but afterward he became a cruell Tyrant, and was vanquished and slaine by Malcolme, by the ayde of the Englishe men.

1061
19

In this yere of our Lorde, Malcolme recouered the crowne of Scotland, and reigned.xxxb. yeres.

1066
3

Harolde the second sonne of Erle Goodwyn, and last king of Saxons. This man forgettyng his promes before made to William Duke of Normandy, tooke vpon him as king, and was crowned of Aldredus then Bishop of Yorke, or as some wryte, set the crowne on his owne heade without any consecration or ceremonies. Albeit, as Guydo affirmeth, some of the Lordes entended to haue made Edgar Adeling king, which Edgar as affirmeth the sayde aucthours, was sonne to Edwarde that was the sonne of Edmond Ironsyde, and named of some Edward the outlawe. But because this Edward was yong, and chiefly considering the strength and riches of Harolde, therefore Harolde obteyned the Crown. Howebeit Marian sayth, that king Edward before his death, ordeyned that Harolde shoulde be king after him.

¶ Soone after the king was crowned, he began to reuoke euill lawes, and customes, and established good lawes.

¶ In short tyme after that Harolde was made king, Tostie his brother which as aforesayde was chased into Flaunders, made him a Nauye of.lx. small sayles of Shippes, or as Mathew of Westminster saith, of.xl. and sayled about the Isle of Wight, and tooke prayes within the sayde Isle, and in diuerse places of Kent. And from thence he sayled into Lynsey, and did there much harme both with fire and sworde. But sone after he was chased thence by Edwyn, and Malcarus, Erles of Martia and Northumberlande: And then he sayled into Scotland, and finding little comfort there, he went from thence into Norway to desyre ayde of king Harolde, who there reigned at that tyme.

Tostins roued about the Realme, and did much hurt.

¶ When

¶ When Tostins was thus with his robbers chased, then Harold Harfagar king of Norway moued therevnto by Tosto, with a great Nauie of three hundreth shippes and mo, entered the mouth of the riuer of Tyne.

¶ When Harolde of England had knowledge of this great Nauie of the Norwayes, he sent vnto the aforenamed Erles of Mertia, and Northumberland, commaunding them to withstand their landing, while he gathered his strength. Then the aforesayde Erles sped them toward the Norwayes, and gaue vnto them a sharpe and a strong fight, but in the ende the Englishe men were put to the worse, and were faine to geue backe, so that the enemies entered further into the land. The king heering of the discomfiture of hys people, made the more hast towarde his enemies, so that within fiue dayes after he came to Semylford Bridge.

Semilford Bridge.

¶ In this foresayde place both hostes ioyned and fought a most sharpe and cruell battaile, wherein was ouerthrowne manye a lustie knight vpon the Englishe partie, but many mo vpon the Norwayes, so that in the ende Harold their king was slaine, and that of the hande of Harold king of England, as saith Guydo, and Tostius was also slaine in the same fight. Olaus brother to the sayde Harold Harfager, with Paulus Duke of the Isles or Orkeies were there taken prisoners. The which ꝑ king caused to be sworne vnto him that they should keepe all such promes as they there to him made, and tooke good pledges for the same, and after suffred them to returne from whence they came. Fabian.

A cruell battaile.

Harold Harfager slaine.

Olaus the brother of Harold Harfager & Paulus ꝑ duke of ꝑ Isles, taken prisoner.

¶ It is also specially remembred of the sayde Authour that one Knight stood vpon the aforesayde Bridge, and with his Axe defended the passage, Maugre the whole host of the Englishmen, and slue.xl. Englishmen or mo with his Axe, and might not be ouercome vntill an Englishman went vnder the Bridge with a Boate or Wherry and sticked him vpward with his speare through an hole of the Bridge.

A valiaunt knight.

¶ For this victory, Harold was highly enflamed with pride and also with couetousnesse, so that he deuyded not the prayes of his enimies among hys knightes, but he kept them to himselfe, or gaue parte vnto such knightes as he fauoured, and spared it from them that had well deserued, by reason whereof he lost the fauour of many of his Souldiours.

Harold inflamed with pride and couetousnesse.

¶ In this time the daughter of Duke Wylliam, the which Harold should haue maried, died within age, but not before Harold (sayth Polydore) was king, wherefore Harold thought himselfe the more discharged of his promes before made to her father. But William warned Harold of couenants broken, and mired threates with prayers and peticions. Wherevnto Harold answered, that a nice foolishe couenant ought not to be holden, namelye the behest of other mennes right and kingdome, without the whole assent of the Senatours of the same lande. And furthermore, a lewde othe might and ought to be broken, and specially when it is compelled to be sworne for neede or for dreede.

Harold excuses to William duke of Normandy.

Upon these answeres receyued by Duke William from king Harold, in the meane while that messengers went and came, Duke William gathered his knightes, and prepared his nauie, and all other thinges necessary vnto the warre, and had the assent of the Lordes of his lande to ayde and assist him in his iourney. The like preparation also (sayth Polidore) was made by Harold

William duke of Normandy maketh his prouision to come into England.

Harold to defende the realme from the inuasion of the Normans.

Alexander Bishop of Rome sendeth vnto William duke of Normandy a Baner to carry with him in his Ship against England.

¶ And moreouer he so informed the Bishop of Rome then named Alexander the second, that he confirmed him in taking of that voyage, and sent vnto him a Banner, the which he willed him to beare in the Ship that he himselfe should sayle in. And so hauing all thinges in a redinesse, he sped him to the sea syde, and tooke shipping in the Hauen of Saint Valery, where he taryed a long tyme before he could haue a meete and conuenient winde: for the which the Souldiours murmured and grudged, and sayd it was a madnesse and greatly displeasing vnto God, to desyre a nother mannes kingdome by strength, & namely when God withstandeth it by the working of his Clemēt.

¶ At the last the wind came about, and he tooke shipping, and helde his course towarde England vpon this ground and title folowing.

The ground & chiefe cause of William duke of Normandies challenge of the Realme of England.

1 The first and principall was to chalenge his right, and to haue the dominion of the land that to him was geuen of king Edward his nephew.

2 The seconde was to be reuenged of the death and cruell murther of his Nephew Alphred, and brother of king Edward, which he ascribed wholy vnto king Harolde.

A reuengemēt for the banishing of Robert Archbishop of Cantorbury.

3 The thirde was, for to be reuenged on the wrong that was done vnto Robert, that was Archebishop of Cauntorbury, which as he was enformed was exiled by the meanes and labour of Harolde in the tyme of king Edward, as is afore sayde

The landing of William duke of Normandy.

¶ Duke William keping his course, at the last landed in Sussex, at a place called Peuenesley nere vnto Hastings. And in his going out of his ship, & taking the land, his one foote slipped, & the other stack fast in the sand: the which one of his knightes sawe, & beyng nere vnto him, sayd: now Sir Duke thou holdest Englande, and thou shalt soone be turned from a Duke to a King.

A good policy.

¶ The Duke entering further into the lande, made his proclamations that no man should take any prayes, or do any force to the people: for he sayd that it was reasonable that he should spare that thing that should be his owne.

Harold was now in the North parts

¶ At this time Harold was king in the North partes of England, and had knowledge of the landing of the Normanes, & he made all the haste towards them that he might, and gathered his strength out of the Countries as he came. But the Duke passed still forward, and at the last came to Kingstone, where he and his armie passed ouer the Thamys, and made such good speede that he came to London before the king, where he was holden out vntill he had put in good pledges, that he and his people should passe through the Citie without taryng, the which he did, and so went through the Citie, and passed ouer London Bridge, and so returned againe into Sussex.

An vnkindful messenger.

¶ King Harold entending to know the strength of his enemies sent spies into the Dukes hoste, the which made report vnto the king, that all Duke Williams Souldiours were priestes: for they had their vpper lippes and cheekes shauen, and the Englishmen at those dayes vsed the heare of their vpper lippes shaue and not shauen. But Harold vnto that answered and sayde, they be no priestes, but are stoute and valyaunt knights.

Good counsail is not alwayes regarded.

¶ Then Gurth, or rather Biorno, one of the yongest brethren of Harold, counsayled him that he should stand a parte, and suffer him with other of his Lordes to fight with the Normanes, forsomuch as he was sworne vnto the Duke, and they were not, saying moreouer, that if they were slaine or ouerthrowne,

throwne, that yet he might defende his quarell, and fight for his Country.

Three offers made vnto king Harold by William duke of Normandy.

¶ In this meane time, Duke Wylliam sent a Monke vnto king Harold and made him three offers. The first that according to his othe he should render the land, or delyuer it vp vnto him as his owne proper possession, and that done, to take it againe of him, and to hold it of him as in Fee, and so to reigne vnder him for terme of his lyfe, and after hys death to returne it to hym againe, or to such a one of his sonnes as he would assigne it vnto.

¶ Secondly, to leaue the kingdome without any more strife.

¶ Or thirdly in exchewing of the shedding of christian mens bloud, that he would defend his quarrell in his owne person against the Duke, and they two onely to trie the matter by dent of sworde.

¶ But Harold refused these offers, and sayde he would trie his quarrell by dent of swordes, and not by one sworde, and that he and his knights and Souldiours would defende their Countrie against all straunge Nations, prayng God to iudge the right betweene them twaine.

Good counsayle if it were true.

¶ When Duke Wylliam had receyued this aunswere from Harold, and saw well that there was no meane, but to abide fortune in battaile, he charged his people that might watch, to occupie themselues in prayer, and specially the Priestes and the religious people, where the Englishmen gaue themselues to drinking and surfeyting. Fabian.

Battail Abbey in Sussex.

¶ Then vpon the morrow being Saturday, and the. xiiij. daye of October, both hostes assayled other in the place where stood the Abbay of Battaile in Sussex. In the beginning of this battaile a Norman called Thilfer sprayed a Baner before the hoste of the Normans and slue an Englishman that came against him, and after that another, and so the thirde, and at the laste was slaine himselfe.

Thilfer.

¶ Then the Holberds smote together with a great showt and cry, and they fought sore a long season. And the Englishmen defended themselues manfully, and the better for that they kept them whole & close together without scattering or spreding abrode. The which when Wylliam perceyued, he gaue a signe vnto his knightes, that they should geue back, and made a countenance as though they did flie. Then the Normans enbatteled their footemen, & set Horsemen for winges on euerie side. By the which, while the Englishmen were disseuered, and soone out of array, the Normans turned againe vpon the Englishmen, and slue them downe on euerie side.

King Harold slaine and William the Conqueror had the victory.

¶ This battaile was sore foughten of the Englishmen, so that Duke Wylliam was thrise felled that day, by reason that thre horses were slaine vnder him. Lastly, Harold was wounded in the eye with an arrowe, and fell to the ground and was slaine, and his people scattered, so that well was he that might saue him selfe by flyng. Then Duke William buryed his men that there were slaine, and suffered his enemyes to do the same.

Agatha Haroldes wife committed to Chester.

¶ When the death of Harold was knowne to the Erles of Mertia and of Northūberland, the which for streightnesse of way could not bring their people to that field, or else for that they wilfully withdrew themselues from Harold, because he did none otherwise depart the prayes amongst them & their knightes at the former field of the Norwayes: then they drewe the next way to London, and tooke Agatha Haroldes wyfe, and sent her to Chester. And they

they and Aldredus Bishop of Yorke with the Londoners, were agreed and promised eyther to other that they would make Edgar Atheling king, and defend his right to the vttermost of their powers. But that promes notwithstanding, when they heard of the great strength that dayly fell to duke William, and of his prouisions, they were faine to breake that apointment. And the sayde Erles submitted themselues, and gaue vnto him pledges, and became to him his liege men by homage and fealtie.

¶ And thus when Harold had ruled the lande, from the fift day of January to the.xiiij.day of October, he was slaine, when he had reigned nine Monethes and odde dayes, and was buryed at the Monasterie of Waltham, which he before had founded.

The ende of the gouernement of the Saxons.

¶ And here endeth the gouernement of the Saxons, the which continued from the first yere of the reigne of Hengest in the yere of our Lord.475. vnto this conquest, which was the space of.590.yeres.

NOwe for as much as it pleased almightie God to suffer this Duke to conquere so noble a land, and to be Lorde and soueregne ouer so many noble inheritours as then were, and newe are within the same. I thinke it therefore conuenient to shew the dissent of the same Duke, and howe nere of blood he was vnto king Edward that last dyed.

The Pedegree of William Conquerour.

¶ Rollo who was first an Heathen, and after christened and named Robert, who maried Silla the daughter of Charles the Simple, sometime king of Fraunce, and had for her dower the Duchy of Normandy, which he ruled xiiij.yeres, and the sayde Robert had by Silla a sonne named William, the which afterward was called Longa Spata, that is to say, William with the long Sworde. This William was Duke after his father.xxv.yeres, and left after him a sonne named Richard, which was named Richard the Hardy, and was the thirde Duke, and reigned. lij. yeres and had by his wife a sonne named Richard the good, and Emma that was wyfe to Egeldred and mother to the last Edward the king. After him the good Richard was Duke, and reigned. xxviij.yeres, and left after him two sonnes, Richard, and Robert. The first sonne after two yeres, was slaine by treason of his brother Robert, so that Robert was then Duke, and reigned.ix, yeres: The which Robert was father vnto this Duke William, and begat him of his concubine, called Arlet. And this William was the seuenth Duke of Normandy, and ruled it before he conquered England.xxx.yeres. And thus it may apere that Emma was Aunte to Duke Robert, father of William Conquerour, and Emma was mother vnto king Edward, and so this duke William and king Edward of England were by the fathers syde cosyn Germaynes remooued.

A Summarie of the afore-said Hystorie.

IN the former part of this Hystorye it may appere vnto you (that after the opinion of most wryters) Brute did first inhabite this land, and called it then after his awne name Britayn, in the.2855. yere after the creation of the Worlde, and in the.1108. yere before the birth of our sauiour Christ. And the same land of Britayn was conquered by C. Julius Cesar, and made tributarye to the Romaynes in the fiftie yere before Christes Incarnation, and it so continued.483. yeres. And the Britaynes reigned without Tribute, and vnder Tribute, from Brute vntill the fourth yere of the reigne of king Cadwalader, which was in the yere of our Lorde.686. And so the Britaynes had continuance of the Gouernement of this land the space of 1794. yeres. And then was the kingdome of Britayn deuided into seuen kingdomes. And Britayn receyued the fayth of Christ in the seuenth yere of the reigne of king Lucy, which was in the.C.lxxvii.yere after the birth of Christ. And after the Britons, entered the Saxons in the third yere of Vortiger, and in the yere of our. Lord.450. and they gouerned vntill the last yere of king Athelstane, which was in the.938. yere of Christ. And so the tyme of the Saxons first entraunce into this Realme, and the tyme of their Gouernement, was the space of.487. yeres. But yet in the time of the Gouernement of the Saxons, that is to say, in the.ix.yere of the reigne of king Egithicus, which was in the yere of our Lord 787. The Danes entered into the Realme, and spoyled and persecuted the people therein most grieuously: And at the last Sweno, or Swayn the Dane, obteyned the possession and kingdome of this Realme, in the yere of our Lord.1012. and he reigned thre yeres. And after him reigned Canutus his Sonne.xix. yeres. And after him Harold his sonne thre yeres. And after him Hardikenitus the sonne of Canutus, who reigned thre yeres, and was the last king of the Danes, for then the Danes were vtterly expulsed and dryuen out of the Realme, which was in the yere of our Lorde.1042. And thus it may apere that the Danes reigned kinges of this Realme the space of.xxviii.yeres. And it maye also apere, that from the time of the first entery of the Danes into this Realme, vnto their last expulsion, was.CC.lb. yeres. And finally, the Normanes entered this lande, and made a Conquest of this Realme, as before is expressed, in the yere of our Lord.1067. Which is sithen vnto this present yere of our Lorde.1568. the number of fiue hundreth yeres.

Britayn first inhabited by Brute.

Conquered by the Romanes.

Britaynes receyued the fayth of christ

Conquered and ouercom by the Saxons.

Conquered & ouercome by the Danes.

Conquered & quietly possessed by the Normanes.

A Table for the first Volume of this Chronicle, that is to say, from the Creation of the *Worlde, vnto William the Conquerour.*

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FINIS.

This ſeconde Volume, beginning at William the Conquerour, endeth wyth our moſte dread and ſoueraigne Lady Queene Elizabeth.

Seene and alowed according to the order apointed.

Cum priuilegio Regiæ Maieſtatis.

Anno. 1568.

To the Reader.

NOwe haue we paſſed the Hiſtorie of the *Britons, Romaynes, Saxons and Danes that reigned ouer this noble Realme, in the which tyme by reaſon of the continual warres and manifold ſpoyles and conqueſtes, from time to time here practiſed, and long continued, the olde and auncient wryters of the ſaid Hyſtoryes, and all their worthy and learned monuments were in maner wholy deſtroyed & defaced, and therfore but by the helpe of Gildas, Gaufride, Bede and a fewe other, the remembraunce of the Gouernement, and of all the noble actes of this land had like to haue bene buried with vtter obliuion: But nowe, as we are come vnto the time of more reſt: ſo by Gods ſufferance ſhall follow a more large and ample hyſtory, praiyng moſt hartely the gentle Reader to beare with my rude ſtile and lacke of learnyng and knowledge, which if it were as great as my good will is, the ſame ſhould want no neceſsarye furniture: But he that performeth and freely offereth that which he hath, is (as you knowe) bound to no more: and thus much after this ſort, for this tyme with your fauour, may ſuffice.*

The Hiſtorie of king William the Conquerour.

WILLIAM the Conquerour, Duke of Normandie, and baſtard ſonne of Robert the firſt Duke of the ſame Dukedome, and nephew vnto Edward the Confeſſor late king of England as before is ſhewed, began his dominion ouer this Realme of England the .xv. day of October, in the yere of our Lord. M. lxvij. and was crowned king of the ſame at Weſtminſter vpon Chriſtmaſſe day next folowing of Aldredus Archebiſhop of Yorke: becauſe at that time Stigandus Archebiſhop of Cauntorbury, was then abſent, and durſt not come in the preſence of the king, vnto whome the king ought no great fauour, as hereafter ſhall apere. 1067 1 William Conquerour crowned.

Some write that the ſayde Duke required the aforeſayde Stigand to conſecrate him, becauſe the office of conſecrating of kings had alwayes appertayned vnto the Archebiſhops of Cauntorbury. But foraſmuch as he had aſpired vnto the crowne by violence and vnlawfull meanes, the ſayd Stigand would not be preſent at his coronation, nor in any wiſe aſſent therevnto. Some againe ſay that the Duke refuſed to be crowned of him, becauſe he was no lawfull Biſhop, inaſmuch as he receyued his Pall of Benet the tenth who was an vſurper of the Popedome, and not a lawfull Pope as they then tearmed him. And ſome againe make the cauſe of his reiection to be the corrupt life of the ſayde Stigand. Polidore wryteth that immediatly vpon the ouerthrow of king Harold, duke William marched towards London, where Edwin Erle of middle England, and Marcarus or Marcatus Erle of Northumberland, earneſtly mindyng the conſeruation of their country, and to defende the libertie thereof, moued the nobilitie and commons to crowne Edgar Atheling, who onely was left aliue of the blood royall of the Realme. Vnto the which ſentence although many did accorde, yet there were ſome of diuerſe opinions concernyng this matter: But for all that, at the laſt they laid all their heades together and aduyſed them ſelues howe and which way they might honeſtly ſubmit them ſelues vnto the ſayde Duke. But afterwardes, when he was come to the Citie, they made an ende of conſultation, and euery man for feare ſubmitted himſelfe and receyued him as though they had bene right ioyous of his comming, deliuering him hoſtages, & prayiyng him withall to receyue them to grace, and that they might be at peace with him: To whome the ſayde Duke aunſwered againe right curteouſly, making them many large and fayre promiſes, and that done, he was by them (although all were not like ioyfull at that ſolemnitie) crowned king vpon Chriſtmaſſe day as aforeſayde. But I finde written by one Thomas Thorpe Monke of Cauntorbury, among other things by him verie well noted and collected, of the beginning of the gouernance of william the Conquerour this ſtory folowyng.

wyng. After (sayth he) that the sayd Duke William had obteyned the victory, and had slaine king Harolde, and in like maner had taken the Citie of London, streight wayes he directed and bent his iourney towardes the Castell of Douer, to the entent he might conquere that also, with the other parts of Kent. The which beyng perfitely vnderstood: the Archebishop Stigand, and the Abbot Egelsyne, beyng then the chiefe potestates and gouernours of all Kent, vnderstanding all the kingdome and Realme to be in an euill case, and that where as before the comming of the sayde William there were no slaues or bondmen, now that all, aswell noble as meane men were brought vnder the perpetuall seruyle yoke of the Normanes, by their neighbours daungers, taking an occasion first of their countries safegard & of their awne, gathered together at Cauntorbury the whole people and force of Kent, to whome they declared the daungers hangyng ouer theyr heades, the misery of their neighbors, the insolency of the Normanes, and the hardnesse of seruile condition: And the whole people rather desyryng to ende their hapelesse lyfe, then to beare the vnaccustomed yoke of seruitude, with a cõmon consent decreed to meete Duke William, & to fight with him for their auncient lawes and libertyes. The aforenamed Stigand the Archebishop, and Egelsyne the Abbot, chosyng rather death in warre, then to see the miseries of theyr Nation, beyng hartened by the examples of the Machabees, were made Capitaynes of the Armie, and at the day apoynted, all the Kentishemen met at Swanescome, beyng hidden in the woodes, and wayted the comming of the aforesayd Duke William. And because sufficient warinesse, and heed taking in doubtfull cases doth no harme, they by their former talke were agreed among themselues, that when the Duke approched nere, all passages beyng shut vp, least any wayes he should escape, that euery seuerall person, aswell horsemen as footemen should carye a greene bough in his hand. The nert day after, the Duke comming into the fieldes and territories nere vnto Swanescome, and seeyng all the country ready set to hedge him in, and marking also a moueable wood with moderate pace drawing nere toward him, not without astonishment of his mynde, much marueyled at it. And assoone as the Captaynes of the Kentishemen espied Duke William enclosed in the middest of their armie, they caused their Trumpets to be sounded, and their Banners to be displayed, and threwe downe their Boughes, and with their Bowes beyng bent, and their swordes drawen, and with their speares and other kinde of Armour, beyng set in a readinesse, shewed themselues ready to fight it out. At the which sight Duke william with his adherentes & complices, not without cause were much amased. And he that a little before perswaded himselfe to haue helde all England in his fist, now doubted much of his awne lyfe. The Archebishop Stigand therefore, and the Abbot Egelsyne were incontinently sent foorth to Duke William on the part and behalfe of the Kentishmen, who did their message vnto him after this sort. Sir Duke beholde here the people and inhabitants of Kent commeth foorth to meete thee, and to receyue thee as their liege Lorde and gouernour, requiryng peace at thy handes vnder this condition, that all they and theyr posteritie may quietly and peaceably enioy their auncient libertyes, and that they may vse still their olde and accustomed lawes, otherwise they are nowe in a readinesse presentlye to bid thee battayle, beyng readyer here altogether to leaue

Stigand Archebishop of Cantorbury preferued the liberties of Kent.

Wise and very good policye.

Bolde and wise messengers.

leaue their lyues, then to depart from their auncient lawes and customes, or to submit themselues vnto slauish seruitude, which they haue not yet bene acquainted with. The Duke perceyuing himselfe to be entrapped, and in a streight, debating a while this matter with his wise Captaynes, noting also wisely that if he should suffryne a repulse or any hinderance at these peoples handes, which were accompted the key of England, that then all the bottom of threde which he a little before had sponne, were vntwisted, and that all his hope and securitie were turned into daunger, did not so willingly as wisely graunt all that which the Kentishmen demaunded of him, and sure pledges thereupon geuen from eyther parte to other. And then the ioyfull Kentishmen did conduct the gladded Normanes, and yelded to them the Countie of Kent and noble Castell of Douer, and so the auncient liberties of Englishe men, and their Countries, lawes, and customes, which before the comming of William Duke of Normandy, were equally held through the whole realm of England, now was onely in the Countie of Kent, and that by the industry of Stigand Archebishop, and Egelsyne the Abbot of the Monastery of S. Austyns in Cauntorbury as aforesayd, and is vnto this day inuiolably obserued and kept, namely that tenure which at this day is called Gauell kynde. Thus farre William Thorne.

The names of the Gentlemen that came out of Normandy with William Duke of that prouynce when *he conquered this noble Realme of England.*

The which I haue taken out of an auncient recorde that I had of Mayster Clarencius king at armes.

A

Umarle
Aynecourt
Audeley
Angilliane
Argentoun
Arondell.
Auenant
Abell
Auuerne
Aunwers
Angers
Angenoun
Archer
Annay
Asperuile
Abbeuile
Andeuile
Amouerduile
Arcye
Akeney
Albenye
Aybenar
Amay
Aspermound
Amerenges

B

Ertram
Buttcourte
Brehus
Byseg
Bardelf
Basset
Bygot
Bohim
Baslife
Bondeuile
Barsabon
Basteruple.
Bures
Bouilane
Boyes
Botteller
Bourcher
Brabayon
Berners
Breybuff
Brande
Brong
Burgh
Bussby
Banet
Breton
Bluet
Bayons
Browne
Beke
Bykard
Banaster
Baloun
Beauchamp
Braye
Bandy
Bracy
Boundes
Beseoun
Broylem
Broyleby
Burnell
Belet
Bewdewyn
Beaumont
Burton
Berteuilaye
Barre
Busseruple
Blunt
Beauper

Beuyll
Bardnedor
Bzett
Barett
Bonrett
Baynard
Berneuale
Bonett
Barry
Bzian
Bodyn
Berteuyle
Bertyn
Berneuyle
Belewe
Beuery
Bullhell
Bozanuyle
Bzowe
Belencrs
Buffard
Boteler
Bonneyer
Boteuyle
Beelyze
Baſtard
Baynard
Bzayſard
Belhelme
Bzayne
Bzent
Bzaunch
Beleſus
Blundell
Burdell
Bagot
Beaumyſe
Belemys
Beyſyn
Bernon
Boels
Belefroun
Bzutes
Barchampe

C

Cmoys
Caunyle
Chawent
Chauncy
Conderay
Coluyle
Chambulayne
Chamburnoun
Comyn
Columber
Cribett
Crenquer
Cozbyne
Cozbet
Chaundos
Chawozth
Cleremawos
Clarell
Choppys
Chaundupt
Chantelowe
Chamberay
Creſſy
Courtenay
Cunſtable
Cholmeley
Campeney
Chawnos
Compuyle
Champayne
Careuyle
Carbonell
Charles
Chereberge
Chawnes
Chaumont
Caperoun
Cheyne
Curſen
Conyll
Cheyters
Cheynes
Caterey
Cherecourt
Cammyle
Clerenay
Curlye
Cuylye
Clynels
Courteney
Clifforde

D

Enauile
Dercy
Dine
Diſpencer
Denyce
Diuell
Denans
Dauers
Doningſels
Darell
Delabere
Delapoole
Delalynde
Delahill
Delaware
Delawach
Dakeney
Dauntrye
Deſney
Dabernoune
Daincy
Dauozos
Dauonge
Dutlby
Durange
Delaroune
Delauoyze
Delahoyd
Delee
Delawnde
Delawarde
Delaplanche
Damnot
Danwaye
Dehuyſe
Deuyle
Diſard
Doynell
Durant
Dzury
Dabitott
Dunſteruyle
Dunchampe
Dambelton

E

Straunge
Eſtuteuyle
Eſtriels
Eſturney

F

Frerers
Foluyle
Fitzwater
Fitz marmaduke
Fleuez
Filberd
Fitz Roger
Fitz Robert
Fauecourt
Ferrers
Fitz Philip
Filiott
Furnyneus
Furninance
Fitz Otes
Fitz William
Fitz Roand
Fitz Payne
Fitz Anger
Fitz Aleyn
Fitz Raufe
Fitz Bzowne
Foke
Freuyle
Fromt de Boef
Faconbirge
Fozte
Friſell
Fitz Fouke
Filioll
Fitz Thomas
Fitz Mozice
Fitz Hugh
Fitz Henry
Fitz Wareyn
Fitz Raynold
Flamuyle
Foemay
Fitz Euſtache
Fitz Lawzence
Fozmiband
Friſon

Fyuer
Furniuale
Fitz Geofrey
Fitz Herbert
Fitz Peres
Fichet
Fitz Reſelwys
Fitz Fitz
Fitz John
Fleſchampe

G

Urney
Greſſy
Graunſon
Gracy
Geozges
Gower
Gangy
Goband
Gray
Gaunſon
Golofre
Gobion
Grenſy
Graunt
Greyle
Greuet
Gurſly
Gurley
Grammozy
Gernoun
Grendon
Gurdon
Gynes
Grynell
Greneuyle
Glateuyle
Gurney
Giffarde
Gonerges
Gamagez

H

Auntenay
Hanſard
Haſtyngs
Hanlay
Hurell
Huſſe
Herey
Heryoun
Herne
Harecourt
Henour
Honell
Hamlyn
Harewell
Hardell
Haket
Hamond
Harecozd

I

Arden
Jay
Jhenyels
Jarconuyſe
Januile
Jaſparuyle

K

Anut
Karre
Karrow
Koyne
Kyzmazon
Kiriell
Kancey
Kenelre

L

Dneny
Lacy
Lynneby
Latomer
Loueda
Louell
Lemare
Leuetotte
Lucy
Luny
Logeuile
Longeſpes
Louerace
Longchamp
Laſtales
Lonan
Ledet
Luſe
Lotterell
Lozuge
Longuale
Loy
Lozancourt
Loyons
Lymers
Longepay
Lamnall
Lane
Louatote

M

Dhant
Mowone
Maundeuile
Marmylon
Mozibzay
Mozuyle
Miriell
Manlaye
Malebzaunche
Malemayn
Muſſe
Marteyn
Mountbother
Mountſoler
Maleuyle
Malett
Mounteney
Mountfichet
Maleherbe
Mare
Muſegros
Muſard
Moyne
Mautrauers
Merke
Murres
Mountagu
Mountfozt
Mantelet
Manduct
Mawle
Meuels
Mozimale
Monchenefey
Mallozy
Marny
Monhermon
Muſet
Meneuſle
Manſe
Manteuenat
Menppncoy
Mayne
Maynard
Mozell
Maynell
Maleluſe
Memozous
Murreys
Mozley
Mauleuerer
Meyne
Mount Martyn
Myners
Mauclerck
Mountkenell
Monet
Mayntener
Meletake
Mozrimer
Mozrimayn
Mamuile
Mangiſere
Maumalyn
Mountlouell
Mawzeward
Mounthaut
Meller
Mountgomery
Manlaye
Manlard
Mendze
Martynall
Mare
Manwaryng
Mantell
Malemys
Malecheyz
Mozyn
Melum

Pelum
Parreans
Payel
Poyton

N

Ders
Neuile
Newmarche
Noybet
Noyice
Newbrough
Neyremet
Neell
Noymauple
Neosmarch
Nermitz
Nembrutz

O

Tenell
Olibef
Olifaunt
Oseuell
Oysell
Olifard
Omall
Oriall

P

Pgot
Pery
Perepoynt
Perchale
Power
Panyell
Peche
Peuerell
Perot
Picard
Pynkeny
Pomeray
Pounsey
Panely
Payfrer
Plukenet
Pekeney
Paney

Phuars
Punchardon
Pinchard
Placy
Pugoy
Patefyne
Playce
Pampilion
Percelaye
Perere
Potterell
Penkeney
Peccell
Penell
Putrill
Pettpuoll
Preans
Pantolfe
Peyto
Penicorde

Q

Uincy
Quintine

R

Os
Ridell
Ryuers
Ryuell
Rous
Ruſſell
Raban
Rond
Rye
Rokell
Raſtolf
Rimuile
Ronger
Ract
Riper
Regny
Richemond
Rochford
Reymond

S

Duche
Sheuile
Senchens
Senclere
Saint Quintine
Saint Omer
Saint Amond
Saint Legier
Someruyle
Syward
Saunſoner
Sanford
Sanctes
Sanay
Sanlay
Sules
Sorell
Somerey
Saint John
Saint George
Seyntleſle
Selle
Saluyn
Say
Solers
Sanlay
Saint Albyn
Saint Martyn
Somdemale
Segnyn
Saint Barbe
Saint wyle
Souremount
Sorreglis
Sandeuyle
Sauncey
Syrelwalt
Saint Cheuerol
Saint Moze
S. Studemor

T

Dget
Tercy
Tuchet
Tracy
Truſbut
Traynell
Taket
Truſſell
Talbot
Tonny
Trays
Tollemach
Tolous
Tanny
Touke
Tibtote
Turbeuyle
Turuile
Tomy
Trenſcheuile
Trenchelycn
Tankeruile
Tryuet
Tolet
Triſon
Trauers
Terdeue
Turberuyle
Tyrrell
Tynneuile
Torell
Tortechapell
Truſbote
Treuerell
Tenwys
Totelles
Taucrner

V

Ere
Uerdon
Ueſty
Uernam
Ualance
Uerder
Uauaſour
Uerdonell
Uendore
Uerley
Uenables
Uenoure
Uilan
Uerlaund
Ueyrny
Uermeis
Uercere
Ualenges

Ualenges
Uenycorde
Urnall
Unket
Urnafall
Uernoys
Uancorde
Uaberoun

Uaſdorell
Uſchere
Uettay
Uanay
Uyan

W

Arde
Wake
Wely
Wardebys
Wate
Wyuell
Weyrney
Watelyn
Walanger
Walers
Wanuruyle
Wateuile
Wafyr
Walpayle
Waren
Wyuyle

W

Nowe when as king William had poſſeſſed the imperiall Crowne and Diademe of this Realme of England as afore ſayde: He then as a conqueror altered and chaunged the whole ſtate and gouernement thereof. And firſt by diſplaſing of ſuch as before had borne rule, he aduaunced the Lordes and people of his awne Nation vnto the highe and principall offices and dignities thereof, inſomuch that Reynulph ſayth, that there was ſkant left in England a Lorde that was an Engliſh man, and that then it was a ſhame to be called an Engliſh man. Polli. 7. Cap. 4. And after he cauſed a Proclamation to be made, that all former grauntes, liberties, and priuileges geuen or graunted by any Prince or king of this Realme afore tyme, ſhould be from thence forth vtterly voyde to all conſtructions and purpoſes, except ſuche as ſhould be renued and confirmed by him, by reaſon whereof, all degrees of people in the Realme, namely all fraternities, corporations, and bodies politique, were forced to become newe ſuters to him, and compelled to make newe fines at his will and pleaſure: And by this meanes he gathered into his poſſeſſion the greateſt part of all the ryches and treaſure of the lande, as well of the Clergie, as of the Laytie. That done, he chaunged the lawes of the Realme, and made ſuch newe lawes as were profitable to himſelfe, and grieuous to the people, and he cauſed thoſe lawes to be ſet forth in the Norman language to aduaunce his awne tongue as a worthy and famous ſpech, and condemning ours as vile & barbarous: The which lawes are yet wyth vs in the ſame tongue.

King William aduaunced his awne country men.

King William gathered great treaſure.

Lawes altered.

While king William was thus occupied as aboueſayde, it ſo chaunced that the people of Normandie began to quarrell among them ſelues, and there was ſuch parttakyng among them, that if it had not beene looked vnto in tyme, it had lyke to haue turned to the deſtruction and confuſion of the whole Duchy. Wherefore king William for the pacifiyng therof was forced to gather an armie, and to leaue England for a while, and ſayle into Normandie. And at his departure out of Englande, when he had ſet thinges in good order to his minde, he betooke the gouernement of the Realme to hys brother on the mothers ſyde named Odo, Biſhop of Bayon, and in the Lent nert folowyng he ſayled into Normandy, & led with him the chiefe Lordes & rulers of England, for feare they ſhould haue made any commocion or ſturre in the tyme of his abſence, with all thoſe alſo that lay for hoſtages and pledges. Among the which number, were the Erles Marcarus, or Morcatus, and Edwyn aforeſayde, Dukes of Northumberland, and Mertia, and alſo Stigandus Archebiſhop of Cauntorbury, and Edgar Ethelyng. To the which Stigandus, king william ſhewed great reuerence and countenaunce of much loue, and hartie fauour, but all proued great diſſimulation, as after appered

A rebellion in Normãdy

King William ſayled into Normandy.

Marcarus & Edwyn Erles of Northumberland and Mertia.

appered by his depoſyng, and empriſoning at Wincheſter a long tyme. And beyng arriued in Normandy, he paſſed through the countrie triumphauntly, and like a conquerour. But Polidore ſayth that the cauſe of his goyng thether was, that for as much as he ſawe how that from thencefoorth he ſhould be altogether occupied about the affayres of this Realme, and ſettyng of orders in the ſame, he would firſt ſet ſuch a ſtay in his Duchy of Normandie, that nothing might lightly happen afterwardes, by reaſon whereof he ſhould be compelled to make his repayre thether againe.

1068
2

Taxes begat rebellion.

The next yere when king William had ſped his buſineſſe in the ſayde Countrie, he returned into England with great pompe, and ſhortly after ſet a fore tare vpon the Engliſhe men, yea, ſo grieuous was he vnto them, that he neuer ceaſed to burthen them with newe taxes and impoſitions. Of the nobles he made ſo little accompt, that he ſeemed thereby howe he minded nothing elſe but their vtter deſtruction. By reaſon whereof in ſome partes of the land was there rebellion againſt him, namely in Deuonſhire, & in Northumberland, but at the laſt he compelled them by force to obedience, and delt very cruelly with them. Many both of the Nobilitie and Commons he depriued as well of goodes as of authoritie and rule, and conferred the ſame vnto the Normanes and that for very ſmall and light cauſes.

For theſe, and for other ſterne and cruell deedes done by hym, the ſayde Nobles were ſore moued againſt him. And for that cauſe many of them fled the lande, ſome into Norway, and ſome into Denmarke, and ſome into one Countrie, and ſome into another. Marcarus, or Marcatus, Erle of Northumberland, and Edwyn Erle of middle England, with Edgar Athelyng,

Edgar Athelyng & other fled into Scotland.

and dyuerſe other, as Edgars mother, and his two ſiſters Margaret, and Chriſtian fled into Scotland. But another Chronicle (ſayth Fabian) writeth that Edgar entending with Agatha his mother and his two ſiſters to haue ſayled into high Almayne or Hungary where he was borne, was by tempeſt of the Sea, driuen into Scotland: where of Malcolyne or Malcolme then the thirde Scottiſhe king of that name, they were ioyouſly receyued. And in proceſſe of tyme, the ſayde Malcolyne caſt ſuch loue vnto the ſaid Margaret, that he tooke her to wife, as before is touched in the ſtory of Canutus. Of the which Margaret the ſayde Malcolyne receyued two daughters, and ſix ſonnes, whereof three, that is to ſay, Edgar, Alexander, and Dauid, were kinges of Scotland one after an other next after their father. And

Wolde the daughter of the aforeſayd Margaret Queene of Scots was maryed to Henrie the firſt king of England of that name.

Wolde one of the ſayde daughters, was afterwardes maried vnto Henry the firſt of that name king of England, and the other daughter Mary was maryed to Euſtace Erle of Bolorgne. Of Wolde the firſt daughter, king Henry receyued two ſonnes, named William, and Richard, the which both dyed before their father, as after ſhall apere. And he receyued alſo two daughters named Wolde and Mary, which Wolde or Mawde was maried to Henry the fourth of that name, Emperour of Almaine. After whoſe death ſhe was againe maryed to Geoffrey Plantagenet Erle of Aungeow. Of whom diſcended Henry ſurnamed Shortmantell, afterwards king of England by the name of Henry the ſecond. And the other daughter Mary, was maryed to the Erle of Bloys, of whome diſcended Mawde, or Mary that was wife vnto king Stephen.

Nowe when king William had leuyed ſuche taſkes vpon the Engliſhe men

men as is before ſayde, and eſpied their grudgyng thereat, and alſo when he conſidered howe his Lordes were departed, he then had a neerer eye to the Lordes that remayned, and kept them a little ſtrayter: But it was not long after, but that Marcarus was reconciled to the king, and yet after fayled and forſoke him againe. For this & other cauſes, king William highly aduaunced himſelfe and his people with the poſſeſſions of this Realme, inſomuch as they were greatly enriched, and the Engliſhe men in maner vtterly decayed. Then cauſed he foure Caſtels to be made, whereof two were ſet at Yorke,

King willis made foure Caſtles.

the thirde at Nottingham, and the fourth at Lyncolne, and manned them all with Normanes, or as Polydore ſayth one at Notingham, an other at Lyncolne, the thirde at Yorke, and the fourth at Haſting where he firſt landed. And this did he becauſe that theſe foreſayde places which were very commodius for the enemies, beyng thus manned and fortifyed might make all men afearde, & to beware how they went about to diſturbe the ſtate of the realme by any newe deuiſed treaſon. And to make the people more quiet, and leſſe able to rebell, he cauſed all their weapons and armor to be taken from them, and ordeyned alſo that euery houſekeper ſhould be within his awne dores by eight of the clocke at night, and then to couer or rake vp his fyre, and go to bed. And becauſe they ſhould not paſſe that houre, he cauſed a Bell to be rong in euery towne and village iuſt at. viij. of the clocke, the which is vſed in moſt countries of England yet at this day, and is called in the Norman language, Couer le fue, which we now corruptly call Curfur.

1069
3

Swanus king of Denmarke with his Danes landed in the North.

About the thirde yere of his reigne: Harolde, and Canutus ſonnes of Swanus king of Denmarke, came and ſayled into the North part of Humber with a ſtrong nauie of two hundred ſayle and more, and in all haſte drew them towardes Yorke. Whether Edgar Athelyng came vnto them bringyng with him ſuch Engliſh men as had before fled into Scotland, by whom his power was encreaſed. Then the Normanes which had the rule of the towne and Caſtelles afore ſayde, fearing that the Engliſhe men would ayde the Danes, and with the houſes of the Suburbes of the towne, haue filled the towne ditches, ſet the Suburbes a fyre: Whereof the flame was ſo big, and with the winde ſo ſtrong, that it tooke into the Citie, and brent a parte thereof with the Miniſter of Saint Peter. In tyme of which fyre the Danes by fauour of ſome of the Citizens entred the Citie. Fabian. and ſlue more than three thouſande of the Normanes.

But Polidore reporteth the matter touching this inuaſion of the Danes farre otherwiſe as followeth: Whiles theſe thinges were done in England, the Engliſhe Lordes that were fled into Denmarke, ceaſed not to moue Canutus the fourth then king of that Countrie, to warre vpon the Normanes, and to inuent newe cauſes whereby they might the ſoner incenſe him thereunto, ſaiyng howe the crowne of England ought of right to apperteyne vnto the kinges of Denmarke, as vnto them vnto whome the poſſeſſion thereof had beene in tymes paſt no leſſe profitable than honourable: and for that cauſe it ſhould not ſtande with his honour, to ſuffer the ſame to be vniuſtlye poſſeſſed of a newe Lorde that had no right or iuſt title thereunto, ſpecially ſith the time ſelfe ſerued ſo well for the purpoſe, in the which the Norman was ſo farre as yet from benefiting eyther the Engliſhe Nation, or ſuch as borded on them, that he nowe played the open tyraunt, and was hated of them

them all: And sayde further, that forsomuche as there was so great hope of victory and successe, specially if he would preuent his enemie, and take suche holdes and places as were very fit for his purpose, it behoued him not to stay or sleepe the matter. This done, Canutus beyng much moued with these and such lyke persuasions, determined with himselfe to make warre against the Normanes. And it foloweth in the same wryter: I am not ignorannt howe it is reported in the Englishe Chronicle, that this warre against the Normanes was not made of Canutus, but of his brother Harold by his persuasion: The which thing Saxo Grammaticus a wryter of the Danish History doth not affirme, neyther is it likely to be true, because Harold was a quyet man of nature, and one that much desyred to eschew the trauayles of Martiall affayres and lyued not scarcely two yeres after he was made king, so that out of doubt it is, that he neuer durst be the auctbour of so great a warfare, neyther had he tyme or leysure therevnto. Hetherto Polidore. But to returne to the matter. It was not long after, but king William ouerthrewe them in battaile, and chased them to their shippes, and tooke so great displeasure with the inhabitants of that Prouince for reuolting to Canutus, that he destroyed the land lying betweene Yorke and Durham in such wise, that.ix. yeres after it lay vnlaboured and vntilled, except the land of Saint Johns of Beuerley onely.

The Danes are chased to their shippes.

Yorke & the countrie round about vterly destroyed.

And of the famyn that the people of that Countrie sustayned afterward, great wonders are reported: For it is written that they were for necessitie compelled to eate all kinde of Vermine, as Cattes, Ratles, Dogges, and such lyke, so harde and streit they were kept by the warre of the king. And in that yere also Holde, or Mawde the wife of king William was crowned Queene of England, of Aldredus Archbishop of Yorke, and was also deliuered of a fayre sonne named Henry, who was afterwardes king of England and called Henry the first of that name.

Famyn.

1069

In the fourth yere of the reigne of this king, the Scottes with Malcolyne, or Malcolme their king entered Northumberland, and wasted and destroyd sore that Countrie, and slue therein much people, and many they toke prisoners, and helde them as bonde men.

After this, king William (whose greedy and couetous appetite and desyre of treasure beyng not yet quenched with the former great taskes or payments set vpon the people of this Realme) did by counsayle proceede further to enquire and search of all the Abbeyes in England, to vnderstand what ryches was in them, & after an Inuentary taken thereof, caused the same to be brought into his treasurie. And the same yere he caused the newe Forest to be made in the Countrey of Southamton, for the finishing whereof he was enforced to pull downe diuerse townes and Churches.xxx. myles of length, and stored the same with wilde beastes, and then made sharpe lawes for the maintenance and encrease of them, as the losse of eyen, and other lymmes.

The building of the newe Forest.

And soone after there was a sinode or counsaile holden at Winchester of the Clergie of England. At the which counsayle were present two Cardinalles, sent from the second Alexander then Bishop of Rome. In this counsayle, Stigandus Archbishop of Cantorbury aforesayd, was deprined from his dignitie, and that for three causes, as Fabian sayth. First for that he had holden wrongfully that Bishoprike, while Robert the Archebishop was liuing

Stigand Archebishop deprined.

uyng. The second, because he receyued the Pall of Benet the.x. Bysbop of Rome, who was compted an vsurper of the Papacie. The thirde, for that he occupied the sayde Pall, without the authoritie of the Court of Rome. Polidore addeth a fourth cause, which was for that contrary vnto the Canons, he helde the Bishoprike of Winchester with the See of Cauntorbury.

Stigandus Archebishop of Cauntorbury.

And when Stigandus sawe himselfe brought into this thraldome, he then thought good to proue what the king who had before in the tyme of his prosperitie pretended so much frendship and good will towardes him, would do for him in this case. But where before he made him a louyng and friendly countenaunce, and did vnto him great reuerence, then he chaunged all his mildenesse into stoutnesse, and excused himselfe by the Bishop of Romes authoritie, so that in the ende Stigandus was depriued of his dignitie, and afterwardes committed to perpetuall prison in Winchester, where he dyed shortly after his sayd deposition.

Dissimulation.

It was reported of this Stigandus, that he was so couetous and sparing, that he woulde spende nothing more than he needes must, and vsed to sweare by All halowes, that he had not one pennie to bleese himselfe withall: But that othe was not found true, for after his death, there was found a little key about his necke, by reason whereof there was founde great treasure vnder the earth in mo places than one, as sayth Fabian.

In this counsayle also were put downe diuerse other Bishops, Abbots, and Priours, by the meanes of king William, and all to the entent that he might preferre Normanes to the rule of the Church, as he had preferred his knightes to the rule of the Temporaltie, and by that meane stand in the more suretie of his estate, and bring riches and treasure to his possession.

Bishoppes deprined.

In this counsayle also, Wolstane that then was Bishop of Worcester, was an earnest suter vnto the King for certeyne possessions fallen into hys handes by the death of Aldredus last Archbishop of Yorke, which were withholden from his See by the sayd Aldredus. But the king would not seme to vnderstand his sute, for hurting the Church of Yorke. Fabian.

Wolstane bishop of Worcester.

And shortly after the king gaue that Archebishoprike vnto Thomas a Chanon of Bayon, who was the first that buylded the Mynster of Yorke, and sent for Lanfranke then Abbot of Cane, and gaue vnto him the Archbishoprike of Cauntorbury. This Lanfranke was an Italian borne, and a very good deuine, and right expert withall in the gouernement both of Spirituall and Temporall thinges. And soone after that he was made Archebishop of Cauntorbury, Thomas that before was chosen Archbishop of Yorke came vnto him to be sacred of him as the auncient vsage and custome was. Of whom Lanfranke required an othe, and required his profession in writyng concerning his obedience vnto the See of Cauntorbury. Thomas answered and sayde, that he would neuer do that, except he might therof here sufficient authoritie and skilfull reasons, by the which it might apere that he should so do without any empechement or preiudice of his Church of Yorke.

Lanfranke.

Then the King callyng Lanfranke before him sayde, that the sayd Lanfranke trusted more in his cunning, than he did in good fayth or reason: But he answered so reasonably vnto the King, that in the ende, Thomas by the kinges commaundement was faine to come againe to Lanfranke to be sacred, and wrote his profession with his awne hand, of his obedience, and read

it, in the which was conteyned, that he shoulde be obedient in all that belongeth to the worship of God and all Christian faith, which done he was sacred, and so departed. And shortly after Lanfranke required the like othe and profession of all the Bishops of England.

1071 5

In the fift yere of this kinges reigne, Edwyn and Marcarus or Morcatus, Erles of Mertia and Northumberland, beyng in feare and daunger of their liues, voyded the kinges Court secretly, and rebelled for a little time: But at length it turned to both their harmes. For Edwyn was slaine as he went toward Scotland, or as some write in Scotland of his owne company, and Erle Marcarus, with the Bishop of Duresme named Egelwinus, tooke the Ile of Ely for their sauegard. But the king helde them so short, that in processe of tyme they were faine to yelde and submit themselues to the kings grace and mercie. Then he sent the Bishop to the Abbey of Abingdon, to be kept there as prisoner, where he was so daintily fed, that at the length he dyed for hunger. But some writers report, that he was so high hearted and lofte of courage, that after he knewe that he should remaine there as Prisoner, he would neuer eate meate more, and Erle Marcarus was had to the Tower of London. But Polidore sayth he scaped out of the Ile in a ship, and fled into Scotland, which was the cause why the king warred anon after vpon the Scots. For in the sixt yere of his reigne, he went with a great armie against them, and subdued Malcolme their king, and compelled him to do him both homage and fealtie. He also disherited Gospatrik Erle of Comberland, and exiled him the land, and gaue all Comberland with the honour of Carlisle to Raufe Meschynes, and made him Erle thereof. Also aboute this tyme, king William made the newe Forest in the Countie of Southhamton: And for the enlarging of the same, he ouerthrewe Townes and Churches a great number by the space of. xxx. myles, and replenished the same with Deere, and then made sharpe lawes for the encrease and maintenaunce thereof.

Marcarus the bishop of Duresme fled to the Ile of Ely.

Egelwinus Bishop of Duresme starued with hunger.

The newe Forest.

1073 7

In the seuenth yere of king William, Thomas Archebishop of Yorke, not beyng content to be vnder the rule and obedience of Lanfranke Archebishop of Cauntorbury, appealed to the Court of Rome, so that the sayde two Archebishoppes apered both in proper person before Alexander Bishop of Rome. In whose presence Lanfranke, was so well fauoured, that where Thomas aboue named, and Remigius Bishop of Dorchester, were for iust causes depriued of their Croyses and Ringes, he by his fauour and meanes (as sayth Fabian) restored them to their former dignitie. The cause of Thomas his depriuation was, for that he had holpen Duke William towarde his iourney into England: for the which the said Duke promised him a Bishoprick if hee obtained victory. And the other was deprined for that he was proued a Priests sonne.

Lanfranke.

The primaeye of Cauntorbury.

Then Thomas moued the cause of the Primacie of Cauntorburie, and of the subiection that to him should belong, and sayde that these two Sees were farre asonder, that is to say, Cauntorbury and Yorke, and that neyther of them by the constitution of Gregorie shoulde be subiect vnto another, but that the one is more worthie than the other, forsomuche as hee is of elder tyme. To this aunswered Lanfranke and sayde that the constitutions of Gregorie made no mencion of Cantorbury, but of Yorke and London. Then the

the Bishop of Rome remitted this matter to be determined before the king, and the Bishops of England, and he gaue the Pall to Lanfranke.

But because this worde or terme Pall is to many vnknowen, I will therefore here shew vnto you what thing it is. This Pall is an indowment that euery Archbishop must haue, and he is not in full aucthoritie of an Archbishop (by the Bishop of Romes ordinance) vntill he haue receiued the Pall, and it is a thing of white Sylke, the bredth of a Stole that the Priest was wont to weare at his masse, but it is of another fashion. And that ye may the better knowe it, if ye looke vpon the armes of any Archebishop, there ye shall see it set out in white with a great many of blacke crosses vpon it.

What a Pall is.

Nowe when Lanfranke had thus finished his businesse at Rome, he with the other two Bishoppes returned into England, where this matter hangyng in variaunce betweene the sayde two Archebishoppes was had in communication. For triall whereof Bedes Histozy was brought foorth: wherein it appered, that from the first Augustines time, to Bedes last dayes, which was. C.xxix. yeres, the Archbishop of Cauntorbury had the Primacie of all the Bishoppes in England. Fabian.

1074 8

When Thomas had heard all these allegations, he denyed all, and laid for him the Epistle, in the which Gregory Bishop of Rome demed that the Church of Yorke, and of London should be euen Peres, and neyther of them subiect to the other.

The contention betweene the Archebishop of Cantorbury, and the Archbishop of Yorke, which of the should be chiefe.

To this was aunswered by Lanfranke, that he was not Bishop of London, nor this question was not moued for the Church of London. But Thomas sayde that Gregory had graunted to Augustyne power to haue vnder him all the Bishoppes of Englande, and that London at that day was the principall See of all England. Albeit that the Bishop of Romes minde was that betweene London and Yorke should be no diuersitie of honour, because they beyng Archebishoppes might lyue in an vnite to the good example of all other. And though Augustyne chaunged the See from London to Cauntorbury, yet Gregory would not that Augustynes successors should be aboue the Bishoppes of Yorke. For he woulde haue then set in his Epistle these wordes folowyng: I graunt to thee Augustyne and to thy successors: But for that he would there should no such power stretch to his successours, therefore he made no mention of them.

Lanfranke, to this aunswered and said: If that aucthority were graunted to Augustine alone, and not to his successors, it was a simple gift that the Bishop of Rome gaue to Augustine that was so familier with him, & namely while Augustyne sacred no Bishop of Yorke while he lyued. For the See was full during his life, by reason whereof he put not his aucthoritie in execution. But priuileges of Bishoppes of Rome confirmeth this dignitie to Augustines successors of Cauntorbury, and demeth that it is skill and good reason, that all the churches of England shoulde take light and knowledge at that place.

1075 9

By these reasons and other, Thomas was at length ouercome, & graunted gladly that the farther brinke of Humber should be the beginning of his Diocesse. And furthermore it was there demed, that in all thinges concerning the worship of God and the fayth of holy Churche, the Archebishop of Yorke should be subiect to the Archebishop of Cauntorbury: So that if the Archebishop

The Archbishop of Yorke iudged subiect to the Archebishop of Cãtorbury

Archebishop of Cauntorbury would call a counsaile in any part of Englande, the Archebishop of Yorke shoulde be thereat with all the Bisshoppes of his Province, and be also obedient vnto his lawfull hestes. And at all seasons when the Archebishop of Cauntorbury should be sacred, the Archebishop of Yorke with the Bishops of his Province should come to Cauntorbury and consecrate him there. And if the Archbishop of Yorke should be stalled or sacred, then shall he come to Cauntorbury, or else where in Englande, where the Archebishop of Cauntorbury shall assigne him, and there to be sacred of him, and he shall make to him an othe, with profession of obedience.

Lanfrankes vaine glory.

When Lanfranke heard this iudgement geuen, he reioysed inwardly. And to the entent it should remaine of recorde, that his successors should not neede to pleade that matter, he therefore caused it to be registred in moste substanciall wise. And besides that sent a Pistle for that cause to Alexander the aforenamed Bishop of Rome of all this doyng, with the profession of Thomas the Archebishop aforesayd. Of this Lanfranke are by dyuerse writers many notable thinges written, sayth Fabian.

1076
10

In the. x. yere of this kinges reigne, Roger Erle of Hereford who had geuen his sister in mariage vnto Raufe Erle of Norffolke and Suffolke against the kinges minde. The sayde Roger together with the sayde Raufe conspired against the king, and caused Walrefe Duke of Northumberlande, and Erle of Huntyngdon, and Northamton, by their subtile perswasions to be agreeable to their vntruth. But at the last, when this Duke Walrefe had well vnderstand the purpose that they went aboute, he went to Lanfranke and shewed him all the matter: By whose counsayle he shortly after sayled vnto the king then beyng in Normandy, and disclosed the same vnto him, and put himselfe wholy in his grace and mercy.

Treason will breake forth.

1077
11

When the king had heard these tidyngs, he made good semblance vnto the Duke Walrefe, and sped him the faster into England: But howsoeuer it came to passe, the two sayde Erles were warned of the disclosyng of this matter, in such wise as they gathered to them such strength that ꝑ king could not haue them at his pleasure, but as he was fayne by strong hande to chace and outlawe them. And for that he fayled of his purpose of them, he imprisoned Duke Walrefe at Wincheſter, and lastly caused him to be beheadded, more of tyranny than of iustice.

Duke walref an accusar of Traytors beheadded.

1078
12

In the. xij. yere of his reigne was holden a great counsayle or Synode of the Clergie of the land in S. Paules Church of London, where amongest many thinges ordeyned for the rule of the Church of England, dyuerse Bishops Sees were translated from one place to another, as Selwy, to Chichester, Lyxton to Exeter, Welles to Bathe, Shereborne to Sarisburye, Dorchester to Lyncolne, and the See of Lichefield to Chester, which things thus ordered with many other for the Church, the said counsail was desolued.

A Synode of the Clergie.

Bishops sees translated.

1079
13

In the. xiij. yere of his reigne, after the death of Harman Bishop of Sarisbury, succeeded Osmond, or Oswald the kinges Chauncelor, the which builded there a newe Church within the kinges Castell, and brought thether Clerkes that were garnished with vertue and cunning. And he himselfe wrote and bounde bookes, that were ordeyned and made for the more deuout and solemne settyng out of the deuine seruice of the Church, as the ordinall and other, and it was then called Sarisbury vse. And at this tyme the king

Osmond or Oswold Bishop of Sarisbury.

Sarisburie vse.

king gaue the Erledom of Northumberland to Walter Bishop of Durham, who afterward was slaine by the men of Northumberland.

In the. xv. yere of his reigne, Robert the eldest sonne of king William the conquerour, because he might not haue the Duchy of Normandy, which his father had sometime assigned & geuen vnto him, and after for his wildenesse did resume it againe: He with the ayde and fauour of the French king Philip, & Lewes his sonne, toke prayes in that Duchy, and put his father to much trouble. In so much that at length the father & the sonne met in plaine fielde with two great hostes, and eyther with other fought a cruell Battail.

1081
15

Robert the eldest sonne of king William rebelled against his father.

It is read that during this battaile, king william was throwne from his horse, and in great ieopardie of his lyfe. Whereof his sonne Robert beyng ware, was so moued with pitie that he rescued his father, and deliuered him free from all the daunger of his enemies. But howe soeuer it fortuned with the king: The truth is, that many of his men were slaine, and his seconde sonne William Rufus sore hurt, so that in the ende king William was faine to refuse the fielde, and gat at that tyme none aduauntage of his sayde sonne. For the which dede and rebellion thus made by the sonne, the father accursed him after the opinion of some writers.

While king William was thus occupied in Normandy, the Northumbers rebelled, and slue in their rage Walter the Bishop of Durham, but the cause is not expressed, whose death Odo Bishop of Baion shortly after reuenged. After the aforesayde battaile in Normandy, king William returned into Englande, bringyng with him the sayde Robert his sonne, whome he incontinent vpon his returne sent with an armye against Malcolme king of Scottes, for that contrary to the league betwixt them, he had made in hys absence dyuerse roades into the borders of England. But when Robert vnderstood that the sayd Malcolme was retired into Scotland, he ceased to pursue him any further, and therefore retyred he vnto the water of Tyne, where he lay in campe a season, and there builded a forte, where as at this day standeth newe Castell vpon Tyne: But the towne and wall was builded afterwardes by king John, who gaue many great priuileges and liberties vnto the same, which was before but a small fisher towne without walles named Pandon.

1082
16

New Castell vpon Tyne.

In the. xvij. yere of king William, there fell an vnhappy strife betwene Thurston Abbot of Glascenbury a Norman, and his Monkes, the cause whereof (in part sayth Fabian) was, that the Abbot despised and would haue set apart such song and offices as by Gregorie Bishop of Rome & Augustine his disciple, of olde tyme was to them assigned, and would haue compelled them to haue followed the vse of William of Fescampe. And beside that, this Thurstone wasted and inordinatly spent the goodes of that place, in lechery, and by other insolent meanes, and withdrewe from the Monkes, their olde and accustomed diet. For the which causes, first began great wordes with chyding, and after strokes and fightes, so that the Abbot gate vnto him armed men, and fell vpon the monkes, and slue two of them at the high altare, and wounded. xvij. of them, and the Monkes with Formes and Candlesticks defended themselues in such wise, that they hurt many of ꝑ armed men.

1083
17

Thurstone Abbot of Glascenbury & his monks fought together.

After complaint was brought hereof before the king, by whose iudgement, Thurstone was againe returned into Cadonie, from whence he was

brought, and the Monkes were spred abrode into dyuerse houses through England. But it is sayde that in the tyme of William Rufus, this Thurston obteyned the rule of the Abbey againe for the price of.D. pound.

1085 19

In the.xix. yere of his reigne, king William raysed a newe maner of Tare: For he caused to be gathered through England of euery hyde of land vj. shillinges. An hide of lande conteyneth fiue Yardes, and euery Yard conteyneth foure Acres, and so an hide of land conteyneth.xx. Acres, an Acre conteyneth.xl.perches of length, and foure in bredth, and foure Acres make a Yarde, and fiue Yardes make an Hide, and.viij. Hides make a knightes fee. By the which reason a knightes fee should conteyne. C.lx. Acres, and that is accompted for a plough land for a yere.

A new tax.

An Hide of land

A knightes fee in land.

And not long after he caused to be searched howe much lande eche of hys Barons helde, howe many knightes Fees, howe many townes, and what number of men and of beastes were within this land: whereof he commaunded a booke to be made, which also was done, and that afterward turned this land to sundry griefes and plagues, as after shall apere.

A great and strayght inquire.

1086 20

In the.xx. yere of his reigne, Canutus king of Denmarke, with the helpe of the Flemynges came with a great armie toward England: But by the prouision of the king, they were so feared, that they wer let of that iorney.

Canutus a Dane with ỹ helpe of the Flemings landed in England.

Then king William gaue to thre of his Chapleynes thre Bishoprikes. To Norice he gaue London, to William he gaue Thetford, and to Robert he gaue Chester, which Robert was after remoued to Couentrie. Of this Robert reporteth Reynulph that he scraped from one Beame of his Church in Couentrie fiue hundreth marke, to fill the hande of king William. For Leofricus that was Duke of Mertia in the time of Edward the Confessor, had adourned that Church, with great riches of Golde, Siluer & Jewelles.

Couentrie.

In this yere Edgar Atheling, which was reconciled to the kinges fauour, by lycence of the king, sayled into Apulia.

Now began the afore sayde plagues to spring: For great moreyne fell vpon brute beastes, and brenning Feuers among the people, and also great hunger and barennesse of the earth. Also in this yere great hurt was done in many places of the land by fyre, and specially in the City of London, wherupon the.xii. day of July the Church of Saint Paule in London was brent, and all that was therein, as in a table hanging on the North syde of the Quyere may apere. And it was in the tyme that Norice was Bishop of London. And lykewyse was brent a great part of the Citie of London at the same tyme.

Paules brent.

At this tyme king William beyng in Normandy prepared for warre against the French king: But shortly after he fell sicke, and kept his Chamber at Roan a long tyme, wherefore Philip the French king beyng merely disposed, sayde that william lay in Childebed, and norished his fat belly. The which wordes when they came to king Williams eares, he was much amoued therewith, and sayd, when I am churched I will offer vnto him a thousand Candelles light, with the which he shall holde himselfe finally contented. The which promise, he after performed. For in the moneth of July folowing, when corne, fruite, & grapes were most flourishyng, he entered into Fraunce with a great armie, and set on fyre many Cities and townes on the west syde of Fraunce, and at the last came vnto the Citie of Meaux, and fyred it, and brent

brent a great part thereof, with the Church of our Lady, wherein he brent a woman beyng closed in the Wall of the sayde Church, as a recluse.

In this heate, or as some say by the leaping of a horse, king William tooke such a disease and sickenesse, that it was shortly after the cause of hys death. And when he felt himselfe thus grieued, he called his sonnes before him, and exhorted them in his best and most louyng maner, that they should charitably loue and fauour eyther other of them, and to holde together as louyng brethren, and so afterward made his testament and last will.

He had fiue children, Robert the eldest, to whome he gaue the Dukedome of Normandy, Richard, the second, who died in his youth, William Rufus the thirde, to whome he gaue the kingdome of England, and Henry the fourth that also succeded him in the same kingdome. And one daughter named Adela, who he gaue in mariage to Stephen Erle of Bloys or Bonony, who got on hir Stephen that after was king of England. But other write that king Henry the first maryed Nolde the daughter of Margaret Quene of Scottes, and by her had issue two daughters, named Nolde, and Mary. And Nolde was first maryed to Henry the Emperor, and after to Geoffrey Plantagenet, by whome she had issue king Henry the second. And Mary was maryed to Eustace Erle of Bloys, by whome she had issue king Stephen. So that king Henry the seconde came of the elder sister, and Stephen of the ponger sister. The which Nolde and Mary were the daughters of Margaret the wyfe of Malcolyne, or Malcolme king of Scottes, which was sister to Edgar Atheling, and of Edward the outlawe, which was the sonne of Edmond Ironsyde.

King willis had fiue children, & what came of them.

After that king William had adui̇rtised his sonnes as afore sayd, and had made his last will and Testament, he then deliuered out of Prison his awne brother the Bishop of Bayon, Marcarus Erle of Northumberland, Wilnotus the sonne of Harold, or as some do write he was the sonne of Goodwyn, which was sent to William by Edward the Confessor to remain for a pledge for his sayd father Goodwyn. And shortlye after these thinges with other were done, he dyed the.viij. day of September, when he had reigned king of England. xx. yeres, x. Monethes, and. xxviij. dayes, and in the.lij. yere of his Duchye, and the. lix. yere of his lyfe, or as Polidore wryteth. lxxiij. and in the yere of our Lorde. 1087.

Charitie is most vsed in the extreeme pangues of death.

¶ After his death, men spake of him as they do of other Princes, and said that he was wise and guileful, riche and couetous, and loued well to be magnified and praysed, a fayre speaker, and a deepe dissembler, a man of goodly stature, but something fatte in the belly, sterne in countenaunce, & strong in armes, and therewith couragious and bolde, and had greate pleasure in hunting and making of great feastes. But he passed all other in leuyng of Taskes, which condicion his subiectes construed three maner of wayes, and sayde, that eyther it was to excell all other in ryches, or else to withstand and defend his enimyes, or to staunche the appetyte of his couetous mynde. He builded two Abbeyes in England, one at Battill in Sussex, where he wan the fielde against Harolde, the which was called vntill the suppression thereof the Abbey of Battaile. And the other he set in Southwarke beside London, vpon the Southside of Thames, and named it Barmondsey. And he builded also one in Caine in Normandie where he was buried, and dedicated the same

The discription of king William the Conqueror.

same vnto Saint Steuen.

And when all ceremonies apperteyning vnto the Funerall were finished and done, and that he should nowe be layd in his tombe, there sodeinly stepped foorth one that resisted and woulde not suffer him to be buryed in that place, saiyng with a lowde voyce, how that the ground where they purposed to bury him, was percell of his auncient inheritance, which the Duke in his lyfe tyme had wrongfully taken from him perforce, and against his will for the buylding of that Abbey, and had neuer made him any recompence or amendes for the same, and therfore would not to die for it assent ne suffer that he shoulde there be buryed, onelesse he were first recompenced and agreed with accordingly, whereupon they were faine to see him recompenced before he could be enterred, so that maruell it was that so great and noble a conquerour as he was when he was aliue, could not after his death atteyne somuch ground as might receyue and couer his poore Carkas, without great adoo and businesse.

The sayde king had to Issue (sayth Polidore) by Mawde his wife, Robert vnto whome he bequethed the Dukedome of Normandy: Richard, who dyed very yong: William Rufus, and Henry which were afterwardes kinges of England one after another. Of this Henry he propheryed before (as the fame went) that he should rule both England and Normandy together after his brethren, vnto whome he gaue by testament a great part of his treasure. He had also fiue daughters, that is to weete, Cicill which was made a Nonne, Constance whome Alley Duke of hether Briteyne maried, and Adela the wyfe of Stephen Erle of Bloys, mother to king Stephen, who reigned after the sayde king Henry: The names of the other two are not remembred of writers, which dyed ere they were mariageable, one of the which as is before mencioned should haue beene the wife of Harolde, if fortune had not beene against it.

It is also reported that when this king lay at the point of death, and should now depart the world, he much repented him of the cruell handelyng of the English men, specially because he had bene by them so much encreased as well in honour as Empire.

And although this king helde Englishemen in great subiection, and as is afore sayd suffered almost no Englishe man to gouerne or rule within the Realme: yet it should appere he somedeale fauoured the Citie of London, for at the speciall sute and request of the right reuerend father in God William then Bishop of London, the sayde Conquerour in the first yere of his reigne graunted vnto the Citizens of London their first Charter and liberties, in as large forme as they enioyed the same in the tyme of Saint Edward the confessor that reigned before the Conquest. And the Citizens to shewe themselues thankefull vnto the sayde Bishop for his great loue and fauour, did not onely accompt him as a deere and speciall friend vnto them so long as he liued, but also after his death and buriall, beyng enterred in the middle Isle of the West ende of Paules Church, they fixed on his graue stone this Epitaph folowyng.

The

The Epitaphe of the reuerend father in God William Bishop of London, who of his great loue and charitie towarde the Citizens of the same, did first *obteyne for them of William the Conquerour theyr* Charter, liberties and priuileges, as by the inscription of the sayde stone may apere, the contentes and effect whereof foloweth, first in Latine, and then in Englishe.

GVilielmo viro sapientia & vitę sanctitate claro, qui primũ diuo regi & cõfessori familiaris, nupèr in episcopũ Lõdinensis erectus, nec multo post apud inuictissimũ principem Guilielmum Angliæ regem eius nominis primum, ob prudentiam, fidemque singularem in consilium abhibitus: amplissima huic Vrbi celeberrimæ priuilegia ab eodem impetrauit, Senatus populusque Londinensis bene merenti posuit. Sedit Episcopus annos. 16. decessit anno à Christo nato. 1067.

Hæc tibi, clare pater, posuerunt marmora Ciues:
Præmia, nòn meritis, æquiperanda tuis:
Hic sibi nam populus te Londinensis amicum
Sensit, & huic Vrbi nòn leue præsidium.
Reddita libertas ductè: donataq; multis
Te duce res fuerat publica muneribus,
Diuitias, gemmas, formam, breuis opprimit hora
Hæc tua sed pietas, & benefacta manent.

The same in Englishe foloweth.

TO William a man famous in wiſedome and holyneſſe of lyfe, who firſt wyth Saynt Edward King and Confeſſor beyng familiar, of late preferred to be Byſhop of London: and not long after, for his wiſedome and ſincere fidelitie admitted to be of Counſaile with the moſt victorious Prince William king of England of that name the firſt, who obteyned of the ſame great and large priulieges to this famous Citie. The Senate and Citizens of London to him hauing well deſerued, haue made this. He continued Biſhop.xvj. yeres, and dyed in the yere of Chriſt a thouſand three ſcore and ſeuen.

Theſe Marble monumentes to thee thy Citizens aſſigne
Rewardes (O father) farre vnfit to thoſe deſerts of thine.
Thee vnto them, a faythfull friend, thy London people found,
And to this towne, of no ſmall weight, a ſtay both ſure and ſound.
Their liberties reſtored to them, by meanes of thee haue bene,
Their publike weale by meanes of thee, large gifts haue felt and ſeene
Thy riches, ſtock and beuty braue one houre it hath oppreſt
Yet theſe thy vertues and good deedes, with vs for euer reſt.

The aforeſayde Charter is written in the Saxon tongue.

William Rufus.



WIlliam Rufus, or William the Red, the thirde ſonne of William the Conquerour, began to reigne ouer this realme next after his father, the.ix. of September, in the yere of our Lorde. M. lxxxvij. Who beyng in Normandy at hys fathers death, departed thence before his funerall obſequy was finiſhed and done, and in all haſte addreſſed him into England, where he was ſooner arryued than he was looked for, and being come into the Realme, he by and by made Lanfranke then Archebiſhop of Cauntorbury (in whoſe friendſhip and faythfulneſſe he had repoſed no ſmall truſt and confidence) priuie to all his counſayle, prayng him withall to put to his helping hand, that he might be crowned king as ſhortly as might be, according to his fathers Will and Teſtament: The whiche was at the laſt brought to paſſe by the importune labour and ſute of the ſayde Lanfranke, who for his learning was highly eſteemed, aſwell with the Nobilitie as alſo of the Commons of the Realme, but yet not without much ado: For a great many bare better good will vnto his brother Robert than vnto him, becauſe he was of a more mylde and gentle nature, and beſyde that he was the elder brother, and therefore ought by lawe and conſcience to haue beene preferred: But yet the matter was ſo wrought by the wiſedome of Lanfranke, promiſyng all thinges in his name, that might by any meanes purchaſe him credite or fauour with the people, that all in maner aſſented vnto his coronation, and ſo was he by him the ſayde Lanfranke, with the aſſiſtance of diuerſe other Biſhoppes, whoſe names are all reherſed by Mathewe of Weſtminſter annoynted and crowned king at Weſtminſter, the firſt day of October, the yere of our Lord aboueſayd. 1087 1

Reynulph Monke of Cheſter that wrote Polichronicon ſayth, that Robert Curthoſe eldeſt ſonne of William the Conquerour, was at the tyme of hys fathers death in Almaine, gatheryng of a great hoſt againſt his father. And afterward heering that he was dead, and that he had preferred his ponger brother to the kingdome of England, was therefore greatly amoued, inſomuch that he layde halfe his Dukedome to pledge vnto his brother Henry to mainteyne warre agaynſt king William. The which thing done, he gathered a great army, and ſhortly after landed at Hamton. Robert Curthoſe the brother of Rufus entered England with a great power.

When William Rufus had vnderſtanding thereof, he in all haſt ſent vnto him meſſengers, to whome he gaue in commiſſion to ſay as foloweth. Thy brother William prayeth thee to take no griefe with that he hath done, for he calleth himſelfe not king, but as vnder king to reigne vnder thee, and by helpe of thee that art greater than he, and his elder brother. And if thou conſider it well, he hath nothing miſvſed himſelfe againſt thee, for he hath taken vpon him the gouernement of this Realme for a tyme becauſe of thyne abſence. But for that he is now in auctority and crowned by thy ſufferance, he

he prayeth that vnder thee he maye so continue, paying to thee yerely three thousand Markes, with condicion ỳ who soeuer ouerlyueth other, may enioy the kingdome. When Robert had heard this message vnto the ende, he wagged his head, as he that conceyued some doubleneſſe in this report. But for that he was liberall, and alowed more honour than he did his profite, as in other things folowing of his deedes it shall apere, therefore he lightly aſſented to all that was desired, and returned shortlye after into Normandy with pleasant wordes and many fayre promises without profite.

Robert Curthose was soone dispatched with faire wordes.

1088
2

This yere in the beginning of Sommer, Odo Bishop of Bayon, which as before ye haue heard was delyuered out of Prison by William Conquerour, came into England, whom the king ioyfully receyued, and gaue vnto him shortly after the Erledome of Kent. But he tooke vpon him in processe of tyme to rule, in such wise as the king grudged at his doyng. And for this the king and his vncle fell at vnkindeneſſe, so that he withdrewe himselfe from the king, and alyed him with the bishop of Dureſme, the Erles of Northumberland, Shrewesbury, and others. The which beyng confederate together, conspired against the king, and made his brother Robert Curthose against him, and wrought many thinges to his displeasure and hurt. And amongest all other damages by them done, Roger de Mount Gomorik, Erle of Shrewesbury, destroyed the Countrie and northwest parts of England to Worcester towne, by the ayde and helpe of the Welchemen: But in the ende, the Welchemen were so feeble and weake, that a fewe knightes discomfited a great armie of them.

Odo bishop of Bayon brother to king William conquerour

The Lordes conspired against king William Rufus.

Rebellion.

When king William perceyued that almost all the Normanes tooke part against him, he then beyng forced by neceſſitie, drewe to him the Englishe men, and fauoured them by giftes and easy lawes: So that by theyr strength he did in the ende reconcile the Erle of Shrewesbury, and chased some other of his enemies, and shortly after occupyed the strong Caſtelles and holdes in Kent, belongyng to Bishop Odo his foresayd vncle, and in the ende compelled him to yelde himselfe and to forsweare England. And that done he beſieged Rochester, wherein the Bishop of Dureſme, the Erle of Northumberlande, and other noble men were gathered, and wan it at the last by yeldyng, so that his enemies were vnto him reconciled also, and in like maner was his brother Robert, who then again taking his leaue of the king returned into Normandy.

Robert Curthose was againe reconciled vnto his brother Rufus.

1089
3

In the thirde yere of his reigne dyed Lanfranke, when he had beene Archebishop of Cantorbury. xviij. yeres. By whose meanes the Monkes of England were brought to the vſe of their Religion, which before liued like secular prieſtes, and not like religious men. Fabian.

Lanfranke deade.

About this tyme Robert Curthose Duke of Normandy entendyng to take his voyage into the holy land, layed his Dukedome to pledge vnto hys brother William for ten thousand pound. For the leuying whereof, King William set a taſke vpon his commons and subiectes, and rayſed a farre exceeding summe, vnder colour of the same, so that Bishops melted their plate, and the temporall Lordes spoyled their Tenantes for the payment thereof. But as some wryte these thinges were done a good space after.

At this tyme also, the king of Scots brake the peace before made with William Conquerour, and wasted and tooke prayes in the Country of Northumberland

thumberland. Then the king prouided a Nauie, and sayled thether in the Winter tyme: But by the tempeſt of the sea, halfe his Nauie or a great part thereof was drowned, and many of his knightes were lost for colde and hunger. But yet in the ende after diuerſe skirmishes and bickeringes, by mediation of friendes, a peace was concluded: So that Malcolyne or Malcolme then kyng of Scottes should be obedient to king William, vnder the same othe that he was before tyme sworne vnto his father, and king William should geue him yerely in the way of a fee. xij. Markes of Golde.

The homage of Malcoline kinge of Scots done to king William Rufus.

1090
4

In the fourth yere of his reigne, and the fift day of October, a passing great tempeſt chaunced in sundrye places of Englande, and specially in the towne of Winchecombe. For there by tempeſt of thunder and lightning a part of the steple of the Church was throwne downe. &c.

A great tempeſt.

Also this yere by force of the sayde tempeſt there was great hurte done at London, insomuch as Reynulph sayth, it blewe downe there. vj. hundreth houses, and other like mischiefes were done in sundry places by the sayd tempeſt. And the same tyme was the roofe of Bowe Church in London blowen downe which killed two personnes, as Fabian sayth.

1091
5

In the fift yere of his reigne, he went into Northumberland, and repayred such holdes and Caſtelles as the Scottes by their warres had either raſed or else hurt and appayred, and caused a newe Caſtell to be made at Carlyll and repayred the same Towne which the Danes two hundreth yere paſsed had destroyed. In the same yere the maine roofe of the great Churche of Sarisbury was consumed and brent with lightnyng. And after the king returned vnto Gloucester, where he was grieuously vexed with sickneſſe, so that he thought he should haue dyed. In the which tyme he tooke great repentaunce, and promised that if he might escape, he would amend his liuyng and become a new man: But after that he was restored to health, that promes was soone forgotten. In this yere also the king gaue to Anſelme the Archebishoprike of Yorke. Fabian.

The roofe of Sarisburye church brent wᵗ lightning.

Anſelme made Archebishop of Yorke.

1092
6

In the. vj. yere of his reigne were exceedyng floodes, whereof the like had not in many yeres before beene seene. And after that enſued a wonderfull frost, which frose the great streames in such wise that Horſſe and Cart passed ouer them. And in the ende when the Iſe melted and brake, the payse and weight with the passage thereof brake many a strong bridge both of timber and stone.

About this tyme, the Welchmen with their king or Duke named Rees, brake out vpon the Englishe men in the border where standeth the Caſtell of Brekenoke, and there made maſteryes for a while: but in the ende hys people were chased and slaine, and he wounded vnto death, so that he dyed the third day folowyng. This Rees is accompted to be ỳ laſt king of Wales, for after this day they were so quayled and brought to subiection, that they were vnder more stedfast obedience of the kings of England then they were before tyme: howbeit they rebelled full often as after shall appere.

Rees king or Prince of the welshe men rebelled, & was slaine.

And in the yere folowyng, king William to haue the Countrie in more quyet, hewed downe muche of the Wood, and builded in sundrie places of Wales strong Caſtelles and pyles, by meane whereof, they were plucked more and more to obedience and quyetneſſe, and specially in the dayes of Edward

Wales brought to quietneſſe.

ward the firſt, and Edward the thirde.

Malcoline kinge of Scots again rebelled.

At this time Malcoline, or Malcolme king of Scotland came vnto Glouceſter, to commen with the king of dyuerſe matters, and to make a finall agreement. But becauſe king William would haue deemed him in his Court, therefore the ſame Malcolyne departed from the king in great diſpleaſure, for the which and for other cauſes the warre betweene England and Scotland was renued, ſo that ſhortly after the ſayd Scottiſh king with his retinue fought with an Erle named Robert Mowbraye, which then was Erle of Northumberland, and there was ſlaine with his eldeſt ſon Edward. How he was ſlaine Hector Boethius ſheweth in the. xij. booke of the Story of Scotland on this wiſe: When they within the Caſtell were now ready to yelde and brought to extreeme neceſſitie, and in maner famiſhed for lacke of victualles, a certaine aduenturous and couragious Engliſhe knight beyng mounted on a very ſwift Gelding, hauyng a ſpeare in his hande, at the ende whereof were faſtened the keyes of the Caſtell, rode vnto the kinges campe, makyng ſemblant as though he had bene come to giue vp the Caſtell vnto the king. When the Scottes ſawe this, they drewe together, and for ioye made a great ſhowte and noyes, thinking their long trauayles and paynes had nowe bene at an ende, and then brought him where the king lay, who heering this noyes came out of his tent to knowe what the matter was. The Engliſhe knight when he ſawe the king, helde downe his ſpeare as though he woulde haue deliuered him the keyes: And whileſt euery mannes eyes and mynde was fixed thereon, he in the meane time ſodenly thruſt his ſpeare into the kinges left eye, and ſo wounded him therewith, that he there preſently fell downe ſtarke deade: and that done, he foorthwith daſhed his ſpurres into his horſe and fled into the next woodes, and ſo eſcaped. And it is ſayde that when king Rufus heard of this aduenturous deed, he ſent for the ſayde knight, and gaue him certeyne of his landes and reuenewes in Northumberland, and commaunded him euer afterwardes to be called Perſeye, becauſe he had perced or bored out the kinges eye, of whome (ſayth he) that famille tooke their beginning, which haue bene ſence that tyme Erles of Northumberland. When the king was ſlaine, the Scottes departed and went euery man his way, and ſo the ſiege brake vp and ended. Edward the ſayde Scotiſhe kinges ſonne was ſlaine before in a ſkirmiſhe at the ſame ſiege. Hetherto Hector Boethius.

For ſorowe whereof, Margaret Queene of Scotland, and ſiſter vnto Edgar Atheling (as before in the ſtory of William the Conqueror is ſhewed) died ſoone after. Then the Scottes made Donwalde or Dunkard the brother of Malcolyne their king, and put by his ſonnes. But king William made Edgar the ſonne of Malcolyne king of Scottes, and he did vnto him homage for the ſame kingdome.

Edgar the ſon of Malcolyne made kinge of Scots who did homage for the ſame.

Polidore ſetteth out theſe warres and the cauſes therof, and ſuch things as chaunced in Normandy betwirt king William and Duke Robert his brother, and the rebellion of the Welchemen that folowed ſhortly after on this wiſe: When the buſineſſe of Scotland (ſayth he) was thus quieted, Robert Duke of Normandie who alwayes bare a grudge to the king his brother, for that he was by him defeated of the Crowne, ſent Ambaſſadors vnto the ſayd king, & by the ſame charged him with periury for that he had not firmely

Robert duke of Normãdy chargeth king William his brother with periury.

kept

kept and holden the cõditions of peace that were agreed vpon betwixt them, wherewith Rufus beyng highly diſpleaſed, reyſed forthwith a great armie, and ſayled into Normandy, purpoſyng ſo to trye the matter with him, that he would rather hazard his eſtate at once, then thus dayly be troubled and vnquieted by him: Howbeit his wrath beyng ſhortly after aſſwaged, he ſought not to fight with him by and by: but after he had once or twice lightly ouerrunne the Countrie thereabout without any great damage or hurt doyng, he fell to a communication with him, where after long conference, they were at the length both contented by the intreatie of their friendes, to commit the effect of all matters in controuerſie betwixt them, to the hearyng and arbiterment of certeine moſt graue and honourable perſonages, who (the cauſes and allegations of both the ſayde parties, firſt deliberately heard and debated) gaue ſentence for the Duke, awarding that the king ſhould pay him a certeyne ſumme of money in the name of a mulcte or penaltie, for that he had thus contrary to the league betwixt them ouerrunne and waſted his Countrie. But when the king vnderſtoode their awarde, he was by and by in a great chafe, and ſayde that he would in no wyſe ſtande vnto it: Therefore both the ſayde partyes beyng greatlye mooued eyther with other gaue ouer talking and fell to fighting. The king toke perforce the Caſtell of Bure, and Robert by the aide of king Phillip of Fraunce, ſet vpon thoſe Holdes and Caſtells which king William helde in Normandy, by vertue of the former compoſition betwixt them, and firſt of all he wanne by aſſault the Caſtell of Argenton, wherein he toke priſoner Roger Lieuetenant or deputie of Poitiers, and with him. lxxx. men of armes, and with like ſucceſſe alſo wan he the Caſtell of Ulmes. At the length the king conſidering with himſelfe howe there needed a greater force to ſubdue his aduerſaryes, and ſpedily to finiſhe the warres that were comming vpon him, commaunded in all haſt an armye of. xx. thouſand men or thereabout to be leuyed in Englande, and ſpedily to be conueyed ouer vnto him: nowe when all this multitude were aſſembled and come together at Haſtinges in Suſſex at the tyme appoynted, where the kinges Shippes lay at Anker to receyue them, and that they were nowe in readineſſe and willyng to depart: The kinges Agent met them there alſo, geuyng intelligence vnto the Capitaines that they ſhould ſignifie vnto the reſt, howe the Princes pleaſure was of a ſpeciall deſyre he had to ſpare hys people, and deliuer them from further paynes and trauayles of warrefare by them to be ſuſtayned, that euery Souldiour there preſt ſhould pay ten ſhillynges, and thereupon to be diſcharged from that voyage, and to returne home againe, the which thing the more part of them was better wyllyng to do, then to commit themſelues vnto the daungers of the ſea, but the intent and purpoſe of the Prince was to fight againſt his brother, rather with a golden weapon, than with one of yron or ſteele, thinking vnder pretence of thoſe warres to gether ſuch a maſſe of money of his ſubiectes, as ſhould both be ſufficient to bye peace, and alſo to enrych him ſelfe. Therefore when both the armyes were nowe in a redineſſe to fight, and that king William had found the meanes ſo to pacify Phillip the French king with gifts & rewards, that he would no more ayde the ſayde Duke, then by and by the whole ſtaye and ſtrength of his warres was quite fallen downe, and for wantyng the French kinges ayde, he was of neceſſitie compelled to ſue vnto the king his

A ſentence geuen on the behalfe of duke Robert againſt king William his brother.

Warres renued betwene king William and Duke Robert his brother.

Argenton Caſtell.

Ulmes caſtle

Though Polidore write thus, yet it ſeemeth not to be true.

King Willia ſhaped the French king with riche gifres.

A peace concluded betwene king William and his brother Robert.

brother for peace and at the length obteyned it.

When king William had thus finished the warres of Normandy after his mynde, he foorthwith returned into Englande, where anon after chaunced vnto him greater businesse than he had before. For the Welshemen hearyng of the variaunce that begunne to growe betwixt him and his brother, armed themselues mindyng to rob and pill the Countryes adioynyng vnto them after their accustomed maner. And so entryng into the Marches, they burned houses and villages, draue away Cattell, tooke prisoners, and slue aswell Normanes as Englishe men: and finally rased townes and Castels where so euer they came. When the king was hereof enformed, he assembled a power in all haste to helpe his distressed people, and to kepe the countrie from vtter spoilyng and wastyng, and hauing vsed great speede in hys iourney, he set vpon them on a sodein: But for all that the Welshmen did not onely manfully abide the brunt of the assaultes, but also enforced the king to geue back & retyre, and that with no small losse and domage, wherefore being now three dayes iourney on his way, in his retyre he determined with himselfe to yelde vnto fortune for the tyme present, and so departed vnto London to prepare a stronger power. After whose departure, the Welshe men waxed so prowde and gathered such a courage vnto them, that they besieged the Castell of Mount Gomericke of all the fortes and Castelles in Wales the strongest, and afterward notwithstandyng it was for a whyle manfully defended by the kinges garison attempted to race it, and at length hauyng beaten downe the Walles thereof they toke it, and very cruelly slue all that they found therein: But the king being this while letted by treason newly sprong vp against him in his awne land, & determinyng first to suppresse that before he prepared any resistance against them, went into Northumberland where the Authours of this newe conspiracie put themselues in armes against him: For Robert Erle of that Countrie who had oftentymes before required the king to consider the good seruice he had done what tyme he beyng generall of the armie, the Scottish king was slaine in maner afore sayde, and perceyuyng the king not to be so redye to reward him for that worthie deede as he looked he should haue bene, was therewith so moued, that beyng sent for by the kinges letters, he openly refused to go vnto him. And in the meane season ceased not priuily to deuise howe and which way he might depriue him of the Crowne: But the conspiracie beyng by chaunce shortlye after disclosed, the king toke diuerse of the Conspirators vpon a sodeine and put them to death: But Robert for that he knewe himselfe guiltie, and therefore feared least he should be punished according to his deserts, fled away, whom the king pursued to the Castell called at this day the Castell of Banburghe, whether he was gotten for succor with his wife and children, which the king forthwith besieged, and because the same beyng most strongly defended aswell by nature as mans industrie and policie seemed impregnable, he began to close it with a wall of Plankes or Bordes, so that no man might enter in or issue out of it. But when Robert distrusting his state and case, or at the least wyse the fidelitie of his friendes, sawe the boorde worke begon, he priuely conueighed himselfe out in the dead of the night, but yet not so priuily but the kinges scout perceyued it and pursued after, and beyng constreyned to go vnto Tinmouth, he there tooke sanctuary in the Churche of saint Oswine the martyr, out

The welshe men reuell.

Castell of mount Gomericke taken.

Robert Erle of Northumberland conspireth against ye king

Banborough Castell.

Robert Erle of Northumberlād flieth.

out of the which he was by and by drawen by violence, and taken prisoner, and so brought vnto the King: Nowe when the rest that were within the Castell ceased not yet to make resistance and to defende themselues, the king to beate a greater terror and feare into them, caused Robert to be brought before the Castell gate that they within might see him, and made proclamation withall, that vnlesse the sayde Castell were yelded, foorthwith his eyes should out of hand be plucked out of his head, the which thing they beholding and fearing aswell their awne partes as the Erles, at the last yelded themselues and gaue vp the Castell, of whom part were banished, and some had their eares cut off, and other some one of their eyes put out to make the rest to beware by their example, and so sent home: but Robert was had to the Castell of Windsor, and there cast in prison: When this businesse was at an ende, king Rufus bent all his whole force against the Welshemen, who still continued in their outrage besides all measure, and addressyng himselfe wyth his armie with all hast to Wales warde, when he sawe that the Welshemen would at no hand geue him any opportunitie to fight with them, but hid themselues in woodes of purpose, he then began to waste and destroy the country next adioining, and attempted to passe through those places euen where most daungerous and hardest passage was, to the intent he might come where the enemies were, and fight with them. But contrarywise, the Welshemen kept either the mountaynes or woodes, who beyng sufficiently prepared and furnished for the tyme, set vpon the kinges armie, sometymes here, and sometimes there, euer as they espyed any aduantage, in such wise, that they either wounded or slue very many of them. The which was the cause that the king desirous to be auenged on them, pursued them more feruently then circumspectly, through mountaynes and mariches more to his losse and damage, than to the losse and anoyance of his enemies: who after he had lost many of his men and horses, and saw there was no hope for him to do any good there gaue ouer his purpose againe, and made an ende of those warres. Hetherto Polidore.

In the .vij. yere of the reigne of king William, Anselme that was Archbishop of Yorke was remoued to Cauntorbury as affirmeth one Chronicle: But Reynulph and Guido say, that Hugh Lupus Erle of Chester beyng sick and diseased, in the .vij. yere of the reigne of William Rufus, sent into Normandie for Anselme then Abbot of Berry or Becey for three causes. The first, to visite and see him, and to be reconciled of him, as the man that he moste trusted. The second cause was that he should relieue some Abbeys of England, whom the king had vexed with grieuous tribute. And the third, that he should found an Abbey in Chester, which place he after buylded, and made one Richarde his Chapleyn first Abbot there, and soone after he was made Archebishop of Cauntorbury: whereby it appereth that the sayde See was voyde ouer the terme of three yeres. And at this tyme, England and Normandy were sore visited with the plague of pestilence, and the same was so great, as some write, that many lay vnburyed, and the tillyng of the ground was put off for that yere, and thereafter ensued great and extreme hunger.

1093
7

Pestilence.

Tillage beyng left, famine doth folow.

This yere also the Scottes slue their king Edgar, and restored againe to the rule of the lande the aforenamed Donwald. And many straunge and wonderfull sightes were seene this present yere in the Skie, as hostes of

1094
8

men fightyng, and flames of fyre brennyng, and shotyng out of the Element, and other monstruous thinges, as sayth Fabian.

1096 / 10

In the .x. yere of this king, strife and dissention fell betwene hym and Anselme Archebishop of Cauntorbury, because Anselme might not be suffered to call his Synodes, and correct his clergie but as the king would. The king also chalenged the inuestiture of Bishoppes, and tooke of the Spiritualtie and Temporalty great taskes and tributes, the which he spent vpon the walling of the Tower of London, and the making of Westminster Hall as some wryte. But John Rastall sayth in his Chronicle that it is not lyke to be true that the great Hall of Westminster that is now, was buylded by this king, but rather in the tyme of king Richarde the second. For sayth he, the Armes that are there both on the timber and on the stone worke, which is the three Lyons quartered with the flower de luce, and the white Hart for his badge, were the armes of king Richard. For there was neuer king of England that gaue the flower de luce which was the armes of Fraunce before king Edward the thirde. And therefore it manifestly apereth that the great Hall which is nowe, was not builded by Rufus, except it were that he made the foundation thereof: But if Rufus made any Hall there, it was that which is aboue the stayers that we nowe call the white Hall. And besydes all this, the kinges seruauntes grieued and pilled Englishe men vnreasonably. And to this miserie was ioyned the couetousnesse of Reynulph that was sometime Chapleyn vnto William Conquerour, the which at this day was the kinges procurator, and gathered his taskes ouer all England. He was so couetous and so euill disposed, that he would leuy three taskes for two. He pilled the riche, and bare downe the poore, and caused many men to lose their landes for small causes, and therefore the king did greatly fauour him. And by hys meanes, Bishoprikes were bought and solde as commonly as other marchandices. Also at this time priestes vsed bushed and breyded heades, long tayled gownes and blasyng clothes shinyng, and golden Girdelles, and rode with guilt Spurres, with vsyng of dyuerse other enormities. All which vices Anselme would haue corrected, but he lacked assistance of his brethren the Bishops, for the which cause and other he departed the land: Wherewith the king beyng mislontented, sent after him suche personnes as robbed and spoyled him, and intreated him in most cruell maner. For the which deede, Raufe Bishop of Chichester blamed the king, and also rebuked all such Bishops as had refused the party of Anselme, & had fauoured the king in causes concernyng the aforesayde variaunce. And furthermore he withstoode the king and his officers in takyng of fynes of priestes for the cryme of fornication, for which causes the king with the sayd Raufe was sore amoued, and discontented, and obteyned such fauour that he suspended many Churches of his dioceese. But in the ende, Raufe demened him in suche wise that he had his awne will, and his Churches enlarged and freed that before were stopped with Thornes. And the king gaue vnto him the fynes of priestes within his Dioceese, and endued the See of Chichester with many great giftes.

Westminster Hall builded.

The behauiour of priests

Fines for fornication.

And vpon a tyme as king William was ridyng towarde his disport of huntyng, sodeynly a messenger came vnto him, & sayde that the City of Cenemona or Constancia in Normandy was besieged of the French men: wherefore he without long tariyng or aduisement, tooke the streight way to the sea

sea syde, and sent to his Lordes, charging them to folowe. When the sayde Lordes came to his presence, they aduysed him to tary vntill his people were assembled. But he would do nothing after their counsayle, but sayd such as him loued would surely folowe, and so went to Ship, setting aside all perils.

The desperate goyng into Normandy of William Rufus.

The mayster of the Ship was afrayde, and saw the weather so darke and clowdie, and the Sea somewhat rough by reason of the south wind that then blewe, that he counsayled the king to tary vntill the wynde would blow more fauourably: But he commaunded him to make all the speede he coulde vpon paine of his lyfe, saiyng that he neuer heard that anye kinge was drowned. And so he passed the sea and landed in Normandie a good while before there was any brute of his comming, and there gathered vnto hym his Knightes.

A noble courage of a king

When the Captaine of the Siege (whose name was Helias) knewe of the kinges landyng, he feared, and anone began to breake the siege: But by treason he was taken and brought to the kinges presence. To whome the king shewed such pitie, that he suffered him to be at his libertie, which after the opinion of William de Regibus, was done more of pride than of compassion. Polidore wryteth that when the capteyn was brought vnto the kinges presence, he iested at him as one that had no courage nor mannes stomack. Then the sayde Capteyne turning him vnto the king sayde boldely againe. Sir king, thy fortune is nowe to take me prisoner, but if I were at libertie I would make thee to vnderstand that I were not a man so little to be passed on as thou makest me. And with that the king commaunded him to be set at libertie and then sayd vnto him, now go whether thou wilt, and do the worst thou canst against me: But (sayth he) it is not red that he euer attempted any thing against the king afterwardes.

1097 / 11

In the .xj. yere of his reigne, at a towne called Finchester in the country of Barkeshire, a Well cast out blood as before it had done water. And after by the space of .xv. dayes great flames of fyre were seene in sundrie places, and at sundry tymes. This yere also the two Erles of Shrewesbury and of Chester who were both named Hugh, by the kinges commaundement entered with their knightes the Isle of Anglesay, which was the chiefe refuge of the Welshe men, and slue there a number of them, and shewed there such crueltie besydes, as the like had not bene heard of before, for vnto some they put out their eyes, to some they cut off their noses, handes, legges, or armes, and some againe they gelded, so that no kinde of cruelty was left vnpractised.

A straunge thing.

Among the which a priest named Kynradus was drawen out of a Church and serued in the same maner, and had also his tongue cut out of his heade, and one of his eyes put out. In which season and tyme the king of Norway wanne the Isles then called Orcades, and nowe Orkeyes, and after came with his strength vnto the aforesayd Isle of Anglesay to rescue the people of the Isle, where at the same season were the sayde two Erles. Then betwene them was a mortall fight, in the which Hugh Erle of Shrewesbury was stryken with an arow in the eye, and dyed within .viij. dayes after. But as sayth Guydo, the Danes were chased, and the Englishe men had the victory, but as other do wryte there was no notable thing else there done besides the death of the sayde Erle.

Hugh Erle of Shrewesbury slaine.

King William at this tyme was much in Normandy, because that Robert his

his brother was all this while in the holy land, of whose actes some mention shall be made in the story of Henry the first. And William had much paine to rule the Normanes, for they rebelled often against him.

1093 / 12 Robert Losaunge that sometyme had bene Abbot of Ramsey, and then by the gift of a thousand pound to the king, was made Bishop of Thetforde, repented him after, and bewayled that vnskilfull deede, and tooke his way to Rome, and did for it his adioyned penance, and after returned into England, and turned his See from Thetford to Norwiche, and founded there a fayre Monastery of his awne goodes, and not of the patrimonie of Christes Churche: But therein resteth a doubt, for he was first Abbot and then Bishop, sayth Fabian.

After that king William as before is sayde, was returned out of Normandie, many wonderfull prodigies and tokens were shewed in England, as the swelling or rising of the water of the Thamys, in suche wyse that it drowned many townes, and did much harme by out passyng of his boundes in dyuerse places about London and else where, with dyuerse other thinges which I passe ouer.

1092 / 13 In the.xiij.yere of his reigne and the beginnyng thereof the thirde day of August as sayth Reynulph, or as some other write vpon Lammas day, thys king William beyng at his disport on huntyng within the newe Forest, now called the Forest of Windsore, or rather as Reynulph sayth in the new Forest in Hamshire besydes Sarisbury by glaunsyng of an arrowe, which a knight named Sir Walter Tirell a Frenche man did shote at a Deere, and hit the King, and wounded him to death, so that he gaue but one grone and dyed presently, when he had reigned .xij. yeres, xj. monethes lackyng. viij. dayes. And it is written by John Hardyng, that king Rufus to enlarge the aforesayde Forest did pull downe foure Abbeyes, xvij. parishe Churches, and all the townes to them belongyng. Water Hennyngforde writeth, that in the place where the king was slaine had beene a Church in olde tyme, the which Church with other in his fathers tyme was pulled downe, and destroyed for the enlargyng of his said Forest, and that in the same Forest by a like chaunce was slaine also a little before Richard the kinges nephew, sonne vnto Robert Duke of Normandy of a knight of his awne.

Forest of Windsore.

The death of king William Rufus.

After this deede, the sayde Walter escaped and saued himselfe, for fewe they were that pursued after him. And so the king thus wounded was layde in a horse Litter, and conueyed to Winchester, and was there buryed in the Church of Peter and Paule.

Henry of Huntingdon

Of this William, reporteth Henry of Huntingdon and sayth that though this man were light in some things, yet he was stedfast and stable of his promise, so that what he promised good or euill it should be performed, & though he were named couetous, yet it should apere by this that foloweth, that he sometymes shewed himselfe liberall: For thus writeth he of hym.

Upon a certaine time, when the Abbot of an Abbey in England was dead, two Monkes of the same place, the which before had gathered money together, made their friendes to king William, and offered large offers either of them to be promoted to that dignitie. There was also a thirde Monke, the which of meekenesse and humblenesse folowed the other two, to the entent that vpon him that the king should admit for Abbot, he would haue geuen attendance,

tendance, and as his Chapleyn to haue returned with him. The king called before him the two Monkes seuerally, and either out profered other: And at the length he cast his eye aside, and espyed the thirde Monke, the which he supposed had come for the same cause. Then the king called him and asked him, if he would geue any more than his brethren had profered to be Abbot. But he answered to the king and sayde, that he would offer, neyther yet gene for it one penny, nor woulde haue so great a charge by any wrongfull meane. When the king had well considered of this thirde Monkes answere, he sayd that he was best worthie to be Abbot, and to haue the rule of so holy a charge: and so he gaue vnto him that promocion, without taking of hym one pennye.

Money bidden for Ecclesiasticall promocions.

This king William was variable and inconstant of his behauiour, very couetous, and therewithall cruell, and burdened the people with great taxes. Furthermore he neuer maryed but vsed concubines continually, wherefore he dyed without issue legittimate, when he had reigned as aforesayd fully .xij. yeres, and almost xj. monethes.

Of this king it is written that he was wastfull and sumptuous in hys apparell, an example whereof is brought in by a certaine writer to the great reproofe of excesse of apparell vsed in these our dayes. For when his Chamberleyn on a tyme brought him a newe payre of Hosen, he demaunded of him what they cost, who answered three shillings, wherat the king beyng somewhat moued, commaunded him to prepare him a paire of.xiij. shillinges iiij. pence. Nowe if kinges were then thought to exceede that bestowed a Marke vpon a paire of hosen, what is to be thought of many meane men which in our tyme bestow so much of one payre as that king did vpon twentie.

Henrie the first.



1100 / 1 **Enrie the first of that name, and** the fourth sonne of William Conquerour, which for his learnyng was surnamed Beauclercke, toke vpon him the first day of August the yere of our Lorde M. C. the gouernement of this Realme of England, and was crowned king thereof very shortly after at Westminster, of Thomas Archebishop of Yorke, or as Polydore and some other say, of Mawrice Bishop of London.

Coronation of king Henrie the first

His elder brother Robert Duke of Normandie was at that season not yet returned from the warres of Siria, and therefore had he the better opportunitie to bring is purpose aboute. For manye there were both of the nobles and others which fauoured the sayde Duke, and woulde haue

haue done their endeuour to haue crowned him king if he had bene present: And for this cause he found the meanes, what by geuyng of great rewardes, and what by fayre wordes and large promises to preuent him: But no one thing moued the whole Realme more to agree vpon him, then the faythfull promise he made to abholishe his fathers lawes, which were deemed of the people to be both against equitie and conscience. But first of all, so soone as he hearde of his brother Rufus death, he seazed vpon his goods and moueables, whereby he became the stronger, and better able to go thorowe with this enterprise.

This king in his youth had so well applied his study, that he was well sene in the seuen liberall sciences. And he at his entery reformed the ministers of the Church, and the dignitie of the same which had bene corrupted by his brother and he restored againe and vsed saint Edwardes lawes with the amendment of them, besydes the reformation and amendment of sundry and diuerse other abuses in the common welth.

Reynulph bishop of Duresme.

He banished out of his Court niceneſſe and wantonneſſe, and committed Reynulph Bishop of Duresme, a man hated of all men for oppression, bribery, and diuerse other notable crymes, and a chiefe Counsaylour and perswader also of the king his brother in all his lewde and vngodly attemptes to the tower of London, the which before as you haue heard was so great with his brother William: and he sent for Anselme that was Archebishop of Cauntorbury, which before was fled for the feare and wrath of William Rufus, and gaue the Bishoprike of Winchester then miserablye spoyled vnto Gyfford, a right graue and learned man, and conferred also the rule and gouernement of such Abbeyes as had bene of long tyme vacant vnto Monkes. Furthermore he remitted all such taxes and paymentes as had bene by hys father and brother newely rayſed vpon the people.

wantonneſſe banished out of the kinges Court which betokened good gouernment.

Measures made and reformed by king Henry the first.

This king corrected and reformed the olde and vntrue measures that were vsed in this Realme, and caused a yarde of the length of his awne arme to be made and vsed (and the same thing at this day is most meteſt to be reformed, for now almost no countrie kepeth eyther weight or measure one with the other to the great hurt of the Realme) and lykewise he reformed manye thinges that before his tyme had bene abused. Also he abhorred the exceſſe of meates and drinkes, and vsed to fight more with good counsaile than with the sworde.

Henry the first a frugall man.

1101
2

In the second yere of his reigne, Robert his brother that by all this time had bene occupied in warres vpon Christes enemies, hauing worde of the death of his brother William, and howe his brother Henry had taken vpon him as king, returned into Normandye, and there made preparation for to come into England.

Robert the eldest sonne of William Conquerour once againe claymeth the Crowne.

In this time also Reynulph Bishop of Duresme brake out of the tower of London, and went to Robert Duke of Normandy, who stirred and pricked forwarde the same Duke Robert in all that he might to warre vpon his brother Henry, so that he assembled a strong armye of knightes, and tooke shipping, and shortlye after landed at Portesmouth. But by mediation of friendes, a peace was made, and that in such condicion, that he should haue yerely three thousande Markes payed vnto him as a tribute, as before was promised hym by William Rufus his brother, with condicions of succession and

Reynulph bishop of Duresme a lewde bishop.

and other thinges the which for length I passe ouer.

Robert duke of Normãdy.

Thus Robert beyng contented, contrary to the mindes of his Lordes, after a while that he had disported himselfe in England, he returned to Normandie, where of his Lordes he was for this and other indiscrete dedes by him before done, as after shall be shewed, little, or lesse and lesse set by. For albeit by his fathers lyfe he had offended, and vtterly displeased him as before is touched, yet by his manhood and manfull deedes, he wanne the heartes of the people, specially for the worthie actes he did at the winnyng of the Citie of Acon vpon the miscreantes and Turkes.

This Robert was wise in counsayle, strong in battaile, and also right liberall, and in hys returne from Hierusalem hee maryed the daughter of William, or as Polidore sayth, Roger de Auersana Lorde of Apulia, with whome he receyued great summes of money for his dower, the whiche by meane of his liberalitie was not long vnspent. Then fortune began to frowne vpon him, and set his awne Lordes against him, who sent vnto king Henry of England, and moued him to come into Normandy against his brother, and they would deliuer vnto him the countrie and Duchie of Normandie, and take him for their chiefe Lorde and gouernour: wherevnto as sayth the English Chronicle, king Henry soone consented.

Fortune frowneth mischiefe tymes vpon Princes.

But or euer this warre began betweene them, this king Henry had maryed the foresayde Molde or Mawde the daughter of Malcolyne or Malcolme king of Scotland, and of Margaret his wife daughter of Edward the outlaw as is expressed in the beginning of William Conquerour. Of the which Mawde, he receyued two sonnes, and two daughters, that is to say, William, and Richard, Mawde and Mary.

Polidore sayth, he begat of his first wyfe William, which was after drowned in the sea, and Mawde the Empresse. And a concubine a daughter named Mary, & a sonne called Richard, the which were likewyse drowned. And of a nother concubine Robert, whome he created Erle of Glouceſter: But Hector Boethius writeth, howe there was issue betwixt them these folowyng, William, Richard, Enfemia, and Mawde.

The Hospitall of Saint Bartholomewes first founded.

1102
3

About this tyme the Church and Hospitall of Saint Bartholomewe, in west Smithfielde of London was begon to be founded by one of the kinges Mynistrians named Rayer, and after performed by Rychard Whytyngdon Citezen & Alderman of London, a man of worthie fame. This place of Smithfield was at that tyme a layſtow of all dong and filth, and the place where felons and other transgressors of the kinges lawes were put to execution.

1103
4

Robert duke of Normandie landeth in England.

After this Duke Robert of Normandie came into Englande to his brother, and he was here honourably entertayned, and in the ende at the request of his sister the wife of king Henry, or rather (as Polydore writeth) beyng ouercome with the fayre wordes of his sayde brother, he releaſed vnto hym the aforenamed tribute of three thousand Markes: but by euill tales, and couetouſneſſe of seignorie, this brotherly loue lasted not long, but such a varyaunce fell betweene them, that king Henry with a strong armie sayled into Normandie, and helde his brother with so sharpe warre, that he chaſed him from one country to another, and wanne from him the Citie of Roan, Cane, Ualoys, and all the good townes of Normandy, and at the last constreyned him to seeke helpe of the French king, and after of the Erle of Flaunders,

Unnaturall warre.

but

but he fayled of them both. Then fayth Polidore, when he considered with himselfe how vnable he was to match with the king his brother, and saw also how he was distressed on every side, by reason wherof diuerse of his Lordes and Subiectes forsooke him, and tooke parte with his sayd brother, and that his enemyes dayly encreased, and his power decreased, and waxed lesse and lesse, he determined with himselfe no longer to trye the matter by battayle and force of armes, but to repose all hope of pacification in brotherly charity. And because he thought it would little prevaile to send any Ambassadors for the matter, he beyng accõpanied with a few persons went himselfe into England, the said king then lyeng at Northamton, where the Duke made humble sute vnto him, that he might be at peace with him, vsyng all the perswasions he could to induce him therevnto, and submitted himselfe and his Dukedome and all that he had besydes, wholy to his order, grace, and mercy, with the which request and humble submission of his, the king was nothing at all moued, insomuch that he turned from him in a fume, mutteryng with himselfe certaine threatning wordes against him. And this straunge countenaunce shewed he, eyther because of his brothers inconstancye, whereof he had had often experience, or else for that he was nowe fully bent and mynded to pursue him with most extreme crueltie, euen to death or bitter destruction. When Duke Robert saw this, he detesting the prowde and stately behauiour of his brother, departed the Court and returned into Normandy with all conuenient speede, fully determinyng, rather than to suffer his honour thus to be destroyed, to put him selfe in daunger either of death, or else of perpetuall seruitude. For he well perceyued, it booted not to put any longer hope or trust in brotherly loue. Therfore with such power as he could make, he gaue battaile vnto his brother Henry, who folowed him with a newe armie, in the which battaile he was taken prisoner and sent ouer into England, and put into the Castell of Cardiffe in Wales, where he remayned as prisoner so long as he liued, and when he was dead, he was buryed at Glouceſter.

Robert duke of Normandie taken prisoner.

Mathew of Westmynster writeth that at the first he was not streightly kept as a prisoner, but was permitted by the kinges licence to hawke, hunt, and vse al other pastimes what he would for his disport & recreation, hauyng his keper with him, and was also allowed such apparell & dyet as was conuenient for his estate, vntill at length he practised to haue conueyed himselfe away: And beyng taken againe (as sayth the afore sayde writer) he by the kinges commaundement had both his eyes put out, but in such wyse that the balles of them were saued. Touchyng his death it is further reported of the same Author, how king Henry hauyng on a time made a scarlet Robe with a hoode (as the fashion then was) for himselfe, & puttyng it on to assay whether it was meete for him or no, and perceyuyng the sayd hoode to be somewhat to little for his head, bad the yoman of his Wardrop to sende it vnto his brother Robert, because (sayth he) his head is somewhat lesse then mine. And when the Messenger that brought it was demaunded of Duke Robert whether any had euer worne it before or no, and the sayde messenger vnaduisedly shewed him what the king had done and sayd: Then sayd Duke Robert, nowe in vv I well thinke that my most wretched lyfe hath bene ouerlong prolonged sith the iniurious king my brother hath so little regard of me, that he clotheth me with his cast apparell, and after that he would neuer eate nor drinke, but pyned away for hunger and sorow.

Nowe when king Henry had fynished his warres in Normandy he returned into England, and at that tyme Robert of Bolisme which was the eldest sonne of Hugh of mount Gomericke Erle of Shrewesbury arose against the king, and manned his Castelles of Shrewesbury, of Brugges, of Arondell, and of Tekynhill, and incouraged the Welchemen against the king. But the king pursued the sayd Robert so egerly, that within. xl. dayes he wanne all those Castelles, and slue many of his men, and gate the fauour of the Welchemen by giftes and pleasant wordes, and also compelled the sayde Robert to forsake England: the which sayled into a corner of Normandye, and kept him there secretly, vntill such tyme as William Erle of Cornewall came thether vnto him, which William was also Erle of Nortom in Normandy. When these two Erles were met, they gathered to them a great strength of Normanes, and did great harme within the Pryncipalitie. Wherefore the king sailed thether and made sharpe warre vpon them, in the which he lost manye of his men: But in the ende hee put from them their strength, and tooke them both Prisoners, and so kept them duryng their lyues. And that done he set that Countrie in good rest and peace, and after returned into England. After which returne the king made sharpe lawes against theeues and other that vsed vnlawfull doynges. In the which lawes was conteyned, losyng of lyfe, of eyes, of stones, and other members of man, as the fault and offence required.

Robert of Bolisme erle of Shrewesbury rebelleth

1104

5

Lawes made against ruffians and theeues.

And shortly after, Anselme Archebishop of Cauntorbury assembled a great counsail at London of the Clergie of England: By auctority of which counsail, diuerse Abbottes & other were put from their dignitie, for that they had taken before tyme their Abbeyes by vnlawful meanes. And among all other decrees one was, that priests should forgo theyr wiues, as saith Fabian.

Anselme Archebishop of Cãterbury

Priestes put from their wiues by Anselme Bishop of Cãterbury

Then strife fell betwene the king and Anselme, for that that he would not sacre the priestes that had taken inuestiture of the kinges handes, which before was forbidden vpon paine of curssing. But Giralde Archebishop of Yorke for the pleasure of the king, sacred such Bishoppes: Wherefore Anselme beyng discontented, departed the land, and went to Rome to complaine of this and other thinges to the Bishop thereof, which then was named Paschall the second. And about this tyme Sir Robert le Fitzham Erle of Glocester buylded the towne of Tewkesburye, and there was buryed, and also buylded the Castell of Bristow.

Anselme goeth to Rome to complaine of the king.

1105

6

In the sixt yere of the king, the Countrie of Flaunders was sore blemished and hurt by meane of the sea, so that the Fleminges were enforced to seeke for succour and place of dwellyng, and required of the king to haue lycence that they might inhabite in the East part of Twede, the which to them was graunted. But after a certeyne of yeres they were remoued into west Wales, where they remayned a long while, but after they spred all England ouer.

Flaunders ouerflowen with the sea.

1106

7

In the. vij. yere of his reigne, vpon a Fryday at night in the first weeke of cleane Lent, was seene a straunge and wonderfull starre betweene the South and the West, the which nightly apered at an houre, and continued so by the space of. xxv. dayes. And right against that, on the East part appered a great flamyng beame of great brightnesse, whiche stretched towarde the

Straunge & wonderfull sightes.

sayde starre. And vpon Maundy thursday next folowyng, were seene two Moones, the one in the East and the other in the West.

Anselme returned from Rome.

This yere also Anselme by the kinges agreement returned from Rome, and shortly after called a conuocation at London, in the which by the Bishop of Romes aucthoritie, it was newly enacted and confirmed, that no temporal man after that day should make any inuesture with Crosse and Ryng.

A cõuocation at London.

1107 / 8

In the .viij. yere of his reigne, the fourth Henry Emperour of Almaine, the which was affianced to Moulde the eldest daughter of this king Henry, when she was of the age of fiue yeres, emprisoned Paschall Bishop of Rome and dyuerse of the Cardinalles.

1108 / 9

In the .ix. yere of his reigne, the Archbishop Anselme professed Gerard Archebishop of Yorke to the yoke of obedience, as he was before taught by Lanfranke his predecessor. And the .x. day of August folowyng, he sacred fiue Bishoppes at one tyme, as of Winchester, of Sarisbury, of Exceter, of Herford, and Glamorgan. And king Henry ordeyned a bishops See at Ely,

Ely the Bishops See first instituted.

and to the Bishoppes See at Lyncolne he gaue his awne towne of Spaldyng, for he had minished that See by the erection of Ely.

1109 / 10

In the .x. yere dyed Anselme Archebishop of Cauntorbury, after whose death the See was voyde fiue yeres, and the goodes of the Church spent to the kinges vse. And when he was prayed to helpe the Church that was without an head and a pastour, he vsed to aunswere that his father and also his brother had accustomed to set there the best proued men that they coulde finde, and to the entent that he might do the same, he toke the more tyme and leysure. And with such mylde aunsweres he put off the tyme, and filled his Cofers with the great summes of the Benefice. And at this tyme, the king maried his brother Roberts bastard sonne, to Mabell daughter and heyre of Robert Fitzham, and made him the first Erle of Glocester, who after buylded the strong Castell of Bristow.

Anselme dyeth.

1110 / 11

About this tyme (as sayth the Frenche Chronicle) a controuersie began betwirt the king, and Lewes king of Fraunce sonne vnto Philip the first. This Lewes was surnamed Lewes the great, eyther for the bygnesse of his person, or else for the greatnesse of his dedes. This Lewes sent vnto king Henry beyng in Normandy, and gaue vnto him monition to do his homage for the Duchy of Normandy, and also that he should restore vnto him, or else beate downe the Castell of Gysours, and also make recompence and restitution vnto him for the hurtes and harmes that his Normanes had done in those partes. But all this of king Henry was denied, and shortly after skirmishes and bickerings began betwene the sayde two Princes, king Henry then lyyng at the said Castell of Gysours, and Lewes at a place called mount Calue. But this encreased in such wise, that shortly after, eyther of the Princes sought for places of more rowme, and their knightes met sundrie times. But of any notable battaile betwene them I find no remembrance although the same warres continued two yeres. In the ende of which two yeres William the eldest sonne of king Henry, beyng a childe and within age, contented so well the minde of Lewes, that he refrayned from his warre for that time.

1111 / 12

1112 / 13

In the .xiij. yere of his reigne, at Shrewesbury, and at Notyngham was a great earthquake from the mornyng vnto night. The Riuer of Trent in the moneth of June flowed not for the space of a mile so as sayth Guydo, that

that men might there haue gone drieshod ouer it, as though the water had bene gone another way, and this continued the space of one whole day. And soone after appered a blasyng starre, wherevpon folowed an hard Wynter, great death of the people, and scarcetie of victualles by the great Mozeyn of beastes that ensued. And in this yere also the king founded the Abbey of hide without the walles of Winchester, that of olde tyme was within the walles, and first founded by king Alphzed called the new Abbey of Winchester. The Citie of Worcester was in this yere almost all consumed with fyre. And in this time began the Parliament in England first to be instituted and ordeyned for reformation and gouernement of this Realme. The maner whereof as I haue found it set forth in an olde Pamphlet, I entende at large to set forth in the reigne of king Edward the third, where and when Parliaments were verely and orderly kept.

Worcester brent.

1113 / 14

In the .xiiij. yere of his reigne he subdued the Welchemen (sayth Polydore) and that not without great slaughter of them, which before by often breakyng out into the frontiers and marches of Englande, wasted those Countryes very sore.

About this time also (sayth the same writer) Henry the fourth of that name Emperor, vnto whom Mawde the kinges daughter was fianced, sent vnto king Henry for his wife, beyng now able to company with a man, who to prepare a conuenient dowry for her, seased a great payment vpon the people to be leuyed by the Acre, that is to say vpon euery Acre of land that any man helde a certaine portion: By reason whereof he gathered a great masse of money, the which he sent with her to the afore sayd Emperour.

1114 / 15

In the .xv. yere of his reigne, the king entended to haue promoted Fabricius, Abbot of Abyngdon vnto the See of Cauntorbury but in a synode or counsaile of Bishoppes kept at Winsore, the kinges minde was chaunged, and to ꝑ See was then admitted Raufe that was before bishop of Rochester

Thurston Archebishop of Yorke denyed obedience to the Archebishop of Cãtorbury.

And the same yere one Thurston was chosen Archebishop of Yorke, the which denyed his profession of obedience, that he should owe vnto the See of Cauntorbury, wherefore at length he was depriued of his dignitie. But after by labour that he made to Paschall Bishop of Rome, the sayd Bishop of Rome wrote to the king that he should restore him againe to the sayd See: By the which meane he was restored, but yet disdeyned he to do his lawfull obedience vnto the sayde Raufe Archebishop of Cauntorbury. Then the strife was againe renued which Lanfranke before had appeased, and at the length brought in argument before the Bishop of Rome. The which at the kinges request promised that he would nothing do, nor ordeine that should preiudice the Archebishop of Cauntorbury, or the dignitie of his Church. But in conclusion the sayd Bishop of Rome gaue such a defuse sentence in this matter, that he left the strife vndetermined. And when the kinges procurators and the Archbishops of Cauntorburies also were absent, were it for mede or for fauour, the Bishop of Rome was so bent, that he forsooke the olde rule vsed before his dayes, and sacred the sayd Thurston himselfe, and gaue him the Pall. For this dede the king was sore discontented with Thurston, and forbad him the entery of his land. Wherefore the Bishop of Rome wrote shortly after to the king, willing him to suffer Thurston to occupie the See peaceably, or he should be accursed, and suspended by the dignitie of the office

Contention for the Primacye.

Thurston made Archebishop of Cantorbury.

of Cauntozbury, and so Thurston quietly enioyed his See by that meanes.

1116 / 17 — In the. xvij. yere of his reigne, the warre againe betweene him and Lewes the French king was renued, and the occasioner thereof, as sayth the French Chronicle, was Thibauld Erle of Charters or Champaigne, which Thibauld was grieued by the French king, and for necessitie requyred ayde of the king of Englande, to whome the king as his kinsman sent ayde and succour. And afterward the king sayled ouer with a strong army, and sent a noble man named Stephen into the Lordship of Bzye, to defend it against the French king. When Lewes vnderstoode that king Henry was landed in Normandy with so great a power, he in all the hast assembled a great and strong power, and came towardes him. But there were such strong Holdes so well manned with Normanes, and also so great and deepe riuers that the Frenche king coulde not come at king Henry. But at the last he wanne a towne named Lingues in Cause, in the which towne was a bzidge to passe ouer the ryuer of Thee, and so into Normandy.

warres againe renued with France

When a certeyne of the knightes of Lewes had thus wonne the towne afozesayde, the sayde Lewes with his people sped him shortly after and rescued his fozesayde knightes, and then spoyled and robbed the Towne which was riche, bicause it had beene in rest and quiet many yeres befoze. He also slue and tooke pzisoners all the Normans there dwelling, and put in their steed Frenchmen. And that done, he sped him towardes king Henrie, the which was at a Castle called Male assise, & there made pzouision for the defence of the Frenchmen. And when he had garnished and furnished it to hys pleasure and contentation, he then departed from thence. And shortly after the French king came thether with his whole army of Frenchmen, and after many soze and cruell assaultes, he wonne the sayde Castell, and bet it downe to the grounde. After which victozie, as sayth the French Chronicle, there chaunced to the French king manye misfortunes. For shortly after among manye other mischaunces, a Noble Capitaine of his named Angueran de Chaumounte, the which had done much harme in Normandy to king Henry and had wonne there sundzie Castels and strong holdes, dyed sodeynlye. And in short time after Baldwin Erle of Flaunders, a man of great strength, and puyssaunce as he besieged a Castell was wounded in the face, and died within sixe dayes after. Then Fauques Erle of Aungeros, in whome also thys Lewes affied muche and trusted, married his daughter vnto William the eldest sonne of King Henry, and refused the French kings parte, and ayded and assisted king Henry in all that he might, so that daylie the power of Henry encreased, and the French kings minished. Finally, these two Pzinces met with both their armies in plaine field and fought a deadly and cruell battayle, where in the ende the French king was ouercome, and lost muche of his people, & was compelled to flee vnto a place called Andeley for his safemost fayrest manor, so that they (as Fabian sayeth) excuse themselues and saye, that king Henry set vpon Lewes when he was not ware, and hys knights at that tyme were all out of order & aray: and also that king Henry had a farre greater number then the French king had, with other wordes in the pzaise and commendation of themselues, which is to their rebuke.

Male assise Castell.

1117 / 18

A cruell battaile.

But Reynulph of Chester sayth that King Henry ouercame the French king in the playne field royally.

Now it followeth in the storie, when these two Pzinces were agreed, William the sonne of King Henry did homage vnto the French king for the landes of Normandy, by the agreement of his father: for the king thought himselfe to good to be vnder the obeysaunce of the French king. Then king Henry caused his free men of Englande and of Normandy, to doe homage lykewise vnto his sonne Wylliam.

1118 / 19 — Homage.

And sone after Fauques before named, left his Erledome of Angers, in the guyding of King Henry, and went himselfe into the holye lande, and wylled in his Testament, that if he returned not againe, that then the sayde Erledome should remayne vnto his sonne in lawe Wylliam, sonne of King Henry which had maried his daughter.

About the twentie yere of the reigne of king Henry, Queene Wolde or Mawde his wyfe dyed in Normandy, the which in her youth, was set by her father the king of Scottes, into a Nonnery and there did weare and vse the vayle and habite of a Nonne. For the which cause when king Henry was agreeable to take her vnto his wife, this matter fell in great disputation, and Anselme then Archebishop of Cauntozburie was sore against that mariage for a tyme: But afterwarde it was sufficiently proued that shee was there wearyng the habite but neuer professed the order. And hir father had so deuised it to the entent to auoyde vnworthy wooers.

1119 / 20

When king Henry had continued in Normandy almost three yeres, he tooke shippyng at Harflete in Normandy, and sayled happely into England the same day, that is to say, the. xviij. day of Nouember. And shortly after William Duke of Normandy with Richard his brother, Mary his daughter, Richard Erle of Chester, with his wyfe the kinges nece, and the Archedeacon of Herforde and other to the number of one hundzeth & thze score persones, tooke shippyng at the same port, and were all drowned, a Boocher only excepted: which misfortune chaunced partly by the violent rage of tempest, and partly by the ouersight of the maister and other, which in the night had quarelled among themselues, by reason whereof they ranne vpon a rock as sayd the Boocher. From this daunger William Duke of Normandy escaped, and was in the Shipboate nere vnto the land: but when he heard the lamentable cry of his sister, he commaunded the Rowers to returne and saue her, which done by what misfortune I can not tell, after she was receyued into the Boate, were it by tempest, or ouercharging of the Boate, or otherwise, they were all swallowed of the sea, so that none of them was after fownd, but part of their goodes.

A pitifull chaunce.

In the. xxi. yere of his reigne, king Henry made the Parke of Woodstock besyde Oxenford, and walled it with stone, besydes other pleasures to the same belongyng. And about this time Fauques Erle of Angers returned out of the holy land, and maryed the sister of her that before he had maried vnto William Duke of Normandy, vnto the sonne of Robert Curthose, and gaue with her the Erledome of Cenomanna. And strife began to kindle betweene king Henry and the said Fauques, for the withholding of the dower or ioynter of his first daughter maryed vnto William the kinges sonne, and for the cruell handlyng of Duke Robert of Normandy, whom the sayd Fauques loued intyrely.

1120 / 21

Woodstock parke.

Fauques Erle of Angiers.

Robert Curthose

1122 / 23

In the.xxiij. yere of the king, Raufe Archebishop of Cauntorbury died, and a Clerke named William was placed in the See after him. And the king in this yere began the foundation of the Abbey of Readyng. And John Cremensis a preist, Cardinall of Rome was sent from Calixt the seconde of that name then Bishop of Rome, for certeyne matters concernyng the said bishop of Rome. In which tyme of his beyng here, he made sharpe proceasse against such preistes as had eyther wyues or else kept concubines, and rebuked them by open publication, and otherwyse, so that he gat himselfe thereby small or little fauour. But this Cardinall was so feruent in the correction of other mennes vices, that he forgat to looke vpon his awne life. For in the night or euenyng of the same day that he had blowen his horne, and sayde, that it was a most detestable offence before God, to aryse from the syde of a strumpet, and then to sacre the body of Christ, he himselfe was taken with a strumpet to his open shame and rebuke, but he excused the matter (sayth Mathew of Westminster) saiyng that he was no preist but a corrector of preistes.

John a Cardinall of Rome, taken with incontinencie.

Preistes wiues and concubines.

Christ Cardinall.

A simple excuse and an vntrue.

1124 / 25

In the.xxv. yere of his reigne was called a counsail at London, where the spiritualtie consented that the kinges officers should punish preistes that had Concubines. But the sayd officers tooke money and suffered the Preistes to liue at their pleasures. Which offence at this day is so clerely renounced of all Spirituall men, that there are no fynes at all taken nowe, neyther yet correction necessary done for the same, neyther duely punished any other where in England, except it be in one house called Bridewell in London, where also (as some say) there is but to much fauour shewed, chiefely to such as can make any friendes.

Bridewell.

1126 / 27

In the. xxvij. yere of his reigne, the Gray Fryers came first into this Realme of England, and had their first house buylded at Cauntorbury. And about this tyme also dyed Henry the fourth Emperour of that name, which (as before is touched) maryed Molde the daughter of king Henry. After whose death the sayd Empresse came vnto her father in Normandy. Nowe when king Henry was asserteyned of the death of Henry the Emperour, for somuch as he had none heyre male, he caused soone after the most part of all the Lordes spirituall and tempozall in England, to swere in his presence that they should kepe the land of England to the vse of Mawde the Empresse, if he dyed without issue male, and that she then surupued.

Grey Friers when they came first into England.

1127 / 28

In the. xxviij. yere of the king, Geoffrey Plantagenet the sonne of Foulques Erle of Angeow, maryed Molde the Empresse. Of the which two discended Henry the seconde, which after Stephen was king of England. And after the king was returned into England, he released vnto the Englishmen the Dane gelt, which was by his father and brother receyued and taken.

Dane gelt released.

1129 / 30

In the. xxx. yere of his reigne dyed the Erle of Flaunders, and as Reynulph sayth, king Henry was by the agreement of the Frenche king made Erle, as nert heyre and inheritor vnto the sayde Erledome.

1131 / 32

In the.xxxij. yere of the king dyed Robert Curthose the kinges brother, the which he had kept as prisoner in the Castell of Cardiffe from the fourth yere of his reigne, whose dead carkasse was buryed at Glouceister.

1134 / 35

In the. xxxv. yere of his reigne, was borne of Molde the Empresse, Henry shortmantell, or Henry the seconde, and about thys tyme was by the king founded the Bishoprike of Carlill, and a great part of London brenned.

Now

Now for a finall ende of this story, king Henry in the beginning of the xxxvj. yere of his reigne, he beyng in Normandye fell from or with his horse, whereof he tooke his death. But Raynulph sayth, that he tooke a surfet by eatyng of a Lampzey, and thereof dyed, when he had reyned full. xxxv. yeres and odde monethes, and was buryed at Redyng Abbey whereof he was the founder, as he was also of the Abbey of Ciceter the which Mathew of Westminster calleth Ciremester.

1135 / 36

King Stephen.



1135 / 1

Stephen Erle of Boloigne, sonne of the Erle of Bloys and Adela daughter to king william the Conquerour, and nephewe vnto king Henry the first, tooke on him the gouernaunce of this Realme of England, the second day of December. 1135. through the counsayle and ayde of many Lordes of England, contrary to their othe made to Mawde the Empresse.

This was a noble man and hardy. But yet contrary to his othe ẏ he made to Molde or Mawde the Empresse as afore sayde, hee tooke vpon him the Crowne of this Realme, and was crowned on Saint Stephens day in Christmas weeke at Westminster of William Archebishop of Cauntorbury, which Bishop in lyke maner had made the lyke othe vnto the sayde Empresse, in the presence of the king her father as before is touched: In punishment of which periury as men suppose, the sayd Archebishop dyed shortly after.

King Steuē crowned.

The Lordes also of the whole realme as aboue said had made like othes, and committed the lyke periury, and therfore scaped not punishment. A great part of this periury (as sayth one aucthour) was this: One Hugh Bygot Steward sometyme of king Henry the first, immediately after the decease of the sayde Henry came into England, and before the sayde Archebishop and other Lordes of the land, he tooke wilfully an othe, and sware that he was present a little before the kinges death, when king Henry admitted and chose for his heyre to be king after him Stephen his nephew, because Molde his daughter had displeased him: wherevnto the Archebishop & the other Lords gaue to hasty credence. But the sayde Hugh escaped not vnpunished, for he dyed miserably in a short tyme after.

Periury.

Wilfull periury punished

When king Stephen was crowned he sware before the Lordes at Oxenford that he would not holde in his hande the Bishoprikes and benefices that were voyde, and that he would forgeue the Dane gelt as king Henry before him had done, with sundrie other thinges. And because this Stephen feared the comming of Mawde the Empresse, he therefore gaue licence vn-

Dane gelt.

to

to his Lordes that euery of them might buylde a Castell or strong fortresse vpon his awne ground. And soone after hee agreed with Dauid king of Scots who with Henry his sonne did homage vnto him for Scotland. The same tyme Stephen gaue also vnto Henry the sonne of the sayde Scottishe king, the Erledome of Huntyngdon and the towne of Bedford.

1136
2
Homage of the Scottes.

1137
3

In the which tyme the king layed siege to the Castell of Bedford, the which was possessed and manned of the Scottishe king and wanne it. And that done he then made a voyage into Scotland, where he did not muche eyther to his pleasure or profite. But yet Polydore writeth, that whilest king Stephen made himselfe readie to set vpon the Scottishe armie, who were come to defende the borders of the Countrie: Dauid perceyuing himselfe to weake, and not able to withstand his power, sent his Ambassadors vnto him to entreate a peace, which at the length was graunted him vpon condition that he would be content to delyuer his sonne in hostage for the sure performaunce and holding of the Articles and couenants concluded betwixt them, the which was done. Then in his returne homeward he toke Alexander Bishop of Lincolne & kept him in durance vntill he had giuen vnto him the Castell of Newarke. And then he chased Nigellus Bishop of Ely. But sayth Polidore, after he had thus finished the matter with the Scottes, in hys returne againe into England he went to Wales and there besieged and wanne Ludlow the head towne of those partes, the which he founde possessed of his enimies, where Henrie prince of Scotland as he was in fight neere vnto the towne walles, was sodeynly of the aduersaries that were within the towne plucked from his horse with a crooked engine of Iron, and therewith had beene taken vp into the towne, if God had not so prouyded that the King came foorthwith and rescued him in that present daunger.

Alexander Bishop of Lincolne.

About this tyme also he tooke suche displeasure with his louing friend, Roger Bishop of Sarisbury, for that he suspected him as he did all those that had lately buylded any Fort or Castell to fauor the Empresse part, that he cast him into prison vntill the sayd Roger had rendred vnto him his two Castels: of Vises and Sherborne the which himselfe had builded. For the which the sayde Roger in remembring the great ingratitude of the king, tooke suche thought that he dyed shortly after, and left behinde him in readie coyne in his sayde Castels fourtie thousand Markes, which after his death came to the Kings Cofers, and with that treasure (sayth Reynulph) he found the meanes to marry his sonne Eustace to Lady Constance the French kinges sister.

Roger bishop of Sarisbury

1138
4
Scottes rebell.

Thurston Archebishop of Yorke ouerthrew the king of Scottes.

1139
5

About the fourth yere of his reigne, Dauid king of Scottes repenting him of his former agreement made with the king, entred of newe within the boundes of Northumberland about the ryuer of Thayse towarde the Prouynce of Yorke, and brent and slue the people, and spoyled the Countrie in most cruell wise, not sparing neyther man woman nor chylde. Against whom Thurston Archbishop of Yorke by the kings commaundement was sent, who with his power did acquite himselfe so valiauntly, that he ouerthrewe the hoste of the Scottes, and slue ten thousand of them, and in fine compelled them to withdrawe againe into Scotland. Reynulph.

In the fyft yere of his reigne, and in the Moneth of July, Mawde the Empresse with her brother Robert and other of her friends entred the lande at the hauen of Portesmouth, and from thence went to Arundell and tooke the

the Castell there. Then Robert Erle of Gloucester leauing her in the sayde Castell, hauing with him onely ten horsemen, with so many Archers on horsbacke, passed through his enimies Countries and sped him to Gloucester, as well to signifie vnto the people the landing of his sister the Empresse, as to cause an armie to ayde hir. And though the same towne were at his comming manned with the kings power: Yet when the townesmen vnderstood that he was come, they of their owne accorde put the kings Garrisons out of the towne and receyued him, that done the sayde Erle not onely assembled an armie there, but found the meanes also that the places and Countrie adioinyng, willyngly submitted themselues vnto the Empresse.

Now when king Stephen who then layde siege to Wallyngford Castel vnderstood that the Empresse was landed, he incontinent brake vp his siege, and with his whole power spedely addressed himselfe to the towne of Arondell and besieged the Castell. But when he had there continued his siege a certaine space, and nothing was yet done accordyng to his expectation, some of them which were secrete friendes and ayders of the Empresse, ceassed not to beate into his head that the same Castell was impregnable, and therefore his lying there was but in vaine, saiyng further, that it were best for him to leaue his siege and suffer her to issue out, and to go to some other holde or place where he might more easily come by her, the which was done to this only ende, that she beyng now in the case that she was, not able to hold out any longer for lacke of victualles, might escape the present daunger she was in, and flie to some other place of more suretie, where shee might make her selfe more strong against her enemies. And so Stephen folowyng this deceyueable counsayle, departed incontinent with his armie so farre that the enemies should not feare to issue out whether they would. The which thing the sayd Empresse perceyuyng, departed thence in the dead of the night, and so kept on her iourney to Bristowe, whether there came to her shortly after her comming great succours out of all partes of the Realme: The whiche when king Stephen was enformed of, he repented him (but to late) that he had folowed the former euill counsayle. Wherefore he hastened him towards Bristowe to the entent to lay siege to the towne, and there to enclose his enemie if he might by any meanes. But the Empresse hearyng of his comming, and vnderstanding his purpose, departed thence, and went first to Gloucester and then to Lyncolne, where she victualled the towne, and so fortefied it with men and munition, that she might safely there tary till eyther she were rescued by the Erle her brother and others of her friendes, or else by the fauour and ayde of the Commons, be restored to her right without bloudshed & battayle, and king Stephen deposed. But he beyng aduertised what was there by her done, pursued after withall haste and besieged the same Citie.

After which season the Erle Robert, and Reynulph before named with a great power of Welchemen, and the power of the Empresse, came agaynst the king intending to rayse the siege. Where when both armies were redye to ioyne. The Erle Reynulph of Chester spake to his knightes and sayde, I requyre you, that I that am cause of your perill, may be the first that shall enter into perill. Then aunswered Erle Robert and sayd, it is not vnworthie to thee that askest the first stroke and dignitie of this fight: for vnto thee it is fitting, for nobleneſſe of blood and vertue of strength in the which thou pas-

Strife who should fight first in battel.

sest

feat other men: But the kinges false othe moueth men to warre and fight, wherein we must nowe eyther winne the maystry or be ouercome. And hee that hath none other succour, is constreyned to defende himselfe by knightly and strong dedes of armes and of manhood, and so shall we nowe ioyne with them that are blemished with guile & wickednesse, as Robert Erle of Mellent, the Erle also of Albemarle, and Simon of Hampton, the which is a man of great boast and small might.

The oration of Erle Baldwyn.

Then king Stephen prepared to set forward his people, and Erle Baldwyn had wordes of comfort to the kinges people, and sayde: Unto men that shall fight there are three speciall thinges to be considered. The first is the quarrell, least men fall into perill of the soule. The second is the number of men of armes, least men be ouerlayde and oppressed with to great a multitude. And the thirde is, the lustinesse, courage, and strength of knightes, that the matter quayle not for lacke of stoute, hardie courage, and assured fightyng in the tyme of neede. As touchyng which three poyntes, I trust we be well sped. And furthermore if we note well what enemies we haue. First we haue against vs Robert Erle of Gloceſter, who vseth great threates, and performeth small deedes. In mouth and countenaunce lyke a Lyon, but in heart a very sheepe. He is glorious in speeche, and darke in vnderstandyng. There is also Reynulph Erle of Chester, a man without reason, and full of foolishehardinesse, redy and prompt to all conspiracie, and vnstedfast in al his deedes and attemptes: hastie and furious of heart, and vnware of perilles. He assayeth oft to atchieue great deedes, but he bringeth none to effect. And what he fiercely and freshely beginneth, he cowardly and fayntly forsaketh, as infortunate and vnhappy in all his dedes, and is ouercome in euery place, for he is a companion with banished men and sculkers, and the mo of them that are in a company, the sooner they be ouerthrowne: and feeble they be in fightyng, for eyther of them putteth his trust in his felow, whyle he himselfe is ouerthrowen.

Three thinges are requisite to such as fight in battayle.

A terrible battaile.

But, before he could finishe his wordes, the crie of the enemies with noyes of Trumpettes, and neeyng of horses were heard on euery syde, the battayles approched and ioyned together, and forth flew the arrowes, and a grisely and cruell fight was vpon both sydes so long as it endured. By reason of which fight and the slaughter thereof, the greene fielde was turned into a perfite red, so that many a pale and wanne visage was there seene yelding vp of the ghost, with armes and legges disseuered and departed from the bodyes. A long while this fight stood in doubt, whether partie should obteine victory. But in the ende king Stephens partie gaue backe and fled, but hee valiauntly abode in the fielde with a fewe of his knightes and was taken, and so he was brought vnto the Empresse: the which commaunded him to be conueyed vnder sure keepyng vnto Bristow, where he was kept as a prisoner, from Candlemas vnto holy Rood day then next ensuyng.

King Stephen taken prisoner.

When the Empresse had wonne this victorye, and had committed the king to warde, as before ye haue heard, she was not therewith a little exalted, but thought in her mynde, that she was in a suretie of the possession of the whole Realme: But she was deceyued, for the Countie of Kent tooke partie with king Stephen. And after this victory she departed thence, and toke the towne of Cicester, and afterwardes went vnto Winchester, where shee was solemply

solemply receyued of the Bishop and the people with procession, and from thence came to Wilton, to Oxford, to Reding, and to Saint Albones, into the which Cities and townes she was ioyfully receyued withall honour, but especially was she welcomed of Theobaldus then Archebishop of Cantorbury, and many of the nobilitie besydes. Lastly, she came to London for to enter the state of the land, and while she remayned there, the Quene king Stephens wyfe made earnest labor for the deliuery of the king her husband, promising that he should surrender the land into her possession, and he to become a religious man, either else a pilgrim to his lyues ende. But all was in vaine, for she could purchase no grace as then vpon no maner of conditions.

The triumphing of Mawde the Empresse.

A large promise which was neuer purposed to be performed.

The Citizens of London also made great labour that they might vse the lawes of king Edward the Confessor, as they were graunted by William the Conquerour, and not the lawes of her father, which were of more streightnesse, whereof in no wyse they could get any graunt.

The Empresse was somewhat to straytly laced.

For this the Citizens were discontented, and knowyng that the Countrye of Kent which fauoured king Stephen would strength theyr party, purposed to haue taken her. But she beyng thereof warned, departed in haste, and left behinde her her store of housholde, and so fled vnto Orenford, where she abode, but her people was deuyded and scattered. And in this while she sent vnto Dauid the king of Scottes and her vncle for to ayde her, who in all haste came vnto her, and so went to Winchester, where she layde siege to the Bishoppes Tower, the which, the Bishop beyng the kinges brother at that tyme helde with great strength.

The fleyng of the Empresse.

Then the Queene with the ayde of her friendes, that is to say, of Kentishe men and other, made a strong hoste, whereof was chiefe Capitayne a Knight named Guylliam Ypres. When the Empresse heard of the great strength of the Queene, and sawe that her awne dayly minished rather than encreased, was in such feare that she caused her selfe to be caryed in a horse Litter to Gloucester as though shee had bene dead. But Erle Robert her brother was taken soone after, and put in prison, and Dauid king of Scots heeryng of this returned into Scotland.

A wise and courageous woman.

Then meanes was made vpon either side for the deliuery and exchaunge of prisoners, so that in ỹ end it was agreed, that the king should be deliuered for Erle Robert. But before this agreement was fully concluded, great losse and mischiefe was done within this Realme euery way, for the Empresse pilled and spoyled on her partie, and the Queene by manaces and promises borowed and tooke vpon the otherside, and the Souldiours stale, extorted, and spoyled vpon both parties, so that riche men were made needy, and the poore oppressed on euery side.

Prisoners exchaunged.

Pilling and spoyling of the Realme.

In this meane while the Empresse returned againe to Orenforde, and victualled it and manned it in her best maner. And lastly the king was deliuered vpon holy Rood day in Harueſt, and soone after he compassed Orenford with a great armye, from the tyme of Michaelmasse vnto Christmasse nert folowyng, at which tyme and season, the Empresse vsed a newe guile for constraint and necessitie of victuall.

The returne of the Empresse vnto Orenford.

In that tyme great plentye of snowe fell vpon the ground, and the frost was therewithall so great, that Thames with other great riuers were then frosen ouer, so that man and horse might passe vpon the Ise. The Empresse then

A prety preuention.

A hard scape.

The maner of departure of the Empresse.

then constreyned by neede (as afore sayd) apparelled her and her company in white clothing, which a farre of semed like snow, and so vpon a plumbe going together as neere as they might, escaped the daunger of their enemyes, and so came first to the pyle or Castell of Sherebourne, and then to Wallingford. And from thence in short time, she departed with a small company into Normandy vnto her husband.

So soone as the Empresse was thus departed from Oxenford the towne was yelded vnto the king, where the king had much of the Empresse stuffe, aswell harnesse as other stuffe of houshold. Then the king entended to haue pursued her, but tidynges came vnto him that Reynulph Erle of Chester with an hoste of Welchemen was commyng towardes him: But by mediation of friendes this Reynulph in the ende was reconciled to the king, and was with him fully agreed. But shortly after sayth Reynulph, in a Parliament holden at Northamton, he was taken of the king by a traine, and not deliuered againe before he had geuen vp the Castell of Lincolne.

Parliament at Northamton.

1144
10

Jewes crucified a child.

About this tyme as certeyne write, the Jewes then beyng in England crucified a childe named William in the Citie of Norwiche in derision of the Christian religion. And in the time of Henry the second, about the.vj.yere of his reigne (as sayth Reynulph) they crucified another at Gloucester.

1146
12

In the.xij.yere of his reigne, king Stephen was againe crowned at Lincolne after the geuyng vp of the sayd Citie where neuer none of his predecessors had bene euer crowned before.

Robert Erle of Gloucester well rewarded of the king.

Robert Erle of Gloucester made also new warre vpon the king, at Wilton, so that he was in great perill, and like to haue fallen into Roberts daunger, and escaped but verye narowly. And there was taken a Barron of the kinges named Sir William Martell, for whose raunsome and deliuery, the king gaue after to the sayd Erle the Castell of Sherborne. And that done, the sayd Erle Robert began to buyld a strong Castell at Faringdon: Whereof the king beyng enformed, assembled his knightes and sped him thetherward, by meane whereof the worke was for that tyme empeached and let. These thinges done (sayth Polidore) the rage of warre ceased for a tyme. In the meane while, the king went vnto London, and there helde a Parliament, in the which he spake vnto his Nobles and Prelates as foloweth.

Where you haue hetherto (my most deare and truely Lords all) followed me as chiefe and head Capitaine in defending your libertie, I desire you that you will not nowe forsake me but do the lyke hereafter, and continue as loyall and faythful vnto me your soueraigne liege Lord, as you haue hetherto bene: for as concerning me, though I haue not yet (I confesse) done my duetie in the princely regiment committed vnto me, accordingly yet certes it hath not bene for want of good will, but for that time hath not serued therunto, nether can I now accomplish the same without your ayde and assistance. And because you shall not thinke that hetherto little or nothing hath beene done of any importaunce: you shall vnderstand that our enimies are already so weakened by my meanes, that will they nyll they, they must needes yeeld them shortly to our grace and mercie. There remayneth onely that you will for your partes helpe to maintaine those warres which by oure consent and counsayle were first begonne and taken in hande by mee, for the defence of the common wealth. And manye other wordes spake he vnto them of lyke

sentence,

sentence, to the entent to moue them to contribute to the aforesayde warres as the present necessitie should require.

When he had thus spoken euery man promised wyllingly to ayde him with that they might, aswell for their awne safetie, as for the defence of the common libertie of the Realme. The Bishops and Priestes also, because it was not lawfull for them to fight, were contented yet to ayde him with money. For the which thing, he being desyrous to gratefie them againe, caused it to be ordeyned and enacted in the Parliament, that whosoeuer from that daye forwarde layde violent handes vpon any that was within holy orders, or did arrest any such, for what cryme soeuer it were, or take them prisoners without the ordinaries processe and expresse commaundement, should be accounted accursed, and neuer to be assoyled againe, but of the Bishop of Rome.

1149
15

In the.xv.yere of his reigne, the Ryuer of Thamys was so strongly ouer frosen that Horse and Carte passed ouer vpon the Yse.

It is also written by Robert a Chronicler that king Stephen conceyuing great displeasure against the Citie of Worcester, because they receyued the Duke of Gloucester and Mawde the Empresse, did therefore cause the same Citie to be set on fyre and brent to coles.

1151
17

In the.xvij.yere, Reynulph Erle of Chester dyed, and was the fourth Erle after the Conquest, and his sonne Hugh was Earle after hym, which was a man of great strength and power. And in the same yere (as sayeth Guydo and other) dyed Geoffrey Plantagenet husband of Mawde the Empresse. After whose death, Henry short Wantell that was the sonne of the sayde Geoffrey and Mawde, was made Duke of Angeow and Normandy, who in fewe yeres after maried Elianor the daughter of the Erle of Poytowe, the which Elianour was before maried vnto Lewes king of Fraunce, and from him deuorced for neereneesse of blood, when he had receyued of her two daughters named Mary, and Alice, as sayth the French Chronicle. And so this Henry was Erle of Angeow by his father, and Duke of Normandy by his mother, and Erle of Poytowe by his wyfe.

The death of Geoffrey Plantagenet.

It was not long after, that Eustace the sonne of king Stephen, wyth aide of the French king, warred vpon Henry Duke of Normandy, the which (as some write) was practised by Stephen his father, to the intent to let or stop him that he should not come into England to clayme his inheritaunce. But Duke Henry defended himselfe so knightly, that the saide Eustace wan thereby lyttle honour and lesse profite.

An olde Chronicle sheweth that king Stephen entended to haue crowned the sayd Eustace his sonne king of Englande by his dayes, but the Byshoppes refused that deede by the commaundement of the Bishop of Rome.

1152
18

In the.xviij.yere, the king layde siege vnto the Castelles of Newbury, of Walyngforde, and of Warwike & Warwell, the which had bene kept by the Empresse friendes, from the time of her departure vnto that day, and hoped of reskues by Henry Duke of Normandy. But the king then wan the Castelles of Newbury and of Warwell, but Warwike and Wallyngford defended themselues vntill the commyng of Henry the Duke, the which in the ende of the sayde yere with a great armye entred England, and first wanne the Castell of Malmesbury.

The landing of Henry Duke of Normandy.

And thence he went to London, and wanne the Tower, asmuch by pol-

lecy and by fayre promises, as by strength. And such stuffe of victuall and armour as he found therein, he sent to Walingford. And that done, he went to the towne of Walyngford, and wanne suche holdes as were thereabout, and diuerse other townes and Castelles mo. Then king Stephen with his power drewe towarde the Duke. And finally, by meane of mediators, as Thibalde Archbishop of Cauntorbury and other, both Princes to common of peace, met nere vnto the water of Urine, or Urne. But as fast as some laboured for peace, so fast other laboured to haue warre, so that at that communication the peace was not concluded.

After the king and the Duke were departed, the king went toward Ipswitch in Suffolke: And the Duke tooke the way towarde Shrewesbury, where he wanne the Castell of the sayd towne. From thence he went to Notyngham, and wan that towne, but would not meddle with the Castell, because he thought it to strong to be wonne. Wherefore the Souldiours that held the said Castell, seeing that the towne toke partie with the Duke, brake out in the night, and set the towne on fyre, and brent a great part thereof.

Eustace the sonne of king Stephen drowned.

Thibald Archebishop of Cãterbury

A peace concluded betwene king Stephen and Henry Duke of Normãdy.

Henry Duke of Normãdie proclaymed heyre apparant.

In this meane tyme Eustace the sonne of king Stephen, was by misaduenture drowned, and was buried at Feuersham in Kent, in the Abbey ỹ his father before had builded, howbeit for al this Thibald Archbishop of Cãterbury let not to labor & conclude the peace betwene the king & the Duke, and endeuored himselfe therin so diligently, that with the assistance of other of the Nobles, in the yere folowing a peace was concluded at Walingford, vpon diuerse conditions: wherof one was that the king should continue as king during his life, and that immediately after the conclusion of this peace, the sayd Henry should be proclaymed in all the chiefe cities & townes of England for heire apparant, & be king after the death of the said Stephen, & that the king should take him for his sonne by adoption & rightfull heyre vnto the crowne. To the which couenauntes iustly to be holden, the king was first sworne, and then his base sonne William and after his Lordes spirituall and Temporall, and so went both vnto London, where they were roially received. And when the king had feasted the Duke, and geuen vnto him riche gittes, he tooke his iourney toward Normandy. But the English Chronicle sayth that the accord was made vpon the deuision of the land betwene them, that is to say, that both should reigne together, and either of them to enioy halfe the lande. But how that deuision was made, or which part of the land eyther of them should holde, no mention thereof is made. And the former accorde should be concluded. viij. dayes folowyng the Epiphany of our Lorde in the towne of Orford: and the king dyed in the moneth of October folowyng, when he had reigned. xviij. yeres. x. monethes and. xiiij. dayes, leauyng no lawfull issue behynd him, and was buryed in the Abbey of Feuersham whereof he hymselfe was founder.

Duke Henry returned into Normandy.

1153

19

Of diuerse authours, as Reynulph and other, it is recorded that this Stephen lined in great veration and trouble all the time of his reigne.

And as before ye haue heard in the latter ende of the story of king William the Conquerour, that king Henry the second, and king Stephen, came of two sisters, after the opinion of some writers which were the daughters of king Henry the first who had maryed Wolde the daughter of Malcolyne king of Scottes, whereof the elder was named Wolde maried to Geoffrey Plantagenet

Plantagenet of whome he begat king Henry the second: And the other sister named Mary was the mother of king Stephen: So also is it to be vnderstand, that by king Henry the seconde returned the blood of the Saxons to the crowne of England, and so it did by Stephen, but yet more properly by king Henry the first, as by the discent of his mother expressed before in the ende of the story of William Conquerour may apere. By which reason it followeth, that the blood of William Conquerour reigned ouer England but lxviij. yeres, one moneth and. xvj. dayes, if it be accompted from the first yere of king William Conquerour, vnto the last yere of king Henry the first: But if we reckon it to the ende of the reigne of king Stephen, then was it .lxxxvij. yeres, and. xij. dayes.

By king Henry the second the blood of the Saxons was restored againe.

The blood of the Normãs how long it reigned ouer vs.

Henrie the seconde.



Henry the seconde of that name, sonne of Geoffrey Plantagenet Erle of Angeow, and of Wolde or Mawde the Empresse daughter of king Henry the first, began his reigne ouer the Realme of England the xxv. day of October M. C. liiij.

The discription of king Henry the second.

This king was somedeale red of face, and broad breasted, short of body, and therewith fat, the which to asswage he tooke the lesse of meates and drinkes, and much exercised himselfe in huntyng, hawkyng, and such like pastimes. He was harrish of voyce, but yet eloquent and well learned, and also noble and valiaunt in knyghthood, wise in counsayle, but dread ouermuche destinies. He was free and liberall to straungers, and heard and holdyng from his familiers and seruauntes. And whome he loued or hated entierly, hard it was to turne him to the contrary. He loued rest and peace, to the ende he might the rather folow his pleasure, with mo vices rehersed by Gerald and others, the which for length I passe ouer.

Henry the second a courageous prince.

Howbeit as Reynulph witnesseth he was not barren of all vertues, for he was of so great a courage, that he would often say, that all the worlde sufficed not to a courageous heart. And he encreased his heritage so mightily, that he wanne Irelande, anone after his coronation by strength, and tooke the king of Scottes prisoner, and ioyned that kingdome of Scotlande to his awne. From the South Ocean, vnto the North Ilandes of Orcades, he closed all the landes as it were vnder one dominion, and spred so largely his Empire, that we read not that any of his progenitors had so many Prouynces and Countreys vnder their gouernance and rule. For beside the Realme of England and Scotland, he had in his rule Normandy, Gascoyne, and Guyan, Angeow and Poyters: and he made subiect to him Aluerne and o-

Ireland ioyned to the crowne of England.

Henry the second greatly enlarged his dominion.

ther landes. And by Elianor his wyfe he obteyned as in her right, the Erle-dome of Tolous.

King Henry the seconde had by Elianor his wife .v. children.

Of the which wife he receyued fyre sonnes, and thre daughters, the which fiue sonnes had to name, William, Henry, Richard, Godfrey, and John, but what the fyrst was called is not remembred of wryters. The eldest of the maydens was named Wolde or Mawde, and was maryed to the Duke of Saxon, the second Elianor, maryed to the king of Spaine, and the thirde named Jane, maryed to the king of Sicile.

Princes are subiect to tyme.

This Henry was prosperous in his begynnyng, and infortunate in the ende, and specially in the last fiue yeres of his reigne, for in the first of those fiue yeres, his strength began to minishe: The second yere he lost a voyage in Irelande: In the thirde, he lost Auuerne, warryng agaynst the king of Fraunce: In the fourth yere he lost Bryteyn, and in the fyft the Citie of Cenomanna, and Turon, with many Holdes to them belongyng.

When tidynges was brought vnto this Henry of king Stephens death, he fortuned to lye at the siege of a Castell which was withholden and kept from him by the frenche king. And beyng aduertised by his counsayle forthwith to breake vp his siege, and to hasten him into England to take possession of the Crowne, least happely any styre or businesse might arise by protractyng of ỹ time: he vpon the affiance that he had in his rightfull cause answered againe, that no man durst be so hardie as to attempt any thing agaynst him. And so though he were dayly counsayled to the contrary, yet would he not depart before he had wonne the sayde Castell. That done, he sped him into England, and was crowned at Westminster of Theobald Archbishop of Cauntorbury, not without great solemnitie and reioysing of the people, the Sonday before Christmas day. 1154. At the which coronation he made a very sweete and comfortable oration vnto the people, and so louyngly spake vnto them both generally and priuately, that euery man conceyued thereby great hope of his good gouernment to come, and that they should haue a very good and gracious Prince of him.

1154
1
The coronation of king Henry the second.

In the first yere of his reigne, after he had chosen certeyne graue, wise, discrete, and well learned men in the lawes of the Realme to be of his priuie counsaile, and had by their aduice reformed the sayd lawes, then because iustice and equitie should no lenger be oppressed by such malefactors, as being called out of foreyn countryes by king Stephen to serue him in his warres, were not afeard to commit all kinde of mischiefe, vnder pretence of a libertie permitted to Souldiours by the law of armes in warre tyme: he made proclamation, that all such straungers whatsoeuer they were, should auoide the Realme by a day assigned, vnder a great paine: But especially the Flemings whereof at that tyme there was a great number come hether, whome he hated more then any other Nation. That done, he raised diuerse Castelles that before in the tyme of king Stephen were buylded, eyther for displeasure of the owners, or for that they stood not commodiously and for his purpose: Or else for feare least they should at any time be fortefyed of his enemyes against him. Furthermore, he banished many of the Lordes and gentlemen that were highly in king Stephens fauour. And from such as by purchace, gift, or otherwise helde any landes, sometimes belongyng to the Crowne, he tooke the sayde landes and seased vpon them in whose handes soeuer they were.

Straungers auoided out of the realme.

Castelles destroyed and raised to the ground.

Lordes and gentelmen are banished.

Landes that belonged to the crowne are taken in againe.

were. By the which fact of his, a number (sayth Polidore) were offended, gatherynge plainely thereof, that he would in tyme to come be nye himselfe, and regard his awne commoditie.

1155
2
The birth of Henry the first sonne of king Henry the seconde.

In the beginnyng of the seconde yere which was the yere of our Lorde M.C.lv. Quene Eleanor his wyfe was brought a bed of a man childe whom he called Henry.

This yere he went downe into the North Countrie, and so to Yorke, where he seased into his handes certeyne Castelles and Fortes which had bene a great while possessed of priuate personnes: But especially the streng Castell of Scarborough. After this he tooke from the Scottishe king the Countrie of Comberland, and then went he to Northumberlande, and recouered that Countrey wholy, notwithstanding that it was geuen vnto king Dauid of Scotland by Mawde the Empresse his mother, because the sayde Dauid tooke part with her against king Stephen, the which countries were at that season in the handes and possession of Malcolme who succeded the said Dauid: But because he would not seme altogether vngratefull vnto him, that had so well deserued of his mother, he permitted the sayde Malcolme still to enioy and reteyne the Erledome of Huntingdon, the which, as is before sayde, king Stephen gaue vnto Henry the eldest sonne of Dauyd: But yet on condicion that he should sweare to do homage and fealtie vnto him for the same Erledome.

1156
3
Straunge & wonderfull sightes,

In the thirde yere of his reigne, about the moneth of October were sene in the Firmament wonderfull sightes, that is to say two Sunnes. And in the Moone was there sene also a red Crosse. Of this wonder sheweth the Author of Chronica Chronicarum, saiyng that about this tyme in Italy there appered three Sunnes by the space of three houres in the West. And in the yere folowyng apered three Moones whereof the middle Moone had a red crosse ouerthwart, which is there set out and noted for a prodigie and token of the Schisme that afterwardes fell amongest the Cardinalles about the election of the Bishop of Rome Alexander the thirde, the which Schisme endured almost .xx. yeres.

1157
4
Adrian the fourth an English man made Bishop of Rome, and his progresse of ỹ Papacy.

About this tyme Adrian the fourth of that name called Nicholas was Bishop of Rome, borne at Saint Albons or nere there abouts, and as Reynulph wryteth was a bondman of the Abbey, who because he desyred to be professed a monke in the sayde Monastery, and could not be receyued, went shortly after beyond the seas, where he profited so much in learnyng that the Bishop of Rome made him first Bishop of Alba, and afterwardes Cardinal, and at the last after the death of Anastasius Bishop of Rome, he was chosen Bishop of Rome. And beyng aduaunced to the Popedome, he gaue many great priuileges to the sayd Abbey. At the length he dyed beyng choked with a flie in his drink, who a little before his death affirmed that there was no kinde of life more miserable than the Papacie, he that desyreth to knowe more of this Bishop, may reade the seconde booke and fyrst Chapter of William of Newbrowghe.

Hugh Mortimer a rebel, submitteth himselfe and is pardoned.

The same yere also Hugh Mortimer a very prowde and hawtie man fortified dyuers townes and holdes against the king, as Glocester, Worcester and the Castle of Bridgenorth. And when he sawe the kings power bent against him, he humbly submitted himselfe, and had his pardon.

1158
5

The birth of Richard after called Richard Cuer de Lion.

Richard, surnamed (for his manhood) Cuer de lyon, in English, Lyonhart, was this yere borne at Orford, in the kings Palace there, which as is before sayde was buylded by Henrie the first, and afterwards geuen by Richard Duke of Cornewall brother vnto king Henrie the thirde, vnto the order of the Carmelites then newly come into this Realme, to make them a house to inhabite in, which was called as it is yet at this day ỹ white Friers.

After this sayeth Polidore, the Realme of Englande was verye quyet and king Henry at peace, aswell with his owne subiectes as with other forrein nations, vntill worde was brought him that his brother Geoffrey made a great sturre and businesse beyonde the sea, the originall cause whereof was this. Geoffrey Plantagenet his father lying on his death bed, left behinde him three sonnes, that is to say, Henry, Geoffrey and William, and ordeyned by his will and last testament that whensoeuer his eldest sonne Henry should chaunce to be in full possession, as well of the Realme of England, as of the Dukedome of Normandy, that then and from thencefoorth, his brother Geoffrey to haue and hold as in his owne proper right and inheritance the whole Countie and Erledome of Anioye: And in the meane season, vntill it fell vnto him, to haue the possession of these three Townes following, that is to saye, Chinon, Lendum and Mirabellum, bicause that when God should call for his father he hauing the aide of the aforesayd three townes might the easier come by his right, and not be lightly kept from the possession thereof. And fearing least his sonne Henry (who was then absent) woulde afterwardes breake this his will and testament, he compelled diuers noble men and prelates that then were present to promise him vpon their othe that they would not suffer his body to be enterred before they had receiued a corporall othe of his sonne Henrye for the firme and inuiolable performance thereof. The whiche othe Henry afterwardes tooke (though full sore against his will) more to auoyde the great infamy and dishonour that should haue else ensued vpon the deniall thereof, then otherwise. But not long after when by the death of king Stephen, he was crowned king of England, being inflamed with ambition, and following the nature of all couetous persons, who the more they haue, the more they desire, he so vsed the matter with Adrian the fourth then Bishop of Rome, that he was by him dispensed of his aforesayde othe. And being so dispensed withall, contrarie to all right, equitie, law and conscience, he then little regarding his fathers will, made warre vpon hys sayde brother, and in short time subdued him: & so spoyling him of his rightfull inheritance sealed the sayde Erledome into his owne handes. Howbeit, he gaue him afterwardes certaine other landes in recompence, bicause he should not lack lyuing to maintaine his estate. But the sayde Geoffrey being thus vnnaturally intreated of his brother lyued not long after. Polidore.

An oth taken by Henry the second for the performance of his fathers will.

The Pope dispenseth wt king Henry for his othe.

All this while there was priuie grudge and hart burnyng betwene king Henry of England and Lewes of Fraunce, neyther could the same be otherwise quenched, then by oft renuyng of amitie and frendship betwixt them, the which yet was euermore but coloured and dissembled on both parties for the tyme, insomuch that it would burst out againe vpon the least occasion that might be. The chiefe cause of this mutuall grudge was for that Henry maried Aleanor, from whom the said Lewes as is beforesaid, had bene before deuorced, after he had had two daughters by her. This Aleanor was nere and might

heyre vnto William sometymes Duke of Aquitaine, and Erle of Tholose, who dyed in the holy land: Wherefore king Henry hauyng now maryed the sayde Alianor claymed as in her right the Erledome of Tholose, which then was withholden from him by the Erle Reymond, who had maried lady Constance the french kinges sister, wherevpon both the sayd kinges were in armes redie to assayle eche other with sharpe and cruell warre, had not the matter bene taken vp by their friendes, and a peace concluded betwixt them. For confirmation whereof, it was agreed betwixt the sayd two Princes, that Henry the second sonne of king Henry, but the eldest then aliue, beyng a child of. viij. yeres of age, shoulde mary the daughter of Lewes the. viij. named Margaret beyng then but three yeres olde. The which daughter the sayde Lewes receyued of his seconde wife Constance the daughter of the king of Spaine: and this conclusion of peace & mariage was (as both Polidore and William of Newbrough do affirme) the. viij. yere of ỹ reigne of king Henry.

Clariance & discorde betwene king Henry and the French king.

A peace taken.

A mariage concluded betweene the son of king Henry and the daughter of the French king.

1161
8

This yere also was the Citie of Cauntorbury almost all brent and consumed with fyre, although Fabian sayth that it was in the first yere.

Cantorbury brent.

The same yere also dyed Theobalde Archebishop of Cauntorbury. This man was a great fauourer of good letters and learned men, but especially he loued (for what qualities I know not) Thomas Becket a Londoner borne, the sonne of one Gilbert Becket, & of a woman of Siria. Insomuch that he not onely made him Archedeacon of Cauntorbury, but also was a meane vnto the king that he was made Lorde chaunceloure of England. Of the which Theobald it is also written, that immediately after his election to the Archebishoprick, he went to Rome, and there receyued his Pall of Innocent the second, and was made of him Legate. And hereof it came that al other Archbishoppes that succeded him were euermore called Legati nati.

Theobald Archebishop of Cãtorbury

Thomas Becket made Lorde Chancelor

Archbishops of Cãtorbury are named by the Pope, Legati nati.

The same yere Queene Aleanor was brought a bed of a daughter named Mawde. And shortly after the death of the sayde Theobald, Thomas Becket aforesayd, was by the kinges procurement chosen and consecrated Archebishop of Cauntorbury, that is to say the .ix. yere of king Henry.

1162
9

And this yere the Queene was brought a bed at Roan of a daughter which was called Aleanor, after her mothers name.

About this time king Henry caused all the States and Prelates of his Realme to swere fealtie to his sonne Henry, a Prince of great towardnesse: And of all other, Thomas Lorde Chauncelor and Archebishop of Cauntorbury was the first that tooke the othe, with reseruation of the fealtie all ready made vnto the king his father so long as he lyued.

Fealty sworn to the kinges sonne in the life of his father.

Not long after the sayd Archebishop resigned the office of the Chauncelorship, and gaue vp the great Seale into the kinges handes, the which the king tooke in verye euill part.

The yere folowyng which was the yere of our Lord. M.C.lxiij. and the x. yere of the reigne of the king, there fell great variance betwene the king and the sayde Thomas Becket, insomuch that the kinges minde was nowe cleane alienated from him: The occasion and ground of which variance shall afterwardes be declared.

1163
10

The king is in displeasure wt Thomas Becket.

In the .xi. yere of his reigne the Welshemen rebelled againe, the which rebellion was by the king easely appeased without any great slaughter. For the chiefe doers and beginners hereof, he so punished, that it was thought that

1164
11

that they would not eftsoones rebell but of their awne accorde remaine true and faythfull Subiectes.

1165 — 12

William king of Scottes doth homage and fealtie to king Henry.

The.xij. yere of his reigne dyed Malcolme king of Scottes, next after whome succeded his brother William, who as sone as he was crowned went to London and there did homage and fealtie vnto king Henry, as Malcolme had done before. But Reynulph in his.viij.booke, and.xxiij. Chapter setteth forth the maner and doyng of this homage as followeth. This yere (sayth he) the.xij. day before September, William king of Scotland by the assent of his Lordes and Barons came vnto Yorke where then king Henry was with his Nobles, and there sware fealtie and made his homage vnto the sayd king Henry of England. And also the sayd king William did then and there confesse and acknowledge by his letters patentes that he and his successors, men of Scotland, should do homage, allegeance and fealtie to the kinges of England, as often as they shall be requyred therevnto. And in token of this subiection, the sayde king of Scotland offered his Hat, and his Saddell vpon Saint Peters aulter in the Church of Yorke, which are extant there to be seene at this day. And moreouer the Lordes of Scotlande there present at that time, tooke their othe in solempne maner, that if the king of Scotlande would withdrawe him at any tyme from the sayd fayth and loyaltie, that then they would ryse against him, and so remaine his enemyes, vntill he would returne and reconcile himselfe.

Geoffrey the kinges sonne maried to Cõstance the daughter of the Duke of Bryteyn.

About this time dyed Conanus Duke of Bryteyne without issue male, leauyng behinde him one onely daughter named Constance, which though she were then vnder age and not yet mariable, king Henry found the meanes to mary his sonne Geoffrey vnto, and so was his strength and dominion not a litteli encreased thereby.

1166 — 13

Mawde maried to ỹ duke of Saxony.

In the.xiij. yere of his reigne dyed Mawde the Empresse the kinges mother, a woman as well for her wisedome and pollecye in warres, as all other her notable qualities incomparable.

This tyme also the kinge maryed his daughter Mawde vnto Henry Duke of Saxony.

King Henry with his son, sayleth into Bryteyne.

After this the king beyng at peace with all forreine nations from the.xiij yere of his reigne the space of two yeres and more, because he would not idelly consume the tyme, neyther yet suffer his souldiours by feastyng, banquetyng, and other vnthryfty pastymes, which they are commonly wont to geue themselues vnto in peace tyme, which should withdrawe their myndes from martiall affayres, taking his sonne with him, made a voyage into Bryteyne, where he spent a great part of his time in ridyng about and viewyng of the Countrie, and in fortifiyng of townes and holdes, and finally in hauyng of familier conference and friendly talke with the noble men there. Then departyng from thence he went into Normandy, and there also tooke order with matters of that Countrie accordyngly. These thinges done, in the beginnyng of the next spring, he returned into England, but not without some misfortune vpon the sea: For one of his Shippes was drowned by tempest, wherein as it is reported were three hundreth persons which were all drowned. And after his returne he went to Windsore, where he made his abode and kept his Christmas, and the greatest part of all the Nobles of the realme were there with him. And thether came also king William of Scotlande with

A great misfortune vpon the Sea.

with his brother Dauid to signifie vnto him how glad and ioyfull they were of hys prosperous successe in his late voyage, whom he right curteously embraced againe, geuyng them at theyr departure many riche and large giftes.

Now to returne vnto Thomas Becket: the cause of the aforesayd varyaunce and discention betwixt the king and him was as it is written of diuers Authours of good credite, that certein wicked persons of the Clergie whose murders, robberyes, and grieuous transgressions against the lawes of the Realme, beyng declared to the king by his Iudges: The king therewith was not a little agreeued, and for reformation therof, called a Parliament in the.ix. yere of his reigne at Northampton, requiryng to haue established by authoritie thereof, that due punishment might be executed vpon such transgressors of the Clergie of this Realme accordyng to the auncient order of the lawes: notwithstanding the prerogatiue and priuelege which the ecclesiasticall persons claymed, saiyng that they were exempt from all temporall iurisdiction. Thomas Becket then beyng Archebishop of Cauntorbury, vnderstandyng the king to go about to set lawes, preiudiciall to the priuelege of the Clergie, would not agree therevnto, desiryng the king that vnder Christ our newe king, and vnder the newe lawe of Christ he would not bring in anye newe proceedyngs agaynst the ordinances and decrees of the auncient holye fathers: And if he would, he sayde that he neither ought to sustaine it, nor would not. The king beyng moued therewith, alleageth againe and exacteth the olde lawes and customes of his Grandfather, obserued and agreed vpon by Archebishops, Bishoppes, Prelates, and other priuileged persons, requiryng likewise of him, whether he would agree to the same, or else now in his reigne condempne that, which in the reigne of his Grandfather was well alowed. And those constitutions are in number.xxviij.or.xxix. whereof certeine followe.

Lawes and constitutions ordeyned by king Henry the first.

1 Concerning the nomination and presentation into benefices, if any controuersie arise betweene the layetie and Clergie: or betweene one spirituall man with another, the matter to be brought into the kings temporall Court, and there to be decided.

2 Churches, suche as be de feodo Regis, to be giuen at no time without the assent and permission of the king.

All ecclesiasticall persons are subiect in all criminall causes to the temporall law.

3 All spirituall and ecclesiasticall persons being accused of any crime, what soeuer it be, and summoned by the kings iustice to come and appeere in the kings court, there to make answere whether the matter appertain to the spiritual court or to the temporal: so that if the said persons be found guilty and conuicted of anye crime, the Church not to defende hym nor succour hym.

That no ecclesiasticall person depart this realme without ỹ kinges licence.

4 No Archebishop nor Bishop, nor person being of any Ecclesiasticall dignitie, to attempt to go ouer the Sea out of the Realme without the kings knowledge and permission, and in so doing, yet notwithstanding to be bound, tarying in any place to procure no damage eyther to the king or to ỹ realme.

No sanctuary or church may deteine goodes against the king.

5 Such goodes or Cattels as be forefeyted to the king, neyther any sanctuary of Church, or Churchyard to deteyn them, contrary to the kings iustice for that they belong to the king, whether they be founde in the Church or Churchyarde.

That no orders be geuē

6 No orders to be giuen to husbande mennes children without the assent and testimoniall of them which be the Lordes of the Countrey, where they

To husband mennes children, without the assent of the Lordes of the soyle.

they were borne and brought vp.

¶ Besides these constitutions there were many other which I passe ouer, for that the afore rehersed articles are the chiefe. And now let vs returne to the matter betwixt the king and Thomas Becket aforesayd.

The king as is aforesayde, conuentyng hys nobles and Clarkes together, required to haue the punishment of the aforesayde misdoers of the Clergie. But Thomas Becket would not consent therevnto. Wherfore the king demaunded of him whether he woulde consent with hys Clergie, that the customes then set foorth in the realme (meaning the first parte of the aforesayde decrees) should be obserued. To the which the Archbishop consulting together with his brethren, giueth answere agayne, that he was contented the kings ordinances should be obserued, adding this withall Saluo ordine suo, that is, sauing his order. And so in lyke maner all the other Bishops after, being demaunded in order, answered with the same addition Saluo ordine suo. Onely Hillarius Bishop of Chichester, perceyuing the king to be exasperate with that addition, in stead of Saluo ordine suo, was agreed to obserue them bona fide. The king hearing them not simplye to agree vnto him but with an exception, was greatly offended, who then turning to the Archbishop and the Prelates, sayde: that he was not well content with that clause of their Saluo ordine suo, which he sayde was captious and deceytfull, hauing some maner of venym lurcking vnder it, and therefore required an absolute graunt of them, without any exception, to agree to the former ordynaunces. To thys the Archbishop replyeth that they had sworne vnto hym their fidelitie, both lyfe, body and earthly honour: Saluo ordine suo: and that in the same earthly honour, all those ordynances were comprehended. And to the obseruing of them they would bynde themselues after none other forme, but as they had sworne before. The king with this was moued, and all his nobilitie, and that not a little. The day beyng well spent the king when he could get none other answere of them, departed in great anger, geuyng no worde of salutation vnto the Bishops. And likewise euery one of the Bishops departed to his owne house. The bishop of Chichester among the rest was greatly rebuked of his felowes for chaungyng the exception contrary to the voice of all the other. The next day folowyng the king tooke from the Archebishop all suche honours and Lordshippes as he had geuen him before, in the tyme that he was Chauncelour, whereby appered the great displeasure that the king bare against him and the Clergie.

Hillarius Bishop of Chichester.

The king sheweth himself displeased with Thomas Becket.

Not long after this, the king remouyng from London, vnknowyng to the Bishoppes, sayled ouer into Normandy, where the Bishop of London called Gilbert, not long after resorted to him to craue his fauour: and gaue him counsayle withall to ioyne some of the Bishoppes on his syde, least if all were against him, peraduenture he might the sooner be ouerthrowne. And thus the greatest number of the Bishoppes were by this meanes reconciled againe vnto the king, except the Archebishop and a fewe other Bishoppes. The king thinking to trie all maner of wayes, when he sawe neither feare, nor threates coulde turne them, he did then assay them with gentlenesse, but it would not serue. Many of the Nobles labouring betwixt them both, exhorted the Archebishop to relent vnto the king, but it would not be. Likewise the Archbishop of Yorke, with diuers other Bishops & Abbots especially the

Gilbert Bishop of London.

Bishop

Bishop of Chester did the same. Besydes this all his owne household dayly called vpon him, but no man could perswade him. At length he hauing vnderstanding, partly by them that came to him, what danger might happen not onely to himselfe, but to all the other of the Clergie, vpon the kinges displeasure, and partly also considering the obedience and kindenesse of the king towardes him in tymes past, was content to geue ouer to the kinges requeste, and came to Oxenford to the king, reconcilyng himselfe about the addicion which had displeased the king so much. Whereupon the king beyng somewhat mitigated, receyued him with a more cheerefull countenaunce (but yet not so familiarly as before) saying that he woulde haue his ordinaunces and proceedinges after that forme confirmed in the publique audience and open sight of his Bishoppes and all his Nobles. After this, the king beyng at Clarendon, there called his Nobilitie and Prelates before him, requiryng to haue that performed, which they had graunted in consenting to the obseruing of his Grandfathers ordinances and proceedyngs. The Archebishop of Cantorbury suspectyng somewhat in the kinges promise, drewe backwarde, and now would not, that before he would: And to perswade him to obedience: First came vnto him the Bishop of Sarisbury, and of Norwich, who for olde matters were in daunger to the king long before, weping & lamenting to the Archbishop, desyryng him to haue some compassion on them, and to remit this pertinacye to the kyng, leastif he so continued, through his stoutenesse to exasperate the kinges displeasure, haply it might redound to no small daunger, not onely to them which were in ieopardie all redy, but also to himselfe to be imprisoned, and the whole Clergie to be endaungered. Besydes these two Bishoppes, there went to him other two noble peeres of the Realme, labouryng with him to relent, & condiscend to the kinges desyre. If not, they should be enforced to vse violence, as neyther would stand with the kings fame, and much lesse with his quietnesse: But he would not geue ouer. After this came to him two Rulers of the Temple called Templares, one named Richard de Hast: another called Constance de Honerio with their company, lamenting and bewailyng the great perill, which they declared vnto him to hang ouer his head, and yet neyther with their teares, nor with their kneelynges would he be remoued. At the length came the last message from the king, signifiyng vnto him with expresse wordes, and also with teares what he should trust vnto, if he would not geue ouer vnto the kinges request.

Thomas Becket denieth to sweare to the king.

A counsaile holden and kept at Clarendon.

Thomas Becket drawe eth backe from that he promised.

Great labour taken to reduce Thomas Becket to his bounden obedience.

By reason of which message, he either terrified or else perswaded, was content to submit himselfe: Whereupon the king incontinent assembling the States together, the Archebishop first before all other begynneth to promise to the king obedience, and submission vnto his customes, and that cum bona fide, leauing out his former addicion, Saluo ordine, mencioned before, in steede whereof, he promised in verbo veritatis, to obserue and keepe the kinges customes, & sweare to the same. After him the other bishops likewise made the like othe. Whereupon the king commaunded certeine instrumentes obligatory to be drawen, of the which the king should haue one, the Archbishop of Cantorbury another, and the Archbishop of Yorke the thirde, requiryng also the sayd Archbishop to set to his hande and seale. To the which the Archbishop although not denying but that he was willyng so to do, yet desired respyte in the matter while that he beyng come but newly to his Bishoprike might bet-

Thomas Becket sweareth to kepe the kinges ordinances.

Thomas Becket vseth delayes.

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ter perule with himselfe the aforesayde customes and ordinances of the king. This request as it seemed, but reasonable, so it was lightly graunted, and so the day being farre spent, they departed for that reason, and brake vp.

Thomas Becket repenteth his othe and disobedience to the king.

Alanus one of the foure writers of the lyfe of this Thomas Becket, recordeth that the Archbishop in his voiage toward Winchester began greatly to repent that he had done before, partly through the instigation of certain about him, but chiefly of his crosse bearer, who going before the Archbishop did sharpely and earnestly rebuke him, for geuing ouer to the kings request, against the priuilege and liberties of the Church, polluting not onely his fame & conscience, but also geuing a pernicious example to them that should come after, with many like wordes.

To make the matter short, the Archebishop was so touched vpon the same, with such repentance, that kepping himselfe from company, lamenting with teares, with fasting, and with much penaunce, teasing and scourging his awne body, did also suspend himselfe from all deuine seruice, and would not receyue comfort, before he had sent to the Pope, and had graunt that he should be assoyled of him, who directed to him againe letters by the same messenger that came from the sayde Archebishop. In which letters, he not onely assoyled him of his trespasse, but also with wordes of great consolation did courage him to be stoute in the quarrell he toke in hand. Upon these letters of the Pope, Becket was not a little comforted & encouraged. The king heering of Thomas Beckets going back & how he denied to set his seale to these lactions which he condiscended vnto before, toke no little displeasure against him, insomuch as he threatning to him banishment and death, began to call him to reconynges, and to burthen him with payments, that all men might vnderstand that the kinges mynde was fore set against him. The Archbishop hereupon, whether more for the loue of ỳ Pope, or dread of his Prince, thought to make an escape out of the realme, and so crept out in the night with two or three with him, stealing from his household, & attempted to take the sea priuily, but the weather not seruing him, he was driuen home againe. And shortly after that he was gone, his departure was knowne and noysed abroade: By reason of which noyes the kinges officers came to Cauntorbury, and purposed to haue seased vpon his goodes on the kinges behalfe. But as it chaunced the night before their comming, Becket returned and was founde at home, wherefore they did not proceede in their purpose. Nowe Becket well vnderstanding the king to be fore bent against him, and perceyuing that the Seas would not serue him, made haste to the Court, the king lying then at Woodstocke, where the king receyued him after a certeyne maner, but nothing so familiarly as he was wont, taunting him iestingly and merily, as though one Realme were not able to holde them both. Becket, although he was permitted to go and come at his pleasure to the Court, yet he coulde not obteyne the fauour that he would, perceyuing both in himselfe, and confessyng no lesse vnto others howe the matter would fall out, so that eyther he should be constreyned to geue ouer with shame, or stoutely he must stande to that which he had so boldely taken in hande. The Archebishop of Yorke in the meane time going betweene the king and Becket, laboured to make peace and loue betweene them: But the king in no case would be reconciled, onlesse the other would subscribe to his lawes. So that while the king would none otherwise

Thomas Becket is assoyled of the Pope for his othe.

The kinges wrath encreased against Thomas Becket.

Thomas Becket purposed to make an escape.

Thomas Becket sayleth but returneth againe.

Thomas Becket commeth againe to the Court, to the king.

otherwise agree, neither that Becket would in no wise subscribe, there was a foule discorde betwixt them. The king for his regall authoritie thought it much that any subiect of his should stande against him. The Archbishop againe thinking himselfe to haue so good a quarrell as in the defending of the liberties of the Church, and also bearing himselfe bold vpon the letters of the Pope lately written vnto him, thought himselfe strong ynough against the king and all the realme beside. Wherefore the Archebishop trusting to these thinges, would geue no place, but by vertue of his Apostolike authoritie gaue censure vpon these lawes and constitutions of the king, condemnyng some, and other some approuing for good and Catholike. Besides this there came also to the king Rotrodus Archbishop of Roan sent from the Pope to make peace betweene the king and the Archebishop. To the which the king was well content to agree, so that the Pope would agree to ratifie his ordinaunces. But when that could in no wyse be obteyned at the Popes handes, then the king thus beyng stopped and frustrate of his purpose by reason of Beckets Apostolike Legacie, beyng Legatus a latere: thought good to send vp to the Pope: and so he did to obteyne of him, that the same authoritie of the Apostolike Legacy might be cõferred to another, after his apointment which was the Archbishop of Yorke: But that the Pope denied. Notwithstandyng at the request of the kinges Clergie, the Pope was content that the king shoulde be Legate himselfe, whereat the king tooke great indignation as (Houeden wryteth) so that he sent the Pope his letters againe.

An arrogant subiect to stãd in such maner with his Prince.

Rotrodus Archebishop of Roan.

The king disdayneth to be the Popes Legate.

And when the kings Ambassadors were returned with the aforesaid letters, & had declared the kings pleasure & request. The Pope at the last graũted, that the Legate should be remoued, & that the Archbishop of Yorke should be placed in that office after his awne request. And yet addeth this promise withall, that the sayd Becket should receyue no harme nor domage thereby.

Assone as the king had receyued the Popes letters to authorise the Archbishop of Yorke in the Legacie, he then caused Becket to be cyted vp to appeere by a certayne day at the towne of Northampton, there to make answere to suche things as should be layde to his charge. So when the daye was come, all the Peeres and Nobles with the Prelates of the realme vpon the kings proclamation beyng assembled in the Castell of Northampton great faulte was found with the Archebishop, for that he beyng cited personally came not himselfe, but sent another for him. The cause why he came not (Houeden sayth) was this, because the king had placed his horse and horsemen in the Archebishops lodging, which was a house there of Chanons, wherewith he being offended, sent worde agayne that he would not appere onlesse his lodgings were auoyded of the kinges horsemen. Wherevpon by publique sentence as well of the Nobles as of the Bishops, his moueables were adiudged to be confiscate for the king.

Thomas Becket cited to appere at Northampton.

A iudgement geuen against Thomas Becket.

The Archbishop againe for his parte against the order and forme of that iudgement complayned, alleging for himselfe, that seing he was the Primate & spirituall father, not only of all other in the realme, but also of the king himselfe, he thought it not cõuenient, ỳ father so to be iudged of hys children, nor the pastor of the flock so to be cõdempned. And this was the first daies action.

A stoute replie of Thomas Becket.

The next daye following the king layde an action against him, for one that was his Marshall called John, for certaine iniurie done to hym, and required of the sayde Archbishop the repayyng againe of certayne money,

King Henry cõmenseth an actiõ against Thomas Becket.

which he as he sayde had lent vnto him in the tyme he was Chauncelour, the somme whereof was fyue hundreth Markes. This money the Archebishop denyed not but that he had receyued it of the king, albeit by the waye and tytle of gift (as he tooke it) though he could bring no proofe thereof. Whereupon the king required hym to put in assurance for the payment thereof, whereat the Archbishop making delayes, not well contented at the matter, he was so called vpon, that eyther he should be comptable to the king for the money, or else he should incurre present daunger, the king being so bent against him. The Archbishop being brought to such a strayte, and destitute of his awne suffraganes, could not here by no meanes escape, had not fyue persons of their awne accorde stepped in, being bound for him, euery one in one hundreth Markes, and this was vpon the second day concluded.

The morrow after which was the thirde daye of the Counsayle, as the Archbishop was sitting beneth in a conclaue with his felow Bishops about him, consulting togither, the sayde Bishops labored by sundry wayes and meanes, and with verie vehement perswasions and learned argumentes to wyll him to obedience and to submit himselfe to the king, the which perswasions for the length of them I doe here omit: But to conclude, when they had long spent their labour, good wyll and wisedome, to haue reduced him to good order, he would not condiscend vnto them, but sayde as followeth.

I holde and stoute answere made by Thomas Becket.

I perceyue sayth he, and vnderstand that ye go aboute to maintaine and cherishe but your owne cowardnesse vnder the colourable shadowe of sufferance, and vnder the pretence of dissembling softnesse, to choke the libertie of Christes Church: who hath thus bewitched you, O vnsaciable Bishoppes? what meane ye? why do you so vnder the impudent title of forbearing, beare a double heart, and cloke your manifest iniquitie? What call ye this bearing with tyme, the detriment of the Church of Christ? Let termes serue the matter, why peruert you the matter that is good with vocables and termes vntrue? For that ye say we must beare with the malice of tyme, I graunt with you, but yet we must not heape sinne to sinne. Is not Godable to helpe the state and condition of his Church, but with the sinfull dissimulation of the teachers of the Church? Certes God is disposed to tempt you. And tell me I pray you, when should the gouernours of the Church put themselues to daungers for the Church, in tyme of tranquilitie or in tyme of distresse? Ye will be ashamed to denie the contrary, but in distresse. And nowe then the Churche lyng in so great distresse and veration, why should not the good pastour put himselfe in perill therfore? For neither do I thinke it a greater act or merite, for the auncient bishops of the olde tyme, to sound the Church than with their blood, or then now for vs to shead our blood for the liberties of the same. And to tell you plaine, I thinke it not safe for you, to swarue from the forme and example which you haue receyued of your holy elders.

After these thinges were spoken, they sate all in silence a certaine space, beyng locked in together as aforsayde: But at the length to finde a shift to cause the doze to be opened, I woulde sayth the Archebishop speake with two Erles that are about the king, and named them who they were, which beyng called, opened the doze and came in with haste, thinkyng to heare some thing which shoulde appease the kinges minde, to whome the Archbishop spake in this maner. As touching and concernyng the matters betweene the king

king and vs, we haue here conferred together. And forasmuch as we haue them not here present with vs now, which know better in the matter than we do, whose aduise we would also be glad to follow, therefore we craue so much respyte as vntill to morow, and then we will be redy to geue vp our answere vnto the king: with this message two bishops were sent vnto the king, which was the Bishop of London and the Bishop of Rochester.

London to helpe the matter, and to set quietnesse, addyng somethyng more to the message, sayde to the king, that the Archebishop craued a little delay of time to prepare suche wrytings and instrumentes, wherein he should set forth and declare his mind, in accomplishing the kinges desyre, &c. Wherfore two Barons were sent to him from the king to graunt him that respite or stay, so that he woulde ratefie that which the messengers had signified to the king. To the which the Archebishop answereth that he sent no suche message as was intimate in his name: but onely that the next day he woulde come and geue answere to the king, in that which he had to say. And so the conuocation of the Bishoppes dissolued, and they were dismissed home. So that the most part of them that came with the Archebishop and accompanied him before, for feare of the kinges displeasure seuered them selues from him. The Archebishop thus forsaken and destitute (as the History of him sayth) sent about for the poore, the lame, & the halt, to come in and furnish his house, saying, that by them he might soner obteyne his victory, than by the other, which had so slipt from him.

Thomas Becket vseth many delayes

On the next day folowyng, because it was Sunday nothing was done. So the day after, which was the second fery, the Archebishop was cited to appere: But the night before beyng taken with the disease of the Cholike, all that day he kept his bed, and not able as he sayd to aryse. Euery man supposed it to be but a feyned sickenesse, certeyne of the chiefe Nobles were sent to trie out the matter, & to cite him to the Court namely Robert Erle of Leycester, & Reginald Erle of Deuonshire. To whom the Archebishop answered, that as that day he was so diseased that he coulde not come, and thoughe he were brought in a horse Litter: so that day passed ouer.

Thomas Becket, is counsayled to haue a Masse of S. Stephē to defend him from his enemyes.

The morow after, certeine that were aboute him, fearing no lesse but that some daunger would happen vnto him, gaue him counsaile in the morning to haue a Masse in the honour of the holy Martyr Saint Stephen, to kepe him from the handes of his enemies that day. When the Morow was come beyng Tuesday, there came to him the Bishops and Prelates, counsailyng and perswadyng him couertly by insinuation (for apertly they durst not) that he woulde submit himselfe aswell for all other his goodes, as also his Archebishoprike to the will of the king, if paraduenture his indignation by that meanes might aswage. Addyng moreouer, that onlesse he would so do, periury should be layd against him, for that he vnder the othe of fidelitie had promised to kepe the kinges lawes and ordinaunces, and nowe woulde not obserue them. To this Becket answereth againe: Brethren ye see and perceyue well howe the worlde is set against me, and how the enemy riseth and seketh my confusion. And although these be dolorous and lamentable, yet the thing that grieueth me most of all is this: the sonnes of myne awne mother be prickes and thornes against me. And albeit that I do holde my peace, yet the posteritie to come will knowe and report howe cowardlye you

Thomas Becket was charged with periury.

haue turned your backes, and haue left me your Archebishop and Metropolitane alone in this conflict, and how you haue sitten in iudgement against me (although an vnworthie sinner) nowe two dayes together, and not that onely in the Ciuile or spirituall Court, but also in the temporall Court redy to do the same. But in generall this I charge and commaunde you all, by the vertue of pure obedience, and in perill of your awne order, that ye be not present personally in iudgement against me. And that ye shall not so do, I here appeale to our mother and refuge of all such as be oppressed, the Church of Rome: and if any seculer man shall lay handes vpon me (as it is rumored they will) I streightly enioyne & charge you in the same vertue of obedience, that you exercise your censure Ecclesiasticall vpon them, as it becommeth you to do for your father and Archebishop. And this I do you to vnderstand, that though the world rage, and the enemy be fierce, and the body trembleth, for the flesh is weake, yet God so fauouryng me, I will neyther cowardlye shrinke, nor vilye forsake my flocke committed to my charge.

Thomas Becket appealeth to Rome.

Thomas Becket a man of great courage.

But the Bishop of London contrary to this commaundement, did incontinent appeale from him. And thus the Bishops departed from him to the Court, saue onely two, that was Henry Bishop of Winchester, and Joselyne of Sarisbury, who returned with him secretly to his Chamber and comforted him. This done, the Archebishop the next day addressed him to the Masse of S. Stephen with all solemnitie, as though it had bene an high festiuall day, with his Metropolitane Pall, which was not vsed to be worne, but vpon the holy day. &c. The office of his Masse began Sederunt Principes & aduersum me loquebantur. &c. that is, Princes sate and spake against me. &c. (The kinges seruants beyng also there, and beholdyng the matter) for this Masse Gilbert Bishop of London accused Becket afterwarde, both for that it was done per artem magicam, & in contemptum Regis, (as the wordes of Houeden purport) that is both by art magique, and in contempt of the king.

Gilbert Bysshop of London appealed from Thomas Becket.

A Masse of S. Stephen.

Becket accused to be a conurer.

The Masse beyng ended, the Archebishop puttyng off his Pall, his Miter and other robes, procedeth to the kinges Court, and taketh also the Sacrament priuily about him. And commyng towardes the kinges Chamber there to attend vpon ỹ king, as he was entering in at the doze, he taketh from Alexander his Crosyer, the Crosse with the Crossestaffe, in the sight of all that stode by, and caryeth it in himselfe, the other bishops folowing hym, and saiyng he did otherwise then became him. Amongest other, Robert Bishop of Hertford offered himselfe to beare his crosse, rather than he should so do, for that was not comely: but the Archbishope would not suffer him. Then sayde the Bishop of London vnto him, if the king shall see you come armed into his Chamber, perchaunce he will drawe out his swoorde against you, which is stronger than yours, and then what shall this your armour profite you? The Archbishop answereth againe: if the kinges swoorde do cut carnally, yet my swoorde cutteth spiritually, and striketh downe to hell: But you my Lorde, as ye haue played the foole in this matter, so you will not leaue off your folly so farre as I can see, and so he came into the chamber. The king heering of his commyng & the maner thereof, tarryed not long, but came where Becket was set in a place by himselfe with his other Bishops about him. First the cryer callyng all the Prelates and all the Lordes of the Temporaltie together: that beyng done, and euery one placed in his seate, accordyng to his degree: The king

Robert Bishop of Hertford.

king beginneth with a great complaint against the Archbishop, for his maner of entering into the court, not as into a kings court, but as a traytor, shewing himselfe so like a traytor as hath not bene seene before in any christian kinges court: To this all there present gaue witnesse with the kings wordes. And so altogether with one crie called him on euery side Traytor. Wherevpon, great horror and feare was what should befall on him. The Archbishop of Yorke comming downe to his men, sayd he could not abide to see what the Archebishop of Cantorbury was like to suffer. Likewise, the Tipstaues and other ministers of the assembly comming downe with an outas against him, crossed them to see his hautie stoberuesse, & the businesse that there was towards him. Certeine there were of hys friendes one or two, sittyng at his feete, some comfortyng him softly, and biddyng him to lay his curse vpon them: Other contrary, biddyng him not to curse, but to pray and to forgeue them: and if he lost his life in the quarrell of the Church and the libertie thereof, he should be happy. Afterward one of them named Johannes Stephani, willyng to speake something in his eare, but could not be suffered by the kinges Marshall, who forbade that any man should haue any talke with him. Then he, because that he could not otherwise speake vnto him, wrought by signes, makyng a crosse and lokyng vp with his eyes, and waggyng his lippes meanyng that he should pray, & manfully stande to the Crosse. In the meane time cõmeth to him Bartholomew Bishop of Exeter, desiryng him to haue regard and cõpassion vpon himselfe, & also of them, or else they were all like to perish for the hatred of him, for there commeth out, saith he, a precept from the king, that you shall be taken, and so suffer for an open rebell, and who so hereafter taketh your part shall haue the like punishment. It is sayd moreouer, that Joselinus Bishop of Sarisbury, and William Bishop of Norwiche are to be had to the place of execution for their resistyng, and makyng intercession for you. When he had thus sayd, the Archbishop lokyng vpon the sayd bishop of Exeter said: Auaunt sayd he, hence from me, thou vnderstandest not, neither doest thou sauour those thinges that be of God.

The king calleth Becket traytor.

Johannes Stephani.

Bartholmew Bishop of Exeter is reproued by Thomas Becket as Peter was of Christ.

The Bishops and Prelates then going aside by themselues from the other Nobles (the king so permitting them to do) tooke counsaile together what was to be done. Here the matter stoode in a doubtfull perplexitie, for eyther must they incurre the daungerous indignation of the king: or else with the Nobles they must proceede in condemnatiõ against the Archbishop for resisting the kinges sanctions, which they did not fauour themselues. In this straite necessitie, they deuysing what way to take, at length agreed vpon this, that they with a common assent shoulde appeale the Archbishop to the See of Rome vpon periurie. And that they shoulde oblige and binde themselues to the king, with a sure promise to worke their diligence in deposing the Archbishop vpon this condition, that the king should promise their safety, and discharge them from the perill of that iudgement which was towarde him. So all the Bishops obligyng themselues thus to the king, went forth to the Archbishop, of whome one speaking for the reast (which was Hilary Bishop of Chichester) had these wordes. Once you haue bene our Archbishop, and so long we were bounde to your obedience: but now for as much as you once swearing your fidelitie to the king, doe resist hym, neglecting hys Iniunctions and ordinances concerning and perteyning to his terrene hor

The bishops agree to appeale Thomas Becket to Rome of periury.

The bishops refuse obedience to Thomas Becket.

noz and dignitie, wherefoze we here pzonounce you periured, neyther be we bound to geue obedience to ꝑ Archbishop thus periured. But putting our selues ⁊ al oures in the Popes pzotection do appeale you* to his pzesence. And vpon the same assigned him his day ⁊ time to apere. The Archbishop answering again said, he heard him wel ynough, And vpon this sẽdeth vp to Rome in al hast to the Pope, signifying to him by letters the whole matter, how and wherefoze ⁊ by whom he was appealed: After the Archbishop was thus appealed to Rome as befoze you haue heard, he then sitting vp his crosse wayting in the Court, at the last the king sent by certain Erles and Barons commaundment to him (Robert the Erle of Leycester doing the message) that he should without delay come and render a full accompt of all things that he had receyued in fruits ⁊ reuenues of the realme, in the time he being his Chauncelloz, and especially foz the 3000 Marks foz the which he was accomptable to the king. To whom the Archbishop aunswereth, that the king knew how ofte he had made his reconning and accompt of those things which he nowe required. Further and besides, he sayde that Henry his sonne and heyre of the Realme, with all hys Barons and also Richarde Lucye his chiefe iustice tolde him that he was free and quit to God ⁊ holy Church from all receiptes and computations, and from all secular exactions on the kings behalfe. And so he taking this his discharge at their handes, entered into his office, and therefoze other accompt besides he wouldе make none. When this wozde was brought to the king, he required his Barons to do the lawe vpon hym: who iudged him to be apprehended and layde in prison. This done the king sendeth vnto him Reginald Erle of Cornewall and of Deuonshire, and Robert Erle of Leycester, to declare to hym what was his iudgement. To whome the Archbishop aunswereth, heare my sonne and good Erle, what I say vnto you: how much moze precious the soule is then the bodye, so muche moze ought you to obey me in the Lozd, rather than your terrene king: Neyther doth any lawe oz reason permit the children to iudge and condemne their father. Wherefoze to auoyde both the iudgement of the king and yours, and of all other, I put myselfe onelye to the Arbitrement of the Pope vnder God alone, to be iudged of him and of none other. To whose presence here befoze you all I do appeale, committyng the ozderyng of the Church of Cantozbury my dignitie, with all other thinges apperteyning to the same, vnto the protection of God and his. And as foz you my brethren and felow bishops (which rather obey man than God) you also I call and clayme to the audience and iudgement of the Pope, and hence I depart from you as from the enemyes of the Catholike Church, ⁊ of the auctholity of the Apostolike See.

While the Barons returned with this aunswere to the king, the Archebishop passing through the throng, taketh to him his Palfrey, holdyng hys Crosse in the one hande, and the Bzidle of his Palfrey in the other, the Courtiers folowyng after crying Traytoz, Traytoz, tary ⁊ here thy iudgement: But he passed on vntill he came to the vttermost gate of the Court, which beyng fast locked, there he had bene staied, had not one of his seruaunts called Peter, named Deiunctozio, fyndyng there a bunch of keyes hangyng by, first pzouyng one key, and then another, at the last chaunced vpon the right key, and so opened the gate and let him out. The Archebishop went streight way to the house of Chanons where he did lye, callyng in to him the pooze where they

* That is to say, do call you oz somon you.

Thomas Becket once again charged to be in the Kinges dept.

Thomas Becket iudged to be imprisoned.

A prowd and presũptuous speach.

Thomas Becket appealeth from the king to the Pope.

Thomas Becket in a foule rage.

they could be found. When supper was done, making as though he would go to bed, (which he caused to bee made betwixt two Altars) he in the meane tyme pzeuily, while the king was at Supper in the Euenyng, pzepareth his iourney secretly to escape away, chaunging his garment and his name beyng called Dereman, first went to Lincolne, from thence to Sandwich, where he tooke Ship, and sayled into Flaunders, ⁊ from thence iourneyed to Fraunce as Houeden sayth. But Alanus differyng in the ozder of his flight, sayth that he did not flie that night, foz at supper tyme there came vnto him the Bishops of London, and Chichester, declaryng to him that if he would surrender vp to the king his two maners of Otford and Wingham, there were hope to recouer the kinges fauour, and to haue all remitted: But when the Archebishop would not agree therevnto, fozasmuch as those Manours were belongyng to the Church of Cantozbury: And the king heeryng thereof, was greatlye offended. Insomuche that the next day, Becket was faine to sende to the king two Bishops and his Chapleyn to haue leaue to depart the realme. To the which message the king aunswered, that he would take a pause vntyll the next day, and then he should haue aunswere. But Becket not tarying foz his answere, the same day conueyed himselfe away secretly, as is afozesaid to Lodouicus the French king. But befoze he came to the French king, Gilbert the B. of London, ⁊ William Erle of Arondel, sent from the king of England to Fraunce, pzeuented him, requiryng of the sayd French king in the behalfe of the king of England that he would not receiue noz retayne within his dominion the Archbishop of Cantozbury. Mozeouer, ꝑ at his instance he would be a meanes to the Pope, not to shew any familiaritie vnto him. But the king of England in this poynt seemed to haue moze confidence in the French king, then knowledge of his disposition. Foz thinkyng that the French king would be as a good neighbour to him, in trustyng to him he was deceyued. Neither cõsidered he with himselfe enough the maner and nature of the French men, at that time against the Realme of England, who then were glad to seke and take all maner of occasions to do some acte against England. And therefoze Lodouike the French king vnderstandyng the matter, and thinkyng peraduenture to haue some aduauntage thereby agaynst the king and Realme of England by ꝑ occasion hereof: Contrary to the kings letters of request, not onely harboureth and cherisheth this Dereman, but also wzityng to the Pope by his Almoner and brother, entreateth him vpon all loues, as euer he would haue his fauour to tender the cause of the Archebishop Becket. Thus the kinges Ambassadoзs repulsed of the French king returned, at what tyme he sent another Ambassade vpon the lyke cause to Alexander the Pope, then beyng at Sene in Fraunce. The Ambassadoзs sent on this message were, Roger Archebishop of Yorke, Gilbart Bishop of London, Henry Bishop of Winchester, Hillary Bishop of Chichester, Bartholomew Bishop of Exceter with other Doctoзs and Clerkes: Also William Erle of Arondell, with certeyne mo Lozdes and Barons. Who comming to the Popes Court were friendly accepted of certaine of the Cardinalles, amongest the which Cardinalles, there arose also discention about the same cause, some iudgyng the Bishop of Caunto2bury in the defence of the libertyes of the Church, as in a good cause was to be mainteyned: Some thinking againe that he beyng a perturber of peace and vnitie, was rather to be bzidled foz his pzesumption, then to bee fostered

Thomas Becket chaũgeth his name, and escapeth.

Lodouike oz Lewes the French king.

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fostered and encouraged therin. But the Pope partly bearing with his cause, and partly incensed therevnto wyth the letters of the French king, did wholy encline to Becket. Wherefore the Pope the next day folowyng sittyng in consistory with his Cardinalles, when the Ambassadors were called for, to the heeryng of Beckets matter, first begynneth the Bishop of London, next the Archebishop of Yorke, then Exceter, and through the Bishoppes euery one in their order to speake. Whose Orations beyng not well accepted of the Pope, and some of them also disdeyned: The Erle of Arondell perceyuyng that, somewhat to qualifie and temper the matter to the Popes eares began after this maner.

Oration of the Erle of Arondell which he made in French.

Although to me it is vnknowen (sayth he) which am both vnlettered and ignorant, what it is, that these Bishoppes here haue sayde, neyther am I in that tongue so able to expresse my minde as they haue done: yet beyng sent and charged therevnto of my Prince, neyther can, nor ought I but to declare (as well as I may) what the cause is of our sendyng hether, not to contende or striue with any person nor to offer any iniury or harme vnto any man, especially in this place, and in the presence here of such a one, vnto whose becke and auctoritie all the worlde doth stoupe and yeelde. But for this intent is our Legacye hether directed, to present here before you, and in the presence of the whole Church of Rome, the deuocion and loue of our king and master, which euer he hath had, and yet hath still toward you. And that the same may the better appere to your excellencie, he hath assigned and appoynted to the furniture of this Legacie, not the least, but the greatest: not the worst, but the best and chiefest of all his subiectes, both Archebishoppes, Bishoppes, Erles, Barons, with other Potentates mo, of such worthinesse and parentage, that if he could haue found greater in all his Realme, he woulde haue sent them, both for the reuerence of your person, and of the holy Church of Rome. Ouer and besydes this I might adde to more, which your holinesse hath sufficiently tryed and proued all ready, the true and heartie fidelitie of this our Soueraigne towarde you: Who in his first entrance into his kingdome wholy submitted himselfe, with all that is his besydes, to your will and pleasure.

And truely to testifie of his maiestie howe he is disposed to the vnitie of the Catholique fayth, we beleue there is none more faythfull in Christ than he, nor more deuoute to God, nor yet more moderate in kepping the vnitie of peace wherevnto he is called. And as I may be bolde this to protest for our king and maister: so neyther do I deny touching the Archebishop of Cauntorbury, a man also not destitute nor vnfurnished with giftes and ornaments in his kinde of callyng, to be a man both sage and discrete, in such thinges as to him appertayne, saue onely that he semeth to some, more quicke and sharpe than nedeth. This blot alone if it were not, and the breache betweene him and our king had not happened, both the regimentes together of the Temporaltie and Spiritualtie might quietly haue flourished, one with the other, in much peace and concorde, both vnder a Prince so worthie, and a Pastor so vertuous. Wherefore the case so standyng as it doth, our message hether and our supplication is to your vigilant prudence, that through your fauour and wisedome, the necke of this discention may be broken, and that reformation of vnitie and loue may by some good meanes be sought.

This Oration of his, although it was liked of them for the softnesse and moderation

moderation thereof: yet it could not so perswade the bishop of Rome to condiscende to their sute and request, which was to haue two Legates or Arbitrers to be sent from him into England to examine and to take vp the controuersie betweene the king and the Archebishop. But the Pope beyng encensed as is sayde before, would not graunt to their petition, forasmuch as it should be (sayth he) preiudiciall, tendyng to the oppression of the Archebishop to graunt vnto it, he beyng not present. And therefore willed them to tary hys commyng, or else, he beyng absent, he would not he sayde in any case proceede against him. But they allegyng againe, their tyme to be expyred appoynted them of the king, hauyng besydes other lettes & causes, as they alleaged, said, they could not there wayte for the commyng of Becket, and so returned backe their cause frustrated without the Popes blessyng to the king. Within foure dayes after, Becket commeth to the Popes court, where he prostrating himselfe at his feete, brought out of his bosome a scroll conteinyng the customes and ordinaunces of the king afore mentioned. The Pope receiuyng the sayd scroll, and readyng it in the open heeryng of his Cardinalles, condempned and cursed the most part of those decrees of the king, which he called Consuetudines auitas, that is, his Grandfathers ordinaunces: Besides, the Pope moreouer blamed Becket, for that he so much yelded vnto them at the beginnyng, as he did: Yet notwithstanding, because he was repentant for his vnaduised fact, he was content to assoyle him for the same, and that the rather because of his great troubles, which for the liberties of the holye Church he did sustaine, and so with great fauour for that day they dismissed him.

The next day, Alexander the Pope assemblyng his Cardinals together in his secret Chamber, appereth before them the Archbishop of Cantorbury, who made there a solempne Oration, and there and then resigned into the handes of the Pope the Archbishoprike of Cantorbury, & his Oration beyng ended, he was bidden to stand apart. The Pope then cōferring vpō this with his Cardinalles, about the resignation of Becket, what was best to be done: Some thought it best to take the occasion offered, thinking thereby the kings wrath might easily be swaged, if the Church of Cantorbury were assigned to some other person, and yet the sayd Becket to be otherwise prouided for notwithstanding. Contrary, other again thought otherwyse, whose reason was: For if he ꝑ for the liberties of the Church had ventured not only his goodes, dignitie, & auctoritie, but also his life, should nowe at the kinges pleasure be depriued, like as it might be a president hereafter to others in resisting their king in like sort, if his cause were mainteyned: so contrary, if it were quayled, it should be an example to all other hereafter none to resist his Prince in the like case, & so might redound not only to the weakening of the state of the Catholike Church, but also to the derogation of the Popes auctoritie. Briefly this sentence at length preuayled, that Becket receyueth his pastoral office at the Popes hand againe, with commendation & much fauour. But forsomuch as he could not be well placed in England, in the meane while the Pope sendeth him with a Monkes habite into the Abbey of Pontiniack in Fraunce, where he remayned two yeres, & from thence he remoued to Senon where he remayned .v. yeres, and so the time of his exyle continued in all .vij. yeres.

The sentence of the Pope and his Cardinalles.

Upon this, the king beyng certified by his Ambassadours of the Popes answere, howe his fauour enclined more to Becket, than to him, he was

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The king directeth his Iniunctions against the Pope.

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A proclamation against Thomas Becket and his kindred.

moued with wrathfull displeasure. Who vpon the same directed out certaine Iniunctions against the Pope & the Archbishop of Cantorbury, much like, & the same in effect that are before rehersed in the beginning of this Hystory.

And besides his Iniunctions, the king also set foorth his proclamation that all maner of persons both men and women, who soeuer were founde of the kindred of Thomas Becket, should be banished without taking anye parte of their goodes with them, and sent to him where he was, which was no little veration to Becket to beholde them. Moreouer, for so muche as he was then lying with Swaryn Abbot of Pontiniack, to whome the Pope as is aforesayde had commended him, therefore the king wryting to the same Abbot, required him not to retayne the Archbishop of Cauntorbury in his house, eyther else he would dryue out of his realme all the Monkes of his order. Whereupon Becket was inforced to remoue from thence, and went vnto Lewes the French king, by whome he was placed at Senon and there founde of him the space of fiue yeres, as is aboue mencioned.

After the aforesayde Iniunctions and proclamation were thus set foorth, which greeued and troubled Becket not a little, then he for helpe resorted to the Pope, and obteyned of him letters to the king, and likewise the king agayne wrote to the Pope: And at the last the Archbishop in his owne name wrote to the king, and to sundrie of the Clergie, namely to certaine Bishops, who verie learnedly and plainely aunswered him, in suche maner as he had no hope of any good entertaynment in this realme. And in the ende he receyued a learned & worthy answere from the whole Clergie of England, (which for length I ouerpasse) so effectually & substancially written, as there could not be a better. But all this moued him nothing: And now that he saw himselfe to be of smal estimation among the Clergie of England, he therfore earnestly besought the Pope of aide & helpe against his aduersaries: and at the last he obteyned of him certaine curses & excommunications. And first he put his curse in execution vpon the Ministers of his church of Cantorbury, and then executed the same vpon certaine Bishops that had contempned hym, and lastly he procured two Legates to be sent from the Pope to the king to curse him and all the whole realme, if the king would not restore him againe to his pristinate state and dignitie.

Becket falleth to cursing.

The king being thus vexed with the Archebishop, departed into Normandy, and shortly after into Fraunce to the French king, where then the Archbishop was present, and the French king perceyuing the king of England to be disquieted, and he desirous to procure peace, or at the leastwise pretending to set agreement betweene them, brought the matter to a communication among them. In the which communication the French king made himselfe as an Umpere betwene them. The king of Englande vnderstanding that the Archbishop would commit himselfe to his arbitrement, was the more wylling to admyt his presence. Whereupon many being there present, the Archebishop (prostrating himselfe at the kings feete) declared vnto him kneeling vpon his knees that he would commit the whole cause, whereof the dissension arose betweene them, vnto his owne arbitrement, adding thereto as he did before Saluo honore dei, that is, sauing the honour of God. The king then as is sayde before was greatly offended at this worde Saluo honore dei, and also hearyng and seing the stiffenesse of the man, sticking so muche

Communication betwene the French king and the king of England, & Thomas Becket.

so muche to this worde Saluo honore, &c. was highly therewith displeased, rebuking him with many grieuous wordes, as a man prowde and stubborne, and he also charged him with sundry & great benefites bestowed vpon him, as a person vnkinde and forgettyng what he so gently had done and bestowed vpon him.

And speakyng to the French king then beyng present: See Sir if it please you (sayth the kyng of Englande) whatsoeuer displeaseth this man, that he sayth to be contrary to the honour of God. And so by this meanes he will vendicate and chalenge to himselfe both that is his and myne also. And yet notwithstandyng, for that I will not seeme to do any thing contrary or preiudiciall to Gods honour, this I offer him: There haue bene kinges in England before me, both of greater and lesse puissaunce then I am: Lykewise, there haue bene Bishoppes of Cauntorbury many both great and holy men, what the greatest and most holyest of all his predecessors before him, haue done to the least of my progenitors & predecessors before me, let him do the same to me, and I am content. They that stood by, heeryng these wordes of the king cryed all with one voyce, the king hath debased himselfe ynough to the Bishop. The Archebishop staiyng a little at this with silence, what sayth the French king to him, my Lorde Archbishop, will you be better then these holy men? will you be greater then Peter? what stande you doubting? heare, now haue you peace & quietnesse put into your owne handes if ye will take it. To this the Archbishop answering againe: truth said he, my predecessors before me were much both better and greater than I, and of them, euery one for his tyme, although he did not extirpe and cut off all, yet some thing they did plucke vp and correct, which semed aduerse and repugnaunt agaynst Gods honour. For if they had taken altogether away, no such occasion then had bene left to any man, to rayse vp this fyre of temptation against vs as nowe is raysed, to proue vs withall, that we beyng so proued with them, might also be crowned with them, beyng likewise partakers of their prayse and reward, as we are of their labour and trauayle. And though some of them haue beene slacke or exceede in their duetie doyng, in that we are not bound to follow their example.

Thomas Beckets answere to the king of Englands.

Peter, when he denyed Christ, we therefore rebuke him: But when he resisted the rage of Nero, therein we commend him. And therefore, because he could not finde in his conscience to consent vnto him, he ought in no wyse to dissemble with him, neyther did, by reason whereof he lost his life. By such lyke oppressions the Church hath alwayes growen. Our forefathers and predecessors because they would not dissemble the name and honor of Christ, therefore they suffered: And shall I to haue the fauour of one man suffer the honour of Christ to be suppressed. The Nobles standyng by hearyng him thus speake were greatly agreeued with him, notyng in him arrogancy and wilfulnesse, in perturbyng and refusyng such an honest order of agreement: But specially one among all the rest, who there openly protested, that seeyng the Archebishop so refused the counsayle and request of both the kinges, he was not worthie to haue the helpe of either other, whome as the kingdome of England had reiected, so the kingdome of Fraunce should not entertaine.

Alanus, Herbertus, and other of his Chapleynes that commytted to story the doyngs of Becket, do recorde (whether truely or no I can not say) that

that after this, the French king sendyng for him, as one much sorowyng and lamentyng the wordes that he had spoken at the commyng of Becket, did prostrate himselfe at the feete of the Archebishop, confessyng his fault in geuyng that counsayle to him in such a cause, perteynyng to the honour of God, to relent therein, and to yelde to the pleasure of man: Wherefore declaryng his repentaunce, desyred to be assoyled thereof. So that after that the French king and Becket were great friendes together, insomuch that king Henry sendyng to the king, to entreate and desyre him, that he would not support nor maintaine his enemie within his Realme: The French king vtterly denyed the kinges request, takyng part with the Archbishop rather than with him.

Besydes these quarelles and grudges betwene the king and the Archebishop above mentioned, there folowed yet moreouer a nother, which was this. Shortly after this communication betwene the kynges and Becket, the king of England returning againe from Normandy into England, which was the yere of our Lord M. C. lxvij. and the. xiiij. yere of his reigne about Midsommer kept his Court of Parliament at Westminster. In the which Parliament through the assent of the Clergie, and the Lordes Temporall, he caused his sonne Henry to be crowned king. Which coronation was done by the handes of Roger Archbishop of Yorke, with the assistance of other bishops ministring to the same, as Gilbert of London, Joselyn of Sarisbury, Hugh of Durefme, and Gualter of Rochester. By reason whereof, Becket of Cauntorbury beyng there neyther mentioned nor called for, tooke no little displeasure. And so did Lodouick the French king, heeryng that Margaret his daughter was not crowned with her husbande, whereupon gatheryng a great army, he marched toward Normandy. But that matter was sone composed by the king of England, who sendyng his sonne to him in Normandy, intreated there, and concluded peace with him; promisyng that his son should be crowned againe and his daughter also. But the Archebishop not ceasing his displeasure, sent againe vnto the Pope, complaynyng vpon these foure Bishops, especially of the Archebishop of Yorke, who durst be so bolde in hys absence, and without his knowledge or his licence to entermeddle to crowne the king, beyng a matter proper and peculier to his iurisdiction. At the instance of whom, the Pope sent downe the sentence of excomunication against the Bishop of London. The other three Bishops with the Bishop of Yorke, he suspended, whose sentence and letters thereof, for the auoidyng of prolixitie I here omit. This beyng done, the Archebishop of Yorke with the foresayde Bishops resorted to the king with a grieuous complaint, declaring how miserable their case stoode, and what they had sustayned for fulfillyng of his commaundement. The king heeryng this was highly moued.

1167
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Henry the third crowned in the life of his father Henry the second, and died before his father, & therefore he is not counted in the number of kinges.

Becket complayneth againe vpon the Bishops to the Pope.

Thomas Becket procureth a curse against the Bishoppes.

The bishops complaine to the king of Becket.

And in the meane season, the French king for his part, and his Clergie, and Courtiers slackt none occasion to insite and solicite Alexander the Pope, against the king of England, to excommunicate him also, seekyng thereby, and thinkyng to haue some bauntage agaynst the Realme: Neither was the king ignorant of this, which made him more ready to apply to some agreement of reconciliation. At length cōmeth downe from the Pope two Legates, the one the Archbishop of Roan, & the other, the Bishop of Nauerne, with direction, and full commission either to driue the king to be reconciled, or to be interdicted by the Popes censures out of the Church. The king vnderstanding himselfe

The French king laboureth to haue the king of England to be accursed for Beckets cause.

King Henry brought to a great streight

selfe to be in greater streights than he could well auoyde, at length through the mediation of the French king, and of other Prelates & great Princes, he was content to yelde to peace and reconciliation with the Archbishop whome he receyued both to his fauour, and also permitted and graunted him free returne to his Church againe. Albeit concerning his possessions and landes of the Church of Cantorbury, although Becket made great labour therfore, yet the king beyng then in Normandy, would not graunt him that, before he should repayre into England, to see how he would there agree with his subiectes. Thus peace after a sort beyng concluded betwene the king and him, the Archebishop returned into England, where he was right ioyfully receyued of the Church of Cauntorbury: Albeit of Henry the yong king he was not so greatly welcommed. Insomuch that he comming vp to London to the king, was returned and commaunded backe to Cauntorbury, and there bidden to kepe his house.

Thomas Becket returneth into Englande.

Roger Houeden maketh mention in his Chronicle, that the Archebishop vpon Christmas day did excommunicate Robert de Brock, for cuttyng off the taple of one of his horses the day before.

Hereof commeth it talke that Kentish men haue tayles.

In this meane time, the foure Bishoppes before mencioned whome the Archbishop did excommunicate, as is aforesayde, sent to him humbly, desiryng to be released of their censure. To whome when as the Archebishop would not graunt clerely and simply, without cautels and exceptions, they went ouer vnto the king, declaryng to him and complainyng of their miserable estate and vncurteous handlyng of the Archebishop. Whereupon the king conceyued great displeasure in his minde towarde the Archebishop. Insomuche that he lamented oft and sundry tymes to them about him, that among so manye as he had done for, there was none that would reuenge him of his enemye: By the occasion of which wordes, certaine that were about the king, to the number of foure, heering the king thus complaine and lament, addressed themselues in great heate of haste to satisfie the agrieued minde and quarell of their Prince: Who within foure dayes after the aforesayde Christmasse day, saylyng ouer into England, hauyng a forwarde and a prosperous wynde in their iourney, beyng in the deepe of winter, came to Cauntorbury where Becket was commaunded to kepe. Where after certeine aduisement and consultation had among themselues, they pressed at length into the Bishops palace, where the Archbishop was sittyng with his company about him: And first they assayed him with gentle wordes to see whether he would relent to the kinges minde, and come to some conformitie, and said, that they had brought to him a cōmaundement from the king, which, whether he had rather openly there in presence, or secretly, to be declared vnto him, they bid him chose. Then the company beyng bidden to auoyde, as he sate alone, they sayde: you are commaunded from the king beyond the Sea, to repayre to the king here his sonne, there to do your dutye to him, in swearing to him your fidelitie for your baronage and other thinges, and to amend those thinges wherein yee haue offended against him. Whereupon the Archbishop denyng to sweare, and perceyuyng theyr entent, called in his company againe: and in multiplyng of wordes to and fro, at length they came to the Bishoppes which were excommunicate for the coronation of the king, whome they commaunded him in the kings name, that he should absolue and

The chiefe occasion that hastened the sodeine death of Thomas Becket.

set free againe. The Archebishop answered that he neyther suspended nor excommunicated them but the Pope, wherefore if that were the matter that greeued them, they should resorte to the Pope, he had nothing to do with the matter. Then sayde Reginald one of the foure. Although you in your owne person did not excommunicate them, yet throwe your instigatiō it was done. Tow hoin the Archbishop againe answered: and if the Pope sayde he, tendering the iniuries done to me and to my Churche, wrought this reuenge for me, I confesse it offendeth me nothing. Thus then sayde they, it appereth by your owne wordes that it pleaseth you right well, in contempt and contumely of the kings Maiestie, to sequester his Bishops from their ministerie, who at the commaundement of the king did seruice in the Coronation of his sonne. And seing ye haue presumed thus to stande against the exaltation of this oure souereigne oure newe king, it seemeth lykely that you will aspire to take his crowne from him, and to be exalted king your selfe. I aspire not sayde he to the crowne and name of the king, but rather if I had some crownes to geue him more, I would set them all vpon him, such good will I doe beare him, that onely his father the king excepted, there is none whose honor I more tender and loue. And as concerning the sequestring of these Bishops, this I geue you to vnderstand, that there was nothing done in that behalfe without the knowledge and assent of the king himselfe, to whome when I had made my complaint at the feast of Mary Magdalene of the wrong and iniurie done to me and my Church therein, he gaue me his good leaue to obteine at the Popes hand such remedie therein as I could, promising moreouer his helpe to me in the same. What is this quoth they that thou sayest? Makest thou the king a traitor & bewrayer of the king his owne sen, that when he had commaunded the Bishops to crowne his sonne, he would geue thee leaue after to suspend them for so doing? Certes, it had bene better for thee not to haue accused the king of this proditiō. The Archbishop said to Reginald one of the foure, that he was there present himselfe at that time and heard it, but that he denyed and swore it was not so: and thinke you said they, that we the kings subiectes will or ought to suffer this? And so approching neerer vnto him sayde, he had spoken ynough against his owne head: whereupon followed great exclamation and many threatning words. Then the Archebishop sayde, I haue sithen my comming ouer, susteyned many iniuries and rebukes, concerning both my selfe, my men, my catteil, my wynes & other goodes, notwithstanding the king writing ouer to his sonne, required him that I should lyue in safetie and peace, and newe besydes all other, you come hether to threaten mee. To this Reginald answered and sayde, if there be any that worketh you iniurie, otherwise then right is, the lawe is open, why doe you not complayne? To whom sayde Becket should I complayne? To the yong king sayde they. Then Becket sayde, I haue complayned ynough if that woulde helpe. I haue sought for remedie at the kings handes so long as I could be suffered to come vnto his speeche: but now seing I am stopped from that, neyther can finde redresse of so great vexations and iniuries as I haue and daylie doe susteyne, nor can haue the benefite of lawe or reason: such right and lawe as an Archebishop maye haue, that will I exercise and let for no man. At these wordes one of them burst out in exclamation and cryed, he threatneth: he threatneth: what, will you also

also interdict the whole Realme and vs altogether? Nay, that shall he not sayth another, he hath interdicted to many already. And drawyng more nere vnto him, they protested and denounced him to haue spoken wordes to the ieopardie of his owne head. And so departyng in great violence, and with many high wordes, rushed out of the doores: Who by the way returnyng to the Monkes, charged them in the kinges name to kepe him forthcomming that he should not escape away. What quoth the Archebishop, thinke ye that I will flie away? Nay, neyther for the king nor for anye man aliue will I stirre one foote from you. No sayd they, thou shalt not auoyde though that thou wouldest. And so they departed in hye clamour of wordes. The Archbishop, foloweth them out of the Chamber dore, cryng after them, here, here, here shall you finde me, layng his hand on his crowne. The names of these foure men, were these, Reginald Bereson, Hugh Mortemyll, William Thracy, and Richard Briton: But Fabian nameth them, William Briton, Hugh Mozuile, William Thracy, and Reignold Fitzure, who goyng to harnesse themselues, returned the same day againe: But fyndyng the Hall dore of the Palace of Cauntorbury shut against them, they went to an inwarde backe dore, leadyng into an Orchard, and there brake vp a Windowe and opened the dore, and so entered into the place. The Monkes (beyng about Euensong tyme) had got the Archbishop into the Church, who beyng perswaded by them, caused his crosse to be borne before him, and so through the Cloyster by a dore which was broken vp for him, proceded into the Quier. The harnessed men folowed after, and at the last came to the Church dore, which dore the Monkes would haue shut against them, but (as their story sayth) the Archebishop would not suffer them. So they approchyng into the Church, and the Bishop meting them vpon the stayers, there he was slaine, euery one of them striking him with his swoorde into the head. And after they had thus slaine him they fled into the North countrie, and at length with muche a do, obteynyng their pardon of the Pope, through the kinges procurement (as some storyes record) they were enioyned in penaunce to go on pilgrimage to Ierusalem. And thus an ende of the story of the life and death of Thomas Becket.

Thomas Becket slain.

Richarde Prior of Douer succeded Thomas Becket and was chosen Archebishop after him, a man of an yll lyfe and an inordinate waster of the goodes of the Church. 1171 18

Now when Becket was thus murthered, the king fearyng the Popes wrath and curse to be layd vpon him (wherevnto Lodouike or Lewes the French king also holpe what he could to set the matter forward) sent to Rome the Archebishop of Roan with certeine other bishops and Archedeacons vnto the Pope, with his excuse, which the Pope would in no wise heere. And after, he sent second messengers, which some of the Cardinalles receyued, shewyng them that on good fryday (beyng then nie at hande) the Pope of custome was vsed to assoyle or to curse, and that it was noysed that the king of England with his Bishops should be cursed by name, and his lande enterdicted, and herevpon the kinges messengers were put in prison. Wherevpon certeyne of the Cardinalles shewed the Pope that the Messengers had power to sweare to the Pope, that the king should obey to his punishment and penance. Which was taken both for the king and for the Archebishop of

The king sendeth an Ambassade to Rome to purge him of the death of Thomas Becket.

The Pope vseth to curse or assoyle on good Friday.

Yorke: So that in the same day the Pope cursed the deede doers with such as were of their consent, eyther that ayded or harboured them, which deede doers had after in penance to go in their Lynnen clothes barefote, in fastyng and prayer to Jerusalem, which by reason of this hard penance are sayde to die in fewe yeres after. And shortly after, as sayth Fabian, Cooper, and other, the Pope Canonized Thomas Becket for a Saint & holy Martyr.

The kinges Ambassadors lying as is sayd in Rome, could find no grace or favour a long tyme at the Popes hande. At the length with much a do, it was agreed that two Cardinalles should be sent downe, to enquire out the matter concernyng them that were consentyng to Beckets death. The king perceyuing what was in preparing at Rome, neither beyng yet certeine, whereto the intent of the Pope and the comnyng downe of the Cardinalles woulde tende, in the meane time addressed himselfe with a great power to enter into Irelande, geuing in charge and commaundement (as Houeden writeth) that no bringer of any briefe or any letter should in his absence come ouer into England, or passe out of the Realme, of what degree or condition so euer he were, without speciall licence and assurance, to bring nothing that should be preiudiciall to him, or to the realme.

The king forbad that no bringer of any processe should come into England without lycence.

1172
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The aforesaid order being set and ordeyned, the king with foure hundreth great ships taketh his iourney to Ireland in the aforesayd yere of his reigne where he subdued in short tyme the whole lande vnto him, which at that time was gouerned vnder diuerse kinges, to the number of fiue. Of whom foure submitted themselues vnto the sayd king Henry: Onely the fift who was the king of Tonacta, denyed to be subdued, kepyng him in Woodes and Marisshes. And hauyng subdued that countrie, he by the helpe of the Archbishop of Armach, reformed their religion in three speciall poyntes. First, he ordeyned that the deuine seruice should be sayde and song, and the Sacramentes ministred after the English maner: Secondly he tooke order for tythes and other duties to be payde vnto the Curates and Ministers by the lay people. Thirdly, he ordeyned that euery man should make his testament and last wil in the presence of his neighbours, or at the leastwise cause it to be read before them.

The king fasteth into Ireland with a great power.

In the meane season while the king was thus occupied in Ireland, the two Cardinalles sent from the Pope, Theodinus, and Albertus, were come to Normandy: vnto whome the king the next yere folowyng resorted about the Moneth of October. But before, duryng the tyme of the kinges beyng in Ireland, the Bishop of London, and Joselyne Bishop of Sarisbury had sent to Rome, & procured their Absolution from the Pope. The king returning out of Ireland by Wales into England, & thence into Normandy, there made his purgation before the Popes Legates as touchyng the death of the aforesaid Becket, to the which he sware that he was neither ayding nor comforting, but onely spake rigorous wordes against him, for that his knightes would not auenge him against the sayde Becket. For the which cause this penance was enioyned vnto him vnder his othe.

1173
20

Penance enioyned to king Henry the second for the death of Thomas Becket.

1 First that he should sende so much money to the holye lande, as woulde finde two hundreth Knightes or Souldiours for the defence of the lande by the space of three yeres.

2 Also that from the terme of Chrystmasse day then next folowyng, he should

should set forth in his owne person to fight for the holy land the space of three yeres together: onlesse he should be otherwise dispenced withall by ỹ Pope.

3 Item, that if he would make his iourney into Spaine as the present necessitie did requyre, there to fight against the Saracens: as long tyme as he should there abide, so long space might he prolong his iourney to Jerusalem.

4 Item, that he should not hinder, nor cause to be hindered by hym any appellation made to the Pope of Rome.

5 Item, that neither he nor his sonne, should recede or dissever from Pope Alexander, or from his Catholique successors, so long as they should recount him or his sonne for kinges Catholique.

6 Item, that the goodes and possessions taken from the Church of Cauntorbury, should be restored againe fully and amplye, as they stoode the yere before Thomas Becket departed the Realme, and that free libertie should be graũted to all such as were outlawed for Beckets cause to returne againe.

7 Item, that the foresayd customes and decrees by him established against the Church, should be extinct and repealed, such onely except, that concerned his owne person. &c. besides other secret fasting & almose dedes enioined him.

Secrete penãce enioyned to the king.

All these former conditions the king with his sonne did both agree vnto, debasyng himselfe with great humilitie and submission before the sayde two Cardinalles: by the occasion whereof, the Cardinalles tooke no little pride, vsyng this verse of the Psalme, Qui respicit terram, & facit eam tremere, qui tangit montes & fumigant. That is, which looketh vpon the earth, and maketh it tremble, which toucheth the hilles and they smoke. &c. Moreouer, it is mentioned in Historyes of the sayd king that a little after, at what time William king of Scottes made a roade into the Realme, he returnyng out of Normandy into England, came first to Cauntorbury, and by the way so sone as he came within the sight of Beckets Church, lighting off hys horse, and puttyng off his hosen and shoen, he went barefoote to his Tombe, whose steppes were found bloody through the roughnesse of the stones. And not onely that, but also receyued further penaunce by euery Monke of the Cloyster, that is to say a certeyne discipline of a Rod. The which by all likelyhood was the secret penaunce that the Cardinalles enioyned him.

William king of Scottes made a roade into England while ỹ king was in Irelande.

The king scourged & rodded by the Monkes of Cauntorbury.

1174
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In the .xxj. yere of his reigne he caused a conuocation of Bishops to be holden at Westmynster by Richard Archebishop of Cauntorburie. In which conuenticle, then being present all the Bishoppes and Abbottes of the prouynce of Cauntorburie, a great contention arose betweene the two Archebishops of Cauntorbury and Yorke, as it had done a little before in king William the Conquerours time and .vij. yere of his reigne 1074. about the obedience that the Archbishop of Yorke shoulde doe to Cauntorbury, that is, whether the Archebishop of Yorke might beare his Crosse in the Diocesse of Cauntorbury, or no: Also aboute the Bishoprick of Lyncolne, of Chichester, of Worcester, of Hereford, whether these Churches were vnder the iurisdiction of the See of Yorke, or not. &c. Upon these and such other like matters rose such controuersie betwene these two Sees, that the one appealed the other to the presence of the Bishop of Rome.

A conuocatiõ of Bishops.

Contention againe for the primacie of Yorke and Cantorbury.

In this and suche cases lyke, howe muche better had it bene if the primacie had remayned more nere in the kinges handes at home, whereby not onely much labour and trauaile had bene saued, but also the great and wast-

full expences bestowed at Rome might with muche fruite and thanke haue bene conuerted to their cures and flocks committed vnto them, and also percase their cause no lesse indifferently heard, at the least more spedely might haue bene decided: but to the purpose againe.

In this controuersy diuerse of the Bishop of Yorkes Clergie, suche as were of Gloucester, belongyng to the Church of Saint Oswalde, were excommunicate by the Archbishop of Cauntorbury, because they beyng summoned, refused to appere before him. At length, that is to say, the next yere folowyng, there was a Cardinall sent downe from Rome by the kinges procurement, who studied to set peace betwene the two Archbishops. So that the way of agrement was taken, by the meanes of the king at Winchester, that as touching the Church of Saint Oswalde in Gloucester, the Archebyshop of Cauntorbury should cease of his clayme thereof, molestyng the See of Yorke no more therein. Also he should absolue againe the Clerkes thereof whom he had excommunicated before. And as concernyng the bearyng of the Crosse and all other matters, it was referred to the Archebishop of Roan and of other Bishops of Fraunce, so that for the space of fyue yeres an order was taken betwixt them, till they shoulde haue a full determination of their cause.

Shortly after this, the king purchased a dispensation of the Bishop of Rome for the voyage which he promised to make in proper person into the holy lande, to fight against the enemies of the Christian religion before two Cardinalles as is aforesayde: The which dispensiation was graunted vpon condition that he should builde three Abbayes in Englande. For the accomplishment whereof he put out of the house of Waltham secular Chanons, and placed in their steede reguler. And for the second he aduoyded the monks that were in the Abbey of Ambresburie, and set in their place Mynchions or Nonnes which he brought with him from beyond the Sea. And for the third he repayred after a homely sorte the Charterhouse of Wytham in the dioces of Bath and Welles.

Reynulph of Chester in his booke entiled Polichronicon, in his. viij. booke and. xxij. Chapter, sayth that thys king had long kept a bewtifull Damosell for his Paramour, whome he called Rosamond, and that the sayde king had buylded for her at his place of Woodstock beside Orforde a Bowre or chamber, which was so artificially wrought, and was such a laberinth and so full of turnings, dores, and wayes most curiously deuysed and made, that it was not possible without teaching to come to any that was therein, and that the same is called at this day Rosamonds Bowre: and he sayth that the cause of the making of the sayd Bowre, was for that the Queene could not abide the sayde damosell, and therfore would she haue done hir displeasure if she might haue come by her: and it is also written of some that at the last the Queene by a clewe or bothome of threede that was brought vnto hir, founde the way and came vnto hir, and that she lyued not long after, but dyed and was buried at Godestowe beside Orenford in the Chapterhouse there. And vpon hir Tombe was written this Epitaph.

Hic iacet in tumba, rosa mundi, non rosa munda
Non redolet, sed olet, que redolere solet,

Which is Englished by Fabian in meter as foloweth.

The

The Rose of the worlde, but not the cleane flowre,
Is here nowe grauen: to whom beautie was lent.
In this graue full darke, now is her Bower,
That by her life was sweete and redolent.
But nowe that she is, from this life blent
Though she were sweete, nowe fowly doth she stinke,
A myrrour good for all that on her thinke.

The sayde Authour sayth also that the aforesaide Rosamond had a little Coffer scarcely two foote long, meruelously artificially wrought, which is yet (sayth he) to be seene there, wherein Gyauntes seeme to fight, beastes do startle and stirre, and fowles flyng in the ayre, and fishes swim in the water, without any mannes mouyng or helpe.

In the. xxj. yere of his reigne, he caused Henry his sonne to be the second tyme crowned king, with Margaret his wyfe the daughter of the Frenche king, by Roger Archbishop of Roan, in a Parliament holden at Wynchester, as he had promised to her father that he woulde do, as before ye haue heard. 1174 21 Henry ye son of king Hēry the seconde againe crowned king of Englād with his wife Margaret ye daughter of the French king.

And this yere the king deuided the realme into fiue partes, and ordeyned vpon euery part three Justices of Assise yerely to passe through the Realme, which now are called the Assises. The circuite or limittation of which Justices was thus disposed. The first company had Norffolke, Suffolke, Cambridgeshire, huntingdonshire, Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Essex, and Herfordshire.

The second company, had Lincolneshire, Notinghamshire, Derbyshire, Staffordshire, Warwikeshire, Northamptonshire, and Leycestershire.

The thirde company, had Kent, Surrey, Southhamptonshire, Sussex, Barkeshire, Oxfordshire.

The fourth company, had Herfordshire, Gloucestershire, Worcestershire, and Shropshire.

The fift company, had Wiltshire, Dorcetshire, Sommersetshire, Deuonshire, and Cornewall.

The sixt companie, had Euerwikeshire, nowe called Yorkeshire, Richemondshire, Lancaster, Copeland, Westmerlād, Northūberland & Cōberlād.

But now these circuites are altered, & so are the number of the Justices.

In the. xxij. yere of his reigne, as saith Cooper, or as some other write in the. xxj. king Henry the sonne, by the exciting of the king of Fraunce, Aleanor his mother, and certeyne of the Nobles, as Robert Erle of Leycester, and other tooke armes, and arrered deadly warre against his naturall father. Diuerse strong battailes were foughten, aswell in England by the deputyes and friendes of both partes, as also in Normandy, Poytow, Guyan, and Britteyn, where they were corporally present: But the victory alway enclyned to the father. There toke part against king Henry the father, Lewes king of Fraunce, William, king of Scotland, Henry, Geoffrey, and John his owne sonnes, Robert Erle of Leicester, Hugh of Chester, and other. But in the end, the sonnes with their allies were cōstrayned to bend to their fathers will, and 1175 22 An vnnaturall warre.

to

to desyre peace, which he gently graunted vnto them, and forgaue them their trespasse. But William king of Scottes forfeyted and lost the Erledome of Huntingdon, for taking of king Henry the sonnes part against the father.

And besides that, beyng discomfited and taken Prisoner at the Castell of Alnewike in Northumberland, he was compelled to yelde for his raunsome the Citie of Carcleyll, the Castell of Bambourgh and the newe Castell vpon Tine, and swore for euer to be true vnto the king, and as well he as his successors to do their homage as often as it should be required. The cause of which warres was as some wryte, because the king had emprisoned Quene Aleanor his wife for the loue of the Lady Rosamond mencioned before in the last yere, a Damosell of incomparable beautie. But Fabian sayth, that after the takyng of William king of Scottes, the sayde William by the assent of his Lordes spirituall and temporall did homage to king Henry at his Citie of Yorke, where the sayde William graunted by his Letters patentes, that he and his successors kinges of Scotland, should make their homage and fidelitie vnto the king of England as often as they should be necessarily required. And in signe and token thereof, the king offered his Hat and his Saddell vpon the Aultar of Saint Peter in the Church of Yorke, which for a remembraunce of that dede, the sayde Hat and Saddle were there kept many yeres after. And moreouer, the Lordes of Scotland tooke a solemne othe that if their king at any time would withdraw him from his allegiance, they would all arise against him, and be to him as enemies, vntill he were returned vnto his fayth and keppyng of his promise. And for the better confirmation of the sayd composition, the king of Scottes beyng summoned, came afterwardes vnto the kinges Parliament holden at Northampton, and at another season into Normandie.

1176 / 23 In the.xxiij. yere of his reigne, the king and his sonnes were made agreed, and a new aliaunce by mariage was made with Lewes of Fraunce: For Adela his daughter was fianced to Richard king Henry his sonne.

1177 / 24 In this kinges tyme there arose great discorde and variance at Rome for the election of the Bishop thereof. For some of the Cardinalles chose one Octauian: But other some, and the more part chose Alexander. At which time the Emperour, to whose iudgement it was referred, when that Alexander disdeyned to abyde his iudgement, he confirmed Octauian. Then did Alexander flee into Fraunce, and there excommunicated out of the company of the faythfull, both Frederick the Emperour, and Octauian the Antipape: And in a counsaile at Claremount, disanulled the actes of the counsaile of Pauie. This Schisme continued almost.xx.yeres: But shortly after Alexander Bishop of Rome returned out of Fraunce into Rome, and was receyued of the people contrary to the Emperours minde. Then folowed sundry and great warres betwene the aforesayde Alexander and Fredericke, and therein was great effusion of blood: But in the ende, Fredericke the Emperour was driuen to the worse. And at the last by perswasion and entreatie of sundrie noble personages, the Emperor submitted himselfe to Alexander Bishop of Rome, and came vnto him to Uenice, where, of a long time the Pope would not speake with him, but caused him to attend: But at the last a tyme was appointed him to come to the Popes presence, where he so behaued and humbled himselfe, that he suffered him to treade vpon him, and to set his fete in

Contention for the election of the Pope.

in his necke, and while he so did his Quier sang this verse of the Psalter, Super Aspidem & Basiliscum ambulabis, & conculcabis Leonem & Draconem, that is: Thou shalt walke vpon the Adder and the Basiliske: and shalt treade downe the Lion and the Dragon. But Frederick seeyng the Pope so to vse him, sayd vnto him, I do not this obedience to thee but to Peter: and the Pope answered both to me and to Peter. Of this outragious pride, let the Reader iudge. But this is to be noted as a truth, that the sayde Bishop of Rome, stirred and procured mortall and cruell warres, as before is sayde, without any iust cause, but onely for his priuate election, and would neyther obey to counsaile nor authoritie, nor yet condiscend to any atonement.

In the.xxiij. yere also of this king, there chaunced great tempestes of thunder and lightnyng in the middle of Winter: And in the next Somner folowyng there fell hayle of such bignesse that it slue both man and beast. And in this tyme there arose great discorde and variance among the Nobilitie in Englande. 1177 / 24

In the.xxv. yere of his reigne king Henrie gaue vnto his base sonne Geoffrey the Bishoprike of Lincolne in a Synode holden at Northampton, after it had bene vacant a long tyme, who wastfully consuming the reuenues thereof, not mindyng to enter into the ministerie, within short space after resigned it. But the same Geoffrey was afterwards preferred vnto the Archbishoprike of Yorke. 1178 / 25

About this time, the king restored Robert Erle of Leycester (who as is beforesayd was taken prisoner in the battaile of Saint Edmondes bury) to his Erledome in a Parliament holden at Oxford, and made his yongest sonne John, Lorde of all Irelande. Margaret also the wife of king Henry his sonne was brought a bed of a daughter called Margaret, which liued not aboue three dayes after her birth.

About this tyme also there were a great multitude of Iewes in euery quarter of the realme, and had but one place assigned them to bury in, which was London, whether all the Corses and dead bodyes of their Nation were brought to be buryed, where so euer their chaunce was to die in the Realme. Therefore fynding it to be a great anoyance and discommoditie vnto them, they became suters vnto the king that they might haue a place assigned them to bury in wheresoeuer they dwelt, the which was graunted vnto them.

In the.xxbj. yere of his reigne Lewes the French king came into England to visite the Church and Tombe of Thomas Becket, as he had vowed to do, whome assone as he was landed, kyng Henry with his Nobles met and receyued very honourably. The which done, they went both together to Cauntorbury, and there offered at the Tombe of the sayd Becket, (such was the blindnesse of that time.) And when he had perfourmed his vowe, and had adorned the said Tombe with many riche Jewels, he returned into Fraunce and died as it was sayd very shortly after, leauyng behinde him one onelye sonne named Philip, who succeded him, and as Polidore sayth was crowned king by his fathers life time. 1179 / 26

In the.xxbij. yere of his reigne, as sayth Fabian, Henry his eldest son, who in the life of his father as aforesaid, was crowned king, died very penitently. 1181 / 28

In the.xxx. yere of his reigne: Heraclius the Patriarke of Jerusalem came into England to haue ayde agaynst the Sarasens, who had wonne a great 1183 / 30

great part of Christendome which they possessed in the holy lande, and also prayed ayde for the defence of the City of Jerusalem, which shortly after was wonne by Saladyne the Prince of Surrey. But by the report of Peter Viscoy a Frenchman, the sayde Citie was wonne by Godfrey du Bulyon, in the yere of our Sauiour Christ. M.xcix. and so continued vnder the rule of iij. Christian kinges, vntill the last king named Guy of Lesyngham, who lost it, in the yere of our Lord. M.C.lxxxix. and the.xxvj. yere of his reigne.

Then it foloweth in the story: This Heraclius made earnest request vnto the king for aide as is afore sayde, and profered him the kingdome thereof, and the keyes both of the Citie and of the Sepulchre of Christ, and deliuered him letters from Lucius the thirde of that name then Bishop of Rome, charging him that he should take vpon him that iourney, and to haue minde of the othe that he before tyme had made. The king deferred his aunswere: And Baldwyn then Archbishop preached, and exhorted men to take the Crosse, by whose meanes, many there were that aduowed that iourney. In the ende, the king gaue aunswere and sayd, that he might not leaue his land without keepyng, nor yet leaue it to the pray and robbery of the French men: But he would geue largely of his awne to such as would take vpon him that voiage. With this aunswere the Patriarch was discontent and sayd: We seke a man and not money, well nere euery Christian Region sendeth vnto vs money, but no land sendeth to vs a Prince. Therefore we aske a Prince that needeth money, and not money that needeth a Prince. But the king layd for himselfe such excuses, that the Patriarch departed from him discontented and comfortlesse. Whereof the King beyng aduertised, entendyng to recomfort him with some pleasant wordes, folowed him to the sea syde: But the more the king thought to satisfie him with his fayre speeche, the more the Patriarche was out of quiet: insomuch that at the last the sayd Patriarch sayd vnto him: Thou hast hetherto reigned gloriously, but hereafter thou shalt be forsaken of him that thou at this tyme forsakest. Thinke on him what he hath geuen to thee, and what thou hast yelden to him againe: howe first thou wast false to the king of Fraunce, and after slue Thomas Becket, and lastly thou forsakest the protection of Christes fayth. The king was amoued with these wordes, and sayde vnto the Patriarch: Though all the men in the land were one body, and spake with one mouth, they durst not speake to me such wordes. No wonder sayde the Patriarche, for they loue thine and not thee: that is to say, they loue thy goodes temporall, and feare thee for losse of promotion, but they loue not thy soule. And when he had so sayde, he offered his heade to the king saying, do by me euen as thou diddest by Thomas Becket, for I had leuer to be slaine of thee, then of the Sarasyns, for thou art worse than any Sarasyn, and thy people foloweth pray and not a man. But the king kept his patience and sayde: I may not wende out of my lande, for mine awne sonnes will rise against me, when I were absent. No wonder sayd the Patriarche, for of the deuill they came, and to the deuill they shall, and so departed from the king in great yre. Fabian.

Heraclius a stoute Patriarche of Jerusalem.

A note and prowde Patriarche.

And here the olde Historiographers finde a great fault with the king for his refusall of the office made by the Patriarch, declaring that to be the greatest cause of Gods plagues which after ensued vpon hym by his children, as the Patriarche prophesied vnto hym, which story is a good lesson to good Princes,

Princes, not to denie their necessarie helpe to their distressed neighbours, especially the cause pertayning to God.

The wisedome, discretion, manhoode and ryches of thys Prynce was so spreade and renowmed thorough all quarters that messages came to hym from Emanuell Emperour of Constantinople, Frederyck Emperour of Rome, and Wyllam Archebishop of Treuer in Almayn, and Duke of Saxon, and from the Erle of Flaundyrs, and from the french king, vpon determination of great questions and strifes, to aske counsell and determination thereof of this king Henry, as of one most wise, and schoolemaister of all wisedome and iustice, to haue solution of their questions and doubtes. Moreouer Alphonsus king of Castile, and Saunchus king of Nauerne, beyng in strife for certeine Castelles, and other possessions, submitted them of their free accorde, and by their othe to abyde the awarde of this king Henry, who made a warde and pleased both. Whereby it is not to be presupposed that this king, to whome other Princes did so resort, as to their Arbitrer and decisor, did attend to any slouth or vicious liuyng. Wherefore this Princes actes may be a myrrour vnto all Princes.

King Henry the seconde was a famous prince

The.xxxiij. yere of his reigne, Geoffrey Duke of Britayn died at Paris, leauyng his wife Constance great with childe, which shortly after was deliuered of a sonne named Arthur. 1186 33

Among many other things in this king memorable, this is one to be noted (folow it who can) that he reignyng, xxvj. yeres, & hauyng so many warres with his enemies, yet he neuer put any tribute, impost, or taxe vpon his subiectes, nor yet vpon the spiritualty, first fruites, or appropriation of benefices, belyke they were not then knowen, but sure it is, they were not vsed. And yet his treasure after his death, being weyed by king Richard his sonne, amounted aboue nine hundreth thousand pound, besyde Jewelles, precious stones, plate, and houshold stuffe. Of the which substance, xl. thousand pound came to him by the death of Roger Archbishop of Yorke, who had procured a Bull of the Pope, that if any priest dyed in his prouynce without testament, then he should haue all his goodes.

A note worthy to be written in letters of golde.

A Prince of great riches.

Bulles are perilous beastes.

But as there is no felicitie or wealth in this mortall worlde so perfite, which is not darkened with some clowde of combyzance and aduersitie: So it happened to this king, that among his other princely successes, this incommoditie followed him withall that his sonnes rebelled and stoode in armour against him, taking the parte of the French king against their naturall father. First Henry his sonne whome the father ioyned with him as king, at the coronation of which king, Henry his father tooke vppon him as Steward, or Sewer and set downe the first dishe of Sewer, renowncing the name of a king for that daye. At which tyme the afore sayde Archebishop of Yorke, sitting on the right hande of the yong king, sayd: Sir ye haue good cause this daye to ioye: For there is no Prince in the worlde that hath suche an officer this day. &c. And the yong king disdayning his wordes, sayde: my father is not dishonoured in this doing, for I am a King and a Queenes sonne, and so is not he. And not onely this, but also afterwarde he persecuted his father, as ye before haue heard. Wherefore he escaped not Gods plague from his youth, after he had reigned a fewe yeres, he dyed as afore sayde, teaching vs what is the price and reward for the breaking of the iust commaunde-

Rebellious & vnnaturall children.

The fatherly honor & loue of a king.

A prowde Prince & an vnthankfull.

God his iust plague.

commaundements of God.

After him likewise, Richard his sonne (who for his courage was called Cuer de lyon) rebelled against his father in the.xxxiij. yere of his reigne. And also John his yongest sonne did not much degenerate from his Brethrens steppes. In so much that the aforesayde Richarde, lyke an vnkinde childe, persecuting and taking part with the French king against his father, brought him to such distresse of body and minde, that for thought of heart he fell into an Ague, and within foure dayes dyed in Normandy when he had reigned. xxxiij. yeares. ix. Monethes and odde dayes, whose Corps, as it was caryed to be buried, at Fountenerard in Fraunce, Richarde his sonne comming by the way and meeting it, & begiming for compassion to weepe, the blood burst incontinent out of the nose of the dead king at the comming of his sonne, geuing thereby as a certaine monstracion, howe he was the Author of his death.

Kinges it should seeme were not cered and closed in leade at those dayes.

It is written of this king that he first ordeyned that Lyons shoulde be kept in the Tower of London.

Richarde the first.



1189 A

Richard the first of that name, and eldest sonne lyuing of king Henry the second, for his valiaunt and lustie courage, surnamed Cuer de lyon, that is the heart of a Lyon, began his reigne ouer thys realme of England the first day of July in the yere of our Lorde. 1189. and reigned.ix. yeres and.ix. monethes and odde dayes.

This king Richard prouyded diligently after the death of his father to set good rule in Normandy. For first of all he sommoned a Parliament in Normandy, and caused all the Nobles of that Countrie to sweare fealtie vnto him. After that beyng desyrous to know what treasure his father had left behynde him, and where it was, he commytted to warde Stephen Lieutenant of Aniow, and by that meanes compelled him to bring out all the treasure which he had long before layde vp in dyuerse Castels by the commaundement of king Henry his father.

And whiles he was thus occupied (sayth Polydore) his brother John came vnto him, whom he receyued very curteously, and aduaunced him to many high dignities and preferments, as afterwardes shall be declared.

Then calling to remembraunce the captiuitie of Alianor his mother, which as yet was in durance in Englande, he streight wayes sent ouer hys letters and commaunded that she should be forthwith set at libertie, committyng the whole order and gouernement of the realme vnto her, who beyng set at libertie, roade throughout the Realme, and shewed great curtesy vnto the

the people in all places: and as one that in her selfe had felt the grieuous miseries of captiuitie, pitiyng the case of all such as were presséd therewith, losed all captiues and prisoners wheresoeuer she came.

Then enteryng into league with Philip the French king, he receyued againe all the holdes and peeces which his father had lost a little before, at what tyme, also he tooke vnto him Adela sister vnto the French king, which was promised vnto him in his fathers life tyme: But shortly after hauyng a vehement presumption that she had bene carnally knowne of his sayd father, he sent her home againe vnto her brother, but not without an honourable dowrye, and manye riche and large gittes. And after this he sped him into England, and first of all went vnto Winchester, & then to Sarelbury, where he founde no small treasure: For as the fame went, there was found besides apparell, Jewelles, and plate, nine hundreth thousande poundes in coyne. From thence returned he to London, and was the thirde day of the moneth of September folowyng crowned at Westminster of Baldwyn Archbishop of Cauntorbury. Upon the which day the Jewes that then dwelt in England, and namely in the Citie of London and suburbes of the same, beyng assembled together, a great number of them presumed farther then was lawfull for them to do. For which presumption, they were first rebuked, and after one of them was striken by one of the kinges chiefe officers, which thing beyng seene of the common people, who supposed the same to be done by the kinges commaundement, did therefore in a fury (as persons asmuch hated of the people as the deuill himselfe, for their vsury and other their vnhappie condicions) fall vpon them, and chased them to their houses, and robbed and spoyled them without all pitie, and brent some of their houses, whereof the rumor ranne to Westminster to the kinges heeryng. Wherefore in all haste he sent downe, geuyng streyte commaundement that they shoulde ceasse off that ryot: But the people were in such yre and madnesse, that they refrayned not for all the kinges commaundement, vntill they had executed the full of their malice. And albeit, that this ryot was afterwarde grieuously declared against the Commons of the Citie, yet it passed vnpunished, for the great number of the transgressors. And the sayd day of Coronation, all prisoners that lay in any prison about London at the kinges sute, or for other small and trifling actions, were freely discharged and deliuered.

A riot made vpon Jewes

A charitable deede which is not of late vsed.

Sone after the king gaue many dignities, namely to his brother John he gaue the Prouynces of Notingham, Deuonshire, and Cornewall, and created him Erle of Lancaster. And then the king ordeyned the Citie of London to be ruled by two Bailifes, whose names and surnames, together with the names of all the Mayors and Shrifes of the Citie of London are regestred in a Table in the ende of this booke, with the seuerall yeres that euery of them was in, aswell of the reignes of euery king, as also the yeres of our Lorde.

The names & surnames of Baylifes, Mayors, and Shrifes of London, are in a Table in the ende of this booke.

And here is a meete place to say somewhat of the gouernement of this noble Citie of London, for that in this first yere of the reigne of this famous Prince, the same was gouerned by two Baylifes, as may appere by Fabian. The which Fabian also sayth, that the same before tyme was gouerned by persones graue and wyse, and were named Portgreues, or rather Portgraues, the which is deriued of two Saxon wordes (as he sayth) that is to say,

Port, and Greue, or rather Graue, for so are the rulers of the townes in Duchelande called at this day, that is to say, all such Rulers of townes or Countries as are nere the sea, are called Mergraue, as at this day in Andwarpe, the chiefe ruler is called Mergraue, that is to say, the Erle or Lorde of a towne or Countrie ioynyng to the sea, and such rulers as are higher into the lande, and farther from the sea, are called Lantgraue, that is, the ruler or Erle of a Citie or Countrie within the lande so that these wordes Portgraue, which Fabian interpreteth, the ruler of a towne, I do accompt it not so nere the truth, as to enterpret it as it is at this day in London, we call the ruler thereof not onely Maior, because he is the chiefe ruler of the Citie, but we adde for a more dignitie vnto that state, and call him Lorde Maior: So thinke I of Portgraues, for Port is a towne, and Graue is an Erle, and that they were then accompted as chiefe Lordes or Erles of the Citie, and were of no lesse estimation then the ruler is nowe, although peradventure not so glorious. And the name of the Shirifes of London at this day, which are vnder officers vnto the Maior, are in all the Queenes writtes named Vice commiti, that is vnder Erles, or vnder Lordes, or vnder rulers.

It was not long after that the king had thus exalted his brother Iohn (as aboue is shewed) but that he also preferred him to the marryage of the Erle of Glouceſters daughter, by reason whereof he was Lord of that Erledome. These great aduauncementes made him after vnkinde to his brother and by pryde thereof to couet after the whole kingdome.

Absolucion. This yere also king Richard was assoyled, of the rebellion that he vsed against his father. In recompence whereof (sayth Guydo) he voluntarily tooke vpon him and promised to warre vpon Christes enemies, but to speake truly, it was at the request of the Pope.

And this yere, as sayth Fabian, king Richard gaue ouer the Castelles of Barwike, and Rokesborough to the Scottishe king, for the summe of ten thousand pound, for the expleyte of his voyage to Ierusalem.

Robert Hood otherwise called Robin Hoode. And about this tyme as sayth Iohn Maior, in his Chronicle of Scotland, there were many robbers and outlawes in England, among the which number, he specially noteth Robert Hood, whom we now call Robyn Hood, and little Iohn, who were famous theues, they continued in woodes, mountaynes, and forestes, spoilyng and robbing, namely such as were riche. Murders commonly they did none, except it were by the prouocation of such as resisted them in their rifelynges and spoyles. And the sayde Maior sayth, that

Robin Hood had an hundreth tall yomen waityng vpon him. the aforesaid Robyn Hood had at his rule and commaundement an hundreth tall yomen, which were mightie men and exceedyng good archers, and they were maintayned by suche spoyles as came to their handes: And he sayth moreouer, that those hundreth were such picked men, and of such force, that foure hundreth men who soeuer they were, durst neuer set vpon them. And

A worthie vertue in a theefe. one thing was much commended in him, that he would suffer no woman to be oppressed, violated or otherwise abused. The poorer sort of people he fauoured, and would in no wise suffer their goodes to be touched or spoyled, but relieued and ayded them with suche goodes as hee gate from the riche, which he spared not, namely the riche priestes, fat Abbottes, and the houses of riche Carles. And although his theft and rapyne was to be contemned,

A gentle theefe. yet the aforesayd Authour prayseth him and sayth, that among the number of theeues,

theeues, he was worthie the name of the most gentle theefe.

But in an olde and auncient Pamphlet I finde this written of the sayd Robert Hood. This man (sayth he) discended of a noble parentage: or rather beyng of a base stocke and linage, was for his manhoode and chiualry aduaunced to the noble dignitie of an Erle, excellyng principally in Archery, or shootyng, his manly courage agreeyng therevnto: But afterwardes he so prodigally exceeded in charges and expences, that he fell into great debt, by reason whereof, so many actions and suites were commenced against him, whereunto he answered not, that by order of lawe he was outlawed, and then for a lewde shift, as his last refuge, gathered together a companye of Roysters and Cutters, and practised robberyes and spoylyng of the kinges subiects, and occupied and frequented the Forestes or wilde Countries. The which beyng certefyed to the King, and he beyng greatly offended therewith, caused his proclamation to be made that whosoeuer would bryng him quicke or dead, the king would geue him a great summe of money, as by the recordes in the Exchequer is to be seene: But of this promise, no man enioyed any benefite. For the sayd Robert Hood, beyng afterwardes troubled with sicknesse, came to a certein Nonry in Yorkshire called Birckleis, where desiryng to be let blood, he was betrayed & bled to death. After whose death the Prioresse of the same place caused him to be buried by the high way side, where he had vsed to rob and spoyle those that passed that way. And vpon his graue the sayde Prioresse did lay a very fayre stone, wherein the names of Robert Hood, William of Goldesborough, and others were grauen. And the cause why she buryed him there, was, for that the common passengers and trauailers knowyng and seeyng him there buryed, might more safely and without feare take their iorneys that way, which they durst not do in the life of the sayd outlawes. And at eyther ende of the sayde Tombe was erected a crosse of stone, which is to be seene there at this present.

Little Iohn. Gerardus Marcator in his Cosmographie and discription of England, sayth that in a towne or village called little Mozanie in Scotland, there are kept the bones of a great and mightie man, which was called little Iohn, among the which bones, the huckle bone or hip bone was of such largenesse, as witnesseth Boethus, that he thrust his arme through the whole thereof, and the same bone being conferred to the other partes of his body, did declare the man to be. xiiij. foote long.

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Taxes, tolles & Subsidies. But before the king tooke his iourney, great preparation was made for money. At that time it appereth that taxes, tolles, exactions, and subsidies, eyther were not knowen, or not so much then had in vse as of late tymes they haue bene: By reason whereof, this king was driuen to make other shift, by selling Lordships, Castels, Offices, Liberties, Priuileges, Bishoprikes. &c. And as he sayd himselfe, he would haue solde London also, if he could haue found any able to buy it. Upon this occasion it came that diuerse Bishoppes,

Bishops became great purchasers. namely such as were best monyed, purchaced to their Bishoprikes diuerse Lordshippes, as Godfrey Bishop of Winchester, purchased Wargraue, and Menes. And Hugh Bishop of Durham purchased the Lordship called Hadberge with all the appurtenances, for fiue hundreth Markes. &c. And also

The Bishop of Durham was made Erle of Durham. he purchased the whole Prouince of Durham of the king to be his awne, and himselfe to be made Erle of the same, wherevpon the old writers as Houeden

Ceſtrenſis, and other, rebuke the ſayde Biſhop in their Chronicles, the king alſo ieſtyng at the ſame, ſaiyng, that of an olde Biſhoppe, he had made a yong Erle.

1191 3 Contention for ſuperioritie.

Now when king Richard had appoynted all things for his iourney, and the ſame beyng in a redineſſe, he then committed the cuſtodie of his realme of England into the handes of foure men, that is to ſay, two Prelates, and two lay men, of whom the two Prelates, which were Hugh Biſhop of Duriſme, and William Biſhop of Ely, were the chiefe and principall. Theſe two fallyng at variance amongeſt themſelues for ſuperiozitie, at length this order was taken by the king: That the Biſhop of Duriſme (who a little before had purchaſed of the king certeine free Lordſhippes, and alſo to remaine as Juſtice without controlment or checke as aforeſayd) ſhould haue vnder hys cuſtodie, from Humber to the Scottiſhe ſea: The other Biſhop, which was the Biſhop of Ely, ſhould haue all the South partes beſides: But the ſayde Ely beyng more ambicious, ſo practiſed with the king, and by the kings Ambaſſadors ſent his letters to the Pope, that at the laſt he obteyned the authoritie Legantine ouer the whole realme of England.

And as ſoone as the king had thus ſet the realme of England in an order, he then ſayled into Normandy, where he ſettyng that country alſo vnder ſafe keping, did ſhortly after mete with the French king called Philip the ſecond, and after with Frederick the Emperor, & they together ſet forward on theyr iourney vntil they came to Turon, and there they paſſed away the winter. In the which time eyther of them with other made aſſurance for the continuance of that great iourney. And at the ſpring time of the yere, theſe three great Princes ſet forwarde on their voyage toward the holy lande. That is to ſay, king Richard by the ſea, and the Emperour and king Philip by land, and appoynted to meete together in the land of Scicill. But king Richard, as ſayth an olde written Chronicle, before his departure called all his Lordes and knightes vnto him, and did ſwere them for euermore to be true vnto him, and to take his part. And in token thereof he gaue to euery of them a blewe Lace or Ribband to be knowen by, and hereof (ſayth that olde Chronicle) began the firſt occaſion of the order of the Garter.

In this meane time in England, the Jewes in diuerſe places of this realme, as Lincolne, Staunford, and Linne were robbed and ſpoyled: And at Yorke to the number of foure hundreth of them and mo, did cut their maſter baynes, and ſo bled to death, as ſayth Fabian.

Theſe two kings according to their appoyntment met in Scicill, where grudge began to kindle betweene them. And the cauſe thereof as Reynulph ſayth, firſt began for that king Richard denyed vnto king Philip the halfe of his winninges in Cypres according to the couenant aſſured betweene them at Turon. But king Richard ſayde that the conuention ſtretched no farther then to ſuch goodes as ſhould be wonne within the limmites and boundes of the holy lande. Another cauſe of grudge was, by reaſon that the French king ayded not the Erle of Campayne beyng in diſtreſſe and neede. Wherefore the ſayd Erle beyng therewith diſcontent, ſayd to the Frenche king: Sir hetherto I haue done according to my duetie: But hereafter I will doe as neede compelleth me. For your grace hath hetherto cheriſhed mee but for mine, but now I will go to him that is more redier to geue then to take, and ſo

ſo departed vnto king Richarde where he was right well enterteyned. And the third cauſe was, as ſaith Reynulph, that king Richard at his firſt entring into Scicill maryed the ſiſter of the king of Nauerne, where before he had promiſed the ſayde French king to haue maryed his ſiſter Adela. But the French Chronicle chargeth king Richard to be in great fault, namely that he was a breaker of promiſe in all that he couenaunted with king Philip, and alſo that he ſolde the Iſle of Cipres which he wan before he came vnto Syria vnto the Templers, for thirtie thouſande Marke, and after tooke it from them againe by ſtrength, and exchaunged it with Guy of Leſyngham that was the laſt chriſtened king of Jeruſalem, for the ſame kingdome, and therefore the kings of England were long time after called kings of Jeruſalem. Alſo that he ſhould take from a knight of the Duke of Oſtrich ỹ ſaid Dukes Baner, beyng firſt ſet vpon the walles of Acon at the ſkalyng thereof, and in diſpite of the ſayde Duke, did treade it vnder his feete, and did vnto it all the diſpite that he might, and ſet his awne Banner in the ſame place. And alſo that where Conradus Marques of Tyre was trayterouſly ſlaine by two of his awne ſeruauntes, king Richard ſhould lay the charge of the fault therof vnto the French king. And for theſe grudges and ſickneſſe, with alſo feare of treaſon (as ſayth the French Chronicle) to be wrought betwene Saladine the Soudane and king Richard: king Philip returned firſt into Appulia, and then to Rome, whether he had bowed a pilgrimage, and from thence into Fraunce.

King Richarde charged by the French man with many great offences.

But howſoeuer the breach was betwene the foreſayd two kinges, great pitie it was, for as long as they continued in amitie together, ſo long they did many valiaunt and famous actes, as in winnyng of Acon, and diuerſe other Cities, and many mo had like to haue bene done, if they had not diſſenered themſelues. And not long after the departure of the Frenche king, king Richarde at the next ſpring folowing returned alſo. Who in his returne, driuen by diſtreſſe of weather about the partes of Auſtria, in a towne called Sinaca, was there taken by Leopold Duke of the ſame countrie, who ſolde him to the Emperour for three ſcore thouſand Marke (though all writers donot agree vpon the ſomme) and for no ſmall ioy thereof, the ſayd Emperor wryteth to the French king theſe Letters folowyng.

1192 4 Contention is the cauſe of loſſe and hinderance.

1194 6 King Richard taken priſoner in Auſtriche.

Henry by the grace of God Emperour of the Romaynes euer moſt noble, to his welbeloued and eſpeciall friend Philip the famous king of France ſendeth gretyng, with further declaration of his ſyncere loue: Foraſmuch as the Empyre doubteth not but that your kingly magnificence, is alwayes right ioyous to heere of any ſuch thing with the which the Almightie power of our creator hath adorned and aduaunced vs and our Romaine Empyre, we thought good by the tenor of theſe preſentes to declare vnto your noblenеſſe that the enemye of our Empire, and perturber of your kingdome the king of Englande, as he was paſſyng the ſea in his returne homewardes from the lande of promes, it chaunced (the ſhip in which he was, beyng wrecked) that he was driuen by the winde into the coaſt of Hiſtria, vnto a place which is betwene Aquileia and Venice, whether the ſayde king by the ſufferance of God after his Shipwreck with a fewe other eſcaped. Whereupon our faythfull friend the Erle Maynard of Goorce, and the people of that coũtry, hering that he was in their land, & diligently conſidering, what prodicion

Henry ỹ firſt of that name Emperour, and ſonne of Frederick.

spoyle and treason the sayde king had vsed in the lande of Pyomes, did pursue him entending to take him captiue: And after they had put the king to flight, they tooke .viij. of his knightes pysoners. And afterwardes the sayde king went forwarde to a Borough in the Archebishoprike of Salsburge named Frisors, where Fredericke of Betsow, as the king was posting toward Austria in the night season, tooke sixe of his knightes pysoners. And our welbeloued cosyn Leopold Duke of Austria laying wayte by euery way did take the king captiue at Dena in a village nere therevnto, in a symple house. Now therefore seeyng he is in our possession, and hath bene alwayes the cause of molesting and troubling of you, we considering the premisses, thought good to signifie thus much vnto your nobleness, assuryng our selues that the same will be right pleasant and acceptable newes vnto you, and an occasion of ioy and gladnes. Geuen at Rithout, the fift Kalendas of January.

Richard Ceur de lion, why he was so called.

It is read of this Richarde that duryng the tyme of his imprisonment, he should slay a Lion, and teare the heart out of his body, and therof it came that he was called Richard Ceur de Lyon, that is, the heart of a Lion. But of the learned it is thought that this is but a fable, but rather that he was so called for his inuincible courage and strength. The time also of his imprisonment, his brother John by the setting on of the French king, made great war within the land, and tooke by strength the Castell of Windsore, of Notyngham and others, and the French king made strong warre in Normandy.

Howbeit, as touching the returne of king Richard out of Syria, and his taking by Leopald Archeduke of Austrich, the matter is farre otherwise reported by Polidore after this maner: When he had comforted the christian men in Syria, with such words as are before rehearsed, he then hauing prepared his Naue for that purpose, sent away before him his wyfe Berengaria with her sister Jone and a great part of his army into Sicill, which from thence sayled into Englande: And then he himselfe followed with the rest, which were but a fewe in number, minding to saple into Thracia: But by tempest his chaunce was to be driuen into Dalmatia, where he arryued and chaunged his apparell, because he would not be acknowne, and determined with him selfe to go home into England through high Almayne, trauayling at his ease, sometime on horseback, and sometime on foote. And when he was come to the Countrie of Austriche, he remembring the breche that was betweene him and the Duke of the same countrie for casting downe his banner from the walles of Acon at the wynning therof: And therefore mistrusting that the saide Duke would be reuenged on him for the sayde dishonour, and being also aduertised by his espialles, that the fame of his comming was now bruted abroade throughout all the Countrie, he beganne to feare himselfe, and therefore trauayled very circumspectly, sending euer hys spialles before to search the wayes that he should passe by. But yet couldne he by no meanes escape that which was by destery appointed to happen vnto him. For as sone as he was entered into the Citie of Vienna, which is the chiefe Citie of that Countrie, he was by his tongue knowne to be an Englishman. And because he was more delicate and deyntie then became a person being so homely appareled, he was thereby suspected of manye to be the king himselfe, & the rather because it was a constant rumor, that he was come into the Countrie. The Duke heeryng of this, beset the house by and by wherein he was lodged with men of armes, that none should escape out, and then sent he other into the house to view and see what maner of guestes were within. When king Richard perceyued that the house was thus beset rounde about with harnessed men, in such wise that it was not possible for hym to flie, he caused himselfe to be apparelled lyke a king, and hauing the same constancie of minde which he euer vsed in all his martiall affaires, he shewed himselfe vnto the souldiours, now being entred the house, demaunding of them what the matter was, that they in such forcible wise came vnto him, who answered that they came to take him. To whome he answered againe, how it was not seemely for a king to yeelde himselfe pysoner vnto any but to the Duke himselfe, and therefore if the Duke himselfe would come, he would be content to yeelde himselfe vnto him. Then came the Duke, whome the king met and deliuered him his sworde, and so yeelded himselfe vnto him, who being glad that he had gotten such a praye vnlooked for, had him home with hym to hys house, geuing him verie fayre wordes all the waye as he passed, and then deliuered him vnto certeyne noble men of his Countrie to be safely kept. &c.

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In this meane time that the king was so occupied in the warres with the Sarasens as is aforesayde, the Bishop of Elye of whome mencion is made before, being first authorised by the king as gouernor of this realme, & after made the Popes Legate, tooke then not a little state vpon him in the absence of the king, in such ambicious and prowde sort that he made all the realme cry out vpon him. This Bishop whose name was William Longchampe a Norman borne, and commyng of a base stocke, after he had aspired to the Bishoprike of Ely, and then to be Chauncelor of England, and after the Popes Legate, hauyng now in the absence of the king the whole rule and gouernement of the Realme in his owne hande, grewe out of measure in suche pompe and pride, that he became intollerable both to the Clergie, and to the Laiety. First he beginneth to assemble a generall counsaile together at London. The colour and pretence was for Religion, but in verye deede, as sayth the olde stories, the cause was his owne pompe and ambicion, with importunate oppression of the Clergie. And no lesse troublesome was he also vnto the Layty, wonderfully oppressyng the Commons, abusyng the kinges auctholitie, and aduaunsyng vaine glory. His vse was to ride with a thousande horses continually, so that the noble mennes sonnes were glad to become his slaues. And with the best Barons, Erles, and Peeres of this realme, maryed he his Cosyns, Neces and kinswomen (I will not say his daughters) and for all that, his Grandfather was but a poore Ploughman, and his father a Cowheard. And hauyng so tirannously abused his office, fearyng least he shoulde haue bene called to his examination, he fled with a fewe of his trusty seruauntes to Doner Castell, mindyng to haue stolen ouer the sea: And comming in the night in a womans apparell, with a peece of cloth vnder his Arme, and a met yard in his hande, vpon suspicion (as God would haue it) beyng knowen what he was, his kerchefe was pulled off his head, & his shauen crowne appered on his head. And then was he drawen along the sea vpon the sandes, with a great wondering of the people: Some rated him, some reuiled him, some bespatteled him, some drawyng him by the armes, some by the legges from place to place, his owne seruauntes not beyng able to helpe him. And at

William Longchampe Bishop of Ely, a prowde Prelate.

The prowde Bishop of Ely glad to hide his head

Gods iust plague.

at the last they brought him into a seller, where they shut him fast in, and so couered him from the people with shame ynough, vntill the counsaile of the realme sent for him, and after was brought to the Tower of London, and there imprisoned, examined, deprined, and banished the realme: And at the length restored againe by king Richard, and after beyng sent to Rome by the way there dyed. 1197.

But Polidore sayth, that king Richarde beyng moued thereunto by the dayly complaintes of his nobles, deprined him of the Gouernorship by hys letters, and placed in his steede William Archebishop of Roan, which was the cause that he would haue fled the realme, neither maketh he any mention that he was restored by the sayd king.

And after this, king Richard beyng prisoner, sent Hubert bishop of Sarisbury into England to haue the guydyng therof, and also to treate with the Lordes and Commons for the kinges deliuery, and for his raunsome: But for the payment of the sayd raunsome all the Wolles of the white Monkes and Chanons in England were solde, and Ringes and Crolles of Prelates, with besselles and Chalices of all Churches throughout the realme, and .xbij. Shrines were scraped and spoyled of the golde and siluer, and rich and poore payed dyuerse summes of money to their great losse.

King Richard was raunsomed for a hundreth thousand pounde.

Now to returne to king Richarde, at the length he was raunsomed for an hundreth thousande pounde, as Polichronicon, Fabian, and Cooper say, from the couetous captiuitie of the Emperour, and beyng deliuered, he returned againe into England, and landed at Sandwiche, and so came to London, where when he had arested him a little while, he then roade with a certeine number of knightes to Notingham, and wanne the Castell by force, and after that the Castell of Tykhill. And shortly after called a counsaile of his Lordes at Winchester, where by auctoritie of the sayd counsayle he deprined John his brother (then beyng in Fraunce) of all honour, and tooke from him all such landes as he before had geuen vnto him, for that in his absence he ioyned with the Frenche king agaynst him, and also sought to haue possessed the Crowne and realme of England into his owne possession.

John ℔ brother of king Richard deprined of all honour for rebellion.

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And shortly after, that is to say, in the .viij. yere of his reigne, he caused himselfe to be crowned againe at Winchester. After which coronation he called a Parliament, by auctoritie whereof, he resumed againe all patentes, and annuities, fees, and other graunte before his voyage by him solde and graunted, and caused the parties to be contented with such reuenues and profites as they had receyued of the sayde offices or landes, in the tyme of his absence: And spared not for any sufficiencie of wrytyng, that by him before was made.

A Parliament wherein patentes & fees were reuoked, which the king had made & granted before his goyng to Ierusalem.

When the king by these aforesayd meanes had gathered some money, he then in the moneth of July sayled into Fraunce, and besieged a Castell called Arques, and sped there, as sayth Polichronica, dyuersly, which worde diuersly may well here be spoken. For who so readeth the Frenche Chronicle, shall finde that the French king was victor, although the Englishe booke sayth otherwise, but who had the victory in dede is vncerteine. But the French Chronicle sayth, that king Richard so scarred the French kinges host, that he tooke the kinges Sumpter horse and parte of his treasure. And shortly after a peace was concluded.

Arques Castell.

Then

Then John which had turned to the French king against his naturall brother, seeyng the fame and honour of his brother, and weakenesse and feblenesse of himselfe, made meanes vnto Alianor his mother, by whose mediation he was reconciled againe vnto his brother the king, and after became his true knight.

John was againe reconciled to king Richard his brother.

When the king and his brother John were thus agreed, they road ouer the land to visite the countries, and to see how they were guyded by the kings officers. Among other, two there were, which shewed that they would do many things to the kinges profite, the one was Abbot of Cadonence in Normandye, and the other was named William with the long beard, as sayth Reynulphe.

Two Promoters.

The Abbot warned the king of the fraude of his officers, whereby he thought by the punishment of his officers, he should winne great fauour of the people. Then this Abbot gate a warrant of the king, and went to London, and there called before him diuerse officers, and caused them to make there accomptes before him. But he dyed shortly, so that his purpose tooke small effect.

And William with the long beard shewed vnto the king the outrage of the riche men, which (as he sayde) spared their awne, and pilled the poore people. It is sayde that this William was borne in London, and purchased that name by the vse of his beard. He was quicke of witte, and somethyng learned, bolde of speche, and graue of countenance, & toke vpon him greater matters then he could compasse, and some cruelnesse he vsed, as apered in the accusyng of his awne brother of treason, the which was a Citizen of London, and had shewed to him great loue and friendship, euen bringyng him vp in his youth.

William with the long beard.

This William stirred and excited the common people to desyre and loue fredome and libertie, and blamed the excesse and outrage of riche men. By such meanes he drue to him many great companies, and with all his power defended the poore mennes causes against the riche, and accused diuerse to the king, shewyng that by their meanes the king lost many forfeytes and escheates. For this cause, gentlemen and men of honour hated him, but he had such comfort of the king, as he kept on his purpose. But afterward, the king heeryng of the congregations that this William made, commaunded him to cease off such doynges, that the people might exercise their artes and occupations: By reason whereof, it was left for a while, but it did not clearely cease. For within a while after, they folowed him more then they did before. And then he preached vnto them, the which Sermon is at length set out in Reynulph, the. vij. booke, and .xxx. Chapter, and likewise in Fabian. But after his Sermon, he was sent for to the Archebishop of Cauntorbury, but he came with such a multitude folowyng him, that the Lordes were contented to remit him at that tyme with faire and pleasant wordes, and secretly commaunded certeyne personnes to espie when he was voyde of company, and then to take him and put him in sure keeping. The which accordyng to the commaundement at tyme conuenient (as they thought) set vpon him to haue taken him: But he with an Axe resisted them, and slue one of them, and after fled into Saint Mary Bow Church in Cheape, and tooke that for his sauegard, defending himselfe by strength.

A Libertyne.

An hipocrite.

A murderer.

But

But within a little while after, by meanes of the heades and rulers of the Citie, the people minished, so that ere it were long he was left with a few persones, and so was taken, but not without shedding of blood. After which taking, he was arreigned before the Judges, and there he and .ix. of his adherentes had iudgement to die, and were hanged the day folowyng. But yet the rumor ceassed not, for the common people raysed a great cryme vpon the Archbishop of Cauntorbury and other, and sayd, that by their meanes, William that was an innocent of such crymes, as were obiected and put against him, was a defender of the poore people against extorcioners and wrong doers, and that hee was by them put wrongfullye to death, affirmyng him an holy man, and a martyr, in such wise as followeth. They sayde that a man beyng sicke of a feuer, was cured by vertue of a cheyne which this William was bound withall duryng the tyme of his imprisonment, which by a Priest of the kindred of the sayd William was openly declared and preached. Whereby he brought the people into such an errour that they gaue credence to his wordes, and secretly in the night conueyed away the Jebet that he was hanged vpon, and scraped away the blood of him where he was headed and quartered, so that they made there a hollow place, by fetchyng away of that earth, and sayd that sicke men and sicke women were cured of diuerse sicknesses by vertue of that blood and earth. By these meanes, and spreadyng abroade the fame therof, that place was the more visited by women and indiscrete persones, of the which some watched there all night in prayer: so that the lenger this continued, the more outcry and slaunder ranne vpon the Judges and Justices that put him to death.

William with ye long beard hanged.

Ignorance ye mother and begetter of Superstition and errour.

A whoremonger.

Howbeit, at the last, when his dedes were declared, as the sleayng of a man with his awne hand, and vsyng of his Concubine within Saint Mary Church of Bow, in the time of his there beyng, as he openly confessed at the houre of his death, with other detestable crymes, somewhat cooled the hastie flame of the hoate Pilgrimage: But not clearely vntill the Archbishop accursed the Priest that brought vp the first tale, and also caused that place to be watched, that such Idolatrie should there no more be vsed.

Reynulph in his. vij. booke and. xxxj. Chapter maketh mencion that about this tyme a Prince of Wales, whome he called Rees or Rice dyed, in whose prayse this that followeth is written, by the sayde Author.

Rees or Rice a Prince of Wales.

O blesse of battalie, chylde of chiualrie, defence of Countrie, worshyp of armes, Arme of strength, hand of largenesse, eye of reason, brightnesse of honestie, bearing in brest, Hectors prowesse, Achilles sharpnesse, Nestors sobernesse, Tydeus hardinesse, Sampsons strength, Hectors worthynesse, Eurialus swiftnesse, Ulixes fayre speech, Salomons wisedome, Aiax hardinesse. O clothing of naked, the hungries meate, fulfilling the request of all that desyred. O Eloquence, felow in seruice, honest of deede, and sober in worde. Glad of semblaunt and loue in face, goodly to euerye man, and rightfull to all, the noble Diademe and bewtie of Wales is now falen, that is, Rycc is dead. All Wales groneth, Rycc is dead, the name is not lost, but deferred. The blisse of Wales passeth, Rycc is dead. The enimie is here, for Rycc is not here. Now Wales helpeth not it selfe, Rycc is deade and taken away. But his noble fame is not deade, for it is alway newe in the worlde wyde. If a man aske what is the ende? It is ashes and dust: here is he hid, but

but he is vnhilled, for fame dureth euermore, & suffreth not the noble Duke to be hid from speeche. His prowesse passed his maners. His wisedome passed his prowesse, his Eloquence exceeded his wisedome, and his good counsayles passed his Eloquence. Hetherto Reynulph.

1197

In the Monyth of Aprill and in the .ix. yere of his reigne, when the king had prouyded to sende foorth twentie thousande pounde to the Emperour, for full payment of hys raunsome, the pledges which had lyen for the same came sodainely into England, and shewed vnto the king, that after hys departing the Emperor sent them vnto the Duke of Ostrich, to remayne with him vntill the money were payde. And they sayde also that the Duke was accursed of Innocent the thirde, then Bishop of Rome, by reason of hys wrong done to king Richard, and that his Prouince was vexed with manye mischiefes. And as the Duke roade foorth on a day in his disport, beyng saint Stephens daye, he hurt his foote in such wise with a thorne, or other venym which rankled and grewe so sore, that lastly he must die or cut it of. But in hope of recouery, he continued vntill in the ende there was none other way but death. Then he sent for his Bishops, and desyred to be assoyled of the sentence of the Churche which he stood in. The which was denyed him, except he would sweare to stande and abyde the ordinance and iudgement of holy Church, touching the wrong that he had done to king Richard. The Duke sware and was assoyled: and shortly after, the two Bishops, pledges for the money, were set at their libertie.

King Richard sayleth into Normãdy against the kinge of Fraunce.

Now king Richard calling to mind that his bittermost day of the truce taken betweene the Frenche king and him drewe nere at hande, he therefore made him readie and sayled into Normandy: where before his comming, the Frenche king, by occasion of the Normans (as sayeth the Frenche booke) was entered the Countrie of Burges, towarde whome king Richarde sped him with all possible speede, so that both hostes laye parted wyth the ryuer of Oison or Oisyne. Then to follow the Frenche booke, for so much as the Englishe Chronicle speaketh little or nothing of this act, let wise men that reade thys Chronicle conster it after their discretions: For although the Frenchman wrote it to the honour of his countrie men, it will the rather redound to their dishonor. For thus sayth the sayd Chronicle, these two hostes thus as is aboue sayde lying together without skirmishe or assault, king Richard contrary to the minde and opinion of his Lordes, with a few accompanyed and vnharnessed, came to the French kinges tent, and there in presence of his Lordes did homage to the French king for the Duchie of Normandie, and Countries of Angeow and of Poyters, and there sware to the king to kepe peace duryng his lyfe: And after. viij. dayes met againe and finished the sayde peace with an assured othe on either partie, and after departed as friendes, eyther resorting into their awne country: but it semed a fayne peace, for within foure monethes next folowyng, king Richard with his hoste entered into the Prouynce of Berry, and layde siege to the Castell of Wyersone, and gate it by strength. And after went to the Castell of Norycourt, which was deliuered to him by appoyntment.

A tale told by a French Chronicler of king Richard

Wyersons Castell.

When the French king heard of the wynnyng and ouerthrow of the Castell of Wyersone, he in dammagyng of king Richard, layde siege to the Castell of Aubeuyle, and assayled it egerly: But it was so strong and so well defended

fended by the Normans, that the French king was holden off. When king Richard had garnished & fortefied the Castell of Nozincourt with all thinges necessary to the warre, he drue him toward Aubeuyle to remoue king Philip from that siege, and fell vpon the Frenchmen vnwarily. But the Frenchmen quit themselues so knightly, that they chased king Richarde and his people, and tooke a Norman knight prisoner, named Guy de Thonars, a man of great hardinesse. And then king Philip returned to the towne and Castell of Aubeuile, and assaulted it more sharpely, so that in the ende the Souldiours of the towne yelded it with the Castell for a summe of money. And when he had possession of the towne, he threwe downe the Castell plaine with the ground, and after strengthened the towne with Frenchmen, & then went to the Castell of Gysors, and from thence to the Castell of Nozincourt: And assayled it in so cruell maner, that shortly he wan it, & toke therein.xb. knights, and.xriij. yomen with plentie of victuall and Armour.

Noryncourt Castell.

Gysors Castell.

In this time and season, king Richard gathered againe a new strength, and allyed himselfe with Baldwyn Erle of Flaunders, and Reignold Erle of Dampmartyn and of Boleyn. By whose meanes (as sayth the Frenche booke) king Richard wasted sore the Countrie of Fraunce, and brent therein some Townes and villages, and tooke therein many riche prayes. Fabian.

In the. r. yere of his reigne, and about the beginning of the moneth of October, king Richard entred into the country of Unequecyne with a strong host, and made there cruell warre in destroying of the country, & assaulted the Castel of Gysors, & threw to the ground a strong hold called Courcellys, and brent thereabout many villages. Wherewith king Philip was so sore amoued, that with a small number of knightes he pierced the hoste of Englishemen, and entred the Castell or towne of Gysors. But of his men were taken a great number, chiefely such as were men of name, with the which prisoners and manye riche prayes the king departed, leauyng the Frenche king within Gysors.

Castell of Gysors assaulted.

It was not long after that king Richard was thus departed, but king Philip callyng to mynde the losse and dishonour that he had receyued by that warre, assembled a great army, and entred the Duchie of Normandye, and wasted the country from Newesorough to Beawmont le Regier. And that done, he returned into Fraunce, and lycenced his knightes eche man to go into his owne countrie.

When the Frenche king had thus taken his pleasure in the spoyle of a great peece of Normandy, then king Richard with his army entered the former countrey of Unequecyn, and Bewuoeyne, and there tooke as he before had done many rich prayes, and so came away, whome the Bishop of Bewuays beyng a good knight and hardie of his handes, with a compayne of knightes and other, folowed to haue reskewed the prisoners that king Richard had taken. But they themselues were discomfited, and a great many of them taken and slaine. At the same tyme the Erle of Flaunders wyth the helpe of the Englishmen, toke the towne of S. Omer from the French king.

Unequecyne a countrie in Fraunce.

The Bishop of Bewuays take prisoner.

Castell of Chalons otherwise called Gaillard, or Caulr.

Sone after Christmasse next folowyng, king Richard besieged a Castell nere vnto Lymogis. This Castell in the French tongue is called Chalons, & in the English boke it is named Gayllard. But Reynulph calleth it Caulr.

The cause of this siege (as sayth most writers) was for certayne riche treasure

treasure that was founde within the Seigniory of king Richard, the which one Wydomer vicount of Lemonke had founden, and withheld the same from king Richard, and for his sauegarde fled into the aforenamed Castell, and defended it manfully from the first weeke of Lent, vntill the sixt day of Aprill. Upon the which day, king Richarde walking vnwisely aboute the Castell, to espie the feblenesse thereof, one named Bertrand Guedon marked the king, and wounded him in the heade (or as some wryte) in the arme, with a venemous quarrell. After which wounde receyued by the king, he commaunded sharpe assault to be made to the Castell, in the which assault the Castell was wonne.

King Richard wounded to death.

Then the king caused inquirie to be made who it was that did hurt him, the which being founde, was brought vnto the kinges presence, and named himselfe as aforesayde, but after some writers, he was called Peter Basile. Then the king demaunded of him, why he did so lye in waite rather to hurte him, then any other of the company? And he answered, because thou slewest my father and my brethren (sayd he) and I entended to auenge their death what soeuer became of me. Then the king forgaue him his offence, and suffered him to go at libertie. And all the other of the Souldiours that were taken in that Castell were forthwith hanged. But Reynulph sayth, that after king Richard was dead, the Duke of Flaundirs which then was present, caused the sayd Bertrand to be slaine quicke, and after hanged.

The king forgaue his death but other reuenged it.

Bertrand slue king Richard is put to death.

And within three dayes after the king was hurt, he dyed that is to say, the ix day of Aprill, and was buryed as he himselfe willed at Fount Ebzard or Euerard at the Feete of his father. Howbeit his hart was buryed at Roan, and his bowelles in Poyters, when he had reigned ix. yeres, ix. monethes and odde dayes, leauing after him none issue.

King Iohn.



After the death of king Richarde, reigned his brother John Erle of Morton, yongest sonne of Henry the seconde, called John without lande, who at the tyme of hys brothers death was in Normandy, where immediatly after the death of hys sayde brother he possessed his treasure, and was proclaymed king of England the. vj. day of Aprill 1199. & then sent Hubert Archbishop of Cantorbury into England to make prouision for his coronation. And vpon Easter day next following, he was gyrde with the sworde of the Duke of Bziteyn, and sone after came into Englande, where he was crowned king at Westmynster, vpon holye Thursdaye then next following of the aforenamed Hubert.

1199

Coronation of king John at westminster.

But in this meane time the French king helde a counsayle at Cenamanna in Turon, where (to the derogacon of king Iohn) Arthur the sonne of Geaffrey Plantagenet, and Nephew to the sayde Iohn, was made Duke of Bziteyn: who incontinently after, with a great armie entered the Countrie of Angeou and tooke possession thereof. And king Philip with his people entred the Duchy of Normandy, and layed siege vnto the Citie of Eureur, and wanne it with all the strong holdes there aboutes, and stuffed them with victuall, and strengthned them with his owne knights, and that done wasted and spoyled the Countrie, vntill he came to the Citie of Meux, where met with him the aforenamed Arthur, and did to him homage for the Countrie of Angiers. On the other side, the Britones which fauoured Arthur tooke and kept for his behoofe (as sayth Polidore) these townes, Gozneium, Butauentu and Gensolium: and following also the good successe of victorie, recouered againe the Citie of Angiers, the which king Iohn had taken from Arthur the yere before.

Arthur the son of Geoffrey Plantagenet.

In the Moneth of May following, Alianour sometime wyfe to king Henry the second, and mother to king Richard the first came into Fraunce, to the French king to Meux aforesaid, & made him homage for the Countrie of Poyters as her inheritaunce. And sone after the French king returned into Fraunce, & the Duke of Bziteyn with hym, which as yet was within age.

Alianor the mother to king Richard the first did homage to ỹ French king for the county of Poyters.

King Iohn heryng of thys warre in Normandy, and losse of the Countries aboue named, was greatly moued, charging ỹ French king with breche of truce, wherupõ he assembled a counsaile and asked ayde of his Lordes and commons, to wynne agayne theaforesayde landes, and there was graunted vnto him as some write three shillings of euery Plough land throughout England beside the subsidie of the spirituall lands. And when all things were in readinesse that was meete for that voyage he then on Saint Iohn Baptistes daye following sayled into Normandy, and came to Roan, where as he was royally receyued, & shortly after a truce was concluded betweene the French king and him for one yere following. And then there came vnto hym the Erle of Flaundyrs, and all other the Lordes of Fraunce that were of king Richards bond and friendship, and were sworne vnto him.

A subsedy of thre shillings of euerye plough land.

King Iohn sayleth into Normandy with a great power.

Not long after, king Philip taking homage of Arthur for the Duchye of Normandie and all other the possessions of king Iohn beyond the sea, promised him helpe against king Iohn. After this King Iohn and the Frenche king spake together about an houres space. And the Frenche king asked so muche lande for himselfe, and Duke Arthur, that king Iohn would none graunt, and so departed in wrath.

Philip the French king aydeth Arthur against king Iohn.

The same yere a Legate came vnto king Iohn into England and commaunded him vnder paine of interdiction of his land, that he should deliuer the Archebishop which he kept in Prison. And the king denyed so to do, vntill he had payed him fiue thousand Markes for his raunsome, because he was taken in harnesse in the fielde, and had before sworne that he would neuer weare harnesse agaynst any Christian man.

This was ỹ Archbishop of Bewuays that was taken by king Richard the first in the last yere of his reigne.

1200
2

At this time a deuorcement was made, betwene king Iohn and Iuis his wife, daughter to the Erle of Gloucester, because they were in the thirde degre of kindred. And after by the Counsaile of the Frenche king: King Iohn maried Isabell daughter of the Erle of Angolisme, fianced before vnto Hugh Erle

Erle of March, and had by her two sonnes, Henry and Richard, and three daughters, Isabell, Alianor, and Jane.

Variance betwene king Iohn and Geoffrey Archbishop of Yorke.

At this tyme fell strife betwene king Iohn, and Geoffrey Archbishop of Yorke for diuerse causes. First because he would not suffer and permit the Shirife of Yorke in such affayres as he had to do for the king, within his diocesse. Secondly, because he did also excommunicate the sayd Shirife. Thirdly because he would not saile with him into Normandy, to make the mariage betwene Lewes the French kinges sonne, and his neece. &c.

Polidore sayth, that the cause of this falling out of king Iohn with his base brother Geoffrey Archebishop of Yorke, was for that he had reproued him for his great exactions and payments which he layde vpon his people without all measure, by reason whereof he was so much offended with him, that he spoyled him of all that he had, and then banished him out of the court: And such (sayth the aforsayd Author) was the kinges displeasure conceyued against him, that he could not by any meanes be pacified, neyther entreated to receyue him to grace againe, vntill it was a yere after: But here Polidores saiyng is not to be hastily credited of the reader, for truly such was the blindnesse of the tyme, that Polidore had no good opinion of king Iohn, and therfore writeth very vehemently against him in his History, which vehemency or fonde malice I thought meete rather to suppresse, then to make any mention thereof.

Homage of William king of Scottes.

Also in this yere as sayth Reynulph, William king of Scottes did homage to king Iohn at Lincolne, or as some write at London, and sware in the presence of a Legate of Rome, and.xiij. Bishops, to be true liege man to him, and to his heyres kinges. But Hector Boethus sayth, that this homage was done for the landes of Northumberland, Comberland, and Huntingdon, which the Scottishe king helde of the king of England, and not for the realme of Scotland, the which is not true.

At the same time king Iohn, earnestly requested the sayd Scottish king to ayde him agaynst Philip of Fraunce, but he made many excuses that he could not so do, specially without the consent of his Peeres and Commons, that done he hastened himselfe home againe into Scotland.

Straunge sight.

This yere in the moneth of December were seene in the Element about ten of the Clocke in the night time, in the Prouince of Yorke fiue Moones, one in the West, another in the East, the thirde in the South, the fourth in the North, and the fift in the middest of the Element. The same tyme also in the spring season king Iohn sayled into Normandy, and shortly after went vnto Paris, where he was very honourably receyued of the Frenche king, from whence after he had made a new league with him, he went vnto Chilon, but the sayde league continued but a while. For it was not long after, but that the French king required of king Iohn that he shoulde depart with all his landes in Normandy, and Pictauia, and else where within the dominion of Fraunce, vnto Arthure his nephew, and that incontinent, or else he woulde warre against him, and foorthwith made great prouision for warre, and ioyning with him the sayd Arthur, with a great army and puyssance, set vpon certeyne of his townes and Castels in Normandy, and put him to much vnquietnesse. When king Iohn heard of this, he forthwith assembled a counsail, and prayed an ayde agaynst the French king, which was graunted vnto him.

1201
3

King John sayleth again into Fraunce with a power against the French king and Arthur duke of Bryteyne, and had a great victory.

And with all spede possible prepared an army & sailed ouer, and gaue an onset on his enemies with such force (as by the prouision of almightie God the geuer of all victory) the French king and his complices had such a repulse at the Englishmennes handes, that they pursuyng the Frenchmen, in their flight did so nerely folow them into their holde, and so enforced vpon them, that they not onely tooke the sayde Arthur prisoner, with manye other of the Frenche men, but also gaue such an ouerthrow to the rest, that none was there left to to beare tydynges home.

The pedegre of Arthur Duke of Bryteyn.

This Arthur was sonne to Geoffrey Duke of Bryteyn, which was the elder brother of king John, and so thys Arthur was king Johns Nephew. And to make the matter more euident, king Henry the second had eyght children, one Wylliam, which dyed in his childhood, the second Henry, which also dyed in his youth, after he was crowned king, hys father being alyue, the third Geoffrey Duke of Bryteyn, which also dyed in hys fathers life time, leauing behinde him two children, Arthur and Bzecca, the fourth Richarde the first, surnamed Cuer de lyon, the fift John who succeeded Richard hys brother, with three other daughters named, Elianor married to the king of Spaine, Ione Countesse of Tholouse, and Mawde Duches of Saxon, that afterwards was Empzesse.

Arthures most stowte answere.

The sayde Arthur being thus taken in warre, was brought before the king at the Castle of Falesie in Normandy, who being exhorted with manye gentle wordes to leaue the French king, and to enclyne to his Uncle, answering agayne stoutly and with great indignation, required the kingdome of Englande with all there to belonging to be restored to him, as to the lawfull heyre of the Crowne: by reason whereof, prouoking the kinges displeasure against him, he was sent to the Tower of Roane, where at the length, whether by leaping into the diche, thinking to make his escape, or whether by some other priuie hande, or by what chaunce else it appereth not certaine by stories, he finished his life, by the occasion whereof, the sayd John was had after in great suspicion, whether iustly or vniustly God knoweth.

Arthures death.

Counsaile of the Citie.

1203

Thys yere as sayeth Fabian there were chosen in London. xxxv. of the most substanciall and wisest Citizens, which were called the counsaile of the Citie, out of the which number yerelye the Baylifes, and afterwarde the Maiors and Shirifes were chosen.

This yere as Historiographyers write, king John for lacke of good prouision to be made in tyme, lost all his holdes and possessions in Normandie, through the force and power of the French king.

King John lost al that he had in Normandy.

Troubles & vexations ensueace vpon king John.

And after these losses came other troubles vpon him as great or greater enemies, that was the Pope and his Cardinalles, by occasion of choosyng the Archbishop of Canturbury which afterwarde shall be at large declared.

And this yere also (as sayth Reynulph) happened many great and wonderfull tempestes, with lightninges and thunder, and the same also was of long continuaunce, and in that tempest there fell hayle of the greatnesse of Hennes egges, the which destroyed frute, corne and cattell, beside manye other hurtes that the same did. And the same time also there were seene spirites in the ayre (as the aforesayd auchour sayth) fleyng lyke fowles bearing fyre in their billes, and did set diuerse houses on fyre.

And in the sayde yere in the moneth of July dyed Queene Elianor the kinges

kinges mother, and shortly after dyed also Hubert Archebishop of Canturbury: whose decease after it was knowen to the Monkes of Canturbury, before his body was yet cõmitted to the earth, the ponger sort of ỹ Monkes there gathered themselues together at midnight, and elected their Subprior Reignold: without the kinges licence or yet his knowledge, and they preuelye placed him in the Metropoliticall seate, singyng Tedeum at midnight. And because the king shoulde not make their election voyde, they charged him foorthwith to go to Rome to the Pope for his confirmation, and made him to sweare that he should kepe all thinges secrete by the way as he went, & not to make their doyngs knowen to any man before he came to the Pope. But he contrarye to his othe, assoone as he came into Flaunders, opened abroade all the matter and vttered their counsaile. Wherevpon the Monkes beyng not a little agreeued with him, sent to him preuily that without delay he should go forwarde of his iourney. And so soone as he was departed, the next day folowyng they sent to the king, desiryng of him his gracious licence Canonically to choose their Archbishop. The king most gentely and fauourably graunted their petition, requiring them instantly, and desiryng that for his sake they would shewe fauour to John Gray then Bishop of Norwiche, and president of his counsaile as they did in deede, erecting him into that seate of high Primacie.

Hubert Archbishop of Canturbury deceased.

Arrogant and craftie Monkes.

Nowe when this their election was presented vnto the king, the king gaue vnto them his great and heartie thankes, and of his awne costes and charges he sent his messengers vnto Rome to the Pope to haue the same election ratefied. 1203

After the former elections made as aforesayde, the suffraganes of Canturbury beyng not a little offended at the sayde elections, sent spedilye to Rome, to haue them both staied, for that they were not called to neither of the elections: By reason whereof there grewe a great tumult.

This yere sayth Fabian by reason of fowle weatherying, wheate was solde for. xb. shillinges the quarter, which was then thought a great price, and euen so it was if ye consider the value of their money, which was then valued at. xx. pence the ounce of siluer, and now it is currant with vs at fiue shillings the ounce, and so after that rate, when they payed. xb. shillinges for a quarter, the same was of our money. xlb. shillings a quarter.

And in the Sommer next folowyng, king John maryed his bastarde daughter vnto Lewlyn Prince of Wales, and gaue with her the Castell and Lordship of Elyngsmer, beyng in the Marches of Southwales.

This yere the Suffraganes of the Prouynce of Canturbury of the one side, and the Monkes of Canturbury on the other syde, came before the Pope with their lewde elections. First the Monkes presentyng Reignold their Subprior, desired that their election might be confirmed. The Suffraganes likewise complayned that the Monkes woulde presume to choose the Archebishop without their consent, and therefore desired by diuers reasons the first election to be of none effect. The Pope decisyng the matter betwene them both, pronounced with the Monkes, chargyng the Suffraganes and Bishops to meddle no more with that election, but to let the Monkes alone. 1206

The Suffraganes discharged by the Pope, from the election of the Archbishop.

The Monkes of Canturbury now hauyng the whole election in their awne handes, fell also at a square among themselues, the ponger sort with the

the elder. The yonger sort which had chosen Reignold their Subprior, would haue that election to stande. The olde sort of Monkes replied againe, saying: that the first election was by stealth and by night, and by the yonger part also without the consent of the elder Monkes, and also done without the kinges licence or appoyntment, and without the due solemnitie thereunto belonging. And as concernyng our election, say they, it was done in the cleare day light, by the which it had authoritie, and in the presence of oure liege Lorde the king, and his consent and counsaile, beyng to the same.

This Allegation thus proponed, the Subpriors proctor, or man of law, stood foorth and proued the former election to be good, and this latter to be voyde and of no value, after this sort. Whether the first election (sayth he) were iust or vniust, ye ought first by the lawe to haue condemned it, before ye should haue presumed to the seconde: But this ye did not, therefore is this your latter doyng no election at all, the first therefore is rather to be ratefied than yours.

When they had thus multiplied talke vpon both sydes, with many friuolous allegations a long time, and could not agree vpon one person. Pope Innocent condemned both these elections, commaūding them to chose Stephen Langton, then Cardinall of Saint Chrisogone for the Archebishop of Cauntorbury. The Monkes then answered, that they durst not so do, without the consent of their king, and also for that it was preiudiciall to their auncient liberties. The Pope by and by (sayth the story) as one in a fury, taking their wordes out of their mouthes, sayd thus vnto them, we will you to knowe it, that we haue full power and authoritie ouer the Church of Cantorbury: neither are we wont to tary the consent of Princes, therefore we commaund you vpon paine of our great curse that ye chose him onely whom we haue appoynted you.

Stephen Langton named Archbishop by the Pope.

The Popes great curse is of great force forsooth.

The Monkes at these wordes were abashed and terrefied (although they much murmured in their hearts) yet consented all in one, & therupon sang, Te Deum: only did Doctor Helias Brantfield withdraw himselfe from that election, whom the king had sent for the admission of the Bishop of Norwiche.

Thus was Stephen Langton in the high Church of Viterby by Innocent the Popes awne mouth made Archbishop of Cantorbury. From thence foorth therefore (sayth Mathew of Paris) the Pope could do no lesse, but mightely defend him from all vexation and daunger, considering that he was of his awne preferment.

Mytheus Parisiensis.

1207
9

Vpon this occasion king Iohn conceyued an exceedyng displeasur against the Monkes of Cantorbury (as he had good cause) they doyng so many euils against his Princely prerogatiue: Without his licence they elected their Archbishop, and put by the Bishop of Norwiche whom he had appoynted: They walked a great part of his treasure for the warres, and vtterly against the kings minde they made Stephen Langton their Metropolitane, whom he toke for a grieuous enimy vnto the whole realme, chiefly for that he was alwayes so familiar with the French king. Wherefore in his anger he banished them out of his land to the number of .lxiiij. for their contumacy and contempt of his regall power.

King John banished the Monkes of Cantorbury out of his realme.

The Monkes of Cauntorbury thus beyng banished, the king forthwith sendeth messengers to the Pope with his letters, wherein he doth charpely and

King Johns letters to the Pope.

and expresly quarell with the Pope: First, for that he so vncurteously did annihilat the election of the Bishop of Norwich, & set vp one Stephen Langton, a man vnknowne to him, and brought vp amongst his enimies along tyme in the kingdome of Fraunce, consecrating him Archebishop of Cauntorbury, and letting the other go. Also, which is more, it redoundeth, sayth he, to the subuersion and derogation of the liberties apperteining to his crowne, that his consent being not asked before of the Monkes, which should haue bene done, they notwithstanding rashly presumed to promote and preferre the same election. Wherefore he cannot marualle he sayth, ynough, that neither the sayde Pope, nor the court of Rome doth consider, and reuolue with themselues, how necessary his loue and fauour hath bene alwayes hetherto vnto the See of Rome: and that they fixe not the eye of reason vpon thys, what great fruite and reuenues hath proceeded hetherto to them oute of the realme of Englande, the lyke whereof hath not bene receyued out of any other Country besides, on this side the Alpes. He addeth moreouer & sayth, that for his liberties, he will stand, if neede be, vnto death, neyther can he be so remoued and shaken off from the election of the bishop of Norwich, which he seeth to be to him so commodious and profitable. Finally thus he concludeth, saying: that in case in this his request he be not heard, he will so prouide by the seas, that there shall bee no such gadding nor coursing ouer any more to Rome, suffering the ryches of the lande anye more to be exported ouer, whereby he should himselfe be the lesse able to withstand his enimies. And seing he hath of his awne at home both Archebishops, Bishops, and other Prelates of the Church, both of Englishmen and of other, sufficiently prouided and instructed in all kinde of knowledge, therefore he shall not neede to seeke for iustice and iudgement any farther abroad. Now when these letters came to the Popes intelligence, he directeth letters to the king agayne in this forme.

1208
10

The Popes letters written to king Iohn.

Innocent Pope, seruaunt of the seruants of God, to oure welbeloued sonne in Christ, the king of England, health & Apostolicall blessing: where as we haue written to you heretofore exhorting and entreating you after an humble, gentle, and diligent sorte, concerning the matter of the Church of Cauntorbury, you haue written to vs againe after a threatning sort, and vpbrayding manner, both spitefully, and also frowardly. And where as wee more and aboue that our right and duetie required, haue borne and geuen to you: you againe for your parte haue geuen to vs not so much as by right and duetie ye are bound to doe. And though your deuocion (as ye say) hath bene to vs very necessary, yet consider againe, that oures also is not a little oportune and expedient for you. And where as we in suche lyke cases haue not shewed at any time the lyke honor to any Prince, as vnto you, you agayne haue so much derogated to our honour, as no Prince else hath presumed to doe, but you alone, pretending certaine friuolous causes and occasions I cannot tell what, why you would not condiscend to the election of Stephen Langton Cardinall of Saint Chrisogono chosen by the Monkes of Cauntorbury, for that the sayde Stephen, as you say, hath bene conuersaunt and brought vp among your enimies, and his person to you vnknowne. But you know what is the Prouerbe of Salomon: The net is cast: but in vayne in the eyes and sight of the fliyng birdes, with much other matter more in the same

same epistle, wherin he falleth into commendation of Stephen Langton his Cardinall, declaryng howe learned he was in the liberall artes, and in diuinitie, insomuch as he was prebentated at Paris, also come of an honest stock, and an English man borne, and not vnknowen to the king, seeyng the king had written thrise to him before. &c. Moreouer, declaryng in the sayde letter, howe the messengers of the king had specified to him another cause, which was, for that the Monkes of Cauntorbury which had to do in the election, came not to him before for his consent, declaryng moreouer in the sayd letter, how the sayde Messengers of the king intreated in the kinges behalfe, that forsomuch as the Popes letters wherein the king was commaunded to send his Proctours to Rome for the same matter, came not to the kinges hande, neither did ꝑ Monkes direct any such letters or message to the king to haue his consent, therefore, that the Pope consideryng the same, would graunt so much for the regard of the kinges honour, that the Monkes of Cauntorbury should procede, not without the kinges assent therein: And forasmuch as that hath not bene done as yet, therefore they desyred some delay therein to be geuen sufficient for the doyng thereof. Wherevnto he sayde, that he had graunted and fulfilled his request, in sendyng his messengers and letters once or twise for the same purpose, although he sayd it was not the maner of the See Apostolike, who hath the fulnesse of power ouer the church of Cantorbury, to wayte for Princes consentes in such elections, who then coulde not be suffered to do that which they came for. &c. Wherefore in the knittyng vp of his letter, he concludeth in these wordes.

And therefore, seeyng the matter so standeth, we see no cause why we should require or tary for the kinges fauour or consent any more therein, but intend so to procede in this matter, neither enclynyng on the right hande, neyther yet on the left, according as the canonicall ordinances of the holy fathers shall direct vs: that is, that all impediments and delayes set aside, so to prouide that the Church of Cauntorbury be no lenger destitute of her Pastour. Wherefore, be it knowen to your discretion or kingly prudence, that forsomuch as this election of Stephen Langton, hath orderly and concordly thus proceded without fraude or deceite vpon a person meete for the same: therefore we will not for no mannes pleasure, neyther may we without daũger, of same and of conscience, differre or protract any lenger the consummation of the sayde election. Wherefore my welbeloued sonne, seeyng we haue had respect to your honour aboue that our right and duetie requireth, studye to honour vs so muche as your dutie requireth againe, so that you may the more plentifully deserue fauour both at Goddes handes and oures, least that by the doyng the contrary, you bring your selfe into such a pecke of troubles, as afterward ye shall scarce rid your selfe of againe. For this know for a certeine, in the ende it must needes fall out, that he shall haue the better, vnto whom euery knee heauenly, earthly, and infernall creatures do bowe, whose turne I serue in earth, though I be vnworthie. Therefore settle not your selfe to obey their perswasions whiche alwayes desyre your vnquietnesse, whereby they may the better fishe in the water when it is troubled, but commit your selfe to our pleasure, which vndoubtedly shall turne to your prayse, glory, and honour, for it should not be much for your safety in this cause to resist God and the Church, in whose quarrell that blessed Martyr and glorious

Thomas

Thomas hath of late shed his blood, especially seeyng your father and your brother of famous memory then kings of England did geue ouer those three wicked customes into the handes of the Legates of the See Apostolique. But if you will yelde your selfe humbly into our handes, we will looke that you and yours shall be sufficiently prouided for, that no preiudice may arise hereypon to you ward.

Geuen at Laterane the tenth yere of our popedome.

¶ Not long after this letter was sent out, there folowed especiall charge and commaundement sent into England vnto certeine Bishops there, requyryng them by authoritie Apostolicall, that if the sayd king would not receiue the aforenamed Prior of Cãtorbury and his Monkes, that then they should enterdict the king throughout all his realme. For the executing whereof, foure Bishops were appoynted by the authoritie of the popes Bulles, that is to say, William Bishop of London, Eustace Bishop of Ely, Walter bishop of Winchester, and Syles Bishop of Herford. Which sayd foure Bishoppes went vnto the king, and shewed them their commission from the Pope (as is aboue sayde) willyng him to consent therevnto. &c. 1209 11

willã bishop of London, Eustace Bishop of Ely, Walter bishop of Winchester Giles bishop of Herford.

But the king refused the same, and would by no meanes graunt their request: Wherevpon, they departyng from his grace, went the morow after the Annunciation of our Lady, and pronounced the sayde generall interdiction throughout the realme of England: so that the Church dores were shut vp with keyes and other fasteninges, and with walles. &c.

The bishops enterdicted ꝑ king and all the realme.

Nowe when the king heard of this, he began to be moued against them, and tooke all the possessions of the foure bishops into his handes, appoynting certeine men to kepe the liuyngs of the Clergie throughout the realme, that they should enioy no part thereof. Which thing when the Bishops vnderstoode, they cursed all them that kept or should meddle with Church goodes, against the will of them that ought them: and vnderstanding for all that, that the king nothing regarded their doyngs, they went ouer the sea to the Archbishop of Cauntorbury and informed him what had happened. Who heeryng the same, willed them againe to returne to Cauntorbury, and he would come thether to them, or else sende certeine personnes thether in his steede, that should do as much as if he were there himselfe. Then when the Bishoppes heard this, they returned againe into Englande to Cauntorbury, which tydynges came shortly to the king, that they were come againe thether, and because he might not himselfe trauaile to them, he sent thether Bishops, Erles, and Abbottes, to entreate them that the king might receyue the Archebishop Stephen, and the Prior and all the Monkes of Cauntorbury, promisyng in his behalfe, that he should neuer take any thing of the church goodes against the will of them that owe them, but would make amendes to them of whome he had taken any goodes, and the Church should haue all her fraunchesse in as ample maner as in Saint Edwardes time the Confessor.

This king was in a great perplexitie.

When the forme of agrement was thus concluded, it was ingrossed in a payre of indentures, which the foresayde foure Bishops to the one part therof set to their seales, and the other part the sayd Erles, Bishops, and Abbots, caryed to the king. When the king saw the order therof, he lyked it well, sayyng he would not agree to make restitution of the Church goodes. So he sent to the foure Bishops againe, that they should put out that poynt of restitution:

tution: But they aunſwered ſtoutly that they would not put out one woꝛde. Then the king ſent to the Archbiſhop, by the foure Biſhoppes, that he ſhould come to Cauntoꝛbury to ſpeake with him, and foꝛ his ſafe conduit to come and go againe at his will, he ſent his Juſtices as pledges, that is to ſay, Gilbert Peltwyn, William de la Bereuer, & John Lefitz: which thing this done, the Archbiſhop Stephen came to Cauntoꝛbury & the king heeryng theꝛof came to Chilham, from whence he ſent his Treaſuꝛer biſhop of Wincheſter to him, to haue him put out of the Indentures the clauſe of reſtitution afoꝛeſayde, who deniyng to alter any woꝛde of the ſame, moued the king in ſuch ſoꝛt, that immediately was pꝛoclaymed thꝛoughout England at the kings commaunment, that all thoſe that had any Church liuing, & went ouer the ſea, that they ſhould come again into England at a certein day, oꝛ elſe loſe their liuyngs foꝛ euermoꝛe. And further in that pꝛoclaymation, he charged all Shiriſes within the realme to enquire if any Biſchoppes, Abbottes, Pꝛiogs, oꝛ any other Church men, from that day foꝛwarde, receyued any commaundement that came from the Pope, that they ſhoulde take his oꝛ theyꝛ body, and bꝛyng it befoꝛe him. And alſo that they ſhould take into their handes foꝛ the kinges vſe all the Church landes that were geuen to any man thꝛough the Biſhop Stephen oꝛ by the Pꝛioꝛ of Cauntoꝛbury from the time of the election of the Archebiſhop. And further charged that all the woods that were the Archbiſhops, ſhould be cut downe, and all ſolde.

Pledges ſent foꝛ Stephen Langton.

A pꝛoclamatiõ publiſhed by the king againſt the mind of Stephen Langtõ

When tidynges came to the Pope that the king had thus done, being moued thereby with fiery wꝛath, he ſent to the king two Legates, the one called Pandulph, and the other Durant, to warne him in the Popes name, that he ſhould ceaſſe off his doynges to holy Church, and amend the wꝛong that hee had done to the Archebiſhop of Cauntoꝛbury, and to the Pꝛiogs & Monkes of Cantoꝛbury, and to all the Clergie of England. And further that he ſhould reſtoꝛe againe the goodes that he had taken of them againſt their will: oꝛ elſe they ſhould curſſe the king by name: and to do this, the Pope tooke them his letters in Bulles patent.

Pandulph & Durant the Popes Legates.

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These two Legates commyng into England, reſoꝛted to the the king to Noꝛthampton, where he helde his Parliament, and ſaluting him ſayde: they came from the Pope of Rome, to reforme the peace of holy Church. And firſt they ſayd, we admoniſhe you on the Popes behalfe that ye make full reſtitution of the goodes that ye haue rauiſhed of holy Church and of the land. And that ye receyue Stephen the Archbiſhop of Cauntoꝛbury into his dignitie, and the Pꝛioꝛ of Cauntoꝛbury, and his Monkes. And that ye yelde againe vnto the Archebiſhop all his landes and rentes without any withholdyng. And ſir yet moꝛeouer, that ye ſhall make ſuche reſtitution to them as the Church ſhall thinke ſufficient.

Then aunſwered the king, as touching the Pꝛiour and hys Monkes of Cauntoꝛbury: all that ye haue ſayde I will gladly doe, and all thing elſe that ye would oꝛdeyne: But as touching the Archebiſhop, I ſhall tell you as it lyeth in my hart. Let the Archebiſhop leaue hys Biſhoꝛzike, and if the Pope then ſhall intreate foꝛ him, peraduenture I may like to geue him ſome other Biſhoꝛzick in England: And vpon this condition I will receyue and admyt him.

Then ſayde Pandolph vnto the king: holy Church was woont neuer to diſgrade

diſgrade an Archbiſhop without cauſe reaſonable, but euer ſhe was woont to coꝛꝛect Pꝛinces that were diſobedient vnto her.

What, how now, quoth the king? threaten ye me? May ſayd Pandolph, but ye haue openly tolde as it ſtandeth in your hart: and nowe we will tell you what is the Popes will, and thus it ſtandeth: that he hath wholy interdicted and accurſed you, foꝛ the wꝛongs ye haue done to holy Church; and to the Clergy: and foꝛ as much as ye dwell in your awne malice and will come to none amendment: ye ſhall vnderſtand that from this tyme foꝛwarde, the ſentences vpon you giuen haue foꝛce & ſtrength. And all thoſe that you haue commoned withall befoꝛe this time, whether that they be Erles, Barons oꝛ knights, oꝛ any other whatſoeuer they be, we aſſoyle them ſafely vnto thys day. And from this time foꝛward, of what condition ſoeuer they be, we accurſe them openly and ſpecially by this our ſentence, that doe with you common. And we aſſoyle moꝛeouer Earles, Barons, Knightes, and all other maner of men of their homages, ſeruice and fealties that they ſhould doe vnto you. And thys thing to confirme, we geue playne powꝛe to the Biſhop of Wincheſter, & to the Biſhop of Noꝛwich. And the ſame powꝛe againſt Scotland to the Biſhop of Rocheſter and of Sariſburie. And in Wales, we geue the ſame power to the Biſhop of Saint Dauid and Landaff and of S. Aſſe.

A ſtout ſpech of a ſtraunger to a king in his awne realme.

The Legats curſſe the king.

And moꝛeouer we ſend thꝛoughout all chriſtendome, that all the Biſhops beyonde the ſea, ſhall accurſſe all thoſe that helpe oꝛ counſell you in any maner of neede, that ye haue to doe in any parte of the woꝛlde. And that they alſo aſſoyle them againſt you, how many ſoeuer they be. And further we aſſoyle them by the auctheꝛitie of the Pope, and alſo commaund them to warre with you, as with him that is enimie to the Church.

Then the king heeryng thys, aunſwered, what may ye doe to me moꝛe? If I had knowne this to be the cauſe of your comming, I would haue kept you back foꝛ one yere. Pandolphe the Cardinall aunſwered: full well we thought at our firſt comming, that ye would haue bene obedient to God and to holy Church, and to haue fulfilled the Popes commaundement, which we haue ſhewed and pꝛonounced to you as we were charged therewith: But now if ye had wiſt the cauſe of our comming, ye woulde haue made vs tarie one whole yere, which ye might as well haue ſayde, that ye woulde haue a whole yeres reſpite by the Popes lycence. But foꝛ to ſuffer what death that you can oꝛdeyne, we wyll not ſpare to tell you all the Popes meſſage.

Upon this occaſion Pope Innocent yet once agayne commaunded vpon paine of his great curſſe, that no man ſhould obey king John, neyther yet keepe company with him, to common oꝛ counſayle with him, yea, his awne familier houſhold to doe him anye kinde of ſeruice, eyther at bed oꝛ at booꝛd, in Church, Hall oꝛ ſtable: But what followed theꝛeof? the greater parte of them which after ſuch ſoꝛt fled from him, by the oꝛdinance of God, of dyuerſe and ſundꝛie diſeaſes the ſame yere dyed. And betweene both nations Engliſh and Frenche, fell that yere great amitie, but ſecret, ſubtile and falſe, to the bitter betrayyng of England. Neither was the Pope content onely with this, but moꝛeouer the ſayd Pope Innocent gaue ſentence definitiue, by counſaile of his Cardinalles, that king John ſhould be depoſed and put from his ſeate Regall, and another put in his roꝛome. And to the ſpedy execution theꝛeof, he apointed king Philip the French king, pꝛomiſing to geue him full remiſſion of

The Pope gaue ſentẽce againſt king John that he ſhould be depoſed.

A large graunt & vnmercifull.

of all his sinnes, and the cleare possession of all the realme of England to him and his heyres for euer, if he did eyther kill him or expell him.

Christ tooke the crosse, to geue all men life and not to slay any man.

Moreouer, he wrote vnto other Nations that they should take on them the liuery or badge of the crosse, and be reuenged on him for the manifolde iniuries done to the Church vniuersall, by that Turke and Pagan king Iohn, as he called him.

But for all that the Pope could do vnto him, he ceased not to be auenged on such Bishoppes and Priestes as trayterously had conspired against him, partly by puttyng them to exile, and partly by sealyng vpon their goodes and layynges. And mistrustyng that his people would not now continue true vnto him, by reason he stood accursed, and also the land was interdicted for his sake, he caused the whole realme to be sworne vnto him againe. And then assembled he an armie intending to warre vpon Alexander the second king of Scottes, for that he receyued many of the Nobles of the Realme that dayly fled vnto him for succour, and by that meanes to be auenged vpon him, for breaking the league that was betwixt them.

And when he had thus prepared for warre, he hastened him shortly after to Northumberland, and marchyng forward from thence toward Scotland, he inuaded the Frontiers of his enemyes, and offered them battaile. But the Scottish king perceiuyng himselfe to weake to resist the power of England, and therfore thinking that it would be little for his profite, if he had then ioyned battaile with him, did by the aduice of his counsayle refuse to fight, and so dismissyng his army, he sent vnto king Iohn, and made great suite to bee at peace with him, the which at the length he bought, though with much a do, and for a great summe of money: But to returne from whence we haue digressed.

Philip the French king began to attempt to obteyne the crowne of England.

The next yere after the aforesayde interdiction, the French king began his attempt in hope of the crowne of England, beyng well manned with the Bishoppes, Monkes, Prelates and Priestes, and their seruauntes to mainteyne the same, braggyng of the letters which they had receyued of the great men there. But beholde the worke of God: The Englishe nauie tooke three hundreth of the Frenche kinges Shippes, well loaden with wheate, wyne, meale, flesh, armor, and such other like, meete for the warre, and an hundreth they brent within the hauen of Damme, not farre off Bruges, takyng the spoyle with them.

Peter wakefield a false Prophet.

In the meane while the Priestes within England had prouided them a false and counterfeated prophet, called Peter Wakefielde, a Yorkeshire man, who was an Hermite, an idle gadder about, and a prattlyng marchant. Now, to bring this Peter in credite, and the king out of all credite with his people, diuerse vaine persons brused dayly among the Commons of the realme, that Christ had twise apered vnto him in the shape of a childe betweene the priests handes, once at Yorke, another tyme at Pomfret, and that he had breathed vpon him thrise saiyng, peace, peace, peace, and teachyng many things, which he anon after declared to the bishops, and bid the people amend their naughtie liuyng: Beyng rapt also in spirite, they sayde he beheld the ioyes of heauen, and sorowes of hell, for scant were there three in the Realme, sayde he, that liued christianly.

This counterfeated soothsayer prophecied of king Iohn that he should reigne

reigne no lenger then the Ascentiō day next folowyng, which was in the yere of our Lord. 1211. and was the .xiij. yere from his coronation, & this he sayd he had by reuelation. Then it was of him demaunded, whether he should be slaine, or be deposed, or should voluntarily geue ouer the crowne? He answered that he could not tell: But of this he was sure (he sayd) that neither he nor any of his stocke or linage should reigne after that day.

1211
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King Iohn should appere to be wise and learned.

The king heeryng of this, laughed much at it, and made but a scoffe therat: Tush sayth he, it is but an ideot knaue, and such a one as lacketh his right wittes. But when this foolishe prophet had so escaped the daunger of the kinges displeasure, and that he made no more of it, he gate him abroade and prated thereof at large, as he was a very idle bagabond, and vsed to prattle and talke more than ynough, so that they which loued the king caused him anone after to be apprehended as a malefactor, and to be throwen in prison, the king not yet knowyng thereof.

Anone after, the fame of this phantasticall prophet went all the realme ouer, and his name was knowen euery where, as foolishnesse is muche regarded of the people, where wisedome is not in place: specially, because then he was emprisoned for the matter, the rumor was the larger, their wonderinges were the wantoner, their practises the foolisher, their busye talkes and other idle doynges, the greater. Continually from thence, as the rude maner of people is, olde Gossyps tales went abroade, newe tales were inuented, fables were added to fables, and lyes grewe vpon lyes. So that euery day newe slaunders were layde on the king, and not one of them true, rumors arose, blasphemyes were spred, the enemyes reioyced, and treasons by the priestes were mainteyned, and what lykewyse was surmysed, or other subtiltye practised, all was then fathered vpon this foolishe prophet, as thus sayth Peter Wakefielde, thus hath he prophecied, and thus it shall come to passe, yea, many times when he thought nothing lesse. When the Ascention day was come, which was prophecied of before, king Iohn commaunded his regall tent to be spred in the open fielde, passing that day with his noble counsayle and men of honour, in the greatest solemnitie that euer he did before, solacyng himselfe with Musicall instrumentes & songes, most in sight amongst his trustie friendes. When that day was past in all prosperitie and myrth, his enemies beyng confused, turned all vnto an allegoricall vnderstandyng to make the prophet good, and sayde, he is no longer kyng, for the Pope reigneth and not he: yet reigned he styll, and his sonne after him to proue that prophet a lyer.

Ascentiō day which should be the last day of kinge Iohns reign as Peter wakefielde sayde.

Then was the king by his counsaile perswaded, that this false prophet had troubled the realme, peruerted the heartes of the people, and raysed the commons against him, for his woordes went ouer the sea, by the helpe of his prelates, and came to the Frenche kinges eare, and gaue to him a great encouragement to inuade the lande: he had not else done it so sodeinly. But he was most fowly deceyued, as all they are and shall be that put their trust in such darke drowsye dreames of hippocrites. The king therefore commaunded that he should be hanged vp, and his sonne also with him, least any more false prophetes should aryse of that race.

Peter the prophet was hanged with his sonne.

The king thus compassed about on euery side with enemies, and seeyng the great daunger that was like to folowe, and himselfe to be brought to such

a streyght, that none other way could be found to auoyde the present destruction both of his person and the realme also, but vtterly to be subuerted, and

King John submitteth himselfe to the Pope.

specially fearyng the French king, was enforced to submit himselfe vnto the Pope, conuertyng his lande into the patrimony of S. Peter, as many other had done before him, and so became a subiect to the See of Rome, thinkyng thereby to auoyde all daungers imminent: for of this he was sure (though not without shame) that beyng vnder his protection, no forayne potentate throughout the whole Empire was able to subdue him. Wherefore he thus submittyng himselfe did enter into bonde to the Pope, the Copye of which bonde foloweth.

The copie of the bonde which king Iohn entred into vnto the Pope.

To all Christen people throughout the worlde dwellyng. Iohn by the grace of God king of England, greting to your vniuersity, and knowledging that forasmuch as we haue grieued and offended God, and our mother the Church of Rome, and forasmuch as we haue nede of the mercie of our Lord Iesu Christ, and we may offer none so worthie satisfaction to God and to holy Church, but if it were our awne bodye, as with our realmes of Englande and Irelande, than by the grace of the holy ghost, we desyre to meeke vs for loue of him, that meked himselfe to the death of the crosse, through counsaile of the noble Erles and Barons, we offer and freely graunt to God, and to the Apostles S. Peter and Paule, and to our mother the Church of Rome, and to our holy father Pope Innocent the thirde, and to all the Popes that come after him, all the realmes, patronages of Churches of England and of Ireland, with all the appurtenances for the remission of our sinnes, and helpe and health of our kinnes soules, and all christen soules, so that from this time afterward, we will receyue and holde of our mother Church of Rome, as for ferme doyng fealtie to our holy father the Pope, Innocent the thirde, and to

Innocent the thirde bishop of Rome.

all the Popes that come after him in the maner abouesayde, and in presence of the wise man Pandulph the Popes Subdeacon, we make liege homage, as it were in the Popes presence, and before him were, and should haue done all maner of thinges abouesayd, and thereto we bynde vs and all that come after vs, and our heyres for euermore, without any gainsaying to the Pope and eke the warde of the Church vacant, and in token of this thing euer for to last, we will, confirme, and ordeyne, that our speciall renter of our foresaid

Peter pence.

realmes, sayuyng Saint Peters pence in all thinges to the mother Church of Rome, paye by yere a thousand marke of siluer at two times of the yere, for all maner of customes, that we should do for the sayd realmes, that is to say,

England made tributary to Rome

at Michaelmasse and Easter, that is to wete, seuen hundreth Markes for England, and three hundreth Markes for Ireland, sauyng to vs and to our

Tribute.

heyres, our Iustices, and our other franchyses, and other royalties that perteyned to our crowne, and all these thinges that before bene sayde, we will that it be firme and stable without ende, and to that obligation we and all our successors, and our heyres in the maner aforesayde stande bound, that if we or any of our heyres through any presumption, fall in any poynt againe these thinges abouesayd, and he bene warned and will not right soone amend him, he shall then lease the aforesayde realmes for euermore, and this Charter of Obligation, and our warrant for euermore to be firme and stable withoute gainesaying, we shall from this day afterwarde be true to God and to the mother Church of Rome, and to Innocent the thirde, and to them that come after

after him, and the realmes of England and of Ireland we should mainteyne truely in all maner of poyntes against all maner of men by our power, throw Goddes helpe.

But Sir Thomas Moore knight wryting in a booke of his entituled, the supplication of soules, against the supplication of beggers, certeinly affirmeth that there was neuer any such tribute graunted, eyther for England or Ireland. And he sayth further, that neither Rome can shew any such graunt, nor neuer could, & if they could it were right nought worth: for neuer could any king of England geue away the realme to the Pope, or make the lande tributary, though he would, and that no such money (sayth he) is there payd, nor neuer was. This saiyng I leaue to your iudgemẽt. But I maruail much that maister Moore beyng a great learned man, would not for the auouchment of his credite, and the truth of so great a matter, in reproouing a thing so manifestly written by a great number of Aucthours, as namely Reynulph of Chester, Polydore, and a great number of other, which affirme the afore sayd History to be true, that he doth not allege so much as the testimonie and auctoritie of some one aucthor, for the prouyng of his assertion: But as afore said I leaue this to the iudgement of the reader.

But before the releasement of the interdiction, the king was miserably compelled kneelyng on his knees to geue ouer both his crowne and scepter

The miserable estate of king John.

to the Pope of Rome, for the space of fiue dayes, and as his client, vassall, feodary, and tenant, to receyue it of him againe at the handes of another Cardinall. And to this was he bound obligatory, both for himselfe, and for them which should succede him, paiyng yerely for a knowledge thereof, a thousand Markes for England and Ireland as afore sayde. So was the interdiction

The interdiction of this realme released.

discharged the second day of July after sixe yeres three monethes and .xij. dayes from the first proclaymyng thereof.

In this new ruffliyng, the king easily graunted that Abbots, Deanes, & Curates should be elected frely euery where, so that the lawes of the realme were truely obserued. But against that were the Bishops, alleagyng their Canonical decrees, & rules synodall, determinyng the king therin to haue nothing a do, but onely to geue his consent after they had once elected. But among that company, there were some that consented not to that error: A sort also there were of prelates that time which were not pleased that the landes interdiction should ceasse, till the king had payde all which their Clergie in all quarters of the realme had demaunded without reason: yea euery sawcy Sir Iohn for his part, euen to the very breakyng of their hedges, the stealyng of their Apples, and their other occasionall dammages, demaunded allowance which grew to an incredible summe and impossible to be answered.

Notwithstanding that which is vttered before, concerning the bitter malice of the clergie against the king, yet did the Popes Legate and Cardinall Nicholaus Tusculanus muche fauour the king hys doinges and allowe his proceedings, wherefore certaine of the Clergie reported of hym that he was exceeding partiall, and regarded not their matters ecclesiastically as he should haue done, for leauing the accompt of their restitutions, he went with the kings officers as the kings pleasure was to the Cathedrall Mynsters, Abbeyes, Priories, Deanries and great Churches vacant. And there for the next incumbent alwayes he appointed two, one for the king, another for

the parties. But vpon him onely whome the king nominated, he compelled most commonly the election to passe, which vexed them wonderfully: Upon this therefore they raysed a new conspiracie against the kings person, and we beholde (sayth Houeden) about the same time manye noble houses and assemblyes deuyded in many places: the fathers and the aged men stode vpon the kinges parte, but the yonger sort contrarye. And some there were that for loue of their kindred, and in other sundrie respects, forsoke the king againe: yea, and the same went that time (sayth he) that they were confederated with Alexander the Scottish king and Leoline Prince of Wales to worke him an vtter mischiefe. A counsell at Oxford the Archbishop called, where as some would not tarry, considering the confusion thereof: the other sorte hauing verie obstinate hearts, reuyled the king most spitefully behinde hys backe, and sayde, that from thencefoorth, he ought to be taken for no Gouernour of theirs. Their outragious and frantick clamours so much preuayled in those dayes, that it grewe to a greeuous tumult and a most perillous commotion.

Alexander the Scottish king.

A presumptuous clergy.

1212 — 14

In the yere of our Lord 1212 as witnesseth Paulus Emilius and other Histories, Pope Innocent the third held a generall counsaile at Rome called the counsell of Laterane. The chiefe causes of that counsel were these. In the dayes of this Innocent, heresie (as he calleth it) beganne to rise vp very high, and to spreade forth his braunches abroade. By reason whereof many Princes were excommunicate: as Otho the Emperour, John the king of Englande, Peter king of Aragon, Raymond the Erle of Tholouse and a great sort more. And many landes were interdicted, as England, Irelande, Pronance, Tolouse, Aquitane, Sataloni, and such other lyke as is aforesayde. So that it could be none otherwise (sayth Houeden) but with the sharpe Axe of the Gospell (for so the Pope called excommunications) they ought of necessity to haue bene cut of from the church. Therefore was thys counsell prouyded and proclaymed, and Prelates from all Nations thereunto called. And to colour those mischiefes which he then went about, he caused it by his Legates and Cardinalles to be noysed abroade that hys intent was therein onely to haue the Church vniuersally reformed, and the holy lande from the Turkes handes recouered. But all this was but craft and falshoode as the sequele thereof hath manifestly declared. For hys purpose thereby was to subdue all Princes, and to make himselfe riche and wealthy. For there he made this Act, and established it by publique decree, that the Pope shoulde haue from thence foorth the correction of all Christian Princes, and that no Emperour should be admitted, except he were sworne before, and were also crowned of him. He ordeyned moreouer that whatsoeuer he were the which should speake euill of the Pope, he should be punished in hell with eternall damnation, Conradus Vspergensis, Hieronimus Marius. He also ordeyned auricular confession. Also in this counsaile was first inuented and brought in transubstanciation.

Counsaile of Laterane.

The Pope to haue the correction of all Christian Princes.

But nowe let vs returne to king John againe, and marke howe the priestes and their adherentes were plagued for their homely handlyng of his Maiestie. In the aforesayd counsayle of Laterane, and the same yere, was Stephen Langton the Archebishop of Cauntorburye excommunicated of Pope Innocent, with all those Bishops, prelates, priestes, Barons and Commons which had bene of counsaile with hym in the former rebellion. And when

Stephen Langton excommunicated.

when the sayd Archbishop had made instant sute to the Pope to be assoyled, anone he made him this aunswere with great indignation: Brother mine, I swere by Saint Peter, thou shalt not so soone at my hande obteyne the benefite of absolution, for why, thou hast not onely done harme to the king of England, but also thou hast in a great many of thinges iniured the Church of Rome here: and therefore thou shalt tary my leysure. The Archbishop was also at that tyme suspended out of the Churche, and commaunded to say no Masse at all, neither yet to exercise any other ecclesiasticall office, because he would not at tyme conuenient execute the Popes curse vpon the rebellious Barons: With them the sayd Pope had bene so depely offended and angred a little before, that the great Charter of the liberties of England, with great indignation and countenance most terrible, he rent and destroyed by sentence diffinitiue condemnyng it for euer. And by and by, therevpon curssed all the other rebelles with Bell and Candell. The greater Capteines of them which were the Citizens of London for that assay, were pronounced excommunicate by name, and remayned still in that state: wherefore they appealed to the generall counsayle.

Also in the sayde yere, those great men were likewise sommoned to appere at Rome in the generall Sinode, which neuer consented to the kinges deposyng: though they were called (they sayd) thereunto by the Archebishop of Cauntorbury and others, and required by other to subscribe to the same, yet could they not of conscience do it, because he had humbled himselfe, and also graunted to kepe peace with all men. Thus was the whole realme miserably then deuided into two factions, through the malice of the Clergie, & so strifes increased in the land euery where. Yet were there of the Lordes and Gentelmen a great number at that tyme that folowed the king, and allowed his doyngs. But they which were on the other syde, not a little suspectyng the state that they were in, fled spedely to the Frenche king Philip, desiryng him that he would graunt vnto them his eldest sonne Ludouicke, and they would elect him to be their king, and that without much tariance. They besought him moreouer, that he would sende with him a strong and mightye power, as were able to subdue him vtterly, that they might (they sayd) be deliuered of such a wicked Tyraunt. Such was the report that those wicked men gaue of their Christian gouernor appoynted to them of God, whom they ought to haue obeyed though he had bene euill, euen for very conscience sake. And as certeyne of the Lordes and Barons, were in doyng to chose the sayde Ludouick for their king, the Pope sent thether one Gualo, the Cardinall of S. Martyn, to stop those rashe and cruell attemptes, chargyng the French king vpon his allegeance, that he with all power possible, should fauor, maynteine, and defende king John of England, feodarie and tenant to the sea of Rome. The French king thereto made aunswere, as one not contented with that arrogant precept. The realme of England, sayd he, was neuer yet any part of Saint Peters patrimonie, neither is it nowe, nor yet at any time shall be hereafter. This spake he, for that he was in hope to obteyne it for hys sonne, by treason of the Barons.

The Barons of England sought to haue Lewes the Frenche kinges sonne to be king of England.

No prince or Potentate (sayde Philip the Frenche king) may pledge or geue away the kingdome (which is besydes the landes) the gouernement of his realmes and whole common wealth, without the lawfull consent of hys

The French king and his sonne, reasoning about England.

Barons, which are bound to defende the same. If the Pope shall introduce or set vp such a president in the Christianitie, he shall at his pleasure bring all Christen kinges and their kingdomes to naught. I like not this example in these dayes begonne. I cannot therefore allowe this fact of king Iohn of England, though he be mine vtter aduersary, but I much lament that he hath so endammaged his realme, and hath brought the noble ground & Queene of Prouynces vnder miserable tribute. The chiefe Lordes and men of his nobilitie standyng by when he vttered these wordes, beyng as it were in a fury cryed with one voyce. By the blood of God, in whome we trust to beſaued, we will stick in this article to the losyng of our heades (let the king of England do therin what him liketh) that no king may put his land vnder tribute, and so make his nobilitie captiue seruauntes. With that came in Ludouicke the kinges eldest sonne, and sayd vnto them all there present, I beseche you let not my purposed iourney: the Barons of England haue elected me for their Lorde and king, and I will not surely lose my right: But I will fight for it euen to the death, yea so long as heart shall styre within my breast, and I doubt not but that I shall well obteyne it, for I haue friends among them. His father the king stood still as he had bene in a doompe, and answered neuer a worde, but fared as though he had dissembled the matter.

Ludouicke or Lewes the kinges eldest sonne.

About the same tyme, were such treasons and conspiracies wrought by the Bishops, Priestes, and Monkes throughout all the realme, that the king wist not where to become to finde trusty friendes. He was then compelled by the vncertenty of his subiectes to trauaile from place to place, but not without a great army of men, loking euery day when his Barons and their confederates would cruelly set vpon him. At the last he came to Douer, and there loked for aide from other quarters, which loued him better then did his owne people. And thether to him resorted from Flaunders, Brabant and Holland, on the one syde, and from Guyan, Gascoyn, and Poyters on the other syde, and from other countries more, a wonderfull number of men. The report went then that the Pope had written to those countries, mightily to assist him for dyuerse considerations. One was, for that he had both submitted himselfe and his dominion to his protection. Another was, because he had taken on him a little before, the vyuery of the crosse to winne againe Ierusalem. The thirde was, for that he had gotten by him the dominion of England and Ireland, and feared to lose both, if he should chaunce to decay. Also in this tyme king Iohn sailyng to the Ile of Wight abode there the space of three Monethes, and remained of purpose for the quieting of him selfe from tumultes, and led there a solitary life, among ryuers and watermen: where as he accompted rather to die then to liue, beyng so trayterously handeled of his Bishops and Barons, and not knowyng iustly howe to be auenged on them. Vpon the Purification of our Lady therefore, he tooke vpon him the crosse or voyage against the Turkes for the recouery of Ierusalem, moued therevnto rather for the doubtes he had in his people, then for any other deuotion else. And thus he sayde to his familier seruauntes: since I submitted my selfe and my landes, England and Ireland to the Church of Rome (sorowe come to it) neuer thing prospered with me, but it hath gone against me.

King Iohn in great perplexitie.

1213
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In the next yere after, Symon Langton was chosen Archebishop of Yorke, but that election was anon after dissolued, for information was geuen to the Pope, that the sayde Simon was brother to Stephen the Archebishop of Cauntorbury, which had bene the occasion geuer of all the tumults which were at that tyme in England. And the Pope had the more hate vnto him, for that he had brought him vp of naught, and did finde him at that tyme so stubborne: wherfore he placed in his roome Walter Gray bishop of Winchester.

In the same yere, Gualo the Popes Legate renued his great curse vpon Lewes the french kings sonne, for vsurping vpon king Iohn. Likewise vpon Symon Langton and Geruys Hobruge, for prouoking him to the same, and that with a wonderfull solempnitie. For in that doing, he made all the Belles to be rong, the Candels to be light, the dores to be opened and the booke of excommunications and interdictions publiquely to be reade, committing them wholy to the Deuill for their contumacie and contempt. He also commaunded the Bishops and Curates to publiche it abroade ouer all the whole realme, to the terror of all subiects. The sayde Symon and Geruys laughed him to scorne, and derided much his doings in that behalfe, saying: that for the iust title of Ludowike or Lewes, they had appealed to the generall counsell at Rome.

Gualo the Popes Legate, curseth Lewes the Frenche kinges sonne.

The solemnitie of cursyng.

The Magistrates of London and Citizens of the same did likewise vilipend and disdeynously mocke all that the Pope had there commaunded and done: And in spite both of him and his Legate, they kept company with them that were excommunitate, both at Table and at church, shewing themselues thereby as open contemners both of him and his lawes. Lewes being at London, and taking himselfe for king, constituted Symon Langton for hys high Chauncelor, and Geruis Hobruge for his chiefe preacher. By whose daylie preachings, as well the Barons as the Citizens themselues, being both excommunicate, caused all the Church dores to be opened, and the seruice to be song, and the sayde Lewes was in all pointes fit for their hands.

Lewes the Frenche kinges sonne came to London and was receyued as king.

About thys tyme was Pandulph the Cardinall collecting the Peter pence, taking great paines therein. And for his great labours in those affayres for holy Church, and for other good matters, he was made Bishop of Norwiche to the augmenting of his dignitie and expences.

Pandulph the Popes Legate made Bishop of Norwich.

It chaunced about this time, that the Vicount of Melun, a berye noble man of the realme of Fraunce, which came hether with Ludowike to fall deadly sicke at London, and also mooued in conscience to call certayne of the Englishe Barons vnto him, suche as were there appointed to the custody of that Citie, and thus he sayde vnto them. I lament your sorowfull case, and pittie with my hart the destruction that is comming towards you and your Countrie. The daungerous snares which are prepared for your vtter confusion, are hidden from you, you doe not beholde them, but take you heede of them in tyme. Prince Ludowike hath sworne a great othe, and. xvj. of his Erles and noble men are of counsell with hym, that if he obteyne the Crowne of England, he will banishe all them then of seruice and depriue them of lands & goodes, as many as he findeth now to go against their liege king, and are traytours to his noble person: And because you shall not take this tale for a fable, I assure you on my fayth lying now at the mercy of God on my death bed, that I was one of them, which was sworne to the same. I haue great conscience thereof, and therefore I geue you thys warning, I pittie poore Englande, which hath beene so noble a Region, that nowe it is come

The Vicoũt of Melun.

A good warenyng.

come to extreme miſerie. And when he with teares had lamented it a ſpace, he turned againe vnto them and ſayde: my friends, I counſayle you earneſtlye to looke to your ſelues, and to prouide remedie in tyme, leaſt it come vpon you vnwares. Your king for a ſeaſon hath kept you vnder: But if Lewes preuayle, he will put you from all. Of two extreme euilles, chooſe the more eaſie, and kepe that ſecrete which I haue tolde you of good will. With that he gaue ouer and departed this lyfe.

A greate plague came vpon the Barons of this realme.

When this was once noyſed among the Barons, they were in great heauineſſe, for they ſawe themſelues betrapped euery way, and to be in exceding great daunger. And this dayly augmented that feare which then came vpon the Barons: They were extremely hated of the Pope and his Legates, euery weeke came vpon them newe excommunications. Dayly detriments they had beſydes in theyr poſſeſſions and goodes, in their landes and houſes, corne and cattell, wiues and children, ſo that ſome of them were driuen to ſuch nede that they were enforſed to ſeeke prayes and bootyes for ſuſteynyng their miſerable lyues. For looke what Prince Ludouicke obteyned by his warres, either territories or Caſtelles, he gaue them all to the French men in ſpight of their heades, and ſayd, that they were but Traytours, lyke as they had warnyng before, which grieued them worſt of all. At the laſt they perceyuyng that in ſeekyng to auoyde one miſchiefe, they were ready to fall into another much worſſe: They began to caſt their wittes together, conſentyng to ſubmit themſelues wholy and humbly to their late ſouereigne Lorde king Iohn. And for that they were ſomewhat in doubt of their lyues, for the treaſon before committed, many of the friendes of them, which were of moſt credite with him, made ſute for them. So were a great number of them pardoned, after inſtant and great ſute made for them.

And here I thinke mete to put in remembraunce ſuch certeine ſeuerall matters as happened to be done in this Realme, in all the tyme and proceſſe of the former hiſtory, which of purpoſe I deferred, becauſe I thought beſt and moſt cõmodious for the reader to haue the whole ſtory of this king Iohn or rather his tragedy together and in one place, then in ſeueral yeres to haue ſet out the ſame in ſundry partes as they chaunced. And therefore nowe I will returne to the order that I kept from the firſt yere of this king vnto the fift yere of his reigne, where I began with the ſtory aforeſayde, in the yere of our Lorde a thouſand two hundreth and three.

1204 6 In the .vj. yere of his reigne (as ſayth Fabian) at Orenforde in Suffolke was taken in the ſea a monſtruous fiſhe, which was in the forme and ſhape of a man, and was kept ſixe monethes aliue vpon the land, and fed with rawe fleſhe and fiſhe. And becauſe they could haue no ſpeach of it, they caſt it into the ſea againe.

1205 7 And in this yere both the Welſh men, and Iriſhe men rebelled, for that as ſome write that the king would haue ſet taſkes vpon them to haue ayded him againſt the French king. And after he had pacified the Welſhe men, he was compelled to demaund an ayde and taſke of all England for the quieting of Irelande. And beſyde that taſke he demaunded of the white Monkes of England ſixe thouſande Markes, the which they denyed, makyng their excuſe by their generall head, wherewith the King was ſore diſpleaſed, and at his returne out of Irelande, he ſore troubled and vexed them, and tooke of them

them much more then he required firſt, and cauſed many of the Monkes to forſake both their houſes and the realme. And after that he had prepared his armie and all thinges that belonged to the ſame, he with a great number of ſhippes ſayled into Ireland and ſhortly ſubdued them, and ſettyng all things in good order, he returned againe into England.

1207 8 In the .viij. yere of his reigne, and the firſt day of the moneth of October his firſt ſonne Henry by name was borne by Iſabell his ſeconde wife at Wincheſter.

1208 9 In the .ix. yere of his reigne, he graunted to the city of London, that where before tyme the ſame Citie was ruled by two Baylifes, that now they ſhould elect among themſelues a Maior and two Shirifes, which ſhould haue the rule and gouernaunce of the ſayd Citie, and from thence forth the name of Baylifes ſhould ceaſſe.

Some write that the cauſe of this alteration of Officers was, becauſe the purueyers for the kinges houſholde, beyng then a great dearth of corne, would haue taken vp of the prouiſion of the Citie to ſerue the king withall: The which thing Roger Wincheſter and Edmond Hardell then Baylifes, would in no wiſe ſuffer them to do: Wherevpon the king taking great diſpleaſure with them, depriued them of their offices, and afterwardes committed them to warde: But yet beyng at the length pacified againe, in the ſteede of two Baylifes, he gaue the Citizens auctoritie yerely to chooſe amongeſt themſelues a Maior and two Shirifes, which ſhould haue the gouernment of the Citie: The firſt Maior was Henry Fitz aleyn, and the firſt Shirifes, Peter Duke, and Thomas Neele.

1209 10 And in the .x. yere, London bridge which before was made of Timber and repayred by a Colledge of Prieſtes, was nowe begonne to be builded of ſtone.

Nowe to conclude, in the .xvij. and laſt yere of his reigne, the Barons ſubmitted themſelues vnto him as is aboueſayde in the ende of the ſtory, and then kinge Iohn with a great armye went into Suffolke and Norfolke, and there hee afflicted ſuche as had ſworne to his enemies, with great and grieuous miſchiefe. After that, he deſtroyed the two Abbeyes of Peterborough, and Crowland, for the great treaſons which they alſo had wrought againſt him, and ſo he departed from thence to Lincolneſhire. And in this yere the .xvij day of July dyed Pope Innocent the thirde, and was buryed in a Citie called Peruſium, in Italy, where as he had trauayled to make a peace betwene the Genouayes, and the Pyſes, for his awne commoditie and aduauntage. After him ſucceded one Cintius, otherwiſe called Honorius the thirde, a man of very great age, yet liued he in the Papacie ten yeres and a halfe and more. When this was once knowen in Englande, a great reioyce had all they which were king Johns enemyes, ſpecially the prieſtes: yet had they ſmall cauſe as will appere hereafter. They noyſed it all the realme ouer, that this new Pope would ſet a new order, and not rule thinges as the other Pope did: thinking thereby, that he would haue done all thinges to their commoditie, but they founde it otherwiſe, for he made all them which were excommunicate to pay double and treble, before they could be reſtored againe to their former lyuinges.

Innocent the thirde dyed.

And in the ſame ſelfe yere, king John came to Swineſtedes Abbey, not

not farre from Lyncolne, he rested there two dayes, where as certeyne wryters repoꝛt that he was moſt trayterouſly poyſoned, by a Monke of the ſame Abbey, beyng of the oꝛder of Saint Barnard, called Simon Swynſted. and as Caxton ſayth in his booke called fructus temporum, and Polichronicon alſo ſayth the ſame, the afoꝛeſayde Monke named Simon, hearyng the king vpon an occaſion to talke of bꝛeade, ſhould ſay that if he liued a yere lenger, he would make that loſe of bꝛeade beyng then of the value of one halfepeny, wooꝛth twelue pence, meanyng that he woulde ſo perſecute his rebellious people, that he would not leaue one of them to be the owner of a plough. The Monke heeryng the king thus ſpeake, conceyued of the king a very euill opinion, inſomuch that foꝛthwith the Monke went to his Abbot ſhewyng him the whole matter, and what he was mynded to do. He alleged foꝛ himſelfe the pꝛophecie of Cayphas, ſayyng: it is better that one man dye, then all the people ſhould periſhe. I am well content, ſayth he, to die & to become a martyꝛ, ſo that I may vtterly deſtroy this Tyꝛaunt. With that the Abbot wept foꝛ gladneſſe, and much commended his feruent zeale as he toke it. The Monke then beyng abſolued of his Abbot foꝛ doyng of this act afoꝛehande, went ſecretly into a Gardeyne vpon the backeſyde, and findyng there a moſt venemous toade, he ſo pricked him, and preſſed him with his penne knife, that he made him vomit all the poyſon that was within him. This done, he conueyed it into a cup of Wine, and with a ſmilyng and flatteryng countenance he ſayd thus to the king, if it ſhall lyke your Pꝛincely Mateſtie, here is ſuch a Cup of Wine as ye neuer dꝛanke befoꝛe in all your life tyme, I truſt this waſſail ſhall make all England glad. And with that he dꝛanke a great dꝛaught, the king pledging him. The Monke anone after went to the Farmeꝛy, and there dyed, his guttes guſhing out of his belly, and had continually from thence foꝛth thꝛee Monkes to ſing Maſſes foꝛ his ſoule, confirmed by their general Chapter. The king within ſhoꝛte ſpace after, feelyng great griefe in hys body, aſked foꝛ Simon the Monke, and aunſwere was made that he was departed this lyfe: Then God haue mercy vpon me (ſayde the king) I ſuſpected as muche. With that he commaunded his Chariot to be bꝛought, foꝛ he was not able to ryde. So went he from thence to Slafoꝛd Caſtell, and from thence to Newarke vpon Treint, and there within leſſe then thꝛee dayes he dyed, when he had reigned. xviij. yeres. vj. monethes and odde dayes, and was honourably buryed at Woꝛceſter, with all his armed men attendyng vpon the buryall.

Simon Swineſtede a Monke poyſoned king Iohn.

The death of king Iohn.

The diſcription of king Iohn.

King Iohn thus departing as is aboueſaid, left behind him foure ſonnes, and thꝛee daughters. Firſt Henry who ſucceded him in the ſame kingdome, the ſecond, Richard king of Almaine, ỹ third, William of Valentia, the fourth Guydo Diſnay. He had alſo another ſonne, who after was made Biſhop. Of his daughters, firſt was Iſabell maried to Frederick the Emperoꝛ, the ſecõd maried to Williã Marſhal erle of Woꝛceſter, the third to ỹ erle of Leiceſter.

Roger Houeden ſayth, that this king Iohn was a mighty and valiaunt pꝛince, but not foꝛtunate as many were. Not altogether vnlike to Marius ỹ noble Romain, he taſted foꝛtune both wayes, but much in mercy. In warres ſometime he won, & ſometime againe he loſt: He was alſo bery bountcous & liberal vnto ſtraungers, but to his awne people, foꝛ their daily treaſons ſake, he was a great oppꝛeſſoꝛ, foꝛ he truſted moꝛe to foꝛeynes then to them.

Henrie

Henrie the thirde.

SO ſoone as king Iohn was dead and buryed, as is ſayde befoꝛe, the Pꝛinces, Loꝛdes and Barons, ſo many as were of his part, aſwell of Straungers as of them that were bozne here, by counſaile of the Legate Gualo, gathered themſelues together, and all with one conſent pꝛoclaymed Henry his ſonne beyng then of the age of. ix. yeres, foꝛ king of this realme of England. And foꝛ that onely cauſe was king Iohn buryed at Woꝛceſter, and not by teſtament, foꝛ that onely place of the realme in thoſe dayes appered moſt ſure and ſafe, where they which were friendes to the Cꝛowne, might beſt deliberate with them ſelues in that matter, what was beſt to be done. So went they from thence to the towne of Glouceſter, with William Marſhall Erle of the ſame, and there was this yong king annoynted and cꝛowned king by the Legate Gualo, aſſiſted by Peter Biſhop of Wincheſter, and Joſeline the Biſhop of Bathe, with other which then were in the realme, and called Henry the thirde, and this was done in the feaſtfull day of the Apoſtles Simon and Jude. 1216. After the which cozonation he was committed to the tuicion of Henry Biſhop of Wincheſter afoꝛeſayd, oꝛ as Polidoze wꝛiteth, to William Erle of Glouceſter. 1216

The Court of Rome at that tyme, not beyng ſlacke in their affayꝛes, ſent heether with all ſpede, and commaunded that they ſhould manfully ſtande by the yong king, and to defende England with armour and his excommunications againſt Lewes the French kinges ſonne, and his complices. And then Honoꝛius the Pope not onely confirmed his Legate Gualo, oꝛ Dwalo, but alſo committed to his diſcretion, all that apperteyned to that office of his, no appellations to the contrary admitted. Vpon this auctheꝛitie, the Legate beyng bolde, compelled the Pꝛelates of Englande to be ſwoꝛne true to the yong king: and thoſe that refuſed to take that othe, he puniſhed bery ſoꝛe. And Henry oꝛ after ſome wꝛiters Peter, Biſhop of Wincheſter, was not all behinde in that commiſſion foꝛ his parte, who put a grieuous tare vpon the beneficed men and Pꝛieſtes of his dioceſſe, to helpe the king in his warres againſt Lewes, which was not all amiſſe. Such as were great beneficed men, and might well pay, thoſe Gualo reſerued to his awne auctheꝛitie, and in the ende foꝛ great ſummes of money diſpenſed with them. Some that were obſtinate and fꝛowarde, he diſgraded: ſome he excommunicated, and ſent to Rome foꝛ their abſolutions, not leauing one Pꝛieſt vnpuniſhed that had taken part with Lewes, hauing euery where his ſearchers and ſpyes to finde them out.

And in this time, diuers of the chiefe of the Barons foꝛſooke Lewes the French kinges ſonne, namely the Erles of Penbꝛooke, and of Cheſter, with all their retinue, and ſubmitted themſelues to the yong king.

Some

Sone after the coronation of the king, certaine commissions were sent out into all places of England to gather strength of men to withstand the aforesayde Lewes, and to put him and his Frenchmen with other Aliaunts out of the land, which then had vnder their rule and custody, the Castelles of Berkhamsted, of Hartford and diuers other. And for that Lewes would not cease of his warre and returne into Fraunce, therefore theaforesayde Legate Gualo, accursed him first by name, and after al such as him maintained or fauoured in this warre against king Henry. Then theaforenamed Erles accompanied with Wylliam Erle Marchall of Englande, Wylliam le Bruize Erle of Ferreys with many other went to Lyncoln, and wanne the Towne vpon the straungers, where was slaine a Frenchman called Erle of Perches with many other Souldiours. And there was taken of Englishmen, Serle Erle of Winchester, and Homfrey de Bohan Erle of Hartforde with diuers other men of name.

Gualo or Swalo as some called him, ℣ Popes Legate curseth Lewes the French kinges sonne.

Lewlyn prince of Wales.

And in this while Lewlyn or Luellen Prince of Wales, for that he ayded the parte of Lewes was accursed and his lande enterdicted.

After the Towne of Lyncolne was thus wonne from the Frenchmen, Lewes with the other parte of his Souldiours, drewe towarde London: for so much as worde was brought to him that his father had sent him a new company of Souldiours the which should land in England shortly. Truth it was that such an ayde of Souldiours was made by the French king, and committed to a Capitain called Eustace the Monke, the which was encountered vpon the Sea, with a captaine or Master of the fiue Portes called Hubert at Burgh, and gaue to him battayle, and discomfited hym at length, and sent the head of the sayde Eustace vnto the king.

Eustace a Monk made capitaine of an army.

When Lewes heard of these tydings, and considered howe daylie hys strength minished, he was more inclinable vnto peace: so that in conclusion, he toke money sayth Reynulph and yeelded vp hys Castelles and strengthes which he helde, and after was assoyled, and so returned into Fraunce: But of this money that Lewes receyued there are diuers opinions. The Englishe booke named it a thousand Marke, and the Frenche booke sayth. xv. thousand Marke.

1217 / 2

Now, after that the straungers were auoided, then inquisition was made to knowe what persons had fauoured the partie of Lewes against the king, and there was founde a great multitude, of the which the king pardoned a great number of the laye Fee: But the spirituall were put to such fines, that they were compelled to lay that they had to pledge to please the king, and besides that, to sue to Rome to be assoyled.

Reynulph Erle of Chester tooke his iourney to Jerusalem.

And this yere Reynulph Erle of Chester, for considerations him moouing, toke his iourney into the holy land. But one writer sayth, that he tooke that iourney vpon hun, bicause he had contrary to his allegeance made homage vnto Lewes aboue named, and for malice which he bare vnto king John, entended at the time of that homage doyng, to haue made the sayde Lewes king of Englande.

1218 / 3

And at this time was a Parliament holden at London, wherein was graunted two shillyngs of euerye Plough lande, through Englande, which was for the charge that he before had with Lewes at warre. And this Parliament king Edwards lawes were again restored, ℣ Magna carta confirmed.

This

This yere also king Henry began to build the new worke of the Church of Westminster, which was that part where now all the kings are buried in. 1219 / 4

This yere Alexander king of Scottes maryed dame Jane the sister of king Henry. And this yere was great harme done in England by violence of a whirle winde, and fiery dragons were seene flying in the ayre.

Shortly after Proclamations were made in London, and throughout all England, that all straungers should auoyde by Michaelmasse next following, except such as came with Marchandise, and to make sale of their wares vnder the kinges safeconduct. Which Proclamation was chiefly made to auoyde Foulkes de Brent and his complices, which kept the Castell of Bedford against the kinges will and pleasure.

Of this Foulkes it is written by Polidore and others, howe that about this season, he assemblyng together a great rowte of Ruffians and Robbers issued out of the Castell of Bedford which he then helde, and wasted and destroyed all the Countrie, with the townes and villages thereabout, but specially the towne and Abbey of Saint Albon.

King Henry crowned againe the second time

This yere also king Henry was the seconde tyme crowned at Westminster the. xvij. day of May. And the sayd yere Reynulph Erle of Chester returned out of the holy lande, and began to buylde the Castelles of Chartley and Beston.

1220 / 5

A counterfeater of Jesus Christ.

At this tyme also was holden a generall counsaile of the Bishops, and Clergie of the Realme at Oxford. In the tyme of which counsayle, a man was taken, which shewed himselfe to be Christ, and hee reproued manye abuses, which the Clerkes at those dayes vsed, as sayth Fabian. And to approue that he was Jesus the sonne of God, and that he was come to reforme those abuses, he shewed the Carectes and woundes in his bodye, handes and feete, lyke vnto Jesus that was nayled on the Crosse. Then was he examined, and found a false dissembler: Wherefore by the iudgement and authoritie of that counsaile, he was iudged to be nayled vnto the Crosse, and so deliuered to the executioners, the which at a place called Adurbury, or Alburbury, nayled him vnto a Crosse vntill he was dead.

1221 / 6

This yere the men of Caithnes in Scotland burned their bishop, because he cursed them for not paying of their Tithes. For which cause the king of Scottes did hang foure hundreth of the cheefe doers, gelded their children, and dishenerited the Erle of that Countrie. Cooper.

And in this tyme there was a great conspiracie in London against king Henry, made by one Constantyne the sonne of Arnulph, with the which conspiracie ℣ king was so offended that he had thought to haue ouerthrowne the walles of the Citie of London: But shortly after, the sayde Constantine was taken and condemned, and was hanged drawen and quartered: This Constantine was borne in the Citie of London, ℣ taken by Hubert Brough, who offered the same Brough at the tyme of his taking, to haue let him scape xb. thousand markes: But Brough refused it.

1222 / 7

This yere John king of Jerusalem came into Englande, and required an ayde of king Henry to recouer againe Jerusalem, which the Turkes had wonne from him: But shortly he returned without any great comfort.

This yere the king began the foundation of Sarisbury Minster, and laide the first stone of the Church.

And this yere the king layd siege vnto the Castell of Bedford that Foulkes de Brent had so long holden by strength: This siege began vpon the Euen of the Assention of our Lorde, and so continued vntill the day of the Assumption of our Lady next folowyng. In the which tyme many strong assaultes were made, and great losse of men on both parties. But finally, about the aforesayde day of Assumption, it was taken by fierce assault: Where in was taken Foulkes de Brent, and about the number of. lxxx. Souldiours, whereof the more part were put to death, and the sayde Foulkes after he had lyen a certaine of tyme in prison, was for his finance deliuered, and banished the land. And in this time came the Gray Friers first into England.

1223 8 About this time a Parliament was holden, in the which was graunted to the king and his heyres kinges of this realme by the Barony of England, the warde and mariage of their heyres.

This law for wardes was first made by king Edgar, in the yere of our Lorde. 962. But the mariages of them was added by king Edwarde the Confessor in the yere of our Lorde. 1056. And here is to be much lamented that Wardes are bought and solde as commonlye as are Beastes, and mariages are made with them that are many tymes very vngodly, for dyuerse of them beyng of yong and tender yeres, are forced to iudge by another mannes affection, to see with another mannes eye, and say yea with another mannes tongue, and finally consent with another mannes hart. For none of these sences be perfited to the parties in that minoritie, and so the election beyng vnfree, and the yeres vnripe, eche of them almost of necessitie must hate the other, whome yet they haue had no iudgement to loue. And certeinely the common bergaynyng and selling of them is to be abhorred, beside the shamefull polling that many vse, which if they consent not to suche as are their sellers, they shall be handeled as the common saiyng is, lyke Wardes, and stryped almost out of al they haue, when the same should do them most good. God graunt the Maiestrates maye take some good order therein, for surely it is nedefull, for many do so vse them, as the same is not sufferable in a Christian realme. For who seeth not daylye, what innumerable inconueniences, deuorces, yea and some murders haue of suche mariages (or rather no mariages at all) proceded, the present time sheweth to many examples, which minister sufficient cause for vs to bewayle the same: But the greatest iniury is to God who hath made that free, namely matrimony, which the lawe of the realme maketh bonde, the redresse whereof belongeth onely to the Prince, in whome like as the same God hath caused mo vertues to meete than in any other creature of her callyng, so we doubt not, but that his Godhead will when his good pleasure shall be, vouchsafe not onely to preserue her highnes with the encrease of vertue and wisedome, but also to moue her heart to the Godly redresse of these and many other enormities and abuses, to the great comfort of all her graces louyng and obedient subiectes.

1224 9 This yere Richarde the brother of king Henrie, did very valiauntly in Fraunce, and ouerthrewe great numbers of Frenche men, and recouered Poyters, and kept the Gascoynes in due obedience.

1225 10 In the. x. yere of the reigne of this king, the Plees of the Crowne were pleded in the Tower of London. And at this tyme the souldyours that kept dyuerse Castelles and holdes in Poyters in Fraunce, were compelled to yelde

yelde and geue vp the same into the hands of Lewes the French king, which of long tyme before belonged vnto the kinges of England.

1226 11 The king at this time bearing great fauour to the Citie and Citizens of London, graunted vnto them the Shyriualtie of London and Middlesex in Fee farme for thyee hundred pounde by the yere. And he graunted also that all the weares in the Thames should be plucked vp and destroyed for euer. And also by his Charter ensealed, he graunted that the Citizens of London sholde passe tolle free throughout Englande. And that if any Citizen were constreyned in any Citie, Borough or Towne in Englande to pay any tolle, that then the Shrifes of London to attache any man comming to London of the sayde Citie Borough or Towne where such tolle was payde, and hym and his goodes to with holde and keepe vntill the Citizens of London were restored of all suche money as they payde for the sayde tolle, with all costes and dammages susteyned for the same. And the same yere also he graunted to the sayde Citizens of London free wareyn, that is to say, that the Citizens haue free libertie of hunting a certeyne circuite aboute London.

The Shiriualtie of London & Middlesex graunted to the Citie in fee farme.

Citizens of London are toll free throughout England.

Free wareyn graunted to the Citie of London.

This yere the king confirmed the Charter and liberties of the Citie of London, & also certain liberties and priuileges he graunted to the Shriefes of London, as hauing of Clercks and other.

1227 12 Also about this time a Parliament was holden at London, in the which it was ordered that the English Grote should be coyned of a certaine weight and of the one side the kings picture, and one the other side a crosse as large fully as the Grote, to auoyd clippyng. And at thys tyme was vsed to be coyned that standard and fineneſſe that was called sterling money, which before as ye maye reade was first coyned in the Towne of Sterlyng in Scotland, and therefore it taketh the name of Sterlyng.

1228 13 This yere the Towne of Lymosyn with diuers holdes in Pierregot and Aluerne in the Countrie of Guyan, were geuen vp to the aforenamed Lewes the french king. Wherefore the king sent ouer his brother Richarde Erle of Cornewal shortly after, and landed at Burdeaux with foure hundred Shippes. But some other writers saye, that the king himselfe sayled with an armie into Britteyne against Lewes the french king, where after spoyling the Countrie, a peace was concluded betweene the sayde two kinges.

Stephen Langtō died.

And in this yere dyed Stephen Langton Archebishop of Cauntorburie, and the great Deane of Paules, Maister Richard Wethirshed was his successor. And the kings Maiestie still continuing his fauour to the Citie of London did graunt that the Citizens should vse one common seale.

1229 14 At this time there was an order taken in the Citie of London that no Shriefe should continue in the Shyriualtie lenger then one yere, the cause was, that they were had in suspicion to be great Bybers and takers of rewardes.

1230 15 This yere was graunted to the king a fiftene of the temporaltie, and a disme and a halfe of the spiritualtie to recouer his landes lost in Normandie, Guyan and Poyteau. And about this time also Hubert of Burgh being then chiefe Justice of England had displeased the king in such wise, that he was compelled to flee the kings sight. And after by the labour of Bishop Edmond of Pountney he was againe restored to the kings fauour. And at this time in London, was great hurt done by fyre.

Hubert of Burgh chiefe Justice of England flee England.

1231 / 16

Upon complaint brought before the king by the friendes of Lewlyn or Lluellen Prince of Wales, that Wylliam le Bruce should conspire against the king, or as some say, for that he kept vnlawfully the wyfe of the aforenamed Lewlyn, or Lluellen: he was after long imprisonment hanged. Also at this tyme dyed Reynulph Erle of Chester, Lyncolne and Huntyngdon. And his sisters some named John, sonne vnto the Erle of Anguish who was his heyre, and helde that Lordeship after him. This John of most wryters is called John Scot, for so much as his father was a Scot. This foresayde Reynulph had no childe, albeit he had foure sisters. The eldest was named Mawde, and was maried to Dauid Erle of Anguishe, and was mother to the aforesayde John Scot. The seconde was named Hawes, and was maried vnto the Erle of Arundell, the thirde Agnes, which was maryed to the Erle of Darby. And the fourth named Mabely, which was maryed vnto the Erle of Winchester called Quinacie. This Reynulph dyed at Wallingforde, and was buryed in the Chapter house of the Monkes of Chester, and ordeyned the aforenamed Scot to be his heyre, for that he would not haue so noble a Lordeship run, or be deuided among so many distaues. And this yere dyed Maister Wetherched Archebishop of Cauntorbury, whose successour was Edmond of Pountney.

William de Bruze hāged

John Scot.

And at this time beganne great variaunce betweene the king and his Lordes, because he put out of his seruice certeyne Englishe men and trusted straungers aswell in his counsaile, as in other offices.

1232 / 17

About this time the king began the foundation of the Hospitall of Saint John without the East gate of Oxforde.

This yere the king put from him the straungers, and restored the Englishmen to their offices: and the same yere also the Iewes dwellyng in Norwich were accused for steling of a child whom they purposed to haue crucified

1233 / 18

And this yere Frederick the second of that name Emperour of Almain, maried the sister of king Henry named Isabell. In the which yere also fell wonderfull sore weather, with such thunder and lightnyng as the like had not bene sene. And there folowed an earthquake to the great feare of the inhabitauntes of Huntyngdon.

1234 / 19

This yere the king maryed Alianor the daughter of Raymond Erle of Pyrouince, and the bishop of Cantorbury maried them in his Church of Cantorbury. And shortly after she was crowned at Westminster as Queene of England, where in the fielde of Westminster now called Tothyll lyng at the west ende of the Church, were royall pastymes, and goodly Justice kept by the space of. viij. dayes.

And this yere at a Parliament was made the statute of Merton, in the which yere also were seene as it were hostes of men fighting in the ayre.

1235 / 20

About this time dyed John Scot before named Erle of Chester without Issue: wherefore the king consideryng the great Prerogatius belongyng to that Erledome, gaue vnto the sisters of Reynulph other possessions, and tooke the Erledome into his awne handes.

The foundacion of Saint Katherens Hospitall.

This yere also Queene Elianor founded the hospitall of Saint Katheryns besydes the tower, for the relefe both of men and women.

1236 / 21

Shortly after a Legate named Octobone came into England to reforme the Clergie, but the youth of the Clergie lyked him not, and it chaunced him that as he passed thyrough Oxforde, the scholliers picked a quarrell vnto his seruauntes, and fought with them, and slue one of them, and put the Legate in such feare, that for his sauegard he tooke the Belfrey of Osney, and there held him vntill the kings ministers came from Abingdon, who with strength mixed with fayre wordes deliuered him, and conueyed him after with a conuenient companie to Wallyngforde, where he accursed the misdoers, and punished them in such wise, that the Regentes and maisters of that Vniuersity, were compelled in the ende, to go barefooted, thyrough Chepe to Paules at London, and there to aske of him forgeuenesse, and had that trespasse wyth great difficultie so forgeuen.

Octobone a Legate from Rome, cuill vsed of the youth of the Vniuersitie of Oxford.

And about this tyme, Sir Simond Mountford maryed the kinges sister, named Alianor countesse of Pembrooke, and he gaue with her to the sayde Sir Simond in the name of a dowry the Erledome of Leycester.

1237 / 22

The yere folowyng a Clercke of Oxford that feyned himselfe mad, and before tyme had espyed certeyne secret places of the kinges Court, came by a window toward the kinges Chamber, at his manor of Woodstocke, entendyng to haue slaine the king in his bed. But he was espied by a woman and taken and conueyed to Couentry, and there arreyned of that dede: Where after lawfull proues of his malicious entent made, he for the same, was there hanged, and drawen. Polidore wryteth that the king as hap was had chaunged his bed that night, and so escaped the daunger of the treason.

1238 / 23

This yere on Candlemasse day the king created Sir Simond Mountford Erle of Leycester.

Edward called Longshanks named Edward the first borne at Westminster.

And this yere also the.xxvj. day of June was borne at Westminster, Edward that was after surnamed Longshanks, who after his father was king.

1240 / 25

In the.xxv. yere of the reigne of this king, a Citizen of London whose name was Gerard Bat, which had bene chosen Maior of London, was chosen againe. And after his election, was presented vnto the king: But the king hauyng some information of his euyll dealyng the yere before, sayde that he would not admitte him to that office, vntill suche tyme as he came to Westminster, with which answere the sayde Gerard and his companye returned to London. It was not long after or the king came to Westminster, where accordyng to their duetie, they wayted to knowe his pleasure. Then the king called vnto him the sayd Maior, and after certeine questions to him ministred, he caused him to be sworne in his presence. After which othe, the king charged him by the vertue of the same, that he should not take of the bakers, Brewers, and other victuallers of the City forty pound, which other of his predecessors, and he himselfe the last yere had done. And also that he incontinently after his comming to London should restore vnto the sayd victuallers and other Citizens, al such money as he had with wrong in the former yere taken of the Commonaltie of the Citie. But because the sayde Gerard alleged for him certeine considerations, beseechyng the king to pardon him of that restitution: The king in displeasure swore a great othe that he should not that yere be Maior, nor at any tyme after. And so the Commons certefied of the kinges pleasure, chose in his place or steede Reyner de Bungay. And afterward the king went into Wales, whereof Dauid Prince of Wales herying, met him at Ruthland, and submitted himselfe vnto the kinges grace. After this he sayled into Normandy with a goodly army to recouer Guyan,

Dauid prince of wales submitted himselfe to the king.

Aldermen first appointed in London.

and other Countries, but returned without any good succesſe. And the ſame yere were firſt choſen within the Citie of London Aldermen, which then had the rule of the ſame, and of the ſeuerall wardes thereof, and were then yerely chaunged, as nowe the Shirifes of London are chaunged.

1242 / 27

The king this yere prepared a goodly armye, and ſayled into Fraunce, and warred vpon the Frenche king. The cauſe of this warre (as ſayth the French Chronicle) was made by the ſtyrryng of a Frenche man, named the Erle of Marche, becauſe he refuſed to doe homage to Alphons, brother of Lewes the tenth of that name, and ſurnamed, S. Lewes, then king of Fraunce.

This Lewes the yere before had maried his brother Alphons vnto the daughter of the Erle of Toloufe, and had geuen to his ſayd brother the Erledome of Poyters, with all the landes of Aluerne. By reaſon whereof, he would haue cauſed the ſayde Erle of March to haue done homage vnto the ſaid Alphons for ſuch landes as the ſayd Erle helde of the Erledome of Poyters. But for that the ſayd Erle knew well that the right of Guyan belonged to the king of England, he therefore, and for other aliaunces made betweene king Henry and him, refuſed the doyng of that homage, and after came to king Henry, and moued him to make warre vpon the French king. By reaſon whereof the king ſayled ouer as afore ſayde, and landed with a ſtrong power at Burdeaux. And as the French Chronicle affirmeth, this Erle of Marche maryed the mother of this king Henry.

In this time the French king warred vpon the landes of the Erle of March, and had wonne two Caſtelles of his, named Founteynes, and Villiers, with diuerſe other which I here omit. And when he had beaten downe ſome of them, and had manned ſome with newe Souldiours: he then went vnto a Caſtell named Mawcome, or Mawcoune, and brake a Bridge after him, becauſe he was enformed that the king of England was nere vnto him. At the ſayd bridge was a ſmall ſkirmiche, and little harme done. Then the French king tooke the way ouer the riuer of Charent, toward Tailbourough, waſting and deſtroiyng the Countrie as he went, and ſo forth towarde the towne called Sainces. Nowe king Henry with his power made towarde him in all that he might. In keepyng this courſe the vauntgarde encountered with the Erle of Boleyn, which was vpon the Frenche kinges partie, and that time the Erle of Sainces, bare the banner of the Erle of Marches, beyng the vauntgard of the king. But betweene theſe two Erles was a fore fight, ſo that many vpon both parties were ſlaine, among the which the ſayd Erle of Sainces was ſlaine. Then came on both ſtrengthes on eyther ſyde, ſo that both the kinges fought in that battaile, and a great ſlaughter of men vpon both ſydes: But in the ende the Frenche men were victors, and tooke priſoners.xx. men of name, as knightes and men of higher degree, and three Clerckes of great fame and riches, beſyde other to the number of fiue hundreth meane people (as ſayth the French booke.) But of theſe men of name, nor yet of the three Clerckes, no mencion is made what they payed for their raunſomes.

Then the Erle of March, by meane of his ſonne, was reconciled to the French king, and reſtored to his landes, except three Caſtelles, which were named Meſpyn, Cretaine, and Eaſterday, the which the French king reteyned

ned in his poſſeſſion. And ſone after came vnto the French king the Lordes of the Caſtelles of Mirable, and of Mortaygne, ſubmittyng themſelues alſo vnto the kinges grace, beſechyng him of pardon, that they had ſo to his high diſpleaſure fauoured his enemie the king of Englande. And after came in diuerſe other Lordes and Capitaines, that he was in poſſeſſion of all the Countrie of Guyan and Poyters, vnto the riuer of Gerond.

I haue rehearſed the more of this Chronicle of Fraunce, to the entent that the readers may the better perceiue the pride and boldnes of the French men, for in all their writyng, when they come to any matter that ſoundeth any thing to their honour, it is written at the length, and in moſt ſhewyng maner, to their honour and worſhip: But if it ſound any thing to their diſhonour, then ſhall it be abreuiated and hid, that the truth ſhall not be knowen, for they euer delight to tell of winnyng, but neuer of loſyng. Now after this euill fortune, king Henry returned againe into England.

1243 / 28

Griffith the ſonne of Lewlyn Prince of Wales being priſoner in the Tower of London, purpoſyng to breake priſon and ſo to eſcape, fell ouer the wall of the inner ward, and there brake his neck. And this yere the Pleas of the Crowne were pleaded in the Tower of London. Thys yere a Maior of London and a Shrieſe were both depoſed from their romes, becauſe they were both proued periured, and other were choſen in their places.

1244 / 29

And this yere alſo Robert Groſthed Biſhop of Lyncoln complayned to the king of the waſte of the goodes and patrimony of the Church within this Realme of Englande, which daylie were conſumed by alyen Biſhops and Clerkes of thys lande, which ſhortly after were anoyded.

Thys yere a Jewe digging in the grounde to enlarge his Vineyarde founde vnder a ſtone a Booke, wherein was written in three languages, Greeke, Hebrewe and Latyne of three worldes that ſhould be, of the which he appointed Chriſt to be the beginning of the thirde worlde, which was expreſſed in this maner. In the beginning of the thirde worlde, Gods ſonne ſhall be borne of a mayde. &c. by the occaſion whereof, the ſayde Jewe was conuerted to the fayth of Chriſt.

1246 / 31

At thys tyme dyed Frederyck the ſecond of that name Emperour, who afore as ye haue heard marryed Iſabell ſiſter vnto the king. Of the which Frederyck mencio is made before in the. xriiij. yere of king Henry the ſecond. After whoſe death much ſtrife enſued about the election of the Emperour, ſome choſe the Duke of Thoryngе, ſome the Erle of Holland, and ſome choſe the kinges brother Richard Erle of Cornewall: which cauſed ſtrife that endured long after, ſo that the onely Emperour of Almayn was not of all men allowed, vntyll Radulphus Duke or Erle of Habſpurge in Almayn, was choſen by one aſſent vnto that dignitie, and there vnto admytted by Gregorie the.ix. of that name in the yere of our Lorde. 1273. And ſo that variance continued.xxvij. yeres, to the great empouriſhing of Italy, and the landes of the Empire.

The liberties of London are ſeazed.

In Englande thys yere happened ſo mightie an earthquake, that the lyke hath not beene heard of. And thys yere the king ſeaſed the Fraunchiſe and liberties of the Citie of London vpon the Euen of S. Bartholomew the Apoſtle for a iudgement that was geuen by the Maior & Aldermen againſt a Wydow named Margaret Viel, and the rule of the Citie was committed vnto

vnto Wylliam Hauerell and Edwarde of Westmynster, till our Lady daye nert following. At the which time the Maioz and the Shzieſes were againe reſtozed to their offices.

1247 / 32 — In the xxxij. yere of thys kings reigne the Wharfe of London called Queene hythe was taken to Farme by the commonaltie of the Citie of London to pay yerely therefoze fiftie pound, the which then was committed to the Shzieſes charge, and ſo it remayneth to this time.

Queene hythe taken of the king in farme

1248 / 33 — At thys tyme dyed Robart Groſthed Biſchop of Lyncoln who was a wiſe and a learned man. Innocent the Pope at that tyme grieued greatly the Church of England with ſoze and weighty taſkes and payments, whome this Groſthed did charply rebuke by an Epiſtle foz hys doings. And amongſt many other his abuſes this was one, he gaue vnto a childe a nephew of his, a Pzebend which fell in the Church of Lincoln, & ſent the child vnto the biſchop, charging him to admit the ſame childe, and to ſee him eſtalled. But this Biſchop boldely denyed his admiſſion, and wzote vnto Innocent the Pope againe, that he could not, noz woulde receyue any ſuche vnto cure of ſoule, that could not rule himſelfe. Therefoze this Robert was ſummoned to apere befoze the Pope, and therupon accurſſed. Then he appealed from Innocents Court, to Chziſtes awne thzone.

1249 / 34 — This yere the Maioz and Aldermen, and Citizens of London, who in tymes paſt were wont to ryde by lande the mozowe after the day of Simon and Jude to pzeſent their Maioz at Weſtminſter where he tooke his othe, did nowe take Barges, euery company a ſeuerall Barge decked with Banners, Streamers, and Flagges very richly, and ſo rowed by water to Weſtminſter, and vſe the ſame ſtill to this day.

This yere alſo the king ſummoned a Parliament at London, in the which it was enacted that a coyne of a certeine weight of ſiluer called a grote ſhould be ſtamped, and that it ſhould haue on the one ſyde the picture of the kinges face, and on the other a croſſe extended in length to the extreme partes therof, to the entẽt there ſhould be no deceyt vſed by diminiſhing oz clipping ỹ ſame.

1250 / 35 — Shoztly after the king gaue in mariage his daughter Mary, but ſome called her Margaret, vnto Alexander the king of Scottes, at the Citie of Yozke, and there did receyue of him homage foz the kingdome of Scotland, in like maner as many of his pzogenitozs had done dyuerſe and many tymes befoze, as in this wozke hath and ſhall appere.

King Henry maryed his daughter Mary to the king of Scots, who did homage vnto him foz all Scotland.

This yere was a great wynde vpon the day of Simon and Jude, which did much harme in many places of England.

1251 / 37 — And in this yere the king graunted vnto the Shirifes of London that they ſhould yerely be allowed ſeuen pound foz certeyne pziuileges oz ground belongyng to Paules Church, the which at this day is allowed by the Barons of the kinges Eſchequer, vnto euery Shirife, when they make theyz accomot in the office of the Pipe.

The king alſo graunted to the Citizens foz their moze eaſe, that where befoze time they vſed yerely to pzeſent their Maioz vnto the kinges pzeſence, in any ſuch place as he ſhould be in thein in Englande: that nowe from this time fozwarde, they ſhould foz lacke of the kinges pzeſence beyng at Weſtminſter, pzeſent their Maioz ſo choſen to the Barons of his Eſchequer, and there to be ſwozne and admitted, as he befoze times was befoze the king.

The Maioz of London to be pzeſented to the Barons of the Exchequer.

And

And at this tyme, the water of the Thames ſpzang ſo high that it dzowned many houſes about the water ſyde, by meane whereof much marchaundiſe was periſhed and loſt. And this yere alſo the king graunted vnto the Citizens, that hereafter they ſhould paye no ſkauage oz tolle foz Beaſtes by them bought, as they had vſed befoze tyme.

Citizens of London are free of toll & ſkauage foz beaſtes.

1253 / 38 — And nowe ſayth Fabian, by the pzocurement of Sir Richarde Erle of Cornewall, foz diſpleaſure which he bare towarde the Citie, foz exchaunge of certeine ground to the ſame belongyng. The king vnder colour that the Maioz had not done due execution vpon the Bakers foz lackyng of theyz ſyzes, ſeazed the liberties of the Citie. That is to ſay, that where the Maioz and Communaltie of the Citie had by the kinges graunt the Citie to ferme, with dyuerſe cuſtomes and offices foz a ſtynted and an aſſerteyned ſumme of money: nowe the king placed officers in them at his will and pleaſure, the which were accomptable vnto him foz all reuenues and pzofites that grewe within the ſayd Citie. But within foure dayes folowyng, the Citizens agreed with the ſayd Erle, foz fiue hundzeth marke. After which agreement with him concluded, they were againe reſtozed to their liberties.

The liberties of London ſeazed.

Money ſaueth many ſozes.

Jn this tyme and yere was Sir Edwarde the kinges ſonne and heyze maryed vnto Alianoz the kinges ſiſter of Spaine, oz as ſome other wzite, to the daughter of Alphons king of Caſtile. To whom the king his father gaue the Pzincipalitie of Wales, with the gouernance of Guyan and Jrelande, whereof beganne that the kinges of Englande ozdeyned their eldeſt ſonnes Pzinces of Wales. And in the ſame yere the king and Queene landed at Douer, and ſo came to London, and were lodged at the Tower, where he ſent foz the Maioz and Shirifes of London, with whome he reaſoned greuouſly foz the eſcape of one called John Gate: This John had murdered a Pzioz allyed to the king. The Maioz excuſed himſelfe, and burdened the Shirifes therewith, ſayyng that vnto them belonged the keeping of all the Pziſonnes and pziſoners that were within the Citie of London. And ſo the Maioz returned home: But the Shirifes remayned there as pziſoners by the ſpace of a moneth after oz moze. And in their places, and foz them were choſen Stephen Oyſtergate, and Henry Walmode. But howe the olde Shirifes paſſed out of the kinges daunger, J know not.

Edward the kinges eldeſt ſonne maryed to Alianoz ỹ kinges ſiſter of Spaine.

1254 / 39 — This yere the Ladie Alianoz wife vnto Pzince Edward came thzough London, where ſhe was honourably receyued of the Citizens, and the Citie hanged with riche clothes of Silke and Golde. And there was pzeſent the Pzince her huſband, who conueyed her thzough London vnto Saint Johns without Smithfielde, and there was lodged foz a whyle, and after remoued to the Sauoye.

And not long after, the king ſeazed the liberties of London foz certeyne money which the Queene claymed foz her right of the Citizens, ſo that in the ende they payed vnto her foure hundzeth Marke and had theyz libertyes againe reſtozed.

Liberties of London againe ſeazed.

Money maketh al whole

And about this time were bzought vnto Weſtminſter an hundzeth and two Jewes from Lincolne, the which were alſo accuſed of the crucifyng of a childe at Lincolne in deſpite of Chziſtes religion, which Jewes were after ſent vnto the Tower of London. Of the which afterward. xviij. were conuict and hanged, and the other remayned long in pziſon.

Jewes condemned foz crucifiyng of a childe.

And

Queene of Scott s brought a bed in England.

And this yere the king of Scottes and the Queene his wife came into England to the king to his Manor of Woodstocke, where he disported hym for a season, and then returned againe home, leauyng his wife with her mother vntill she were brought a bed and lighted of her childe. And shortly after the king and the Queene, and the Queene of Scottes, came to London, where they were honourably receyued, and so conueyed to Westminster.

1255
40

Richard erle of Cornewall made king of ỹ Romaines.

This yere certeyne Lordes that came out of Germany made their homage vnto Sir Richarde Erle of Cornewall and brother vnto the king, the which as then stoode king of Almaine, and of Romaines. And shortly after he departed from the kinges Court, and sped him with his wife, and Sir Henry his sonne vnto the sea syde, and after tooke shippyng in Jarnesey, and landed at Dordrite in Holland. And soone after, he was crowned king of the Romaynes in the Citie of Aquis Granum.

Lewlin the son ỹ Griffith Prince of wales rebelled.

And now the kyng of England set forward toward Wales for to subdue Lewlyn or Liuellen the sonne of Griffyth the which with his Welsh men rebelled against the king, because Sir Edwarde his sonne, to whome he had a little before geuen the Erledome of Chester, would haue chaunged some of their skittishe condicions. And for to bring his purpose the better about, he sent for an army of Souldiours into Ireland, and tarved for their comming at his Castell of Brecknocke. But the yere passed so farre on, that he could do no good that yere, and therefore returned to London.

The Abbot of Waltham ỹ the Citizens are made friendes.

And this present yere, where there had beene a great and long suite betwene the Abbot of Waltham, and the Citizens of London, about certein toll to be payde at the fayre there holden: It was agreed that from thence forth the Citizens of London should come and go toll free, and that the distresses taken for the same should be restored, and if any were perished by keping, then the Abbot to make them good,

1256
41

Variance betweene ỹ king and the Citizens of London by reason of a slaunderous Bill.

Nowe approched great veration and trouble to the Citie and Citizens of London, as after shall appere. It so chaunced by the meanes of some euil member, that bare no good will to the Citizens of London, that a certeine grieuous Bill of complaint was made and written in a great roll of Perchment, and the same Perchement was enclosed in greene waxe, and was cast or left in the kings Wardrobe at ỹ Castell of Windsore, into the which Wardrobe, the kinges grace did often vse to come, & in this roll was written certeine most heynous articles and complaints against the Maior and rulers of the Citie, for the misgouernement of the same. And this Bill the king found, and after he had read and perused the contentes thereof he grewe into great displeasure therewith. And therevpon he sent Mancell one of his Justices to London, and there commaunded him the next holyday following, that by the kings auctoritie he should call a folkmote at Paules crosse, where then was present Sir Richard de Clare Erle of Gloucester, and diuerse other of the kinges counsaile. In which place the sayde John Mancell caused the sayde roll to be read to the people that were there assembled, and after the reading thereof, he stoode vp and shewed the people the kinges pleasure and minde was that they should be ruled with iustice, and that the liberties of the Citie should be mainteyned in euery poynt. And if the king might know those persones that had wronged the Communaltie of the Citie, they should bee grieuously punished to the example of other. And then the sayd John Mancell

A folkmot was an assemply of people to say yea or nay to that which should be declared vnto them.

A Wardmote is ỹ assembly of the people of the warde for like purpose as is said before of a folkemote.

cell charged openly the Maior, to commaund that euery Alderman in hys warde should the morrow following, assemble his Wardmote. And that all those Wardmotes should assemble in one place, and chose of themselues without any counsell or aduise of any of their Aldermen. xxxvj. persons; and them to present before the Lordes and him, at the same houre the next day in the Bishops Pallace at Paules. Then vpon the morrow all thing was done according to his commaundment. And when the sayde. xxxvj. persons were presented before the saide John Mancell, Henry Baa and other Justices: the sayde Mancell sayde vnto them that they vpon their othe should certefie all such persons as they knewe guiltie in the Articles before shewed vnto the commonaltie, wherevnto the sayde. xxxvj. Citizens answered, that it was contrarie to their liberties to be sworne so many for any matter of trespasse betweene the king and any of the Citizens, wherefore they required a sparyng. With which answere the sayde John Mancell being discontented, warned them to appere before the kings Counsayle at the Guildhall vpon the morrow following, where they kept their day, and thether came the sayde Justices, John Mancell and Henry Baa, Sir Henrye Wengham Chauncelour of England, Philip Louell vnder treasorer, and dyuers other of the kings counsayle.

The king commaunded the Maior out of his sight.

Then the sayde John Mancell, exhorted the sayde persons to be sworne, and vsed vnto them many perswasions, but all was in vayne, for they excused themselues still, that it was contrarie to their othe, and against the liberties of the Citie. Wherefore the kings counsell departed from the hall somewhat discontēted, & shewed vnto the king the demeanor of the said Citizens.

Upon Candelmas euen, the Maior being warned that the king should come to Westminster, he with the more parte of the Aldermen came vnto knights Bridge, and houed there to salute the king, and to know his further pleasure. But when the king came neere that place, and heard of their being there, he sent vnto them a Squire of houshold, and charged them that they shoulde not presume to come in his sight: wyth which message, they beyng greatly discomfited, returned home to the Citie.

Shortly after, Myghell Tony and Adam Basyng returned from the Courte, whome the Maior before had sent thether, that by such friendes as they could make to vnderstande the cause of the kings wrath and displeasure. They brought worde, that the king was well minded vnto the Citie, but he was in full purpose to haue such persons chastised, that had oppressed the commonaltie of the same.

The answere of a folkmote.

The liberties of the Citie againe seazed.

The next day following came vnto the Guyldhall, John Mancell with other of the kings counsell, the which to the people there assembled, vttered manye fayre and pleasaunt wordes: among the which he declared that the kings minde and will was, to correct all suche persons as had oppressed the commonaltie of this his deerest beloued Citie: and asked of the commons whether they woulde be agreeable to the same: who incontinently beyng a multitude whereof many were without discretion, and knew full little what that question meant, cryed, yee, yee, yee. And after that graunt thus had of the Commons, the sayde John Mancell discharged the Maior, Shirifes, and Chamberleyn of their offices and delyuered the custody thereof, vnto the Constable of the Towre, & put in the rome of the Shirifes, Michaell Tony and

and John Adrian. And moreouer all rolles and tolles and tallages before made, were deliuered vnto the sayde John Mancell, the which he there sealed and deliuered them vnto the Chamberleyne. Now when the Commons had well marked and considered whereaboutes he went, they returned home to their houses altogether confounded and amazed.

Then the sayd John Mancell with diuerse of the kinges counsaile, kept their daply courtes, and called before them .xij. wardes of the Citie. Of euery of the which .xij. wardes was taken three men, so that of those .xij. wards there were .xxxvj. men empaneled and sworne for to enquire of the aforesayd articles, and what persones in the Citie had offended them. This Court thus kept and holden at the Guyldhall, no man was called to aunswere, nor no question put vnto any person by the sayd enquest, or by any other. And soone after, that is to say vpon the first Sonday in Lent, the Maior, Aldermen and Shirifes, with the sayd enquest, and foure men of euery ward were charged to appere at Westminster, before the king: at which apperance they were countermaunded vntill the next day folowyng. At which season they cõmyng into the kings Exchequer found sittyng there, the Erles of Gloucester and of Warwick, John Mancell, Henry Baa Justices, the Constable of the tower, then Custos of the Citie, & diuerse other of the kings counsaile. Then was called Raufe Hardell that yere Maior, Nicholas Bat, Nicholas Fitz Josue, Mathewe Bokerell, John Tolesham and John le Minour, Aldermen. Then sayd John Mancell, that the king by his lawes and inquisition of the Citizens of the Citie, had found them culpable, that they had wronged and hurt the communaltie of his Citie by diuerse meanes, as by the sayde inquisition apered, and forthwith caused it to be read before them. And when the more part thereof was read, he sayd vnto them, thus may you see that the communaltie of the Citie hath bene by you most grieuously oppressed, and by your meanes and counsaile the common weale of the same destroyed as by alteryng of the tolles and other good auncient customes, turnyng them to your singuler aduauntage and lucre. All which matters the sayde Raufe and his company denyed, and that the commons was not by any such meanes by them nor none of them grieued or hurt, and that they offered to be iustified and iudged by the law and customes of the Citie.

How the Maior and Citizens appered in the Exchequer.

Then Henry Baa Justice asked them whether they would holde the aduenture of the enquirie that they had heard read before, or else stande vpon the saiyng of the other wardes, that had not yet bene sworne, but they kept them to their first aunswere. Then John Mancel demaunded of the Maior what was their law and custome. The Maior aunswered and sayd, that for tresspasse of a Citizen done against the king, he should defende him by .xij. of the sayd Citizens, and for murder and sleayng of a man by .xxx. Citizens, and for tresspasse against a straunger by the othe of xij. and himselfe. Then after many reasons made by the sayde John Mancell, and also by the Maior and Aldermen, day was geuen them againe to appere the next day folowyng before the king and his counsaile.

Upon the day folowing, the king with many of his Lordes sittyng in the said Exchequer, the aforesaid inquisition was read. And that done the Maior and Aldermen were called by name, and two Aldermen more, which the day before were not called, that is to say, Arnold Thedmare, & Henry Walmode.

When

When Raufe Hardell had heard the king speake in the matter, he tooke such feare, that he and Nicholas Bat without any farther aunswere, put them in the kinges grace, sauyng to them their liberties and Fraunchises of the Citie. But the other sire besought the king of his rightwisenesse, that they might then be demed after the lawes and customes of the Citie. Then was layde to their charge, that besyde many wronges by them done to the king, and to the communaltie of the Citie: they had altered the kinges Beame, and ordered it to the aduauntage of themselues, and of the riche men of the Citie. Whereunto the parties aunswered and said, that the alteration of the Beame was not done by them onely, but by the aduice and consent of fiue hundreth of the best of the Citie. For where before the Weyer vsed to leane his draught toward the Marchandice, so that the buyer had by that meane .x. or .xij. pound in a draught to his aduauntage, and the seller so much disaduauntage, nowe for indifferencye and equalitie of both persons or Marchauntes, was ordeyned that the Beame should stande vpright in the cleft thereof, enclinyng to neyther partie, as it doth in weiyng of Golde and Siluer, and the buyer to haue of the seller allowed vnto him for all thinges * foure pounde of the hundreth.

* This is that allowance Grocers call Cloffe.

After these reasons and sundrie other by them made, the king commaunded that in the morning next folowyng, a folkemote should be called at Paules Crosse, and so that court was dissolued, and the Maior and the other returned to London.

The next day the folkemote beyng assembled at Paules crosse, these sire Aldermen heeryng the murmuration of the common people, and knowyng that neither the Aldermen, nor the worshipfull of the Citie, should haue any saiyng in the matter, fearing their cause, wẽt into a Canons house of Paules, where at that time the sayd John Mancell and other sent from the king tayed the assembling of the people, and shewed vnto them that they entended not to pleade any lenger with the king, but were contented to put themselues fully in the kinges grace and mercye, sauyng alway to them and all other Citizens their liberties and Fraunchise of the Citie.

A folkemote againe called.

After the which agreement the sayd John Mancell with other came vnto the Court of Folkemote, where was rehearsed vnto the People a faire and pleasant tale, promisyng to them their liberties should be wholy & inuiolately preserued by the king, with many other thinges to the great comfort of them. And lastly it was demaunded of them, whether the law and custome was such as was the day before rehearsed or no? Whereunto like vndiscrete and vnlearned men, they cryed and aunswered rudely, nay, nay, nay, notwithstandyng the sayde lawe and custome had before this time beene vsed tyme out of mynde. But to this, neither Maior, nor Alderman, nor other of the chiefe of the Citie that might replie nor impugne or make any reason for the defence of their auncient lawes and customes.

Rude and rashe people.

It was not much to be marueyled that the king was thus offended against the Citie, for by such euill disposed people as he had about him, the land was euill ruled, and much mischiefe was vsed: Whereof ensued much sorow after, as appereth in the sequele of this history, as sayth Fabian.

Then John Mancell called the Maior and Aldermen before him and charged them to be at Westminster the next day folowing to geue attendance

vpon the kinges grace. The next day the Maioz and Aldermen tariyng the kinges comming in the great Hall at Weſtminſter, laſtly the king came into Saint Stephens Chappell, where a while he had communication with his Lozdes, and after went into the Chequer Chamber, and there ſate him downe and his Lozdes about him. Anon after the Maioz and Aldermen were called into the ſayde Chamber, and ſhoztly after called by name, and commaunded to ſtande nere to the barre. Then Henry Baa Juſtice ſayde vnto the Maioz and the ſeuen Aldermen, that foꝛſomuche as by foꝛme of the kings lawes they were found culpable in diuerſe articles touching tranſgreſſion agaynſt the king, therefoꝛe the Court awarded that they ſhould make fine and raunſome, after the diſcretion of the ſayde Court: But foꝛ that they had put them in the kinges grace and mercy, the king hath commaunded the fine to be put in reſpyte, ꝑ ye be not pained ſo grieuouſly as ye haue deſerued.

A iudgement geuen againſt the Maioz & Citizens in the Chequer Chamber in the preſence of the king.

After which iudgement geuen, they kneled downe, and then the Maioz with weping teares, thanked the king of his bountie and goodneſſe, and beſought him to be good and gracious Lozde vnto the Citie and to them as his faythfull ſubiectes. Wherevnto the king made no aunſwere, but roſe ſtreight vp, and went his way, leauyng them there. And aſſoone as the king was departed, they were all areſted and kept there till they had found ſurety, and euery Alderman of them diſcharged of his ward and office that they had within the Citie, but ſhoztly after they put in ſureties, and ſo returned heauilye to London.

Anon after that, was William Fitz Richard by the kinges commaundement made Maioz, and Thomas Fitz Thomas, and William Grappiſgate Shirifes.

After this, day by day, the Chamberleyn was called to an accompt befoze the ſayde John Mancell of all ſuch tolles as was gathered in the tyme of the Mayzaltie of John Tolyſham, and of Rauſe Hardel, and there were preſent to here the ſayd accompt diuerſe of the Communalty of the Citie, but none of the heades: By the which accompt no fault could be found againſt any of the Perſonnes that were conuict befoze the king. By reaſon whereof, diuerſe of them were ſhoztly after admitted againe to the kinges fauour, and reſtoꝛed to their offices, but not without payment of money, whereof the certeintie is not knowen.

England in the time of ſcarſitie is beholdyng to ſtraungers.

And in this yere wheate was ſo ſcant, that it was ſolde at London foꝛ xviij. ſhillinges a quarter, and ſcanter ſhoulde haue beene, if plentie had not come out of Almaine: Foꝛ in Fraunce and Noꝛmandie it fayled likewiſe. By meane of this dearth and ſcarſitie, much pooze people dyed foꝛ hunger, and many of diuerſe countries of England, came vnto the Citie, and nere thereabout foꝛ comfoꝛt of victuall: Foꝛ it was then better chepe in London then in many ſhires of England there aboutes. And ſhoztly after was the ſayde John Mancell made knight and chiefe Juſtice of England.

Inſanũ Parliamentum, oꝛ mad Parliament.

Alſo this yere the king helde a Parliament at Oꝛenfoꝛd, which was called inſanum Parliamentum, that is to ſay, the mad Parliament. Foꝛ in this Parliament were made many actes againſt the kings pꝛerogatiue and pleaſure, foꝛ the reformation of the ſtate of the lande, which after turned to the confuſion and hurt of the land, and the death and deſtruction of many noble men, ſo that by occaſion thereof began that hatefull ſtrife, called at this day the

Barons warre.

the Barons warre, whereofenſued much trouble and miſchiefe, as after ſhall appere.

Then as is afoꝛeſayde, to aduoyde the enoꝛmities, and to reforme the euill rule that was then vſed in the lande, by ſuch euill perſons as daylie were about the king, manye and diuers oꝛdinances were made: wherevnto the king (ſomewhat againſt hys wyll) and Sir Edward his ſonnes and others agreed. And foꝛ that theſe actes ſhould be holden firme and ſtable, there were at this Parliament choſen. xij. Peeres, which were named Douze peꝛys, to whome authoꝛitie was giuen by vertue of this Parliament to coꝛrect all ſuch as offended in bꝛeaking of theſe oꝛdinances, and ſuch other, as by the ſayde xij. peres, ſhoulde afterward be deuyſed and oꝛdered touching and concerning the ſame matter and purpoſe. Of which. xij. Peeres the names enſue.

The twelue Peeres commonly called le Douze Peres.

The Archebiſhop of Cauntoꝛbury, the Biſhop of Woꝛceſter, Sir Roger Bygot then Erle of Noꝛffolk and Marſhall of Englande, Sir Symon de Mountfoꝛde Erle of Leyceter, Sir Richard Clare Erle of Glouceſtre, Sir Humffrey Bothum Erle of Herfford of Warwike and of Arondell, Sir John Mancell chiefe Juſtice of Englande, Sir Roger Moꝛtymer, Sir Hugh Bygraue, Sir Peter de Sauoy, Sir James Audely, and Sir Peter de Mountfoꝛd. And foꝛ that the kings bꝛother on the mothers ſyde, that is to ſaye Sir Eym Erle of Wyncheſter, Sir William de Valaunce, Sir Godfrey de Lyndſey and Sir Guy de Lyndſey, woulde not aſſent to the afoꝛeſayde oꝛdinances, they withdꝛew them towarde the Sea ſide with ſuch ſtuffe as they had, and would haue departed the land, if they might then haue had ſhipping: foꝛ lack whereof they were fayne to returne, and ſo went to Wyncheſter. But it was not long after, that they were lycenced to depart the lande, with a certaine companie, and a certaine ſumme of money to paye foꝛ their coſtes, and their day ſet by Bartholomewtyde to aduoyde vpon payne of impꝛiſonement, which day by them was kept.

It was not long after the finiſhing of thys Parliament but that ſtrife and variaunce beganne to kindle betweene the king and the Erles of Leyceſter and Glouceſtre, by meane of ſuch officers as the ſayde Erles had remoued, and put other in their romes. Among the which John Mancell was diſcharged of hys office, and Sir Hugh Bygot then admitted foꝛ him. And bicauſe the afoꝛeſayde peres heard of the murmure of the Courte, fearing that the king ſhould be aduertiſed ſhoztly to alter from his pꝛomiſe, therfoꝛe they entending to make their partie the ſtronger, the next day following, the king being at Weſtmynſter, the Erle Marſhall, the Erle of Leyceſter, with dyuers other came vnto the Guildhall at London, where the Maioz, Aldermen and commonaltie of the Citie were aſſembled, where the ſayde Lozdes ſhewed an inſtrument, oꝛ wꝛyting, at the which hanged many labelles with Seales, as the kings ſeale, Sir Edward his ſonnes, with manye other of the nobles of the lande, the which was the content of the Articles which were made and oꝛdeyned at Oꝛenfoꝛde, wylling the Maioz and Aldermen (conſidering the ſaide actes were made vnto the honour of God, fidelitie vnto the king, and pꝛofite of the realme, that they would alſo in vpholding of the ſame, ſet to alſo their common Seale of the Citie. After which requeſt thus to the Citizens made, and after aduiſe and counſell among themſelues taken, they deſyꝛed a ſparing of the Lozdes, till they might ſpeake with the

king, and know his pleasure in that behalfe. But finally no sparyng at that tyme might be graunted, so that in the ende, by the labour that the Lordes made, with helpe of such solicitors as they had within the Citie, the common Seale was put to, and the Maior and diuerse of the Citie swore to mainteyne the same, their allegeance saued to the king, with preseruation of the liberties and fraunchises of the Citie and so departed.

Then day by day, the sayd Douze Peeres assembled at the newe Temple, where they kept their counsailes and Courtes for the reformation of the olde griefes, and remoued from the king diuers of his Menyall seruauntes, and set in their places and office such as pleased them.

And vpon the. ix. day of August, proclamation was made in diuerse accustomed places of the sayd Citie, that none of the kinges takers should take any thing within the liberties of London, without the will of the owner, except two Tonne of Wine, which the king accustomably had of euery ship cõmyng from Burdeaux, paiyng but fortie shillynges for a Tonne. By meane of which Proclamation, nothing was taken by the kinges officers, but it were streight payed for within the Citie & libertie of the same, which vsance continued but a while.

This is called the Butlerage.

1257
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In the. xlij. yere, the king helde a Parliament at Westminster, and another (or else proroged the same) to Winchester. And in this yere, Sir Hugh Bygot Justice, with Roger Tuckley, and other, kept his Court at Saint Sauiours, and there held their Plees called Itineraii. The which is to meane the traueylyng or the way Plees. For ye shall vnderstand, that at those daies they were kept in diuerse places in Englande, which nowe beene holden at Westminster, and Judges ordeyned to kepe a circuite, as nowe they kepe the Sizes in time of vacation. At this sayd Court, these Judges punished sore Baylifes and other officers, that before them were conuict for diuerse trespasses, & specially for takyng of amerciamentes otherwise then the law permitted them to do. For the which the sayde chiefe Justice emprisoned them, and after fealsed them at grieuous fines. Also he sommoned the Citezens of London to come to the same Court, for Tolles that they had taken vpon the further syde of the water. But it was answered that the tolles that they there toke, were taken lawfully as they were redy to proue in places & Court conuenient to the same, which was within the precinct of their libertie. But notwithstanding that aunswere, the saide Sir Hugh charged them vpon a quest of .xij. knightes of Surrey to enquire of that matter and other, the which acquited the sayde Citizens, and shewed that the sayd Toll belonged to them of right.

After this, the sayde Sir Hugh with other, came vnto the Guyldehall, and kept his Court and Plees there, without all order of lawe, and contrary to the libertyes of the Citie, and there punished the Bakers for lack of Size, by the Tomberell, where beforetymes, they were punished by the Pillorye, and ordered many other thinges at his will, more then by anye good order of lawe.

A Tomberell was a kinde of Pillory made foure square that turned round about.

This yere came vnto London from beyonde the Sea Richard king of Almaine, and Erle of Cornewall, with his wife and children, which had bene there and taken possession of that kingdome, as before is shewed. Against whose comyng the Citie of London was richely hanged, with clothes of Silke

Silke and Arras, and ioyously he was receyued of the Citizens.

And in the. xliij. yere of his reigne in the Parliament holden at Westminster was reade in the presence of all the Lordes and commonalty at lundrie times, all the actes and ordinaunces before made in the Parliament holden at Orenford, with certeyne other articles by the aforesayde. xij. Peeres therevnto added. After the readyng of which articles, there beyng requested the Archbishop of Cauntorbury with other, to the number of. ix. Bishops besyde Abbots and other, denounced all them accursed that attempted in worde or deed to breake the sayde Statutes or any of them.

1258
43

In this Parliament also was graunted a taske called the Scutage, that is to say. xl. shillinges of euery knightes fee throughout the realme of England, the which extended to a great summe of money. For after dyuerse writers, there be (saith Fabian) in England in the possession of the Spiritualty and of the Temporaltie, or at those dayes were, ouer & aboue. xl. thousand knightes fees, which after that rate should extende to fourescore thousand pound.

A taske called Scutage.

The first day of Nouember folowyng, the king came to Paules, where by his cõmaundement was assembled the Court of folkmote, where the king fearing rebellion of his nobles, did according to the former ordinances made, aske licence of the Commonaltie of the Citie, for to passe the sea, and promised there in the presence of a great multitude of people, that he would be good and gracious Lorde vnto the Citie by the mouth of Sir Hugh Bigot his chiefe Justice, and to mainteine their liberties vnhurt: For the which the people for ioy made an exceedyng shoute.

A folkemote.

Upon the. viij. day of Nouember the king roade through the Citie towarde the sea syde. And vpon the day of Saint Brice, or the. xiij. day of Nouember, he tooke his ship, and so sayled vnto Burdeaux, where when he had taryed a season, he road vnto the French king, then beyng king Lewes vnto Paris. Of whom he was honourably receyued, and was lodged in his awne Pallace, by the space of a whole weke, makyng to him great feastes, and geuing to him and his, many costly and riche giftes. And from thence king Henry roade vnto Saint Denice, where of the Abbot and Couent he was receiued with procession, & tarryed there by the space of a moneth. In which season a marryage was concluded, betwene John Duke of Britteyne, and one of the kinges daughters. And at his departing, he gaue to the Abbot a Cuppe of Golde, and a Bason with an Ewer of Siluer. And for his more consolation certeine Lordes and other Noble men of Fraunce gaue attendaunce vpon him, to conuey him, and shewe him a part of Fraunce, with all disport of huntyng and hawkyng, and other many pleasures of the Countrie.

And in this time, the French king assembled his Parliament at Paris, where he shewed vnto his Lordes, that his conscience grudged with the withholdyng of all such landes as Philip the second wanne from king John in Normandy, vpon the which he desyred their faythfull and fruitefull counsaile, where after many reasons and argumentes made, it was concluded for a finall concorde to be had betwene king Henry and him, that if king Henrie with the agreement of his Lordes would resigne into the Frenche Kinges handes, all such title and right as he had in the whole Duchie of Normandy, Angeow, Poyteau, and Mayne, for him and for his heyres for euer, that then the French king of his great bountie and grace, should geue vnto the

king of England, and to his heyres kinges, the Lordship of Guian, Angeou, and Mayne, and by rightfull title, euer after to be called the Duke of Guian, and besydes that, he shoulde bee admitted for a Peere of Fraunce: To all which condicions, as appereth by the French Chronicle, king Henrie at his returne from his disport was agreable, and with consent of his Baronnye, and in their presence, with also the Barony of France, did his homage vnto the sayde Lewes for the Duchie of Guyan, and after made his othe accordyng to the same. And after great giftes receyued on eyther syde, king Henry returned vnto Burdeaux.

Of this peace speaketh Guido, and sayth, that king Henry sayled into Fraunce, and asked restitution of the French king, of such landes as Philip the second his ayle had with extort power taken from king John his father. But because he found the French king straunge in his answere, and also had little trust in his Lordes to haue their ayde, he fell to agreement with the French king, and solde him his title that he had in Normandy, Gascoyne and Guyan, the which extended vnto the yerely value of twentie thousand pound, taking for the same title three hundreth thousande of small Turon money, whereof a pound is in value after sterlyng money but two shillings and three pence, or there about, so that he should after that rate haue for his sayde title, after the value of sterlyng money. xxxiiij. thousand. iij. C. fiftie pound.

A variaunce betweene Sir Edward the Prince and the Erle of Glouceſter.

While king Henry was thus occupyed in Fraunce, dissention fell in England, betweene Sir Edward the kinges sonne, and Sir Richarde Erle of Glouceſter. For the appeasing whereof, a Parliament, that is to saye, a counsaile of his Lordes was called at Westminster, which continued by the space of three weekes and more. To the which counsaile the Lordes came with great companies, and specially the sayde Sir Edwarde, and the Erle of Glouceſter, the which entended to haue lodged within the Citie. Wherefore the Maior went vnto the Bishop of Worcester, and Sir Hugh Bigot, and Sir Philip Basset, to whome the king with the Archbishop of Cauntorbury had taken the rule of the lande in his absence, the which went vnto the king of Almaine to haue his aduise in that matter: Where it was concluded, that neyther the sayd sir Edward, nor the Erle, should come within the Citie there to be lodged, nor none that helde vpon eyther of the parties. And further it was prouided, that all such as were within the Citie, and was of the age of. xv. yeres and aboue, should be in harneſse to watch and kepe the City both day and night and that the gates should be shut vpon the day, & certaine men in harneſse to kepe euery gate of the City. And sone after, for ỳ safegard of the Citie, and sure keepyng of the peace within the same, the king of Romaines, with the sayd Sir Hugh came into the Citie, and there were lodged with their companies, and suche other as they would assigne to strength the Citie if neede required.

Shortly after the king came to London from beyond the sea, and was lodged at the Bishop of Londons Palace. After whose commyng, by his assignement, the Erle of Glouceſter was lodged within the Citie, and Sir Edward his sonne was lodged in his owne Palace at Westminster. And soone after the king commaunded him to be lodged at S. Johns without Smithfield Barres in the Suburbes of London, and al the other Lordes were lodged in other places without the Citie. And the king of Romaynes remoued againe

againe to Westminster.

In the which tyme an order was taken betweene the sayde partyes, and a new assembly or Parliament was appoynted in the Quindena of Saint John Baptist. And from that tyme to the entent that all thinges might be set in an order, it was prorogued vnto the feast of Saint Edward, at which tyme all thinges were in quiet, and so continued a tyme.

A Jewe drowned in a Pyeup.

And here Fabian telleth a tale of a Jewe, saying that at Tewkesbury there fell a Jewe into a Jakes or Gonge vpon a Saterday, which was his Sabboth day, and would not for reuerence of his Sabboth day be plucked out, whereof heeryng the Erle of Glouceſter that the Jewe did so great reuerence to his Sabboth day, thought he would do asmuch to his holy day, which was Sunday, and so commaunded him to be kept there vntill Monday at which tyme he was found dead.

1259
44

This yere the king kept a great feast at Westminster and there made diuers knights. Among the which John Duke of Britayn which had maried one of the kings daughters was there made knight. And soone after was Sir Hugh Spencer made chiefe Justice.

A folkemote.

And sone after this he commaunded a Folkemote to be called at Paules Crosse, where he in proper person with the king of Almayne, the Archebishop of Cauntorbury, and many other nobles came: where the king commaunded the Maior that euery striplyng of the age of. xij. yeres and aboue shoulde the next day be sworne before hys Alderman, to be true to the king and to his heyres kings of England, and that the gates of the Citie should be kept with harneſsedmen, as before by the king of Romanes was deuysed.

About this time also, at a Fayre kept at Northhampton variaunce fell betweene the Londoners and the men of the Towne, so that betweene the Citizens of London and them continued long sute and plee, and it was for a man of Northhampton that then was slaine, to the great vexation and trouble of both partes: But in the ende the Citie of London had the better.

The Barons also at this tyme with the consent of the peres discharged Sir Hugh Spencer, and admitted for him Sir Philip Basset to be chiefe Justice, vnwitting to the king. By reason whereof, another grudge and displeasure began to kindle betweene the king and his Lordes, and encreased more and more. But by the pollecie of the king of Almayn, and some prelates of the lande, it was set in quiet for a while, but it continued scantly to the ende of the yere.

1260
45

Gardians and keepers of Counties and Shires.

And this yere the Barons admitted and made the Shirifes of diuers shires of England, and discharged such as before the king had admytted, and named them Gardians and keepers of the Counties and Shires. And besydes that, the sayde Barons would not suffer the Justice, that the king had admitted to keepe the Plees and lawes called Itinerarij, but such as were of their admyssion. Wherewith the king was greeuously discontented, in so much that after that time, he labored that he might make frustrate and vtterly boyde the aforesayde statutes and ordynances: In so much, that vpon the second Sunday in Lent next following, the king commaunded to be read at Paules crosse a Bull of the graunt of Vrban, Bishop of Rome and the third of that name, as a confirmation of another Bull before purchased of hys predecessour Alexander the thirde, for to assoyle the king and all other that before

fore had swoorne to the maintenance of theafore sayde Articles made at Orenfore. And after caused the absolution to be shewed throughout the realme of Englande, Wales and Ireland, geuing strayte charge to all his subiects, that none to be so hardie to disobey the sayde absolution. And if anye person were founden disobedient to his commaundement that he were streight way committed to prison, and not to be raunsomed nor delyuered vntill the kinges pleasure were further knowne.

A folkemote.

In the Month of June next following, the king of Almain tooke shipping and sayled into Almayn. And king Henry at a Folkemote holden on S. Peters daye in the Month of July following had lycence to saile into Fraunce. And the next day he departed from London towarde the sea syde, with the Queene and other Lordes, his two sonnes Sir Edward and Sir Edmond being then in Guyan. When the king had bene a while in Fraunce, he returned vnto Burdeaux, where he fell sicke, by occasion whereof, he taried in those parties vntill December next folowyng. And in this meane time dyed Richard Clare Duke of Gloucester, and Sir Gilbert de Clare his son was Erle after him. To whom the father gaue great charge that he should vpholde the former ordinances.

1261
46

Murder vpon murder.

And it happened soone after, that a Jew fell at variance with a Christian man at Cole Church in London beside the great Conduit in Cheape, and wounded the Christian man within the same Church. Wherefore the people of the Citie in a fury, pursued the sayd Jewe to his house, and there slue him, and after fell vpon the other Jewes, and slue and robbed many of them.

And shortly after the king landed at Douer, and came to London in the beginning of January folowyng. And this yere about the .xj. of December began a great frost, and continued the space of one moneth and more, in such wise that the Thames was so frosen that men passed ouer on horseback. And in the same Winter the kings Palace at Westminster perished by fyre, namely a great part thereof, which happened by negligence.

Variance betweene the Constable of the Tower and the Citizens of London.

About this time also a displeasure and variance began to growe betwene the Constable of the Tower, and the Citizens of London, for that the Constable contrary to the liberties of the Citie, tooke certeine shippes passing by the tower with wheat and other victuall, and caryed the same into the tower, making the price thereof at his owne will and pleasure. Whereupon great harme had ensued, had not bene the policie of wyse men: Which thing was shewed vnto the kinges counsaile, by whose direction, the matter was committed vnto Sir Philip Basset then chiefe Justice, and other, to set an order and rule betwene the sayd parties. Then before them were brought all euidences and priuileges for the aduauntage of both parties: Where finally after long plee and argument, it was firmely demed and iudged, that if the Constable or any other officer of the Tower, would at any tyme take wheate or other victuall to the vse of the king, or of the Tower, that he should come vnto the market holden within the Citie, and there to haue it two pence in a quarter within the Maiors price, and other victualles after the same rate: And if he, or any of his officers would do contrary to that ordinaunce, that then the shirifes should make report vnto the kinges counsaile, and to withstande him in all that they might, so that the kinges peace were kept.

In order made betweene the Constable of the Tower and the Citizens of London.

At this tyme was spread many tales, and there arose among the people a

mutteryng and murmuryng, that shortly there would be warres betwene the Lordes and the king, for the Bull of dispensation before mencioned. But by the helpe and mediation of good wise men, these murmours and grudges were so appeased, that the king agreed againe to the maintenance of those statutes, and sent his writtes wherein the sayd articles were compised, into all the Shires of England, geuing straight commaundement to all men to obserue and kepe the same, and such other as were to them adioyned by the discretion of the Erle Marshall, the Erle of Leycester, Sir Philip Basset, Sir Hugh Bigot and others, the which shortly after was reuoked and denied. Wherevpon the Archebishop of Cauntorbury, fearyng what after might ensue, made him an errand to Rome, and so by licence of the king and of the Lordes he departed the land, and by that meanes kept him out of the realme vntill the trouble was appeased and ceassed.

A folkemote.

Then vpon a midlent Sunday the Maior and the commons beyng present at a folkemote holden at Paules Crosse before Sir Philip Basset, and other of the kinges Counsaile, the Maior was swoorne to be true vnto the king, and to his heyres kinges. And the next day after at the Guyldhall, euery Alderman in the presence of the Mayor tooke the same othe. And vpon the Sonday folowyng, euery stripplyng of the age of .xij. yeres and aboue, before his Alderman in his warde was newly charged with the same othe.

Barons begin to murre.

Then the displeasure betwene the king and the Barons began to breake forth, which by a long time had bene couered and hidden, insomuch as diuerse of the Barons assembled themselues in the marches of Wales, and gathered vnto them strong power, and sent a letter vnto the king, vnder the Seale of Sir Roger Cliffore, beseechyng him to haue in remembraunce, the othe and manifolde promises that he had made for the obseruing of the statutes made at his towne of Orenfore, with other ordinaunces made to the honour of God, for fayth and allegeance to his person, and for the weale and profite of his realme: Willyng him further, to withstand and defye all such persons, as will be against the sayd actes, sauyng the Queene and her children.

After the which letter thus sent, and receauyng of it no answere, the said Barons, with Baner displayed went agaynst suche as they knewe that helde against the sayde actes. And first at Hertford they tooke the Bishop of that see, and as many of his Chanons as were aliaunte borne, and tooke suche treasure and Cattaile as they there found, and bare it with them. And after went and sent vnto such manours as the sayd Bishop and Chanons had, and robbed and spoyled them, and some of them, they threwe to the grounde and consumed with fire, and put the sayd Bishop and Chanons in safe and sure keping, and set others in their places: and after went into other partes of the realme, where they supposed to finde any of their enimies, keping still their course towarde London, bearing before them a Banner of the kings armes, and goyng on their iourney, much people drewe vnto them. And in their passage, euer as they found any that they knewe to be against the maintenance of the sayde actes, those thy imprisoned and spoyled their places and houses, were they spirituall or temporall men, and in diuerse of the kinges Castels they set in such men as they lyked, and put out such as the king had placed there before, and gaue vnto them an othe, that they should be true and faythfull to the king, & kepe those Castels to his vse & to the weale of the realme.

About

About Midſommer folowing, they drewe nere to London, and ſent a letter to the Maior and Aldermen vnder the ſeale of Sir Simon Mountfort, requiring to knowe of them, whether they would obſerue and mainteine the actes and ſtatutes made at Oxenford or not, or elſe they would aide and aſſiſt ſuch perſonnes as entended the breche of the ſame, and ſent vnto them a copie of the ſame actes with a proviſo, that if there were any of them that ſhould ſeeme to be hurtfull to the realme or common weale of the ſame, that they then by diſcrete perſons of the land ſhould be altered and amended. The which Copie the Maior bare vnto the king beyng then at the Tower, accompanied with the Queene and the king of Almaine, which lately was returned from beyond the ſea, and Sir Edward his ſonne and other of hys Counſaile.

Then the king entendyng to knowe the minde of the Citie aſked the Maior what he thought of thoſe ordinaunces and actes, knowyng well that before his commyng thether, he had counſayled with the Aldermen, and ſome of the Commons of the Citie.

The Maior then abaſhed with that queſtion, beſought the king that he might common with his brethren the Aldermen, and then he would declare vnto him both his and their opinions. But the king ſayd, he would here his aduice without more councell. Then the Maior boldely ſayde, that before tymes, he with his brethren and commonaltie of the Citie, by his commaundement were ſworne to maintepne all actes made to the honour of God, to the fayth of the king, and profite of the realme, which othe by his lycence and moſt gracious fauour they entended to obſerue and kepe. And moreouer to auoyde all occaſion that might growe of grudge or baryance betweene hys grace and his Barons within the Citie, they would auoyde all aliaunces and ſtraungers out thereof, if his grace were ſo contented. With the which aunſwere, the king ſeemed to be pleaſed, ſo that the Maior with his fauour departed, and ſent aunſwere to the Barons, accordyng to the ſayd communication, their liberties alwayes vpholden and ſaued.

Then ſhortly after, forſomuch as diuerſe noble men of the land, which helde againſt thoſe ſtatutes, were ridden toward Douer, and there entended to haue taken ſhipping for feare of the Barons, the king ſent after them diuerſe perſons of his houſhold, and of the Citizens of London to reforme and enduce them to retorne and tary with the king.

And in this tyme all aliaunces and ſtraungers, the which were taken ſuſpect of any fauour borne to the one part or to the other, were auoyded the Citie. But it was not long after that Sir Edwarde the kinges ſonne, ſet them or many of them in offices within the Caſtell of Windſore. Then watch was kept dayly within the Citie, and in the nightes a certeine were appointed to ryde about the Citie, with a certeyne number of footemen to attend vpon them to ſearche all the Citie ouer, but of that enſued harme: For while the ridyng watch was in one part of the Citie, ſome euill diſpoſed perſonnes vnder the colour of watchmen, and to ſearch for ſtraungers, robbed and ſpoiled many houſes within the Citie. For remedie whereof, a ſtandyng watche was appointed in euery warde: But now the king hearing that the Barons approched nere the Citie, he ſhortly after departed thence.

Then the Barons entered the Citie in the moneth of July. And ſhortly after

after, the king returned to Weſtmynſter, with the Queene and other of hys counſayle. And ſone after by the conſent of the king and the Barons, Sir Hugh le Spencer was made chiefe Juſtice and keeper of the Tower.

The nert day after Mary Magdaleyn daye, a writ was directed vnto the Maior and Aldermen, charging them that the kings peace were firmely kept within the Citie. And in the ſame writ it was alſo expreſſed, that the king and his Barons were louingly agreed. Furthermore it was by the ſame writ commaunded that if within the precinct of their Fraunches, were any perſon or perſons knowne, that would withſtande the aforeſayde ordynances and ſtatutes, that all ſuch ſhould be attached and put in priſon, & their goodes attached for the king, vntill they knewe his further pleaſure.

Ye ſhall vnderſtande, that while the Lordes laye thus in the Citie, diuers cõuenticles and gatherings were made of the Citizens and other, that robbed in the Citie and did much harme. The which was ſmally corrected, they were ſo borne out and mainteyned by their maiſters. And lykewiſe the Commons of the Citie were farre out of rule by the inſenſyng of ryotous perſons, that in aſſemblies and courts, that then were kept at the Guyldhall or other places, ſimple and vndiſcreete perſons ſhould haue the voyce, and the worſhipfull men little or nothing regarded, whereof enſued daylie much vnhappineſſe and ſorrow, as after ſhall appere.

The Barons then, to obteyne the more fauour of the Citie willed them to ſhewe if they had any parte of their liberties withdrawne that they might againe to them be reſtored, and alſo to deuyſe ſome newe to their weale and profite, and they would labour to the king that they might haue them graunted. For the which comforte of the Lordes, the Maior called the commons vnto the Guyldehall, and ſhewed to them the benevolence of the ſayd Lords, and willed them that euerie officer for hys office, to deuyſe ſuch things as might be beneficiall for the Citie.

Whereupon they counſayled together and made a note in a paper, of diuers ſtatutes, proviſions and ordynaunces to be graunted, which might (ſayth Fabian) more properly be named abhominations, for they were deuiſed to their ſinguler profite, and to the great hurte of all other Marchauntes comming to the Citie, and to all other Fayres and Markettes of England, and alſo Preiudiciall to the vniuerſall weale of the Realme.

The which when they were peruſed and ouerſene by the heades of the Citie, it was ſhewed vnto the ſayde Commons, that their ordinaunces were not lawfull nor charitablie conſidered, and therefore they knewe well they ſhould not be admytted, willing them to deuiſe other, but all was in vayne. By meane whereof, both thoſe and other that were right neceſſarie for the common weale of the Citie were reiected and put of.

The Barons departed from London the morowe after Saint James day, and went toward Wyndſore, to ſee the guyding of the Caſtell: where at their comming they put out the ſayde alyantes before ſet in, by Sir Edward the kings ſonne, who being accompanied with other went to Fulham to the king and ſhewed him that the Barons had ſpoyled them of ſuch goods as they had, and that without cauſe. But the king put them of for that ſeaſon and warned them to ſue to him about Mighelmas, when more of hys counſayle was with him, and then they ſhoulde haue iuſtice.

The

The.xxiij. day of September, the king, the Queene with his sonnes and other nobles of this land tooke shipping and sayled into Fraunce, to be present at the French kinges Parliament then holden at Bonony, and shortly after he returned againe and the.viij.day of October next folowyng, landed at Douer, and the Friday folowyng came to London.

The.xv. day of October there were a Jury of.xij. knightes of Middlesex, sworne betweene the Abbot of Westminster and the Citie of London, for certaine priueleges that the Citie clayned within Westminster. Where, by the said Jury it was founden before Gilbert of Preston then chiefe Baron of the kinges Exchequer, that the Shirifes of London at those dayes might lawfully enter into the towne of Westminster, and all other Tenementes, that the Abbot had within Middlesex, and vnto the gate of the sayde Abbey, and there to make sommons and distreyne for lacke of appearaunce, all and euery Tenant of the sayd Abbot.

And soone after Michelmasse, the former complaint of the alyens or straungers, was shewed before the king and the Lordes in the Parliament, or rather counsaile holden at Westminster, where at the last, sentence was geuen, that the Barons should restore all such goodes as they and their company had taken from such persons before that day, as well to aliauntes as other, spirituall or temporall persons: And also that such meniall seruauntes as should be dayly in the kinges house, and about his person, should be such as the king would chose and admit himselfe, the which two articles, the Barons vtterly denyed. Wherefore olde rancoure tooke place, and dissention kindled his fyre of malice againe betweene the king and his Lords feruently.

1262 47

And in the yere folowyng, the Commons of the Citie of London chose vnto their Maior for that yere Thomas fitz Thomas, and without counsell of the Aldermen sware him at the Guildhal vpon the day of Simon & Jude, and made no presentment of him vpon the next day folowyng, neyther to the king, nor yet to the Barons of the Exchequer, as they of right ought to haue done: For the which presumption the king was grieuously discontented against the Citie. And soone after he being aduertised that the Citizens would take part with the Barons, caused Sir Edward his sonne to take the Castel of Windsore by a traine. Whereof, when he knewe that he was in possession, the king early in a morning a little before Christmasse, departed from Westminster, and road to the sayd Castell, whether shortly after came many of the Lordes vpon the kinges partie. And as fast the Lordes and knightes which helde with the Erle of Leycester, drewe them toward London, so that on eyther partie great numbers of people were assembled. And in this tyme some well disposed persons laboured to haue peace and concorde betweene the king and his Lordes: By whose meanes at the last, it was agreed, that all matters concernyng the aforesayde articles or statutes made at Oxenford, and after by the.xij. Piers, should be demed and iudged by the French king, so that he should alow or disalow those that should be kept or broken, and as he iudged, so both parties to be contented to stand vnto & abide firmely & surely. Upon which agrement, copies were made of the sayde statutes, and with letters (shewyng the effect of the former agreement) sent vnto Lewes the Frenche king as aforesayde. And at Christmasse next after, the king tooke shippyng, with Sir Edward his sonne, and other of the Counsayle, and

The king flieth for feare of the Barons to the Castell of Windsore.

The controuersie betweene ỹ king & his Lordes was committed to the iudgement and order of the French king.

and sayled into Fraunce for the aforesayde cause. And for the partie of the sayde Barons, was sent ouer Sir Peter de Mountforde and other. Then before Lewes king of Fraunce those statutes were sore argued.

In the ende, the French king hauyng before him both the parties, the xviij. day of January, syttyng in iudgement gaue expresse sentence, that all and euery of those statutes and ordinaunces should be from that day forward vtterly fordone and set at naught, and all such bandes and promises that the king or any other had made for the maintenance of the same, should be annulled and canceled, and the king and all other, for any matter concernyng those statutes set at libertie.

The French king iudged against the Barons of England.

After which sentence thus geuen, the king returned into Englande, so that he came vnto London the.xv. day of Februarie. But the Barons beyng sore amoued with this sentence, and notyng great partialitie in the Frenche king, departed from London Westward, and so into the marches of Wales, where they drewe to them great power, and warred vpon the landes and Castelles of Sir Roger Mortimer, & threw some of them vnto the ground, and spoyled of his what they might finde, and ouer that, brent of his manours and houses. In whose ayde, Sir Edward the kinges sonne commyng, hys people were distressed, and he almost taken.

For reformation of which matter a newe Parliament or counsayle was called and appointed to beholden & kept.xv. dayes after Easter at Orenford, but it neuer toke effect. Howbeit another Chronicle sayth, ỹ from this Parliament then holden at Oxford, the king and his Lordes parted in displeasure.

A new Parliament holden at Oxford, but it tooke none effect.

Then the Barons drewe towarde London, and the king remayned at Woodstocke. And then newe assurance by writyng indented was made betweene the commonaltie of the Citie, and the Barons, without consent of many of the rulers of the sayde Citie. Wherefore the Commons, as men in a rage and furye, made of them selues two Capitaines, whiche they named Constables of the Citie, that is to say, Thomas Piwelsdon, and Stephen Bukerel. At whose commaundement, by tollyng of the great Bell of Paules all the Citie should be readye shortly in harnesse, to geue attendaunce vpon their said Capitaynes,

The Citizens of London chose the two newe Capitaines.

About the beginnyng of Lent, the Constable of the Tower, Sir Hugh le Spencer, came with a fayre company of men of armes before him into the Citie, and desyred assistance of the aforenamed Constables. The which commaunded the sayde Bell to be tolled: By meane whereof, the people shut in their shops, and came out in harnesse in great multitudes. The which after proclamation made, that they should follow their Capitaines, without knowledge what to do, or whether to go, folowed their sayde Capitaynes, and so went to Thistlewoorth.viij. miles beyond Westminster, and there spoyled the Manor of the king of Romaynes, and set it after vpon a fyre. And that done, his water Milles and other commodities that he there had, put them vnto vtter ruyne, and after with great noyse and cry returned to London.

The Citizens of London brent at Thistlewoorth the Manor of Richard the king of Romaynes.

This dede as saith Fabian, was the cause of the mortall warre folowing. For where before time the said king of Romaines had gone about for the alliaunce that was betweene him and the Erle of Gloucester, a treatie of peace, to be had betweene the king and his Barons: after that deede done, he was enemie vnto them to the vttermost of his power.

The king heryng of this ryot, gathered vnto him a great power. And for that he heard that Sir Peter de Mountfort was at Northhampton gatherying of people to strength the Barons partie, he sped him thether, and wan the towne vpon him by force, and slue many of his men, and in the ende tooke him and Sir Simond the sonne of the Erle of Leycester, with diuerse other on liue, the which, with many Burgesses of that towne, that had taken their partes, the king sent vnto diuerse prisonnes, and some he closed within the Castell of the same towne.

A ryot made vpon the Iewes.

And aboute this tyme, that is to saye, the weeke before Easter, all the Iewes in London were spoyled and robbed, and the number of fiue hundreth of them were slaine, and diuerse of their houses brent and destroyed, and such of them as were saued, were conueyed for great neede vnto the Tower, and there kept from the fury of the Commons. And the occasion of this riot was, for that one Iewe woulde haue forced a Christian man to haue geuen vnto him more then two pence for the vsury of twenty shillynges for a weeke lendyng. For ye shall vnderstande that in those dayes by licence graunted vnto the Iewes of the king, they might take by vsury of euery man that of them would borow money, two pence of a pound for a weekes lendyng, and so of greater and of smaller summes after the rate.

Vsury allowed among the Iewes & suffered in England.

And soone after the Iewes were thus punished, many houses of religion within the Citie, and nere there about, were searched for goodes of aliauntes, and muche founde. Whereof a part was brought vnto the Barons, but the more part was stolne and bribed.

In this season the king passed by dyuerse Countries, and lastly came into Sussex, with a strong power. Whereof hering the Lordes, they made preparation to go against him. In all which tyme the Wardens of the fiue Portes kept the sea with shippes that no straungers should enter the land to ayde the king against the Barons.

In the ende of Aprill, the Barons with a multitude of the Citie, which they put in the bawarde, departed from London, taking their iourney towarde the king. And when they were well onwarde vpon their way, worde was brought vnto them, that the king with an howge power was at Lewes. Wherfore they by an whole assent, deuysed a letter, and sent it in the name of all the Barons vnto the king, whose names herebnder folow, but not all.

The names of the Barons of England.

Sir Simond de Mountfort Erle of Leycester, and high stewarde of Englande. Sir Gilbart de Clare, Erle of Glouceſter, Sir Robert Ferrers, Erle of Derby, Sir William de Mounthdesey, Sir Hugh le Spenser, chiefe Justice, and Sir Henry Mountfort, sonne to the Erle of Leycester, Sir Richard Gray, Sir Henry Hastyngs, Sir John fitz John, Sir Robert Deuenpount, Sir John Gyuile, Sir Robert Roos, Sir William Marmyon, Baldwyn Wake, Sir Gilbert Gifford, Sir Nicholas Demegraue, and Sir Godfrey de Lucye, with many other.

Which letter sealed with the seales of the sayde Erle of Leycester, and of Glouceſter, conteyned as foloweth.

A letter writ ten by the Barons vnto the king.

TO the most excellent Lord, king Henry, by the grace of God king of Englande, Lorde of Irelande, and Duke of Guyan, the Barons and other faythfull your seruauntes, their fidelitie and othe to God and to you coueting to kepe, send to you due salutyng with all reuerence and honoure, vnder due obeysaunce.

obeysaunce. Lyketh it your highnesse to vnderstand, that many beyng aboute you, haue before tymes shewed vnto your Lordship of vs many euill and vntrue reportes, and haue found suggestions, not al onely of vs, but also of your selfe, to bring this your realme vnto subuersion. Know your excellency; that we entend nothing but health and surety to your person, to the vttermost of our powers: and not alonely to our enemies, but also yours, and of all thys your realme, we entend vtter greuaunce and correction. Beseechyng your grace, hereafter to geue to them little credence; for ye shall finde vs your true and faythfull subiectes to the vttermost of our powers. And we Erle of Leycester, and Erle of Glouceſter, at the request of other, & for our selues, haue put to our seales, the .x. day of the moneth of May.

The aunswere vnto the aforesayde letter.

The kinges aunswere to the Barons letter.

HEnry by the grace of God, king of England, Lord of Ireland, & Duke of Guyan: To Simond de Mountfort, and Gilbert de Clare, and their complices. Whereas by warre and generall perturbaunce in this our realme, by you begon and continued, with also brennynges and other hurtes, and enormities, that euidently it appereth that your fidelitis to vs due, ye haue not kept, nor the suretie of our person ye haue little regarded, for so much as our Lordes and other trustie friendes which dayly abyde with vs, ye here and greeue, and them pursue to the vttermost of your powers, and yet dayly entend as ye by report of your letters haue vs asserteyned: We the griefe of them admit and take to be our awne, specially when they for their fidelitie, which they to vs dayly impend, stand & abyde by vs, to oppresse your infidelitie and vntruth. Wherefore of your fauour and assurance we set little store, but you as our enemies we vtterly defye. Witnesse our selfe at our towne of Lewes, the .xij. day of this moneth of May.

And besydes this, the king of Romaynes, Sir Edward the kinges sonne, and other Lordes beyng then with the king, sent vnto them another letter whereof the tenor ensueth.

Another letter sent to the Barons.

RIchard by the grace of God king of Romaynes, alwayes Augustus and Edwarde the Noble first begotten sonne of the king of Englande, all other Barons firmely standing and abyding with our souereigne Lorde the king, to Symond de Mountfort, Gilbert de Clare, and all other their false fellowes: By the Letters which ye sent vnto the king our most souereigne Lorde, we vnderstanding that we are defyed of you. Neuertheleſſe, thys worde of defiance appered vnto vs sufficiently before, by the depriuation and brenning of our manors, and carying awaye of oure goodes. Wherefore we wyll that ye vnderstande, that we defye you as our mortall and publique enemies. And whensoeuer we maye come to the reuengement of the iniuries that ye to vs haue done, we shall acquite it to the vttermost of oure powers. And where ye put vpon vs that we are neyther true nor good to oure Souereigne Lorde the king. We geue you to vnderstand that ye therin say, falsely and vntruely of vs. And if that saiyng ye Sir Symond de Mountfort and Sir Gilbert de Clare wyll testifie in the Court of our souereigne Lord the king: we are readie to purchace to you suretie and safe comming, that there we maye proue our true and faythfull innocencie, and your false and trayterous liyng. Witnessed with the Seales of Rychard king of the Romaynes and sir Edward aforenamed, Geuen at Lewes the xij. day of May.

When the Barons had receyued these Letters from the king and hys Lordes, they perceyued well that there was none other meane, but to defend their cause by dent of sworde, wherfore, they putting their trust in God, sped them forth toward the king. And vpon Wednesday being the .xxiij. day of May, earely in the morning bothe the hostes met: where after the Londoners had geuen the first assault, they were beaten back, so that they began to drawe from the sharp shot and strokes, to the discomfort of the Barons hoste. But the Barons encouraged and comforted there men in suche wise, that not all onely the freshe and lustie knightes fought egerly, but also suche as before were discomfited, gathered a newe courage vnto them, and fought without feare, insomuch that the kings Vaward lost their places. Then was the fielde couered with dead bodyes, and gasping and groning was heard on euery side, for eyther of them was desyrous to bring others out of lyfe. And the father spared not the sonne, neyther yet the sonne spared the father. Alliance at that time was turned to defiaunce, & christian bloud that day was shed without pittie. Thus duryng the fyght by the more parte of the daye, lastly the victorie fell to the Barons, so that there were taken the king, and the king of Romaynes, Sir Edward the kings sonne, with many other noble men, to the the number of .xxb. Barons and Banarets, and of the common people there were slaine aboue twentie thousand as saith Fabian & Cowper.

A terrible battail called the battaile of Lewes in Sussex betweene the king and his Barons.

The king & his brother & sonne taken.

When the Barons had thus obtayned the victorye, prouision was made for the safe keepyng of the prisoners, so that all were sente vnto diuerse Castelles and Prysons, except the king and hys brother the king of Almayne, and Sir Edwarde his Sonne, the which the Barons helde with them vntill they came to London. Then a newe graunt was made by the king, that the aforesayde statutes should stand in strength. And if anye were thought vnreasonable, they to be corrected and amended by foure noble men of the realme, that is to saye, two of the spiritualtie, and two of the temporaltie. And if those foure could not agree, then the Erle of Angeow and Duke of Burgoyn to be iudges of the matter. And this to be firmelye holden and obeyed by the king and his brother: The kinges graunted that their sonnes and heyres should remaine with the Barons as prisoners vntill all thinges were finished, according to the former agreement. And vpon this was a Parliament appoynted to be holden at London the Whitsontyde folowing, but that came neuer to passe. Then the Tewesday before the Ascention day, a peace was proclaymed in London betwene the king and the Barons.

The king graunteth to the Barons, all theyr requestes.

The next day the king and the Barons came to London with the king of Romaynes, and Sir Edward the kinges sonne. Then Sir Edwarde as pledge for the king, and Sir Henry sonne to the king of Almaine, were sent vnto the Tower, and there lodged, and from thence to Douer Castell. And the king was lodged in the Bishops Palace beside Paules, and the king of Almaine and diuerse other within the tower. Then it was agreed by the king, that for his more suretie, and for the weale of the lande that the Erle of Leycester should be resiaunt in the kinges Court. Upon which agreement and other, many of the Prisoners were set at large.

In this meane while, before the Battaile of Lewes, the Queene and the king of Romaynes had sent ouer the sea for Souldiours, to ayde the king agaynst the Barons, which nowe were come in great number vnto Douer, and

and there houed on the Sea to haue landed. Whereof heeryng the Barons, they sent the king of Romaynes as prisoner to Barkhamstede, vntill the sayd Aliaunces were returned: and caused king Henry with a great power to ryde thether, and to force the sayde hoste of straungers to returne vnto their Countryes from whence they came.

Kynges by power are forced to do an other wil, and not as they list.

And when the king had returned the sayde straungers, he shortly after with the agreement of the Barons, sayled ouer into Fraunce, and returned againe within short tyme.

And shortly after the Lordes of the Marches of Wales assembled themselues together, and did much harme vpon the Lordeshippes and Manors of the Erles of Leycester and Gloucester. Wherefore the king so soone as he returned out of Fraunce, forthwith roade to Gloucester, and called there a Counsaile of his Lordes, by the auctoritie of which counsaile, it was enacted that as many of the sayd Lordes as came not in by the Octaues of Saint Hillary next folowyng, & yelded them vnto the kings grace, should be exiled. And in the sayd Counsayle it was also agreed, that in the sayd Octaues there should be a Parliament holden at Westminster. At the which tyme the king with his Lordes spirituall and temporall, and commons of his lande, began his foresayd Parliament. And in the same it was there moued (the king himselfe beyng present) that neither he the king, nor yet Sir Edward his sonne, nor none of them should after that day greue or cause to be greued the Erles of Leycester and of Gloucester, the Baronnes, Banerettes, or knightes, the Citizens of London, and Barons of the fiue Portes, nor none other person or persons of high or low degree, that was vpon the partie of the sayd Erles, for any matter of displeasure done against the king, and the sayde Sir Edward his sonne, at any tyme before that day. And that to do and vpholde, the king before his Lordes was sworne.

Here is the first mention made of a Parliament holden by the three estates.

After this there was read a Charter or Pardon, concernyng the cause and matter of offence aforesayde. And afterwarde also was concluded a confirmation of the statutes of the Forest, with many other actes and statutes before graunted of the king, as Magna Carta, and other.

The king sworne but shortly brake his othe.

The .xij. day of March next folowyng Sir Edwarde the kinges sonne that before was also sworne to performe suche promises as the king had made before in the Parliament, was deliuered and set at libertie, and likewise was Sir Henry the kinges sonne of Almaine, the which had bene kept as pledges (as before you haue heard) about the space of .xx. monethes & odde dayes vpon assurance made, that the sayd Sir Edward should dwell and abyde in the kinges Court, and not to depart from thence without licence of the king, and of a certeine of the Barons.

Then were many Instrumentes and Bondes made by the king and Sir Edward his sonne for the performance of diuerse and sundry couenants made betwene the king & his Barons, which shortly after tooke small effect.

Now shortly after, that is to say, betweene Easter and Whitsontide, for the ordering and maner of executyng of the aforesayde statutes made at Orenforde, fell great dissention betwene the Erles of Leycester and Gloucester, so that wordes of displeasure were vttered betwene them, the king and they also beyng then at Gloucester. Then the king and his Barons had much to do to set them at quiet and rest. And the same season, the Barons of the fiue

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Dissention among the Lordes.

Portes with their ships were vpon the sea, and robbed and spoyled all that they might take, for all was fish that came to the net, sparing neither English Marchauntes nor other. And the Bootie that they gate was no small thing. Of whiche as the common fame went, some of the Barons had no small share.

The Whitsontide folowyng, the king with the Erle of Leycester, and Sir Edward his sonne, with many other his Lordes beyng at Hereford in the Edge of Wales: the sayd Sir Edward secretly and without licence, departed from the Court, and went vnto Chester, where he called vnto him the Erle of Gloucester, and the Lordes of the marches, the Erle of Wareyn, Sir Roger Mortimer, and other, and they fallyng into felowship, and ioynyng in a confederacie, went from thence vnto Gloucester breaking the bridges as they went, to the entent that he were not folowed vntill he had assembled his power.

When knowledge of this came to the Erle of Leycester, he in all haste sent vnto Sir Simond his sonne that he should gather his knightes vnto him. The which according to that commaundement, assembled vnto him with much people, and with them drew toward Winchester, so that he came before the Citie the. xiiij. day of the Moneth of July, where he was shut out, for so much as the Citizens knewe not whether he came as the kinges friend or not. And also a little before, they had receyued a letter from Sir Edward, willyng them to kepe them out of the Citie, and to suffer them by no meanes to enter. For these causes the Citizens closed their Gates against the seyde Sir Symond and his company. But it was not long before the Citie yelded and gaue vp. Then they spoyled the towne, and slue the greatest part of the Jewes that were therein. And that done, they layde siege vnto the Castell, and assaulted it: But sodeynly a feyned newes was brought vnto them, saying that Sir Edward and his power was commyng euen at hande, wherefore they departed shortly thence, and went to Kenelworth.

And the last day of July Sir Edward and his hoste came vnto Kenelworth aforesayde, and fell sodeinly vpon the hoste of the aforenamed Sir Simond, and with sheddyng of little blood tooke there prisoners, the Erle of Orenford, William de Mount Canise, Adam de Newmarket, Sir Baldwyn Wake, and Hugh Neuile, with dyuerse other, and Sir Simond fled into the Castell and so escaped. Then the aforenamed Prisoners were sent to Gloucester, and there put in safe kepyng.

In this meane tyme Sir Simond Erle of Leycester tooke his leaue of the king, which then from Herefordе passed the Ryuer of Seuerne, and so went vnto Worcester, and the Erle with great paine passed the Bridges before broken by Sir Edward, and so coasted the countries in gathering of the people as he went: so that at the length he had with him a strong power. And When Sir Edward heard therof, he made towards him so fast as he might.

Battaile of Euisham.

The Barõs discomfited and slaine.

And the first day of August they met at Euisham in Worcestershire, where betweene them was foughten a cruell and bloody battayle, in the which was slaine the sayd Sir Simond the Erle, and Sir Henry his sonne and heyre, Sir Hugh le Spencer, Sir Peter de Mountford, and many other noble men that helde vpon the Barons partie. After which discomfiture, some malicious persons in despite of the Erle cut off his head and his preuy members, and

and fastened them vpon either syde of his nose, and after made a present therof vnto the wyfe of Sir Roger Mortimer: his feete also and his handes were cut of from the body and sent to sundrie places, and the truncke of hys bodie buryed within the Church of Euisham.

Sone after this victorie thus obtayned by Sir Edward, the king and he met with no small ioy and comforte to them both. And then by the authoritie of the king all the prisoners that before had bene taken, and imprisoned were delyuered and set at libertie, and manye other daylie accused and set in for them. And about the. viij. daye of September next following a Parliament or counsell was holden at Winchester, where by the authoritie of the same, all statutes and ordynaunces before made, by the Barons at Orenford in the. xlj. yere of the king, were vtterly fordone and set at naught. And all bondes and wrytings made by the king, or any other for the obseruing of the same, were cancelled and broken. Also at thys counsell was ordeyned, that all suche as had fauoured the Barons, being then in prison, or at large, should be disherited and then the king resumed into his handes all graunted before made and geuen to any person. And for Sir Symond Mountfort the sonne of the Erle that was slaine could not agree with the king at the Parliament, he was restored againe to the Castell of Kenelworth as he before was assured, the which he with Sir Henry de Hastyngs and other, kept and defended against the kings power, a long time after.

A Parliament at Winchester.

The statutes of Orenford againe condemned.

A straunge alteration.

After the Parliament ended the king came to Windsore wyth a great power, entending, as the same went, to destroye the Citie of London, for the great wrath and displeasure that he had conceyued for the ayding of the Barons against hym. Of the which when the Maior and Aldermen were enformed, they were striken into a wonderfull feare: Although manye of the rude and rashe commoners were in full purpose to haue defended the Citie against the king: and thus among them were dyuerse and sundrie opinions, and no great marualle, for at those dayes the Citie was inhabited with sundrie nations and people.

The king was greatly displeased with the citie of London.

At the last the sad and graue Citezens being called together by the Maior and his brethren to the Guyldhall, it was among them agreed & thought meete, to make a most humble supplication vnto the king, and to sende it by some religious person. Of the which they made diuers, and sent them by sundrie persons, but all auayled nothing. For the king was most greeuously incensed against the Citizens by some of hys Counsayle, so that he would not looke vpon, nor hearken vnto any of their supplications. And if it fortuned any to moue the kings fauour towards the Citizens, he would so frowne and geue vnto them such vnpleasant and wrathfull lookes, that no man durst once open his mouth vnto him for them.

Then the Citizens were counsayled by their Friends that they shoulde make a wryting, and seale it with the common seale, and in the same they should offer themselues, and put them wholy in the kings grace and mercy, touching their liues and goodes. And at the last according to this counsayle, they deuised a writting, and sealed it with their common seale, and that done chose. viij. persons of the Citie, suche as had friendes in the Courte, and the vj. day of October sent them toward Windsore, and as they passed thorough Colbrook they met a knight of the kings, called Sir Roger Leyborne, the which

Sir Roger Leyborne knight.

which caused the sayde. viij. persons to turne againe vnto the Citie, and he accompanied them vntill he came almost at the Citie, and there departed from them, and roade vpon the backesyde of the towne vnto the tower. But at his departing he willed them to warne the Maior with certeine of the Citie to meete with him vpon the morow at Barkyng Church. And on the morow, when the Maior and the sayd Sir Roger met, the same Sir Roger after a long processe made, shewed and declared the kinges most grieuous displeasure agaynst the Citie, and also tolde them what meanes their frendes and louers had made to obteyne the kinges graces fauour for the Citie: But in the ende he concluded that there was no grace to be obteyned for them, except they would by their common seale, bynde themselues fully and wholy to stande at the kinges grace, and to put into his mercy their lyues and goodes: The which when the Maior and his brethren conferryng with sundrye other of the Citizens had well weyed and considered, and also beyng greatly afearde of the kinges wrath agaynst the Citie, for it was bruted that he woulde vtterlye destroy the same by fyre: Wherefore in the ende they graunted to all that Sir Roger had moued, and delyuered the aforesayde writyng vnto the aforesayde Roger, prayng him to be a good meane and intercessor for them vnto the king. And the next day the sayd Sir Roger went vnto the Court, and returned againe the sixt day after, and willed the Maior and Aldermen to mete with him again at the foresaid Church. Where he shewed to them, that the king by great instance of their frendes, had receyued their writyng, and woulde first for the beginnyng and contentation of his mynde, that all the Chaynes that was in euery streete, and stoode at euerye Lanes ende, shoulde be losed from their Postes, and the Post also drawen out of the earth, and all they to be brought vnto the Tower of London: And that done, that the Maior with a certeine of Citizens, to the number of. xl. persons should the day folowyng be at Windsore to confirme the graunt of their writyng. And that they should go and come in safe and sure wise, he deliuered vnto them the kinges letter and seale, for the terme of foure dayes, which all was done accordyng to the former deuise, and the Maior with the aforesayde persons were ready on the morow which was Sunday, at Windsore by one of the clocke, and there taryed vntill foure of the same day: At which tyme the king comming from his disport, entered the Castell without countenance or castyng of his eyen vpon the Londoners. And when the king and his people were entered the Castell, the Londoners woulde haue followed, but they were warned to abide without.

And immediately the king caused a Proclamation to be made, that no man of high or lowe degree, should by worde or deede shewe any displeasure vnto the Londoners. And in the euenyng came vnto them, the aforesayde sir Roger and sir Robert Waleys knightes, and brought them into the Castell, and said that the kings pleasure was not to speake with them that night. And afterwardes the sayde knightes deliuered them vnto the Constable of the Castell, which closed them all in a large Tower, where that night they had small cheere and worsse lodgyng.

The Maior and Aldermen locked vp in a tower in the Castell of Windsore.

The nexte day beyng Monday, towardes night they were taken out of that tower, and deliuered to the Bayly of the sayde Castell, and lodged by his assignement, except .v. persons, that is to say, Thomas fitz Thomas Maior, Mighell

Mighell Tony, Stephen Bukerell, Thomas Pitwellisdon, and John de Fleete. The which fiue persons the king had geuen to Sir Edwarde his sonne, at whose commaundement they remayned still in the sayde Tower long after, notwithstandyng the kinges safe conduite to them made as before is sayde. When tidinges hereof came to the Citie of London, albeit, that for feare many were before aduoyded, yet then a great manye mo gate them thence with spede into diuerse countries of England, and very many of them neuer returned.

The Maior of London & foure Aldermen geuen by the king to Prince Edwarde his sonne.

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The sixt day of Nouember folowyng, the king came to Westminster. And shortly after he gaue vnto diuerse of his houshold seruauntes, more than ix. housholdes and houses within the Citie of London, so that the owners were compelled to agree and redeme their houses and housholde, with all goodes that in them were, or else to aduoyde and suffer such persons to enter as the sayde houses were geuen vnto, and not alonely that, but also such landes and Tenements, goodes and Cattelles, as the sayd Citizens had in any other places of England. And at that tyme the king made Custos and Gardian of the Citie, Sir Othon Constable of the Tower of London, which sir Othon chose to be Baylifes vnder him, and to be to him accomptable to the vse of the king, John Adrian, and Walter Henry Citizens of the same Citie.

Housholdes and houses geuen away in the Citie of London by the king to his seruants.

Sir Othon Constable of the Tower was made Custos of the City of London.

And after this, the king tooke pledges of the best mennes sonnes of the Citie, that his peace should be surely kept within the same. The which pledges were kept in the Tower of London, and there found at the cost of theyr parentes. And shortly after by great labour and sute made, all the aforesayde persones which were in the keppyng of the Baylife of Windsore Castell, foure onely except, that is to say, Richard Bonauenture, Simon de Hardistocke, William de Kent, & William de Gloucester, all the other Londoners. xxxiij. in number were deliuered and came to London the. xxj. of Nouember folowyng, and the other. ix. were kept still in the Tower of Windsore.

Nowe was dayly sute and labour made vnto the king to haue his gracious fauour, and to know his pleasure what fine he would haue of the Citye for their transgressions. For the which the king demaunded. xl. thousande pounde, and firmely helde him at fiftie thousand markes. But the Citizens alledged for them, that the poore Commoners (wherof many were aduoided) were the trespassours, and beside that, the best men of the Citie were spoyled by those riotous persons, and by the Rouers also of the sea, as the Wardeynes of the fiue Portes, and other, so that in this troublesome tyme they lost the greatest part of their substaunce. For the which considerations, and many other, that were here to tedious to wryte, the Citizens besought the king of his most gracious clemency and fauour, and to take of them that they might beare.

This matter thus hangyng, the king vpon the sixt day of December departed from Westminster towarde Northhampton. And a little before hys departure, he ordeyned Sir John Linde knight, and maister John Waldzen Clerke, to be Gardians of the Citie and Tower of London, the which were named in the kinges writyng Seneschalles, or stewardes of the City.

Stewardes or Seneschalles appointed to haue the rule of the Citye.

The next day after that the king was ridden as aforesayde, the aforenamed two Stewardes, sent for. xxiiij. of the most notable men of the Citie, and warned them to apere the next day folowyng before the Counsayle at Westminster:

minſter: Where at the tyme of their appearance was ſhewed vnto them by Sir Roger Leybozne, that the kinges minde was, that they ſhould haue the rule of the Citie in his abſence, vnder the afozeſayde Stewardes: and foz to ſee good rule to be kept within the Citie they ſhould be ſwozne there, befoze his counſayle. And there they were ſwozne, and ſo commaunded to returne againe into the Citie. But yet ceaſſed not meanes to be made, and continuall labour to the king foz his gracious fauour in the leuyng of a merciſull fine, ſuch as the pooze Citizens might be able to beare. And in Chriſtmaſſe weeke at the laſt, the king at the prayer of ſuche friendes as the Citie made vnto him, graunted the Citie to be releaſed foz all maner of tranſgreſſions, and to haue their whole liberties reſtozed vnto them againe foz. xx. thouſand marke, thoſe perſons only except which the king had geuen to Sir Edward his ſonne, beyng, as is afozeſayde, at Wyndſoze. Foz the payment of which ſomme at the dayes agreed vpon, Sir Roger Leybozne, and mayſter Robert Warien Clerke, were aſſigned to take ſureties foz the ſame. After which aſſuraunce by them receyued, and ſent vnto the king at Nozthhampton, the king ſent immediately after vnto the Citizens a Charter vnder his bzoade ſeale, the tenoz whereof enſueth.

The liberties of the Citie againe reſtored foz the ſumme of. xx. thouſande marke.

A Pardon graunted to the Citizens of London by the kyng.

HEnry by the grace of God, king of England, Lozde of Ireland, and Duke of Guyan: To all men health. Know ye that foz the fine of. xx. thouſande marke, the which our Citizens of London to vs made, foz the redemption of the tranſgreſſions and treſpaſſes to vs, to our Queene, to our noble bzother Richard king of Almaine, and to Edward our firſt begotten ſonne done, we remit and pardon foz vs and our heires, to the ſaid Citizens and their heires, aſmuch as in vs is, ſo that they haue and enioy all theyz fozmer grauntes and liberties, rentes and pzofites from the feaſt of Chriſtmaſſe laſt paſt: And alſo that the ſayde Citizens haue to them, all fozfeites of all malefactozs of the Citie, which in the perturbance befoze made, were endited, oz foz the ſame be yet to be endited: Except the goodes and Cattalles of them, of the which we haue geuen the bodies vnto our fozeſayd ſonne Edward, and except the rents and tenementes of all thoſe Citizens, which now be and ſhall be our eſchete, by reaſon of the afozeſaide tranſgreſſions. And that all pziſoners, which now remaine in pziſon, be frely delyuered, except thoſe perſonnes, whoſe bodyes we haue geuen to Edward our ſonne. And that the ſayd Citizens be as free, as they were befoze the ſayde tranſgreſſions in all partes and coaſtes of this our landes. In witneſſe whereof, we haue made theſe letters patentes. Witneſſe my ſelfe at Nozthhampton the tenth day of January, the. xlix. yere of our reigne.

¶ After the Citizens had receyued this pardon, then were all the pledges foz them, which were in the tower of London deliuered, and alſo foure of them that were in the Caſtell of Windſoze. Then alſo were diſcharged the afozenamed Stewardes, and the Citizens of themſelues choſe foz Maioz, William fitz Richard, and foz Shirifies, Thomas Delafozde, and Gregozy de Rokeſley. Then foz the leuyng of this fine, were tared, aſwell couenant ſeruaunts as alſo houſholders, and many refuſed the liberties of the Citie, to be acquited of this charge.

While the king lay thus at Nozthhampton, Sir Simond de Mountfozte referred the iudgement of his cauſe vnto Octobonus the Legate, that befoze

befoze was come into thys lande to refozme things in the Church of Englande, and alſo to ſet vnitie and reſt betweene the king and his Lozdes. To whoſe ozder and iudgement and to the king of Romaines the ſayde Sir Symond did bynde himſelfe to ſtande. Upon which pzomiſe and band, he was ſet at libertie, and was at large in the kings court, and did there awhile contynue, but at the laſt, when the king was come to London, he departed ſodainely out of the courte, and roade to Winchelſey where he accompanied with the Rouers of the Sea, and (after ſome pziſes taken) departed from them and ſo ſayled into Fraunce, and put himſelfe in ſeruice with Lewes the French king.

Kenelworth Caſtell.

And ſhoztly after, the king beſieged the Caſtell of Kenelwozth with a great power. But Sir Henry Haſtings with ſuch as were within it, defended it ſo ſtrongly, that the king and all his power might not winne it, of a long time, as after ſhall appere.

It was befoze declared that the Queene to helpe her Lozde the king againſt the Barons, befoze the battaile at Lewes, had cauſed an hoſt of ſtraungers to be pzepared to come into Englande. And the ſame time alſo ſhe purchaſed a curſſe of the Pope, to accurſſe the Barons, and all their ayders and helpers, and had commiſſions directed to certaine Biſhops of England to execute the ſame, as London, Wincheſter, and Chicheſter, the which foz feare of the Barons denyed the doing thereof. Wherefoze the Queene made new labour to the Pope, then Uzban the thirde, and had it graunted, that the ſayde Biſhoppes foz their diſobedience ſhoulde be cozrected. And foz thys the afozeſayde Legate Octobone, this yere at a counſell holden by him at Paules Church in London, ſuſpended the ſayde Biſhops, and ſent them to Rome to be abſoyled of Clement the third.

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Kenelworth Caſtel yelded

And nowe was the Caſtell of Kenelwozth yelded by appoyntment, which had bene beſieged from the. xxiij. day of June, vnto the. xx. day of December folowyng, vpon condicion that Sir Henry Haſtinges and all other that were with him in the ſayde Caſtelle, ſhould haue life and limme, and hozſe and harneſſe, with all thinges within the Caſtell to them belongyng, and a certeine of leyſure to cary away the ſame.

The wardēs of the .v. pozts are reconciled to the kyng.

About this time alſo, the Wardeynes of the fiue poztes were reconciled to the King, by fauour and helpe of Sir Edward the kinges ſonne. And notwithſtandyng the great harme that they had done by roauyng vpon the ſea, as well to Engliſhe merchauntes, as to other, they had to them confirmed all their fozmer pziuileges. And mozeouer there was grauted to them, that if any man Engliſh oz other, would ſue foz reſtitutiō of goodes, by them befoze taken, oz foz the death of any of their friendes befoze ſlaine: that all ſuch complayntes ſhould be ſued and ſhewed in their Courtes, and there to haue theyz matters determined, and not elſe where. But what the cauſe was of this end thus made betweene the king and them, it is not ſhewed: But the common fame at that day ranne, that the ſayde Wardeynes of the fiue Pozts, had at this day the dominion of the Sea: wherefoze the king was faine to folowe their pleaſures.

Parliament at Nozthhampton.

In the fozmer yere alſo, in the begynnyng of the moneth of May, the king helde his Parliament at Nozthhampton: In the which Parliament was confirmed vnto the Citie of London the olde fraunchiſes and liberties by

The liberties of London newly confirmed.

by the kinges progenitors graunted to the sayde Citie, with a newe graunt also for the shire of Middlesex. And in this Parliament were manye noble men disenherited, that before tooke part with the Barons. For the which cause they assembled together and robbed in dyuerse coastes of the land, and tooke the towne of Lincolne and spoyled it, and after raunsomed many of the riche Burgesses of the towne, and tooke the Isle of Ely, and strengthned it in such wyse, as they helde it a great while after.

A newe rebellion.

This yere fell a great controuersie betweene the rulers of the Citie of London, and the commons of the same, about the chosyng of the Maior. The Rulers named Alyn Souch: But the Commons (specially such as were of the meaner sort) cryed vpon Thomas fitz Thomas, who was then prisoner in the Castell of Windsore. Wherefore the Aldermen were compelled to call for the helpe of sir Roger Leyborne and other, who came to the Guyld hall, beyng harnessed vnder their gownes, and at the last were enforced to carye certeyne of the rascalles to the Counters and other Prisons, and then quietly they went to the election of the sayd Aleyn Souche.

Trouble about the election of the Maior of London.

The Gentlemen of whom ye heard before, that kept the Isle of Ely, did now breake out sundry tymes, and did much hurt in Norffolke and Suffolke and Cambridge shire, and toke the citie of Norwich, and after the spoylyng and sackyng thereof, caryed away with them many of the Citizens beyng riche, and raunsomed them at great sommes of money, and lyued there in that Isle lyke vnto Outlawes. By these and other many hurtes in diuerse places of the land were done, and namely by Theues and persons of euill disposition: but what wickednesse so euer was done, the blame thereof was laid to the charge of these gentlemen. And at this time Octobone the Legate laboured vnto the king that the sayd disenherited gentlemen might purchase theyr landes againe of him by fine and raunsome. By whose labour, the king, at the last agreed that they should haue their landes againe by fynes of fyue yere value of their landes. As he that might dispende. xx. pound by the yere should pay an hundreth pound in fiue yeres, and of other after that rate, except sir Robert Ferrers Erle of Darby, Sir John de la Ware, and hym that stroke of the fist of the kinges pursuyuant, and some other persons that were of small countenaunce, should be fined by discretion of the kinges counsaile, but this tooke none effect.

The Citie of Norwiche spoyled.

Octobons the Popes Legate.

About this tyme was made the statute of weightes and measures, that is to say, that a sterlyng penny should waye. xxxij. graynes of wheate drie and round, and taken in the middes of the eare, and. xx. of those pence shoulde make an ounce, and. xij. ounces make a pound Troy: And. viij. pound Troy weight make a gallon of Wine, and. viij. wyne galons to make a London bushell, which is the. viij. part of a quarter. Also three barly Cornes dry and round should make an ynch, & xij. ynches a foote, & thre foote a yard, and fiue yards, halfe a perch, or poll, & xl. pol in length & thre in bredth an acre of land.

And these standardes of weight and measures were confirmed in the xv. yere of king Edward the thirde, and also in the tyme of Henry the sixt and of Edward the fourth, and lastly confirmed in the last yere of Henry the seuenth. But in the time of king Henry the sixt it was ordeyned that the same ounce should be deuided into. xxx. pence, and in the tyme of king Edward the fourth, into. xl. pence, and in the tyme of king Henry the eight into. xliij. pence:

pence: But the weight of the ounce Troy, and the measure of the foote continued alwayes one.

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A new rebellion made by Gilbert de Clare Erle of Gloucester

And about this tyme, of what occasion I knowe not, Sir Gilbert de Clare Erle of Gloucester gathered out of the Marches of Wales a great and strong power against the king, and with him also ioyned Sir John Eiuile, and other of the disenherited company, and shortly after Chrystmasse came with a great host nere vnto London, Octobone the Popes Legate lyng then in the Tower of London.

London agayne vexed and in much trouble.

Assoone as the Maior and Aldermen of the Citie of London had knowledge of the Erles commyng, and that with a great power, and they themselues not knowyng whether he came as the kinges friend or no: they shut the Gates agaynst the forerynders: and at that tyme neyther was the king nor any of his counsaile in the Citie, nor nere thereunto. Wherefore the Maior and Aldermen went to the Legate, and required his counsaile whether they should suffer the Erle to enter the Citie or not? And the Legate answered that he thought they might let him come in, for he knewe well that he was the kinges true subiect and friend.

And immediately after this talke, a messenger came from the Erle to the Maior, willyng to haue licence to passe through the Citie into Southwarke, where he entended to lodge him and his people, which was graunted vnto him: and so the Erle passed through the Citie, and was lodged in Southwarke. To whome came shortly after by Southwarke syde sir John Eiuile with a great companie.

The Maior at that tyme caused the Gate of the bridge to be shut, and caused a certein number of armed men to watch it, as wel by day as by night, and so did he all the Citie through. And sodeinly the Legate and the Erle agreed so well together, that the Erle by his aduice was suffered, with a certeine of his people to be lodged within the Citie of Lõdon. By reason wherof he dayly drue more and more of his people into the Citie, so that at the last many thinges were ordered by him, and many of the Commons tooke hys part against the Maior and Aldermen.

And shortly after he gathered vnto him such a courage and authoritie, that he tooke the keyes of the bridge, and of the Gates, from the officers of the Citie, and delyuered them to such as pleased him, and receyued into the Citie many of the disherited persons, and gaue to them free libertie to passe the bridge by all houres of the day and night.

The Maior of this sent worde to the king, who then was gatheryng of his power in Norffolke, and made hastie spede towardes London. And in the meane while the Erle with his companie made Bulwarkes and Barbicanes betwene the Tower and the Citie, and cast ditches and trenches in some places of the Citie, and fortefyed it wonderfully.

Then a great number of the sober and graue Citizens feared a new Insurrection, and therefore aduoyded the Citie as secretly as they might, whose goodes the Erle seased to his owne vse, or suffered his men to spoyle them at their awne pleasure. And now the rude Commons had quite forgotten theyr great and late affliction and punishment: and as men desperate and without the feare of God, or obedience to their Prince, nor yet respectyng nor regardyng any thing at all their awne weales and states, neyther the weales of

Citizens of Londō spoile Citizens.

their houſeholdes, as their wiues, children, or friendes, toke certeyne of the Aldermen and caſt them in priſon, and ſequeſtred their goodes, and ſpoyled a great part thereof. And in this their rage and fury, they ran to the Guild-hall, and there did chooſe for their Maior or Cuſtos of the Citie, Sir Richard Culworth knight, and for Bailifes, Robert Lynton, and Roger Marſhall, and diſcharged the olde Maior and Shirifes. And after this, then went they vnto Newgate, Ludgate, and Creplegate, and all other priſons within the Citie, where they diſcharged and ſet at libertie all that were empriſoned for any matter touchyng the Barons warre before paſſed.

A ſhamefull ryot.

Nowe, the Legate beholdyng all this buſineſſe, and well conſideryng this rebellion and diſorde, repented him of his former counſaile geuen to the Maior: and for that he ſawe that he could not reforme the Erle of his error, he threatned him with the cenſures of the Church, and to accurſſe him as the diſenherited were. And forthwith he commaunded the deuine ſeruice, to be ſayde without note, and the Church dores to be ſhut in the tyme of the ſeruice doyng, and that no Bell were rong vnto the ſayde ſeruice: And all becauſe that the diſenherited which ſtood accurſed ſhoulde not enter into the Churches to here the deuine ſeruice.

And ſhortly after Eaſter the king came to him, three miles from London, and he himſelfe was lodged in the Abbey of White Monkes in Stratford: and ſone after the Legate came thether vnto him, and was lodged alſo in the ſame Abbey, where for ſtreightneſſe of lodging, his horſe & Mules were ſet in the Cloyſter of the ſame Abbey. Then the kinges hoſtes made daply aſſaultes, and Gunnes and other ordinaunce were ſhot into the Citie, which did little or no hurte at all, the towne was ſo ſtrongly fortefyed.

I doe not thinke that theſe were ſuch Gunnes as we nowe vſe, but rather ſome pot Gunne, or ſome ſuch other inuention, for the Arte and making of Gunnes was not then inuented nor many yeres after.

And in this tyme the Legate on the one part, and the king of Romaynes on the other part, for alliaunce that was betwene him and the Erle of Glouceſter, and chiefely for the aduoyding of ſpillyng and ſheddyng of blood, laboured ſo to the king, that a reformation of peace was ſpoken of. And during the tyme of the entreatie, the Souldiours that lay in Southwarke, committed many robberyes in Southerey, and many other places, and roued ouer vnto Weſtminſter, and ſpoyled there the kinges Palace, and deuoured hys Wine, and brake the Glaſſe of the Windowes, and made a common ſpoyle of all that belonged to the ſayde Palayce, and they did the like alſo in ſundrie places of London. And of that company of Rouers there were foure taken that had the cogniſaunce of the Erle of Darby, whoſe handes the Erle cauſed to be cut off, and legges to be bound, and them to be put into a ſacke, and then to be caſt into the Thames and drowned. And about the .xj. day of June next folowyng, a peace betweene the king and the Erle of Glouceſter was concluded.

A iuſt puniſhment for Rebels.

And ſo ſoone as the former peace was concluded, the Erle remoued out the Citie, and was lodged againe in Southwarke: and the king entered the Citie the Sonday before Midſommer day. And forthwith the kinges Proclamation was made through the Citie of the peace betweene the king and the Erle. And afterwarde was graunted to the diſenherited perſons that they ſhould haue .xj. dayes after to ſhift for themſelues, that is to ſay, eyther to aduoyde vnto ſuch places, where they might be in ſome ſuretie, or elſe to agree to the former compoſition made by the Legate, and to pay the fift part of

of the rent of their landes, certeine perſons excepted, as before is reherſed.

And as touchyng the Erle, and ſuch other as before were not diſhenherited, and alſo the Citizens of London to be clerely pardoned and forgeuen.

And forthwith were reſtored to their offices Aleyn Sowche for Maior, and Thomas Baſyng, and Robert de Cornehill for Shrieſes, and the Aldermen that before were depoſed, were agayne reſtored to their wardes and offices.

And on the Wedneſday nexte followyng, the Legate enterdicted all the City of London: which endured from .vj. of the clock in the morning vntill thre of the clock the next day at after none, and then he diſcharged it, vpon the othe of two commoners which were ſworne in the name of all the Citie, that the Citie ſhoulde ſtande to the ordynance and iudgement of holy church. But another Chronycle ſayth, that this interdiction ſhould haue continued lenger, if the ſtoutneſſe of the Londoners had not beene, who helde the Legate ſo ſtreyte, that they inforced him to withdrawe that ſentence vpon the aforeſayde condition.

London enterdicted.

Sone after, were all the Bullwarkes, Rampires and Barbicans that the Erle had made in and aboute the Citie pulled vp, and the diches filled, that no parte of them was ſene. Now were the Citizens enforced agayne to ſue for a newe pardon, and aunſwere was made vnto them, that as yet they had not recompenced the king of Romaines for the ſubuerſion of his manor of Thiſtlewoorth which they brent, and for the ſame he demaunded .vj. thouſand markes: So that at the laſt, with great labour and friendſhip, they agreed to geue vnto hym for amendes a thouſande Markes to bee payde in two yeeres.

A pardon againe recouered with more money.

And not long after the king receyued into his fauour Sir John Eiuyle, Sir Nicholas de Segraue, Sir William Wermion, Sir Richarde Gray, Sir John Fitz John, and Sir Gilbert de Lucye with other. And agreement was alſo made betweene ſir Edwarde the kings ſonne and the aforenamed Erle of Glouceſter. And then alſo were all the fortreſſes and other defences which were made in Southwarke during the time of the lying of the Erle of Glouceſters armie there, and all other places adioyning to the ſame, pulled downe & deſtroyed, and the Erle and al other ſouldiours cleane aduoyded. And after all things were ſet in order and reſt, except ſuch as yet kept the Iſle of Ely: the king roade to Shrewesbury where he taried a ſeaſon, for to common of matters betweene hym and Lewelyn or Lleuellen Prince of Wales.

The king thus being at Shrewesbury, a writ was directed to Sir Aleyn Souche Maior of London, eyght dayes before Michelmas from the king, charging him that the Citizens ſhoulde not proceede to the election of newe Shrieſes vntill his comming to London, but to ſuffer the olde to remaine and ſtande ſtill in office.

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This yere there happened a variance betwene the companies of Goldſmithes and Taylors of London, which grewe to making of partes. So that with the Goldſmithes the Felowſhip of tooke parte, and with the Taylers tooke parte the Steyners. And by this occaſion much people mightily gathered in the ſtreetes in harneſſe. And at length the ſayde parties met to the number of fyue hundreth, and they ranne together with ſuche vio-

A variance betwene the companies of Goldſmithes and Taylors.

lente, that diuers were slaine, and many wounded, wherevpon an outcrie was made, so that the Shrieues with the helpe of other Citizens came vnto the ende of the fray, and tooke diuers of them, and sent them to sundrie prisons: and the morowe after such inquisition and searche was made, that the greatest part of the principalles and causers of this fray were taken, and put in ward. Then shortly after, Sessions were kept at Newgate by the Maior and Laurence de Broke Justice, and other, where at that tyme was arreigned of felony.xxx. of the sayde persons, whereof. xiij. were condemned and hanged. And for that one Godfray of Beuerley did helpe to arme one of the sayde persons, he was also cast among the other.

Execution.

The Lent next folowyng, the king beyng at Westminster, commaunded the Maior of London to present vnto him fiue persons, such as were able to be Shirifes. Of the which fiue so presented, the king chose two to be Shirifes, that is to say, William de Durham, and Walter Henry, and then caused them to be sworne, that they should gather the profites of the Citie, and to geue a true accompt for the same before the Barons of the Exchequer.

The king choseth the Shirifes of London.

And the.xxvj. day of July, the king discharged Sir Aleyn Sowche of the Mayraltie, and made Stephen Edworth Constable of the Tower, and Custos of the Citie of London. Of these rulers of the Citie, after the yere that Thomas fitz Thomas was Maior, are diuerse opinions. For after some writers, from that yere, which was the.xlviij. yere of the reigne of king Henry, vntill the. lviij. yere of his reigne, in the which yere John Adrian Draper was Maior, were all Custos and Gardians of the Citie of London.

And at this time, by the mediation of Sir Edward the kinges sonne all suche disenherited personnes as kept the Isle of Ely, were reconciled to the king, and all fortresses and defences by them there made, were plucked vp and destroyed.

And in the latter ende of this moneth of July, Octobone the Legate, after he had made many rules in the Church, not without great charge of dismes leuyed of the same, tooke his leaue of the king and roade towarde the sea syde, with great treasure, and so returned in processe of tyme to Rome. Where after Innocent the fift, in the yere of our Lorde a thousand two hundreth seuentie fiue, he was chosen and created Pope of Rome, and then named Adrian the fift, and dyed within fiftie dayes after his election.

At this tyme also, because many of the Citizens of London (for the great imposition and charge that they were set at, toward the fine of. xx. thousand marke aforenamed, with other charges) voyded the Citie, with their householdes and goodes, and inhabited themselues in diuerse places of the realme, thinkyng thereby to be acquited of the sayd cessyng or charge: The other of the sayde Citie which remayned, made instant suite and labour to the king, that all such as had for the sayd cause voyded their goodes out of the Citie, should be distreyned by the Shirife of that Shire where they then dwelled, and forced to paye all suche summes of money, as they before were sessed at, which suite they obteyned of the king.

Citizens forced to flee the Citie.

The fiue Citizens that before were imprisoned in Windsore. were now e againe deliuered.

And in the Moneth of September folowyng, the aforenamed fiue Citizens, which had remayned prisoners in the Tower of Windsore, as before is mencioned in the.xlviij. yere, made at this tyme their ende with Sir Edward the kinges sonne for great summes of money, and so were deliuered.

In

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In this season was a great and an extreme frost, and began at S. Andrewes day, and continued vntill Candlemas folowing, & the Thames was so frosen, that men, horse, and cart went safely ouer betweene London and Westminster. But a little after the breakyng vp of the sayd frost, there fell such an aboundance of raine, that the Thames rose so high, that the like thereof had not bene seene by any man then lyuyng. Whereof ensued much harme about London, for the Sellers by the Water syde were all drowned, and in them great plentie of Marchandise perished and was lost.

A great frost.

And this yere the king gaue to Sir Edwarde his sonne the rule of the Citie of London, with all reuennes and profites to the same in any wise belongyng. After which gift, the sayd Sir Edward made Sir Hugh the sonne of Othon Constable of the Tower, and Custos of the Citie.

The Citie of London geuē to prince Edward the kinges eldest sonne.

And the. ix. day of Aprill folowyng, Sir Edmond the kinges other sonne (surnamed Crouchbacke) maryed at Westminster the daughter of the Erle of Lumarle: For solemnitie whereof, the king kept in the great Hall there an honourable feast the Sonday folowyng.

Edmonde Crouchbacke the kinges second sonne.

The last day of Aprill folowyng, Sir Edwarde the kinges sonne, commaunded the Citizens of London to present vnto him fiue persons able to be Shirifes of London. Of the which he admitted to that office, William de Hadistoke, and Inketyll de Aluerne, and sware them to be accomptantes as their predecessors were.

At these dayes a newe custome or toll was vsed to be payed by the Citizens of London vnto the king: Which toll Sir Edward had then letten to ferme to a Marchant straunger for. xx. marke a yere. Wherefore the Citizens not willyng to be vnder the rule of a straunger, made great suite vnto the sayd sir Edward, and lastly agreed with him to buy the same toll fee, for the summe of two hundreth marke.

A newe toll tared vpon the Citizens.

And in the ende of this yere, the king had graunted vnto him towarde his voyage purposed into the holy land, the twentie penny of euery mannes substance moueable throughout his land of the lay fee: And of the spiritualty three dismes to be leuied in three yeres.

A great sum of money graunted to the king for his voyage toward Jerusalem.

And this yere the king of Romaines concluded a couenaunt with Sir Gilbert de Clare, Erle of Gloucester, for a voyage to be taken into the holye lande, by the sayde Erle for the king. For the which voyage, the sayde Erle should haue of the king towarde his charges, viij. thousand markes, and at the takyng of his shippyng other foure thousand markes, and to be ready by the first day of May next folowing: And if the Erle were not ready at the sea syde at that day with his company to take shippyng, he should then forfeite to the king two thousand markes. For suretie whereof, the sayde Erle should deliuer into the kinges possession his Castell of Hemleger standyng vpon the Marches of Wales: But this came after to no purpose, but the cause why is not shewed. But that Journey was afterward performed by Sir Edward the kinges sonne, as after shall appere.

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In this meane while, the Citizens of London so well pleased and contented Sir Edward the kinges sonnes minde, that he so laboured vnto the kinges grace for them, that he obteyned of the king their Charter in suche wise newely to be confirmed vnto them, that they should after their auncient liberties chose of themselues a Maior, and two Shirifes, and the sayde

The charter and liberties of London againe newly graunted.

Shirifes to haue the offices therevnto belongyng to farme. After which confirmation thus graunted and passed by the kinges broade seale: The Citizens vpon the.xiiij. day of July next folowyng, assembled themselues at the Guildhall, and there did choose for their Maior John Adrian Draper, and for their Shirifes, Walter Potter, and John Taylor. And within two daies next folowyng Sir Edward beyng present, they presented them to the king at Westminster, where they were admitted and sworne, and then was Sir Hugh of Othon discharged of the rule of the Citie.

Then the Citizens of their free will gaue vnto the king an hundreth marke, and to Sir Edward fiue hundreth marke, which gift the king well accepted. And sone after they receyued their Charter of confirmation beareyng date the. xxj. day of July and the. lv. yere of the reigne of the king.

Prince Edward taketh his voyage into the holy land for his father.

And by reason the former couenant and agreement that was made betweene the king and the Erle of Gloucester tooke none effect, therefore Sir Edward tooke vpon him the kings Crosse: To whom the king gaue all the money that was graunted of the lay Fee, as before is shewed, and then he tooke shippyng at Douer the. xx. day of August, and so sayled to Burdeaux, with his wife accompanied with many noble personages.

And because Lewes king of Fraunce was gone before Sir Edwarde came, therefore he taried but a little while at Burdeaux, and after went with his foresayde companie toward the Citie of Thunys, where the French king was. But before he could come thether, the French king was deade, and a peace concluded betweene Philip his sonne, and the king of Thunys. Wherefore Sir Edward entendyng to greeue the enemyes of God, accompanyed with some knightes of Fraunce that entended the same, tooke their leaue of the French kyng, and of Sir Charles his vncle then kyng of Sicile, and sayled further into the holy land, and arryued at a Porte of Acris or Acon. For at that daye there was no mo Cities of the holy lande in the possession of the Christians but the cities of Acon and Tyre, with certeine Castels wherevnto the Christians fled often for succour against the Sarazens.

When Sir Edward was come to Acon, the Christian knyghtes receaued him with great honour and gladnesse, & lodged him in theyr best maner: Where he taried by the space of a yere after, as saith the French Chronicle. And it was not long after that he came thether, but that the Souldane of Surrey came thether also (the which had wonne all the Countries there aboutes) with a great power of Sarazens, and assaulted the Citie strongly and fiercely: But Sir Edward with the ayde of Christen men, bare him so knightly and valyantly, that he defended both the Cities and the Castelles to the same belongyng, and the territories of the same, so that the Souldane for all his great multitude and power gate there little honour: Notwithstanding, he had in his host, as sayth the French Chronicle, aboue an hundreth thousand Sarazens. And the sayd Chronicle affirmeth moreouer, that Sir Edward in his pollicies, and manfull actes so honourably behaued himselfe, that he neuer did the like act all his lyfe folowyng, although he did afterward many honourable deedes, but yet none comparable to those that he did there: By reason whereof, his name among the Infidelles was had in memory many yeres after.

Of the honour of this martiall and valiaunt knight, I haue made the lenger

lenger rehersall, bicause I finde the same wytnessed of the Frenchmen, the which I knowe well, there must be some great and notable matter that moueth them when they write anye thing in the fauour and commendation of any English Prince, or of any thing done by the nation.

Then this noble Prince being thus in Acon, and daylie putting the Souldane and the Sarazens to shame and great dammages, they seyng that they might not preuayle against hym by strength of battaile, cast howe they might destroy him by treason, and sent vnto him a Sarazen in the name of a Messenger, the which in tellyng of his feyned message, wounded him with a knife enuenomed, of the which wound he laye long before he were therof cured and healed. But after confession made by the Sarazens of all hys compassed treason, he was put vnto most cruell death.

Prince Edward wounded by a Sarazene.

About this time, the Steeple of S. Mary Bow Church in Cheape in London fell downe and slue both men, women, and children.

Bow church steple fallen downe.

This yere the king helde his Parliament in November at Westmynster, in the which the Marchauntes of London and of other partes of the Realme, exhibited a Bill of complaint agaynst the Countesse of Flaundyrs, for that shee had taken from them certayne goodes amountyng to a great summe. Vpon which complaynt, the king sent vnto her to make restitution: But because she made none, the king therefore commaunded, that all men which were borne in those parts and now being resiaunt in England, should be arrested, and they and their goodes to be put vnder sure and safe keping. By occasion whereof she at the length sent ouer Ambassadors, and besought the king that his Merchaunts might vse their entercourse into Flaundyrs, as they before tyme had done, and all suche losses as before tyme they had susteyned, should be recompensed. And shortly after an amitie and friendship betweene the king and hir was concluded.

1271
56

A parliament.

In the later ende of thys yere dyed Richard king of Almayne and Erle of Cornewall, brother to the king, and was buried at Hailes, an Abbey of white Monkes in Glocestershire, which before he had builded.

Richard king of Almaine dyed.

And in thys yere the Monasterie of the Trinitie in the City of Norwich, was consumed with fyre, by reason of a fray made betweene the seruauntes of the Abbey, and certayne Citizens of the Cytie, which grewe to a great skirmish: For the Priour of the same, and others Monkes prouyded souldiours, and helde the Belfraye and the Church by force of armes, & threwe out stones and dartes, and shot many arrowes, by reason whereof, manye of the Towne were both wounded and slayne: which brought the commons and yong men into such a furie and madnesse, that they fyred the Gates, and after forced the fyre with Reede and drie Wood, that the Church wyth the Bookes and all other ornaments of the same, and all houses of office belonging to the same Abbey, were cleane brent and throwne downe, so that nothing was preserued, except it were a little Chapell.

Trinitie Abbay in Norwich brent.

When tydings of thys riot came to the kings knowledge, he was therewith greatly displeased and offended, so that he road thether in hast, and there commaunded questes to be charged, both of knights and Squires that dwelled in the Countrie aboute, and to endite all such persons as were the occasioners and doers of that deede. By reason of which enquirie, there were condemned and iudged. xxx. young men of the Towne, the which were after

Execution.

drawne

drawne to the place of execution, and there hanged and brent, to the great discomfiture of the Citizens. For they thought that the Prior of the place was the occasioner of all that mischiefe, which was borne out and defended by the Bishop of Norwich, then named Roger.

1272 57

Nowe approched the ende, that all flesshe is borne vnto, which is death, of the which nothing is more certeyne to all persons, though the day and houre is most vncerteine. At this tyme the king sickened, and forced to kepe his bed at Westminster, called before him Sir Gilbert Clare Erle of Gloucester: and caused him to be newely sworne to kepe the peace of the lande, to the behoofe of Edward his sonne, and then dyed the.xvj. day of Nouember, when he had reigned. lvj. yeres, and.xxvij. dayes, leauyng after him Sir Edward before named for his heyre, and Edmond Crouchbacke his sonnes, and is buryed at Westminster.

King Henry the third died

Edwarde the first.

King Edward the first.

EDward the first of that name, and sonne of king Henry the third, surnamed Longshanke, beyng of the age of. xxxb. yeres, began his reigne ouer Englande the. xbij. day of the moneth of Nouember, and in the yere of oure Lorde. M.CC. lxxij.

1272 1

This Edward as before is shewed in the lb. yere of his fathers reigne, was in the holye land when his father dyed, and there did manye notable feates of warre as is aforesayd. And while he was so exercised, tidyngs was brought vnto him that his father was dead: wherefore in all hast, he sped him into England, and came to London the seconde day of August, and was crowned at Westminster, with Alianor his wife sister vnto the king of Spaigne, the. xiiij. day of December folowyng of Robert Archebishop of Cauntorbury, which was in the beginnyng of the second yere of his reigne. At his Coronation were present the king of Scottes, and John Erle of Britein, with theyr wyues the kinges sisters which liued short while after. Mathew of Westminster.

The nert day after his Coronation, the Scottishe king aforesayde dyd homage vnto him for the realme of Scotland.

In the beginnyng of the reigne of this king Edward the first, the busie Citizens of London attempted to haue made a Maior as they woulde, but they were by the discreter number prevented: Notwithstandyng in the yere folowyng their purpose tooke more effect.

As before is sayde in the moneth of August, the king came to London, where he was ioyfully receyued of the Citizens, and with all honour conueyed vnto Westminster, where he kept great obseruaunces for his father a certeyne of tyme after.

1273 2

Nowe the lewde purpose which the yere passed was in the light Citizens, began to breake foorth: For where Philip le Taylor who before had beene chosen Maior of London, shoulde vpon the day of Simon and Jude haue bene placed in the Chayre of the Guyldhall as the maner is, dyuerse of the Citizens put him beside the Chayre, and put therein Walter Hervy, that was Maior the yere before. By reason whereof, great rumor and grudge arose among the Citizens: the matter whereof was after brought before the king, who heeryng the reasons of both partes, forsomuche as he could not agree them, he put both the sayd Sir Walter, and the sayd Philip aside, and did choose Henry Frowike for Custos of the Citie, and so continued vntill Candelmasse next after. At which time by discrete & wise peaceable meanes, the aforenamed Sir Walter Harvie was set in auctoritie as Maior, and so continued the whole yere.

Busie heades beget trouble

At this time Lewlyn, or Lluellen Prince of Wales rebelled, and king Edward after the solempnitie of his Coronation gathered a great power together, and went toward Wales, and subdued the sayd Lewlyn.

Lluellen Prince of Wales rebelled.

Lewlyn subdued.

The cause of this rebellion (saith Polidore) was for that the same Lluellyn being desyrous to make a styre and businesse in England, and ioynyng in amitie with the French king, sent messengers to king Philip of Fraunce to desyre his good will that he might mary Ladie Alianor the daughter of Simon Mountfort Erle of Leycester, which then was a banished woman in Fraunce, as was her mother also, and Henry her brother. The which request of his the king graunted, and so sent the Damosell vnto him by her sayd brother Henry. The which Alianor with her brother were both taken by the English fleete, when they were approched nere vnto Wales about Bristow, and were brought vnto king Edward. Nowe when Prince Lluellen vnderstood this, he was so moued with the fact, that he streight wayes armed himselfe, and so makyng a roade into the marches of Englande, wasted and destroyed the Countrie as he went, and slue all that he met with. For repression of the which his outrage and fury, and to relieue his distressed subiects there, the king reysed a puyssaunt armie, and at the length, when the Prince sawe what daunger he was in, and how lyke he was to be discomfited, he submitted and yelded himselfe to his mercy, who vpon the sayd submission pardoned him, and with much ado deliuered him the sayd Ladie that was sent him (her virginitie remaynyng vnspotted) whome he shortly after maryed. But Mathew of Westminster sayth, that he gaue the king afore hand in the name of a fine for his transgression fiftie thousande markes, and bound himselfe to pay yerely in the kinges Exchequer, a thousand markes more. And sone after he returned and ordeyned certeine newe lawes for the wealth of the Realme, which are to long here to reherse. Among the which one was that Bakers makyng bread lacking the weight alligned, after the price of corne, should first be punished by losse of bread, and the second tyme by emprisonment, and lastly by the correction of the Pillory: And Milners for stealyng of corne, to be punished by the Tomberell: And for the execution hereof, he gaue auctoritie, to all Maiors, Bailifes, and other officers through England, but specially to the Maior of London. He made a law also the same time against

New lawes.

the

the excessiue takyng of Usurie by the Jewes, and that they should weare a certeine cognisaunce vpon their vppermost garment, whereby they should be knowne from Christians.

1274 / 3

And this yere the king confirmed the liberties of the Citie of London, and graunted them some newe.

A parliament.

And at this time he helde his great Court of Parliament at Westminster, and summoned Lewlyn Prince of Wales to come to the same, the which presumptuously he denied. Wherefore then shortly after he entered againe into Wales, and so warred vpon the sayd Lewlyn, that he was constrayned to submit himselfe to the kinges graces mercie, and obteyned it with great difficultie, as is beforesayd.

Lewlyn Prince of Wales again reuolted and was subdued

After this king Edward builded the Castell of Flint, and strengthned the Castell of Rutland and other, with Englishe men, to kepe the Welshmen in due obedience, and so returned to London.

Walter Harup chosen Maior.

The aforenamed Walter Harup who after long controuersie and strife by him made and continued against the Aldermen of London, and in the first yere of the king was at a folkemote holden at Paules crosse chosen Maior of London, and continued out that whole yere to the great trouble and hurt of the Citie, and he was this yere accused of dyuerse periuryes, and dedes done contrary to his othe. For the which, and for makyng of assemblyes of the Commons that fauoured him in his euill deedes, he was deprined of his Aldermanship and counsaile of the Citie for euer, and found suretie of xij. honest persons that he should be of good abearyng for kepyng of the kinges peace within the Citie, for terme of his life.

A folkemote.

Walter Harny deprined.

1275 / 4

And this yere was the statute of Mortmayn first enacted, which is that no man should geue vnto the Church any landes or rentes, without a speciall lycence first obteyned of the king: which acte sithen that tyme is set out more largely, and diuers things added therevnto.

Statutes of Mortmain.

1276 / 5

In this tyme the king had in his court one Dauid brother vnto Lewlyn Prince of Wales, which Dauid did vnto the king suche pleasaunt seruice that the king bare him such loue and fauour that he gaue him the Lordship of Frodesham in Chesshire, but afterwarde, it did right well appere, that he was but a Trapterous spie to geue his brother Lewlin warning and knowledge, of all the kings will and minde.

Dauid brother of Lewlin Prince of Wales a spie.

1277 / 6

And thys yere Mighelmas Terme was kept at Shrowesburie, but at Hillarie Terme following, it was agayne remoued to Westmynster. In the which by reason of carpage and of great raynes that then did fall, the records were sore blemished and defaced.

1278 / 7

And in thys tyme a Parliament was holden at London, chiefely for the reformation of the kings coyne which then was sore clipped, by reason whereof, the same was much diminished and empayred.

The coyne sore clipped.

And in the time of thys Parliament, manye of the Jewes in London, and other places of the Realme were taken and put in prison for clypping of Money, and in December following, dyuers enquestes were charged in London to enquire of the sayde Jewes and other that had so blemished the kings coyne. By the which enquestes the Jewes of the Citie, with dyuers Goldsmithes that kept exchange of Siluer were endicted. And shortly after Candlemas, the Maior and Iustices of the lande, sat at London, where before

fore them was cast CClxxxvij. persons. Of the which were but three Englishemen, and all the reast were Jewes, and suche as came of Jewes borne in this Realme or else where, who were all at sundrie places & tymes put to execution.

A great execution of Jewes.

And this yere beganne the foundation of the black Fryers beside Ludgate and of Baynardes Castell. And the same yere also was the Towne of Boston in Lincolnshire, greatly blemished with fyre.

Boston burnt

1279 / 8

And at thys tyme the king caused the halfpeny and farthing to be coyned of Siluer: where before, other coynes of mettall went among the people, to their great noyaunce. But the lack of theaforesayde coynes in these oure dayes are a great losse and hinderaunce to the pouertie of thys Realme. And in the Winter of thys yere, there fell so great snow, that thereof ensued much harme.

Halfe penies & farthings lack in England.

1280 / 9

At thys tyme Dauid brother of Lewlyn Prince of Wales (of whom before you haue heard) which dwelled in the kings court, to know the kings Counsayle, and thereof to informe hys brother: when he had that he wayted for, he secretly gate him into Wales to his brother, & prouoked him against the king in all that he might: and caused hym to victuall and man certaine Castelles within Wales, and specially the Castell of Dwandon, wherein he much trusted, and gathered vnto him the Welshemen, by giftes and other meanes, so that he was verie strong.

Dauid brother of Lewlyn fled into Wales.

Whereof, when the king was informed, he woulde therevnto geue no credite, vntill he had sent thether, and retreyued from thence the certaintie. But for so much as winter was then toward, he might not as then go thether with any power, and therefore he prouyded to sende men and victualles to strengthen the Castels of Flynt and Rutlande, and other holdes which he there had, and made prouision to warre vpon them in the beginning of the next spring.

1281 / 10

But the king yet hearing more and more of the vntrustfastnesse of the welshemen, and to keepe them from the anoyeng of his holdes, sent thether the Erles of Northumberlande and Surrey with a lustie Crewe of souldiours, and with them went Sir Roger Cliffords, Sir Wylliam Lyndsey, Sir Richard Tanny, and many other knightes and Esquires. The which with great courage entered Wales, and made with the Welshmen manye skirmiches vntill at the last vpon Palme Sunday, Dauid with a great power of Welshmen, met with the sayde Lordes and knightes at a place neere to a Towne called Hauerden, where betweene them was a sore fight, but in the end the losse fell to the Englishmen, For there were slaine Sir Wylliam Lyndsey. Sir Richarde Tanny with manye other, and Sir Roger Clifford was taken.

The king sendeth a power into Wales to tame the welshemen.

The Englishmen ouerthrowne.

After the which ouerthrowe of the Englishe men, the sayd Dauid layde siege vnto the Castelles of Flint and Rutland. And his brother in that tyme warred and occupyed the landes of Sir Edmond Mortimer, and wan the towne called Llan matreuer, and threwe the walles thereof downe to the ground. This towne also is called Abriswith, or rather Oswistrey. It was not long after or the hyute of the ouerthrowe of the Englishe men came vnto the towne, wherefore he sped him the faster thetherward.

1282 / 11

Nowe, while king Edward was busyed in the rescuyng of his men that were

were beſieged of Dauid, Sir Roger Cliffoꝛd with other, which entended to rayſe men to ſet vpon the Welſhemen, was dꝛowned by follie vpon a bꝛidge made of Barges & Plankes to haue paſſed a water betwene Snowdon and Angleſey. And the thirde day of December next folowyng, was Lewlyn Pꝛince of Wales ſlaine by ſir Edmond Moꝛtimer and his compane, and his head was ſent vnto the king then being at Rutland: The which he ſent vnto London, chargyng that it ſhould be ſet vpon the Tower of London.

Sir Roger Cliffoꝛde dꝛowned

Lewlyn pꝛince of wales ſlaine.

About this tyme was Maꝛton College in Oxfoꝛd founded by Walter Maꝛton Biſhop of Rocheſter, and Loꝛd Chaunceloꝛ of England, who was dꝛowned paſſyng ouer the water of Rocheſter, hauing at that tyme no bꝛidge foꝛ people to paſſe ouer as it nowe hath.

1283 12

The king continuyng ſtill in Wales, pꝛoſecuted Dauid the bꝛother of Lewlyn from towne to towne, ſo that at the laſt he was taken and bꝛought to the king, about Midſommer, and there kept in warde, vntill the king had ſped his buſineſſe. And then had the king the whole countrie at his will, and gaue vnto Engliſhe Loꝛdes, Townes in the middle of Wales, and deuyded the Countrie into ſhires, and oꝛdeined there Shiriffes & other officers in like maner as then was vſed in England, and as it is there now at this day. At Iberconow he made a ſtrong Caſtell, where beſoꝛe there was a houſe of white Monkes: The which he remoued from thence, & pꝛouided foꝛ them in another place called afterwardes Vale Royall. He alſo made then the Caſtel of Carnaruan, faſt by Snowdon hill, and repayꝛed againe the towne Llan Matreuer afoꝛeſayd, which Lewlyn had beaten downe. Alſo he garniſhed the Caſtelles and holdes ſtandyng vpon the ſea ſyde with Engliſhe men, and made the Engliſhemen Loꝛdes of the gꝛoundes belongyng to the ſame. And when the king had put the Countrie in good oꝛder, and all thinges were quieted, then about Michaelmaſſe he returned to Shꝛewesbury, where he helde a Parliament. In the tyme whereof the afoꝛeſayde Dauyd, as chiefe ſtyꝛrer & beginner of all this warre, was there demed to be dꝛawen, hanged, and quartered, and ſo he was ſhoꝛtly after at the ſayde towne of Shꝛewesbury, and his head ſent to London, and ſet by the heade of his bꝛother Lewlyn, oꝛ Lluellen.

Wales deuiſed into ſhires.

A parliamẽt at Shꝛewesbury.

Dauid the bꝛother of Lewlyn hanged, dꝛawen & quartered.

And this yere the king had his firſt ſonne boꝛne at the Caſtell of Carnaruan, while he was in Wales, and he was named Edward of Carnaruan, and was boꝛne vpon the .xxv. day of Apꝛill, and was king after him.

Edward of Carnaruan the kinges firſt ſonne.

In this yere alſo, there was found one Lawrence Doket a Citizen of London, deade and hanged in Saint Mary Bow Church in Cheape. Foꝛ the which, enquiries were made, and in the ende foꝛ that dede were attainted theſe .viij. perſons folowyng, that is to ſay: Reignold of Lancaſter, Robert Pynnot, Paule of Stepinhithe, Thomas Coꝛdwayner, John Talanſon, Thomas Ruſſell, & Robert Scot, the which were all foꝛ that deede dꝛawne & hanged. And a woman alſo foꝛ the ſame deede was bꝛent. And Rauſe Creppyn, Jourdan Goodchepe, Gilbert Clerke, and Geoffrey Clerke, were alſo attainted foꝛ the ſame cauſe: But they were repꝛyed & ſent vnto the Tower of London, where they remayned long after, but at the laſt were deliuered.

Lawrence Doket hanged in Bow Church.

Execution.

And in this yere the great Conduit in London, ſtanding againſt the church called Acres in Cheape was firſt begon to be made. And in this yere began a ſtrife oꝛ vnkindnes to kindle betwene the king, & the Erle of Leyceſter, oꝛ as ſome

Clariance betwene ye king and the Erle of Leyceſter.

ſome wꝛite of Glouceſter, which after turned to the gꝛeat tꝛouble of manye townes in Englande, but ſpecially to the Citie of London, as after ſhall be ſhewed.

This yere the king ſeazed the liberties of the Citie, and diſcharged the Maioꝛ that then was, who was named Gꝛegoꝛy Rokeſley, and appoynted Stephen Sandwich to be Cuſtos and Gardian of the Citie of London, and the ſame Sandwich continued in the office vntill Candlemas next folowing, and then was he diſcharged, and Sir John Bꝛeton knight charged foꝛ the reſt of the yere.

1284 13

Liberties of London a-gaine ſeazed.

The cauſe of the diſpleaſure that the king had againſt the Citie, as appereth by John Raſtell, was that the ſayd Gꝛegoꝛy Rokeſley tooke certaine bꝛibes of the Bakers, and ſuffered them to ſell bꝛead that lacked ſixe oꝛ ſeuen ounces in a penny loafe. But this appereth not to be a ſufficient cauſe, foꝛ the offence of the Maioꝛ beyng but one man, to take away the liberties of the whole Citie who offended not: Wheꝛefoꝛe I thinke there was ſome gꝛeater cauſe.

And in this yere was full finiſhed and ended the newe woꝛke of the Church of Weſtminſter, to the ende of the Quire, begon as beſoꝛe is ſhewed in the thirde yere of the thirde Henry: By which accompt, it ſhould appere that the ſayd Church was .lxbj. yeres in buildyng. But of the buildyng of this Church are ſundꝛie opinions, as ye may ſe moꝛe at large in Fabian.

This yere the king helde his Parliament at Weſtminſter, wherin were made the ſtatutes called Additamenta Glouceſtriæ, that is to ſay, additions of ſtatutes ioyned to them which beſoꝛe were made at Glouceſter.

1285 14

Additamẽta Glouceſtriæ.

Alſo it happened aboute this tyme that a Citizen of London named Thomas Pꝛiwelſdon, which in the tyme of the Barons warre beſoꝛe mencioned, had bene a gꝛeat ſtyꝛrer vp of the Commons of the Citie foꝛ to mainteine the Barons part againſt the king, was nowe newely accuſed, that he with other of euill diſpoſition ſhould make conuenticles and aſſemblies to the newe gꝛiefe and diſturbaunce of the Citie. Wheꝛeof repoꝛt was made vnto the king, who remitted the inquirie thereof vnto Sir Rauſe Sandwiche then Cuſtos of the Citie.

Then the ſayd Thomas with other were put in ſure and ſafe keping vntill the matter were duely enquired of. After whiche inquiſition made and found, repoꝛt thereof was made vnto the king. Then the king ſent downe a wꝛit, and commaunded it to be pꝛoclaymed ſhoꝛtly after within the boundes of the Citie, wheꝛeof the effect was thus: That the ſayde Thomas Pꝛiwelſdon, William de Heywood, Richard de Coundyꝛs, Richard le Cofferre, Robert de Darby, Albyn de Darby, William Mayo Meꝛꝛer, and John Ling Dꝛaper, with dyuerſe other to the number of fiftie perſons, ſhould be baniſhed out of the Citie foꝛ euer. And if any of the ſayde fiftie perſons were at that tyme of the Pꝛoclamation boyded the Citie foꝛ feare oꝛ otherwiſe, that they ſhould remain & not returne vnto the Citie vpon paine of loſyng his life.

Citizens diſmiſſed foꝛ euer.

And in this tyme alſo, wheꝛe of long tyme beſoꝛe the Maꝛchant ſtraungers comming with their Maꝛchaundiſe were lodged within Citizens of the Citie of London, and ſolde all their waꝛes by the pꝛocurement of hys hoſte, foꝛ the which his ſayde hoſte had a certaine of euery pounde. But now the ſayde Maꝛchauntes had ſo bꝛought it to paſſe, that they might hier foꝛ

themselues, houses to dwel in, and sellers for stowage of their wares, so that no Citizen had to doe with them: By meane wherof, they vsed many deceits, both in vtteraunce of false wares, and also in weightes which they vsed in their awne houses, to the great hurte of the whole Realme of Englande. Wherefore, sodainely search was made, and their weightes founde and proued false. And besides that, all suche wares as they shoulde haue weyed at the kings Beame, they weighed much thereof at their awne houses, to the hinderaunce of the kinges Custome, for which offences against them proued, to the number of twentie of the sayde straungers were arrested, and sent to the Tower of London, and their weightes brent and consumed in West Cheape of London. But in the ende the sayde Marchauntes were deliuered by making of fine to the king of a thousande pounde, when of a long season they had suffred harde and vyle imprisonment.

Straungers punished for hauing of false weyghts

1286
15

Thys yere the commons of Englande offered vnto the king the fift part of their moueables to haue the Iewes clerely banished the realme of Englande: But the Iewes perceauing the intent of the commens, dyd preuent them, and gaue to the king great summes of money, but within fewe yeres after they were all exyled.

Great summes of money was offered to the king to banish all the Iewes out of England.

And in this yere about the beginning of May, the king sayled into France where he was most honorably receyued of Philip the French king, where king Edward did to him homage for the Duchye of Guyan. And after king Edwarde had remayned there a while, he returned vnto Burdeaux, whether came vnto him certaine Ambassadours from the king of Spaine, with the which he helde long dalyaunce. Wherefore, of the French king he was suspected that he shoulde alye himselfe with the king of Spayne agaynste the Frenche king.

King Edward did homage for the Duchie of Guyan.

And this yere (sayeth Fabian) the Sommer was so hote that men dyed with very heat. And yet Corne this yere was so plenteous that wheate was solde for three shyllings and foure pence a quarter. But sayeth Rastell in hys Chronicle, the next yere followyng, by reason of vnseasonable and intemperate weather, there was a maruellous great dearth of Corne, for (sayth he) wheate was then worth. xviij. pence the Bushell, and afterward yere by yere it encreased vntill it came to. xl. shyllings a quarter, which was a great price, because as he sayth, at that time. xx. pence of siluer weighed a full ounce, and it so continued vntill the reigne of king Henry the first, and then. xxx. pence made an ounce of Siluer. And in the tyme of king Edward the fourth. xl. pence made an ounce of siluer, and in the tyme of kyng Henry the. viij. three shillinges and eight pence made an ounce of siluer, and nowe at this tyme being in the tenth yere of the reigne of our soueraigne Lady Quene Elizabeth, fyue shillinges maketh an ounce of siluer, but the standard of the ounce was euer at one stynt, although the valuation of coynes altered, as more plainely may appere in the statute made in the. li. yere of king Henry the thirde.

Corne plenty

This was a great dearth, if ye conferre the value of theyr money vnto our money that we now presently haue. The after the rate of. xl. s a quarter, they of our money payd. vi. pond that is, xl. s. for a bushell, & thē no maruel though ỳ yore cried out

1287
16

1288
17

About this time fell a great variaunce betweene Sir Paine Tiptoft Wardein of certein Castelles in Wales, and a Welshe knight called sir Rice ap Mordack, or Meridock, so that sundrie skirmishes were foughten betweene them, and men slaine on both sydes, to the great disturbance of all the Countrie.

But in the yere folowing the sayde Rice to be reuenged of the aboue named

Tiptoft, reysed a great multitude of Welshemen, and brent and wasted diuerse townes in Wales, so that the king then beyng in Normandie sent vnto the Erle of Cornewall, then beyng the kings Lieutenant in England, that he should send thether an armie of knightes and good Souldiours to withstand the malice of the Welshe men. The which prepared shortly an armie, and went with them into the Borders of Northwales: where he with hys companie bare him so nobly and knightly, that in the ende the said Sir Rice was taken, and brought vnto Yorke, where he was after drawne, hanged, and quartered.

Rice ap Meridock taken, drawne, hanged and quartered.

1289
18

This yere and in the moneth of August, king Edward returned out of Fraunce, and came to the Citie of London, where he was honourably receyued by the Citizens, and conueyed to Westminster, where shortly after were brought vnto him many grieuous complaintes of diuerse of his Justices, as Sir Thomas Weyland, Adam Stretton, and other, whome the king caused to be streitly examined, and in the end they were found guiltie of such trespasses and causes as they were accused of. Wherefore some of them were outlawed, and lost such goodes as they had, and the other punished by long imprisonment, and at the last deliuered by paying of great fines.

And in the ende of this yere, Alexander king of Scottes, as he was runnyng his horse, fell horse and man to the grounde and brake his necke, and died immediatly, by reason whereof there ensued great warre and trouble for the enheritance of that land. And at the last by the consent of king Edward, the crowne was geuen to John Baillioll, who afterward to gratifie the English nation, buylded a Colledge in Oxford nowe called Baillioll Colledge. But of this Baillioll, ye shall reade more in the. xxiiij. yere of thys kinges reigne.

Alexander king of Scots brake his neck.

Baillioll colledge in Oxforde.

1290
19

And in the. xix. yere of this king, the staple of woolles was kept at Sandwiche, which afterwarde was kept at Caleys as long as it was English, but now it is holden at Bridges in Flaunders.

The Iewes banished.

And this yere also, all the Iewes were banished this land, for the which the Commons gaue to the king a fiftene.

Also at this time, Sir Gilbert de Clare Erle of Gloucester maried dame Johan daughter of king Edward. This was called Johan of Acres or Acon, for she was borne at Acres or Acon a Citie in Jewry when king Edwarde was there, vpon his great iourney. And shortly after, the Duke of Brabandes sonne, maryed Margaret the Sister of the sayde Johan.

Gilbert de Clare Erle of Glocester

This yere dyed Quene Alianor the kinges wife, & was buried at Westminster. This Gentelwoman as before is touched in the. xxviij. yere of king Henry ỳ third, was sister vnto the king of Spaine: by whom king Edward had foure sonnes, that is to say, John, Henry, Alphons, and Edward, which Edward succeded his father, for that the other three dyed before their father. Also he had by her fiue daughters. The first Alianor, who was maryed vnto William Barre. The seconde Johan of Acres, or of Acon, maryed vnto the Erle of Gloucester, the thirde Margaret, maryed to the Duke of Brabandes sonne, the fourth Mary, who was made a Nonne at Ambresbury, and the fift named Elizabeth, who was maryed vnto the Erle of Holland, and after his death she was maryed vnto Humfrey Bohorum Erle of Herfort. And this yere also dyed olde Quene Alianor wife vnto king Henry the thirde, and

1291
20

Quene Alienour the kinges wife deceased.

Quene Alianor wife to kyng Henry the third deceassed.

mother vnto this king Edward, whose heart was buried at the Gray Fryers Church in London, which nowe is called Christes parishe Church, and her bodie at Ambrisbury in the house of Nonnes.

Polidore sayth that the king hauing continuall warres as well in France as also in Wales & Scotland had greatly consumed his treasure, & one Lord William Marchian, being then highe treasorer of Englande perceyuing the great ryches that then were in churches & religious houses, so put the same into the kings head, ỹ they were all brought into the kings treasury: but not without the great grudge and griefe of the people who thought much that the king would meddle with those holy things as they then called them. Howbeit the king being in neede, dissembled the matter, & yet not so content, did shortly after as shal appere obteyne of the spiritualtie the moytie of one yeres of their spirituall promotions and lyuings. Notwithstanding afterward the king considering their great burdens and entending somewhat to gratefie them againe, promised to graūt them something for to pleasure them if they would aske it at his hands. The bishops after consultation thereof had, did desire to haue the law set at libertie, touching landes geuen in Mortmain to religious houses. But the king not minded that way, gaue them aunswere that it lay not in him to breake the lawe without the consent of the bodye of the realme by whome it was made, and so with fayre wordes put them off for that tyme.

1292 21

And nowe againe the king helde his high Court of Parliament at London, vnto the which came the king of Scottes and dyuers Lordes of that Prouynce. And after he had remayned there a certayne tyme, he was then conueyed by dyuers Lordes of thys Realme, a great way vpon his iourney toward his awne Countrie.

Richarde Eagle an officer of London.

And here by the way for a note, it happened one called Richarde Eagle an officer of London to arest a man, and leadyng hys prisoner to the Compter, there came three men and rescued the sayde prisoner, and tooke him from the officer: The which were pursued and taken, and by iudgement & lawe then vsed, they were brought into west Cheape in London, and there had their right handes striken of by the wrestes.

A rescue punish.d.

1293 22

About the midst of September following the Erle of Barre a Frenchman maried Alianour the kinges daughter in the Towne of Bristowe.

1294 23

Rebellion in Wales.

Now agayne the Welchemen beganne to sturre, by the prouocation of one Madock: wherof when the king was informed, he in all haste sped him vnto Westchester, and about the first day of December wanne from the sayde Madock the Isle called Anglesey, and buylded newe the Castle and Citie of Bew marise, and brought the vnstedfast welchmen to a better order and stay: and then he caused the woodes of the Countrie to be hewen downe, wherein before tyme they vsed to hyde them, as a Cony doth in his hole: and he so repayred the Castels and strong holdes, and buylded some newe, in such wise that he caused the welchmen to be quiet and to go about their awne thrift, against their willes, for by the strength of those Castelles, they were kept from their olde accustomed raynes and stealings, and put so to execution by the Capitaines of the saide Castels that they fell vnto occupation, and to byeng and sellyng, and gathered treasure together, and began to lyue after the manner of Englishmen, so that more and more that Countrey grewe vnto restfulnesse and peace.

The welchmen tamed & reformed.

And

And this yere the Frenchmen with a certaine of Shippes landed at Douer, and spoyled that Towne, and brent a parte of it. In which skirmishe was slaine one Thomas of Douer.

Douer brent by ỹ Frenchmen.

This yere also as sayeth the French Chronicle, Charles de valoys brother vnto king Philip of Fraunce, was sent by his sayde brother into Gascoyne, with a great hoste. The which Charles layde his siege vnto the Castell of Ryon, wherein were at that tyme, Sir John Seynt John, and John of Byteyn, the which manfully and valiauntly defended the aforesayde Castell against the Frenchmen all that yere and more.

Ryon Castell besieged.

Now in the.xxiiij. yere of his reigne, for that he had great warres, as well with the French king as elsewhere, he commaunded a newe subsedy to be leuyed vpon all Serplers of wolle goyng out of Englande, with all Felles and Hydes in lyke maner. And besides this he required also of the Clergie all the money which they had graunted towarde the defence of the holye lande, and the rather for that he hearde from the Court of Rome of the Popes maners, and therefore commaunded it to be brought into his treasurie. And moreouer, by a conuocation of the sayde Clergie, he had graunted vnto him towardes his warres, halfe of their spirituall and temporall lands, beginning at twentie Marke benefice, and so ascending vpward, the which was not payde in one yere but by deuided porcions, it was payde in three yeres next ensuyng. And of the lay fee or Temporaltie of Englande, he had graunted vnto him the tenth penny of their moueables, the which was payde in two yeres next ensuyng.

1295 24

A subsedie leuyed vpon Serplers of Wolle.

A great subsedie graunted of the Clergie.

This yere also was hanged drawne and quartered in London for treason done in Fraunce a knight called Sir Thomas Turbeuyle.

Sir Thomas Turbeuyle executed

Also about the time of Easter, when Charles de valoys as ye before haue heard, had lyen long at the Castell of Ryon, and had no hope to winne anye thing vpon the Englishmen but that daylie he lost the best of his knightes, he sent then for more ayde and succour. At which tyme came vnto hym Sir Raufe Nele Constable of Fraunce with a freshe company, and then assaulted ita newe. But when they had lyen there a season, and sawe they preuayled nothing against their enemies, they went vnto a holde thereby named Boudency, and assaulted it, because the greatest parte of the souldiours there were Normans: and after viij. dayes, by appointment or otherwise, they gate the sayde holde, so that all the Englishmen had their libertie and goodes, and the Normanes were taken as prisoners, the which they brought after vnto the Castell of Ryon, and there in sight of the Souldyours, hanged all or the more parte of the sayde Normans. When the Gascoynes being within the Towne and Castell of Ryons, sawe their cosyns and Countreymen hanged before their eyen, they cast in their minde, that it was done by treason of Englishmen, and that they woulde at length deale with them in lyke maner. By reason whereof, strife and baryaunce arose, betweene the Englishmen and the Gascoynes, so that eyther of them feared the treason of the other. For the which cause, Sir John Seynt John, and John of Byteyne, Sir Robert Typtoft, Sir Raufe Tanny, Sir Hugh Bardolph, and Sir Adam Cretyng, with dyuers other fled by Sea, & in that maner saued themselues: and soone after the sayde Towne and Castell of Ryons was wonne by the Frenchemen, and the inhabitaunts of the same swore vnto the french king.

Ryon Castell newly assaulted.

Boudency is taken.

Ryon Castel is wonne.

A briefe collection of the homages done by the Scottishe kinges vnto the kinges of England.

But here a little to returne back, ye haue before in the.xviij. yere of thys king heard, that after the death of Alexander king of Scottes, many questions fell among the same Scottes, who by right of inheritaunce shoulde be king of that lande, considering that the sayde Alexander, had left after hym three daughters the which in the lyfe of their father were maried. The first to Sir John Bayliol, the second to Robert le Bruze, and the thirde to one named Hastynges. Many of the Lordes of Scotland woulde haue crowned Sir John Bayliol, by reason that he maried the eldest daughter: But the friendes of Robert le Bruze withstoode it with all their power: And other there were, that helde with Hastings, so that after long strife and great varyaunce the matter was brought before king Edwarde, as chiefe Lorde and Souereigne of that lande, and all those that made clayme to the Crowne of Scotlande promised to abyde and stande vnto suche determination & iudgement, as king Edward should set therein. Then king Edwarde, to the ende that the Scottes should knowe perfitely, that the king of Englande ought of right to be their chiefe head and souereigne, shewed vnto them suche olde writyngs, as he a little before had caused to be searched & founde out, in the which it was conteyned by the authoritie of olde Chronicklers and writers, as Marianus the Scot, Wylliam of Malmesburie, Roger of Huntyngdon and other, that in the yere of our Lorde nine hundred and twentie, king Edward the elder made subiect vnto hym the kings of Combrys and of Scottes. And in the nine hundred xrj. yere the aforesayde Scottes and Combrys, chose the sayde Edwarde the elder to be their chiefe Lorde and patrone. And in the yere of our Lorde nine hundred. xxvj. Athelstane then king of England subdued Constantine then king of Scottes with the Northumbres, and receyued of them againe othe and homage. And it is further founde in the sayde Chronicles, that Edgar ouercame Alphunius the sonne of Kynadus king of Scottes, and receyued of hym fealtie and homage, and helde him vnder his obeysaunce, as he had done his father Kinadus before tyme. Moreouer it is there further witnessed, that Canutus in the. xvj. yere of his reigne subdued Malcolyn then king of Scottes, and receaued of him fealtie and homage. Furthermore, Wylliam Conquerour in the. vj. yere of his reigne subdued Malcolyne king of Scotlande, the which before tyme had receyued the sayde kingdome of the gift of Edward king and confessor. And Wylliam Rufus or Wylliam the Red, did in likewise to the sayde Malcolyn, and vnto his two sonnes that reigned in Scotlande the one after the other. And also Dauid king of Scottes did homage vnto Stephen then king of England. And Wylliam king of Scottes did homage vnto Henry the third at the time of his coronation, and after came vnto hys father Henry the seconde, when the aforenamed Henry was dead in Normandy and made his homage to him againe. This Henry that was sonne vnto Henry the second, is of many writers named Henry the thirde, bicause he was the thirde king that was crowned of that name: But because he dyed before his father, his deedes be little spoken of, so that of some writers he is nothing minded. And it followeth in the storie, how that Alexander king of Scots in the .xxxv. yere of Henry the thirde or sonne of king John, maryed at Yorke Margaret the daughter of the sayde Henry, and did vnto him homage for the Realme of Scotlande, and bounde him and hys heyres kings of Scotland by his letters patentz to be

The subiection and homage of the kinge of Scottes.

Constantine kinge of Scottes.

Alphunius kinge of Scottes.

Malcolme kinge of Scottes.

Dauid king of Scottes.

William king of Scottes.

Alexander kinge of Scottes.

be true vnto the sayde Henry, and vnto his heyres kinges of Englande lyke as before Wylliam king of Scottes had bounde himselfe vnto the seconde Henry, as before in the. xrij. yere of his reigne is more manifestly shewed. And more, there was shewed vnto them the Popes Bulles, the which were sent before time into Scotlande, by aucthoritie whereof, the kinges of Scotlande were accursed because they woulde not be obedient to their Lordes kinges of Englande.

¶ When all these presidentes were seene by the Scottes, a day was assigned of meetyng at Norham in the marches betweene England and Scotland, whether vnto the king came, & al the nobles and chiefe rulers of Scotland. And there and then also the king helde his high Court of Parliament, where openly in the presence of all the nobilitie of Scotland who were called specially thether, the king himselfe in the Churche of Norham declared that the right of the Dominion and superiozitie of the realme of Scotlande doth iustly apperteigne and belong vnto the Crowne of England, and therefore required of them to acknowledge and confesse the same, protestyng and makyng his vowe that he would defende the same his right with the aduenture of the losse of his life, and further he required of them that they would enter into bond, not onely to acknowledge him their chiefe and supreme Lorde, but also to abyde his sentence, order and iudgement, in appointyng and placyng such a person to reigne ouer them, as their king, as should by his iudgement be thought to haue most right therevnto: But the Scottes not willyng to be bound, vsed many excuses, but at the last they consented: Wherevpon all the Nobilitie of Scotland, and namely all those that made claime to the crowne, entered into bond, the tenor whereof foloweth, beyng made letters patentes, wherevnto were fixed their seuerall seales.

A Parliament holden at Norham.

The confession of the Nobiemen of Scotland, and their bond made to the king of Englande.

TO all men that shall eyther see or heere these presentes, Florence Erle of Holland, Robert Bruze Lorde of Valley Androw, John Bayliol Lorde of Galloway, John Hastings Lorde of Aberganenny, John Compynes Lord of Badenagh, Patrike of Dunbarre Erle of March, John Vessy deputie for his father, Nicholas of Soules, William of Roos, sendeth gretyng in the Lord: Where as we beleue and thinke that we haue a right and title to the kingdome of Scotland, and our entent and meanyng is to declare, chalenge, and trie the same right and title before him which hath the superiour power, iurisdiction and aucthoritie to debate and examine the same: And the noble prince Lord Edward by the grace of God king of England hath informed vs by good and sufficient reasons, that the same belongeth to him, & that he ought to haue the superiour dominion of the kingdome of Scotlande, and the aucthoritie to here, examine, and decyde our right and title. We of our awne proper accorde, not beyng compelled or enforced therevnto, will, and graunt to receyue our right and title before him as superior Lorde of the land. Moreouer we will and promise to obserue and holde his deede firme and stable: And that he shall haue and enioy the kingdome, to whome the better right and title shall before him be tryed and iudged. In witnesse whereof, we vnto these writynges haue put our Seales, dated at Norham the thirde day after the Ascention of our Lorde. 1291.

¶ Now after the Lordes of Scotland had acknowledged the superiozity of Dominion of Scotland to apperteyne to the king of Englande, and had sub-

submitted themselues to receyue and abyde his determination and iudgement: Then the king demaunded of them the possession of their Castelles, and of the whole realme of Scotland, that he might be peaceably seased in his right of superiozitie and dominion mencioned in their fozmer letters, to the entent the same might clerely appere vnto the wozlde. And fozthwith, they graunted vnto the kinges petition, and therevppon made their letters in French, and signed and sealed the same in maner and fozme folowyng.

The letters of Seisyn made by the Lozdes of Scotlande vnto king Edward.

TO all men that shall see oz heere these pzesents, Flozence Erle of Holland, Robert Bzuce Lozde of Vally Andzolw, John Baillioll Lozde of Galloway, John Hastings Lozde of Aberganenny, John Compnes Lozde of Badenagh, Patrike of Dunbarre Erle of March, John Uelly Deputie foz his father, Nicholas Sules, and William of Roos sende gretyng in our Lozde: Fozasmuch as we of our good will and common assent, without all compulsion haue yelded and graunted vnto the noble Pzince Lozde Edwarde, by the grace of God king of England, that he as the superiour Lozde of the land of Scotlande hath power to heere, examine, and decyde our chalenges and sutes which we entende to declare and pzoue foz the receyuyng of our ryght and title befoze him as the superiour Lozd of the land: pzomisyng mozeouer that we will obserue firme and stable whatsoeuer he iudgeth oz determineth, and that he shall obteyne the kingdome of Scotland, whose title shall befoze him be pzoued and iudged to be most lawfull: But fozasmuch as the said king can neyther make noz accomplishe his examination without iudgement, neyther ought iudgement to be without execution, noz can he duely make execution without the possession and seisyn of the sayde lande and Castelles of the same: We therefoze will, permit, and graunt, that he as the superioz Lozde shall haue foz the accomplishyng and perfourmance of the pzemisses, the seisyn of the whole land of Scotlande, and Castelles of the same, vntill suche tyme as the matter be determined betwene them, who make claime and chalenge the right to be king of Scotland: But yet vpon this condicion, that befoze the sayde king Edward haue the seisyn, he make good and sufficient assurannce vnto the sutozs, wardeynes and communaltie of the kingdome of Scotland, foz the restitutiõ and redeliuerie to them of the kingdome, with all the royaltie, dignitie, and dominion, liberties, customes, rightes, lawes, vses, possessions, and all what soeuer therevnto apperteine, in the same state wherein they were at the time of seisyn deliuered to hym: And he shall deliuer it vnto him to whome by right it shall be due, accozding to his royall iudgement: Sauyng vnto the king of England the homage of him that shal be king. And this restitution shall be made within two monethes after the tyme that this title shall be discussed, ratefied and established: The reuenues of the afozesayd land in the meane tyme shall be receyued and layd vp in safe custodie, and shall be well kept by the handes of the treasurer of Scotlande that nowe is, and his whom herevnto the king of England shal assigne, & this to be done vnder their seales, sauyng a reasonable sustentation of the lande, Castelles, and ministers of the kingdome. In witnesse of all the pzemisses, we haue vnto these writynges put our seales, dated at Nozham the Wednesday nert ensuyng the Ascention of our Lozde. 1291.

¶ These two afozesaid letters, the king caused sundzy copies of them to be made, & sent the same vnder his pziuy seale to diuerse Abbeyes in the realme, of

of England in the.xix. yere of his reigne, that they might there be recorded foz perpetuall memozy, & to be published by the Monkes in their Chzonicles.

King Edward is seased of all Scotland

And fozthwith, by the common assent of the nobilitie of Scotlande, the king had the season and possession of the whole realme of Scotland, and helde the same untill suche time as he had determined who of right was the nert heire to the sayde kingdome.

The same yere the king of Englande, after the feast of the natiuitie of Saint John Baptist went into Scotland, and there receiued the allegations of those that made clayme to the kingdome of Scotlande, accozdyng to the authozity to him committed, and did cause to be elected and chosen. xl. persons that is to say, xx. of England, and. xx. of Scotland, which with good aduisement should consider vpon their allegations, and to make repozt vnto him of their sentence and iudgement, befoze the feast of Saint Mighell then nert folowyng. And when the sayde feast came, after great and long debatyng, by the consent of them all, king Edward adiudged the kingdome of Scotland of right to apperteyne to John Baillioll, which came of the eldest daughter of Dauid king of Scottes. Robert de Bzuce, betweene whome and the afozesayde John the strife did chiefely consist, although he had some colour of title, yet he discended of the second daughter of Dauid, and so his clayme tooke no place: Wherefoze the afozesayd John Baillioll at the feast of Saint Andzow nert folowyng, was with much honour bzought vnto the Regall seate, and in the same was placed, and afterward crowned with great solempnitie in a Church of a house of Chanons in Scotland.

King Edward iudgeth ỹ kingdom of Scotland to John Baliol

After his cozonation he came vnto the king of England, who then kept his feast of Chzistmasse at Newe Castell vpon Tyne, and there made his homage with these wozdes.

John Baliol doth homage to king Edward foz the kingdom of Scotland.

I John Baillioll king of Scottes do knowledge me to be your liege man foz all the kingdome of Scotland, and of all those thinges that in any wyse belong to the same, and that I holde the same kingdome, and of right I ought and clayme to holde the same of you, and of your heyzes kinges of England with the aduenture of my lyfe and members, and of all earthly honour against all men that can liue and die.

And the kyng receyued his homage in fozme afozesayde, addyng a sauyng foz his awne and others rightes. And assone as the king had receyued this homage of John Baillioll afozesayd, he without any delay restozed to the said John the whole kingdome of Scotland with all the appurtenances. &c.

Wadock oz Meridock taken and hanged.

And this yere was taken the afozenamed Wadock oz Meridock, which as ye heard befoze in the.xviii. yere of the reigne of this king caused ỹ welsh men to rebell, and he was dzawen and hanged at London.

1295
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The king shortly after caused a great quantitie of wheate to be gathered and taken vp in England to the number (as some write) of an hundzeth thousand quarters, and sent the same into Gascoyne and Guyan. And shortlye after he sent thether Sir Edmond hys brother Erle of Lancaster, Sir Henry Lacye Erle of Lyncoln and Sir Wylliam Veyseye Baron, with diuers other Lozdes and knightes, to strength such people as he there had readye while he pzepared another armie against the Scottes.

Edmond erle of Lancaster.

Ye haue heard in the fozmer yere howe Sir John Baylioll king of Scottes made othe and homage vnto king Edwarde foz the Kingdome of Scotlande.

Scotlande. Of the which he repented him shortly after by reason of the counsell of the Abbot of Wenros, as sayeth Reynulph, although it shoulde seeme to be as well by the counsell of the French king, as maye appere by wordes that are written in the French Chronicle. But howsoeuer it was, full vntruely he forsooke his former othe and promise, and reysed warre against the king. Wherfore king Edward sped him thether with a great host, minding to haue made a generall spoyle and destruction of that nation, but that he was partly perswaded and steyed by some that made excuses for Baillioll, but chiefly for the people. Notwithstanding the king proceeding forth on his purposed iourney came to Newe Castle vppon Tyne, at the which place he caused Iohn king of Scottes to be sommoned by a publique Edict that he should appeere and answere vnto such things as should be obiected against him at a daye and place prefired: But Baillioll appered not nor none for him, and therefore the king determyned to proceede in his pretended purpose, and wyth good speede he passed to Berwick and layde siege vnto the Towne: But the Scottes defended it manfully, and bet the Englishmen backe, and brent some of the English Shippes. With the which victory, they were so inflamed with pride, that in derision of the king, they made certaine peeuishe and mocking rymes which I passe ouer.

The Scots rebell.

When king Edward heard of the pride of the Scottes and vnderstoode of their foolishe rymes, he was somewhat moued, and therfore so encouraged his knightes, that they gaue a newe onset on Barwick, and wanne the Diche of the towne, and after in processe with great labor & daunger wanne the Bulwarkes, so that they came vnto the Gates and made there so strong an assault that in the ende they wanne the towne, and slue of the Scottes (as sayth diuers writers) aboue the number of. xxv. thousande, and as Hector Boethus the Scot wryteth in his Chronicle in the. xiij. Booke and seconde Chapiter, the slaughter of people was so great that a Mylle might haue bene well driuen by the space of two dayes, with the streames of bloud that at that tyme ranne of the ground. If you thinke not this to be truth, I will not enforce you, but remember it is the tale of a Scot, who as he is to be suspected in this, so is the truth of his storie to be doubted of in a great number of places mo. And there were taken prisoners Sir Wylliam Douglas, Sir Symon de Frisell, the Erle Patrike and Sir Robert Bruze with diuers other. And in short time after, the wardeyn of the Castell of Berwike, perceyuing that to him was sent no succour, yeelded vp the sayde Castell by apointment. And when the king had possessiō of the Castell & Towne of Berwike he then strengthened them with Englishmen. And afterwarde wanne the holdes of Tyndall, of Exham, of Wyerbyrd and of Lamerstock, with diuers other.

A great slaughter of Scottes.

Hector Boethus a great lyer.

Prisoners.

Barwike wonne.

And while that king Edward was thus busied about the wynning of the aforesayde holdes, he sent Sir Hugh Spencer with Sir Hugh Percye and other noble men, with a parte of his hoste to laye siege vnto the Castell of Patrick of Dunbarre. Where when they had lyen a certaine tyme, an armie of the Scottes came thether to remoue the siege, with whome the Englishmen had a fierce and a cruell battayle, but in the ende, by the help of God, the Englishmen had the victorie, and slue of the Scottes aboue the number of twentie thousande, and lost of the English company a very small number, which as sayeth Caxton, Cowper and other, were but. xviij. persons.

Dunbarre besieged.

Victorie vpō the Scottes.

And

And after this victorie the towne and Castell of Dunbarre was wonne, in the which were taken prisoners three Erles, seauen Barons and. xxviij. knightes with diuers men of the clergie. Then the king went to Edenborough, and shortly after wanne the Towne and Castell: In which were founde the Regalyes of Scotland, that is to saye, the crowne with the scepter and the cloth of estate, the which after, were offered by king Edwarde at the Shrine of S. Edward in westmynster the xviij. day of June in the yere nert following.

Dunbarre wonne.

Edenborough wonne

The Regalyes of Scotsland taken.

And at this time the king being at Berwike and fortifying the same, the king of Scotlande wryteth a letter vnto him and in the same resigneth hys homage and fealtie, the Copie of which letter followeth.

A letter sent from ỹ king of Scottes to the king of Englande, wherein the sayde king of Scottes resigneth his homage and fealtie.

TO the renowmed prince and Lorde, Edwarde by the grace of God king of England: Iohn by the same grace king of Scotland sendeth greeting: where as you and they of your realme by violent power haue openly and very often inferred and done to vs and to the inhabitauntes of oure realme, greeuous, yea rather intollerable iniuries, contemptes, annoyaunces, and also innumerable losses and dammages, contrarie vnto the liberties of oure realme, and also against God and all iustice, whereof you are not, nor ought not to be ignorant by citying and sommonyng vs to appere out of our realme, and vnlawfully vexing vs, for euery small and light motion of your minde and pleasure, by entring vpon the Castelles, lands and possessions of vs and our subiects which are within our realme, without our demerites or desarts intercepting our Marchaunts as well by Sea as by lande, by sleying and murthering other the inhabitaunts of our realme, by violent takyng and caryng our people out of our dominion, and there with you detayning and imprisonyng of them. For reformation whereof, we haue often times sent our Ambassadors: But they as yet not onely remaine vnreformed, but also from daye to day more greeuous iniuries are by you and on your subiects behalfe exaggerated and heaped vp. For you now in cruell maner haue entered our marches with an innumerable multitude of armed men, hauyng gathered together a generall hoste to the entent to dishenerite vs and the inhabitantes of our realme, and thencefoorth proceeding into our kingdome, haue both by Sea and also by lande committed diuers tymes murthers and brenned our Townes, and also haue made assaultes and violent inuasions: we not being hable any lenger to susteyne the sayde iniuries, contempts, griefes, dammages and fierce assaultes, (by reason of our Fealtie and homage to you done) to the doyng wherof we were enforced by violence and threatenings) we can neyther defende our selues nor oure kingdome, for the defence whereof we are bounde by othe: we therefore in our owne name, and in the names of all and singuler the inhabitaunts within our kingdome, doe by these presentes yeelde agayne vnto you and resygne all that our Fealtie and homage, as well of our selfe as of all other that inhabite within our kingdome, which are bounde to you eyther by force of their awne fealtie done for suche landes as they holde within our kingdome, or else generally for the homage which we haue done.

The resignatiō of homage and fealtie.

¶ The king when he had read thys letter did admit the resignation of the homage, and commaunded hys Chauncelour that the same should be enrolled and recorded for perpetuall memorie, and then passed on his iourney

King Edward admitteth the resignation of Scotishe kinges homage.

and

and tooke and ouerthrewe dyuerse townes and Castels, and at the last passed the Scottish Sea, and came to a towne in Scotland called saint Johns vpon the day and feast of Saint John the Baptist, where he solempnly kept the same Feast certaine dayes.

And while these things were in doyng, John Baillioll king of Scotlande sawe that he was forsaken of all men, and that he had no power hable to resist or withstande the power of the king of Englande: wherefore he sent his Imbassadors vnto him prayyng for peace and desiryng mercy. To whom the king being mooued with pittie sent a countermaund that the sayde king John wyth his Nobles should come with his messenger vnto hys Castell of Bruthyn within. xv. dayes next following, and there to treate. And the king of England sent at that tyme as his Imbassador, Anthony Bishop of Duresme with a full power & aucthozitie, vnto the which place the king of Scots with his Nobles came at the day prefixed, who after much controuersie and debating of sundrie cases, did at the last simply and playnly submit himselfe vnto king Edward, and resigned vnto hym the kingdome of Scotlande to be ordered and gouerned accozding to his will and pleasure. And for the perfozmance of the sayd submission, the king of Scottes delyuered his sonne in hostage, and caused his letters of submission to be made in Frenche in fozme following.

The Scottishe king prayeth for peace and mercie.

The submission of ỹ king of Scots to the king of England.

The king of Scottes resigneth the crowne and kingdome of Scotland to king Edward.

IOhn by the grace of God king of Scotlande, to all whosoeuer shall see or here these present letters: knowe ye that for as much as we by cuill & false counsaile, and by our fooliche simplicitie haue most greeuously offended and prouoked our Lozde Edward by the grace of God king of Englande, Lozde of Irelande and Duke of Aquitayn in many things, that is to saye, that in the time that we remayned in his fealtie and homage, we ioyned our selues vnto the French king, who was then his enemy and yet is, onely for the conclusion of a mariage to haue bene procured betwene the daughter of the sayde French king and our sonne. And for the further griefe and offence made vnto our sayde Lozde the king, we ioyned with the sayde French king in armor against the sayde king of Englande to the vttermost of oure power by order of warre and all other wayes of enemitie. And furthermoze by our peruerse counsail we defyed our sayd Lozd the king of England, and put our selfes out of his fealtie and homage, and sent our men of warre into his lande of Englande burnyng and spoylyng the same, & carryeng from thence sundrie prayes, and committed sundrie murthers and other dammages. And the lande of Scotlande which is of his Fee, we mainteyned against him, plantyng and placyng men of warre in sundrie Castels and Townes for the defence of the sayde land against hun, purposing to haue remoued him from his sayde Fee, for the which trespace our sayd Lozde the king of England entred into Scotlande with his power, and the same conquered and possessed, notwithstanding any thing that we were hable to doe against hym, as it was right lawfull for him to doe as the Lozde of the Fee, because we did resigne vnto hym our homage and rebelled agaynst him: We therefore being agayne restored to our full power, of our free wyll redelyuer vnto him the realme of Scotlande and all the people of the same with all the homages. And in wytnesse hereof, these our letters we haue made patentes, dated at Bruthyn the. x. day of Julij in the fourth yere of our reigne.

¶ Shortly

¶ Shortly after this, king Edward called his Parliament at Berwick and thether came all the nobilitie of Scotlande, and there did vnto him fealtie and homage. And for a perpetuall remembrance thereof, they caused the same to be made by their letters patents sealed with their seuerall seales, the tenour whereof ensueth.

A parliament holden at Barwike.

The king of England receyueth the homages of the Scottes.

TO all that shall here or see these letters, John Compynes Lozde of Bardenagh and so of euery one of the nobles and Lozdes, greetyng: For as much as we are come to the fidelitie & pleasure of the most renoumed Prince and our dere Lozde Edwarde by the grace of God king of Englande, Lozde of Irelande and Duke of Aquytayn, we doe promise for vs and our heyres, vnder paine of our bodies, Castels and all things which we may haue, that we will serue him well and truely against all people which may lyue and dye, and at all tymes when we shall be required and forewarned by our aforesayd Lozde the king of Englande or his heyres: And that we shall not know anye dammage or harme vnto them, but that we shall withstande the same with our whole might and force, and geue knowledge therof vnto them: And for the performaunce hereof, we bynde vs and our heyres and all oure goodes. Furthermoze, we haue both swozne vpon the holy Euangelistes, and also afterwarde we all and euery of vs by hymselfe haue made homage vnto oure sayde Lozde the king of Englande in these wozdes.

Homage.

I become your liege man of lyfe and members & earthly honor against all men that may lyue and dye. And the sayde Lozde our king receyued this homage in these wozdes.

We receyue the same for the landes of which you are now seased, sauing our title or the title of other, and exceptyng the landes which John Baillioll in tymes past king of Scotland gaue vnto vs after that we had delyuered to him the kingdome of Scotlande, if paraduenture he hath geuen any.

Fealtie.

Moreouer, we all and euerye of vs by himselfe hath made fealtie and loyaltie vnto our Lozde the king aforesayde in these wozdes.

I will be faithfull and loyall, and will obserue my fealtie and loyaltie to Edward king of Englande and his heyres, of lyfe and members and earthly honour against all men which may liue and die, and neuer for any will I beare armour nor be in counsaile or ayde agaynst hym or his heyres in anye thing that may happen, but will faythfully acknowledge and doe those seruices which doe apperteyne vnto the tenement that I clayme of hym, so God helpe me. &c. In witnesse of these things, the letters patents are made and sealed with our Seales, dated at Berwick the. xxiiij. yere of the reigne of of our Lozde king Edward of England. &c.

King Edward appointeth a keeper of the realme of Scotland.

And at this time the king made John Warreyn Erle of Surrey and Susser keeper of the Realme of Scotlande, and Sir Hugh Cressyngham high treasozer of the same Realme. And he made Wylliam Ermesby chiefe Justice of the same and commaunded him to call before him all such as helde landes of him, and to take of them homage and fealtie.

The king of Scottes is sent to the Tower of London.

And these things done, he sent John Baillioll king of Scotlande to the Tower of London, and assigned vnto him a conuenient family, and graunted him liberty to go. xx. Mile about in compasse. And shortly after he translated John Comines Erle of Bardenagh, & Alein of Lawghan out of Scotlande and sent them into England beyond Trent, commaundyng them vpon

paine of their heds not to returne again into Scotland so long as he had war with Fraunce. And sone after he returned into Englād with many prisoners.

But while these traunayles were taken in hande in Scotland, the Englische men susteyned many harde and sharpe showers in Gascoygne and Guyan. Among the which, one is remembred in the French Chronicle, saying, that Edmond Duke of Lancaster dyed at Bayon, after whose death, while the towne and other strong holdes prepared them to withstand the French men, Robert Erle of Arthoys, which a little before had encountered with sir John Saint John, and had bene of him ouerset, reassembled his companie, and made him another skirmische. In which he slue vpon an hundreth Englische men and Gascoynes, and tooke prisoners the aforenamed Sir John Saint John, Sir William Mortimer, and other to the number of. lxx. the which were sent into Fraunce into diuerse prisons.

Edmond Duke of Lancaster dead.

1297
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And soone after the king with a puissaunt army, sayled into Flaundrys in the moneth of August, to ayde and helpe Guye then Erle of Flaundrys against the French king, the which at that tyme was sore vexed by the French king, for he had wonne from him the towne of Marquet, and the Countrie thereabout. And for the more trouble and vexation of the sayde Guye, the French king caused Robert Erle of Arthoys to inuade the Countrie of Flaudrys towarde Picardie, and encountered with the same Guye nere vnto a towne called Furnes. Where betwene the sayde two Erles was fought a sharpe battaile, so that many men were slaine vpon both partes. After which fight the Erle of Flaundrys sped him toward Gaunt, where king Edward at that tyme was, and the Erle of Arthoys drewe him toward the French king, the whiche shortlye after was receyued into the towne of Bruges. In the which tyme and season, while the sayde two kinges lay thus at eyther towne, a meane of peace was treated of, and finally a peace was concluded betwene the two kinges, and betweene the French king and Guye Erle of Flaundrys, vntill the feast of all Saintes then next ensuyng. And continued from that day vnto the feast of all Saintes then two yeres folowyng. After which peace so stablished, king Edward departed from the towne of Gaunt and went vnto Burdeaux: And the French king returned into Fraunce, and prisoners were delyuered on both parties.

The battaile of Furnes in Flaundrys.

A peace concluded.

1298
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Now while king Edward was thus occupyed in Flaundrys, the Scots by the enticement of the French king, to the entent to make king Edwarde to kepe home, and that he should not ayde the Erle of Flaundrys, began to make warre vpon the kinges souldiours, which the king had left there in diuerse holdes. And also vpon the borders of Northumberlande, and made sharpe warre vpon the inhabiters of that Countrie. And for that Sir John Baylioll their King, was at that tyme prisoner in the Tower of London: Therefore the sayde Scottes made them a Capitaine, whome they named William Walys, a man of vnknowen or low birth, to whom they obeyed as vnto their king. Anon as the king heard of the rebellion of the Scots, which to him was no great wonder, considering their great vnstedfastnesse, he wrote his letters vnto sir Henry Percy Erle of Northumberland, to sir William Latimer, and to sir Hugh Cressyngham then treasurer of England, and to other, that they in all goodly haste should make prouision to withstand the Scottes. The which persons after the receipt of the kings letters, sped them all

The Scots againe rebell.

William Walys made Captaine of Scotlande.

all in spedy maner, so that they entered Scotland shortly after, and compelled the Scottes to returne backe vnto a towne named Streuelyn, where in a skirmische foughten betwene the Englische men and the Scottes, sir Hugh Cressyngham aforenamed and dyuerse other Englische men were slaine. But yet the Scottes were holden so streight of the Englische hoste, that after that skirmische, they would not of a certeine time come in plaine fielde againe, but kept them within their Castelles and strong holdes.

Battell of Streuelyn.

The Scots put the Englishmen to the worse.

And about this tyme certeine of London brake vp the Tonne in Cornehyll in London, and tooke out certeine prisoners from thence which sir John Briteyn as custos of the Citie had committed thether. By the which it maye appere, that there hath bene a prison in the streete of Cornehyll before tyme, which then was called the Tonne, as nowe we call them the Compters. For the which ryot, the sayd persons, that is to say Thomas Romaine, and viij. other, were afterwarde grieuously punished, as first by imprisonment, and after by fynes.

This prison was kept in the place that nowe the conduit in Cornehyll stande h, for that was called the Tonne.

This yere king Edward in the moneth of October returned into England, and so to Winchester, where the Citizens of London made such labour vnto his grace, that shortly after they obteined graunt of their liberties, which had bene kept from them by the space of. xij. yeres and more, so that on saint Edwardes day next folowyng they chose them a Maior, where by all the tyme aforesayd their Custos or Gardian was put in by the king, or by such as the king would assigne: But it is to be thought that this was not redemed without summes of money, for as some write it cost the Citie three thousande markes.

The liberties of London again restored.

This yere also king Edward put out of his protection certeine Aliens that were richely beneficed in Englande: The cause was for that the sayde Aliens would not ayde the king with their goodes, as the other of his lande did, but purchased an inhibicion of Boniface the. viij. that they & their goodes should be free from all the kinges disines and taskes. Therefore the king seised the temporalties, and suffered them with their spiritualties, vntill they had agreed with the king.

Certein Aliens that were beneficed mē are put out of the kinges protection.

And about this tyme there were a certeine number of persons that fell to diggyng in London in the Church called saint Martynes le grand, for certeine treasure that should be there hidden. But they laboured in vaine, for there was nothing found.

And this yere the king prepared a strong power against Scotland, and went himselfe thether. And first appoynted his Lordes with three companies to mete with him at Yorke, whether came a great hoste, the which he himselfe led into Scotlande, and brent and spoyled the Countrie as he went, and tarried a while at Berwike. And from thence he sped him in winnyng of Castels and townes as he went, vntill he came to a towne called Faukirke, or Fankirke, where the. xxij. day of July met him the power of Scotland, and gaue vnto him a sore battaile: But in the ende the victorie fell vnto the Englische men, so that of the Scottes were slaine in the fielde as witnesseth sundrye Authours. xxxij. thousand, and of Englische men but barely. xxvij. persons. After which discomfiture, the Scottes yelded vnto the king the greatest part of their strong holdes and Castelles, that they before had holden against him, and made vnto him a newe othe and promise, and yelded themselues vnto his

King Edward yet againe made cruell warre vpon the Scottes.

The battaile of Fankirke.

A great slaughter of Scottes.

The Scots once againe make their homage.

grace and mercy.

Coynes of money condemned.

And when the king had set that Countrie in an order, he then returned into England, and so to London: Where by the aduice of certeine of his counsaile, he sodeinely condemned certein coynes of money called Pollards, Crocardes, and Rosaryes, and caused them to be brought to newe coynage, to his great aduauntage.

Ambassadors sent from the Pope to king Edward for the deliuerie of John Baylioll late king of Scottes.

The latter ende of this yere there were certeine Ambassadors sent from the Pope to the king of England, earnestly entreatyng the king for the deliuerie out of prison of John Baylioll late Scottishe king, which now was in the Tower of London, and they promised the king in the Popes name, that he should be safe from troublyng eyther of the king or of his realme, and that no perill should come by his deliueraunce. And after that the king had conferred with his counsayle, and considered of this the Popes request, he condiscended there vnto, and made deliuery of the sayd John Baylioll vnto the Popes messengers, and they conueyed him into Fraunce to his awne landes called Baylioles landes, and there left him in safe keepyng, vnder the order and gouernement of certeine Prelates.

1299
28

The Scots againe rebell and are subdued.

And yet againe the king heryng that the Scottes were not in quiet, but were as brag and as busie as before they had bene, therefore he made nowe his thirde voyage into Scotland, and did so Princely, and valiauntly, that within short time after his commyng thether, he subdued the greater part of the land. And forward he went to the Castell of Estriuelyn, wherein were many of the great Lordes of Scotland, and he compassed the Castell with a strong siege, but he lay there somewhat long without any great aduauntage or hurt done vnto the Scottes: Wherefore, of pollecie he caused to be made two payre of Gallowes in the sight of the Castell, and afterward commaunded proclamation to be made, that if the Scots by a certeine day would yelde that Castell vnto the king, they should haue lyfe and limme: and if not, but that he waime it by strength, as many as were within the sayd Castell should be hanged vpon those Galowes, no estate nor person to be excepted.

Estriuelyn besieged.

Estriuelyn Castell is yeelded to the king.

Nowe when the Scottes had aduised themselues well vpon this Proclamation, and considered the strength of their enemies & their awne weakenesse and feblenesse, and lack of succour, they assented to yelde them and their Castell vnto the king, which shortly they did: Whereof when king Edward was possessed, he stuffed the same with Englishe knightes, and after tooke a newe othe of the Lordes and Capitaynes, the which he found closed within that Castell, of true and faythfull allegeaunce, and then suffered them to go where they lyked.

William Walys flyeth from king Edward.

And when William Walys, which as before is sayde pretended the rule and gouernaunce of Scotland, heard tell that the strong Castell of Estriuelyn was yelded vnto king Edward, and that the Lordes and knightes therein founden (in whome he much trusted) were sworne to the kinges allegeance, he feared sore least the sayde company would betray him, and bring him vnto the king: Wherefore he with his adherentes, withdrewe them into the Marresses, and other such places, where they thought them selues safe from pursuyng of the kinges host.

The Scots submit themselues vnto ye kings mercy.

Then the poore Commons of the lande presented them selues by great companes, and put them wholy in the kinges grace and mercye, so that the king

king then thought that he was in peaceable possession, or at the least in a great suretie of the land. Wherefore, after he had caused to be sworne vnto him the rulers of diuers Boroughes, Cities and townes, with other officers of the lande, he returned vnto Barwike, and so into Englande, and lastly to Westminster.

The comming of Queene Margaret into Englād.

And while the king was thus occupyed in Scotland, the Queene before mencioned, that is to say, the Lady Margaret sister to the French king, was conueyed from Canterbury to London, and by the way there met her fyre hundreth Citizens in one Lyuery of red and white, with the cognisaunce of diuerse misteries brodered vpon their sleues, and receyued hir foure miles without the Citie, and so conueyed her through the Citie, which then was richely hanged, vnto Westminster, and there she lodged.

A straunge liuerie.

When the king was returned out of Scotlande, he caused shortly after an inquisition to be made through his lande, which afterwarde was called Triplebastone. This was made vpon all officers, as Maiors, Shirifes, Baylifes, Exchetors, and other officers that misbehaued themselues in their offices, or had vsed any extorcion or euill dealyng with the kinges people, otherwise then they might lawfully do by vertue of their offices. By reason of which inquisition, many were accused, and redemed their offices by grieuous fynes to the kinges great profite and aduauntage. Other offences and forfeytures were sought out also, as forfeytures agaynst the Crowne, the which brought great summes of money into the kinges Coffers, toward the great charges of his warres that he susteyned in Wales, Fraunce, and Scotland, as before is shewed.

Triplebastō.

And as sayth Polydore, when king Edward returned out of Scotland into England, because he would not leaue any monument or remembraunce of the former estate of their kinges, he caused therefore to be brought from thence a stone Chayre, in the which their kinges were wont to be crowned, and the same nowe remayneth in Westminster Church.

And the sayde tyme also the Lorde Chauncelor and Judges came from Yorke, where they had remayned and kept their termes by the space of seuen yeres, and now came to London by the kinges commaundement.

Langton bishop of Chester, complained to the King vpon Prince Edwarde.

It chaunced at this time that maister Langton then Bishop of Chester, made a grieuous complaint to the king of Sir Edward his eldest sonne, for that he with Piers of Gauestone and other wanton and wilde persons, had broken the Parke of the sayde bishop, and riotously destroyed the game within it. With the which complaint the king was sore agreued against his sonne, and commaunded him to Prison and the other his complices. And afterward when the king was fully and truely informed of the lewde and wanton dispositions of the sayd Piers Gauestone, he therefore banished the sayde Piers out of England for euer. But after the death of king Edward, this banishement continued not, for he was againe restored by his sonne, whereof ensued much harme and trouble, aswell to the king, as also to the Nobles and whole Realme.

The king commaūdeth his eldest son to prison for offending of a subiect.

And this yere dyed Edmond Erle of Cornewall the sonne of Richarde sometime Erle of that Countrie and king of Almayn without Issue, wherefore that Erledome returned againe to the crowne of Englande.

1300
39

And also about this tyme the king gaue vnto Sir Edwarde his sonne

the principality of Wales, & ioyned therunto the said Erledome of Cornewal.

1301
30

A scottishe historie in defacyng of Englishmen and aduauncing themselues.

The writer of the Scottishe Chronicle, namely Hector Boethus setteth foorth a great ouerthrowe that the Scottes gaue vnto the Englishmen in this yere, at Rollyng, where sayth he, there was not one Englishe man that escaped alyue, and he sayeth further, that the Englishmen came vpon them with the number of. xxx. thousand men deuyded into three seuerall battailes, and that the Scottes were in number but eyght thousand men, and yet they gaue the ouerthrow to all the three battailes, beginning with the first whom they vanquished, and then came the seconde and set freshe vpon them, whom also they ouerthrewe, and lastly came the thirde battayle lykewise freshe vpon them, and although the Scottes beyng so small a number, and were sore wearied with the fight and ouerthrow of the two former armies, yet espyeng the thirde to approche, they tooke their stomakes so couragiously vnto them and gaue them so fierce and sharpe an onset, that they ouerthrew them man and mothers sonne. But as sayeth the aforesayde Scot, this victorie lasted not long, for after king Edward heard of thys losse, he returned to Scotland and went thorough the land brennyng and spoylyng the same from the North to the South, and compelled all to sweare to him homage and fealtie and herein ye may beleue the Scot as ye thinke good. But this conquest seemeth to be the same that we spake of in the. xxvij. yere of thys kinges reigne.

A scottishe report of the losse that Englishmen had in Scotlande.

A parliament holden at Cauntorbury.

And thys yere the king helde his Parliament at Cauntorbury.

1304
33

William Walays hanged drawne & quartered.

In the. xxviij. yere of his reigne William Walys was taken in Scotlande at the Towne of S. Dominick, and sent vnto London, and there arreigned and the. xviij. of August he was drawen, hanged, hedded and quartered, and his hed set vpon London bridge, and his foure quarters sent into Scotland, and there hanged vpon the gates of certayne townes of the land.

The Scots agayne sweare allegeaunce to king Edwarde.

And within. xiiij. dayes after, a peace was taken betweene Scotlande and Englande vnto the conclusion whereof, at Mighelmas next followyng, the king then holdyng hys Parliament at Westmynster, thether came out of Scotlande, the Bishop of S. Andrewes Robert Bruze, Sir Symond de Fryfell Erle of Dumbarre, Sir John of Cambrees Erle of Atleys, and Sir John Comyn with other, the which voluntarily were swoorne, in the presence of the king and his Lordes, that they should be true vnto the king of Englande, and keepe the lande of Scotlande to hys vse, agaynst all other persons. And if any rebell or other malicious person disturbed the lande, or brake the kinges peace, they should cause him to be taken and sent vnto the king, with sundry other articles of their allegeaunce which they falsely brake and conspired to the contrarie and that foorthwith.

1305
34

The Scots againe rebell.

Robert le Bruze aboue mencioned returning into Scotlande, did contrary to his othe assemble the Lordes of that realme, and by the counsell of the Abbot of stone and other that fauored his vntruth, he sent vnto Clement the fift then Bishop of Rome for a dispensation of hys othe before made vnto king Edward, and furnished to him that king Edward vered and greeued the Realme of Scotlande wrongfully: wherevpon the Pope wrote vnto king Edward his Letter, the summe and effect whereof ensueth.

The Popes Letter written to king Edward.

THat Pope Boniface being informed and procured by the Scottes, sent his letters vnto the king of England, & therein did first alledge that the kingdome of Scotlande did belong vnto the right of the Church of Rome: And that

that the king of Englande did chalenge the subiection thereof against God and right, and to the preiudice and harme of the Sea apostolike, & for proofe thereof, he allegeth these reasons following.

1 First, that whereas Henry the father of the king that nowe is, obteyned of Alexander king of Scots an ayde and assistence in his warre against Symon Mountfort. To the entent that the same ayde should not be thought to be required or geuen by the right of any subiection or duetie: the same Henry by his letters patents did confesse and acknowledge that he receyued it not of duetie, but of speciall fauour.

2 Also where as he being called vnto the coronation of the king that nowe is, by his letters that he as his friend might in so great solempnities exhibite and geue vnto him his friendly presence. And so he came not of duetie, but of speciall fauour.

3 Furthermore, where as the king of Scotlande came personally vnto the king of Englande to make fealtie vnto him for the landes of Tindale and Pembreth lyng within the realme of Englande, he made that fealtie onely for those landes which lye in Englande, and not as king of Scottes, nor for the kingdome of Scotland: For he openly protested in the presence of all the people that he ought not to make any fealtie vnto the king of England for the kingdome of Scotland.

4 Also that the aforesaide king Alexander left behinde him a young mayde his heyre called Margaret nere vnto the king of England, the supreme dominion of which kingdome came not vnto her, but vnto certaine peeres of the kingdome of Scotlande elected therefore, and therefore she ought not to doe homage vnto him.

5 Also the Pope reproued the king, for as much as he after the decease of the sayde king Alexander subdued vnto him by force, the Scottes being then without a gouernour, and not hauing the helpe of any guyde to the preiudice and no small greeuance of the Church of Rome.

6 Also he affirmed that when the sea of Rome doth commit the office of a Legate to anye man to be executed within the Realme of Englande for the payment of Tithes or for any other lawfull cause, and this Legacy doth not by speciall letters and priuileges of the sea apostolike extend vnto the kingdome of Scotlande, that they shoulde resist and withstande the same, as it chaunced euidently in the time of Adrian: For the Legate was not by anye meanes admitted vnto the sayde king of Scotlande, vntill the office of a Legate there was by speciall letters apostolike committed vnto him.

7 Also that the same realme of Scotlande was conuerted vnto the vnitie of the Catholique fayth, by the reuerend reliques of Saint Peter the Apostle not without the giftes of heauenly grace.

8 Also that in auncient time the Archebishop of Yorke, when a question was moued concerning the right of the Metropolitane against the prelates of Scotlande, coulde not obteyne sentence with him.

¶ These things thus alleged, the Pope admonished the king by his letters to permit and suffer the Bishops, Abbots, Clerkes and all other of the kingdome of Scotlande which he deteyned prisoners, freely to departe, and that he should call home out of the sayde kingdome of Scotlande his officers which he had appointed and set to the preiudice, iniurie and greeuous offence of

of the faythfull people and for the oppression of the iust, whereby he should be the more acceptable and beloued with God, and the better obteyne the fauour o the sea apostolike. And if the king of Englande woulde allege that he had right or title to the kingdome of Scotland or to anye parte thereof, that then he shoulde sende his procurators vnto the sea apostolique and Ambassadors specially appointed with the right lawes and muniments concerning that businesse, and there he should receyue a full performaunce of Iustice.

A parliament holden at Lyncoln.

When the king had read and well considered the aforesayde letter, he then called together his parliament at Lyncolne, and shewed the same letter vnto his Lords, and after long conference had with them, it was agreed that the king shoulde write againe to the Pope in his awne name, concerning the right of his superiorite of Scotlande: But for the latter parte of the same letter, that where the Pope would that the matter should be brought in iudgment before him, that they desyred that they might answere by their letter in their owne names: And soone after the king wrote his letter vnto the Pope as followeth.

The kinges Letter to the Pope.

THe most highe God knoweth it to be registred in oure recordes, the style whereof may neuer be blotted out, that our predecessours and progenitors being kings of Englande haue reigned ouer the kingdome of Scotlande and all the kinges therof, and ouer their temporalties and other things thereunto annexed of long and auncient tyme heretofore, by the title of the superiority and direct dominion, of the same: And haue receyued of the same kinges for the kingdome of Scotlande and of other the Nobles of whome them pleased loyall homage, and due othes of fidelitie. We continuyng the possession of our sayde title and dominion, haue likewise taken the same, as well of the king of Scotlande as of the Nobles of the same Realme. And oure progenitors haue had suche prerogatiue of right and dominion ouer the realme of Scotlande and the kinges of the same, that they bestowed the same vpon their faythfull subiectes, remouing thence for iust causes suche as were their kinges. And so ordeyned and set in their place others to reigne: which things are without doubt to be well knowne and apparaunt to all. Although peraduenture it hath by false insinuation otherwise beene certified through the enuidion of rebellion and enuiours of peace vnto your eares, from whose craftie and imagined faynings, that your holynesse would turne your eares we humbly doe beseeche and craue with deuout affection your fatherly clemencie and excellencie. And for breuities sake, passing ouer actes done in former tyme, that we may touche some for example. In the time of Hely the high Priest and of Samuell the prophet, there was a certaine noble man named Brute of the Troyan stocke, who possessed thys whole Realme, and named it after his awne name Briteyne, wherein were conteyned that parte which now is called Scotland and one other part that was called Cambet, but now it is called Wales. &c. he proceedeth in his sayde letter and proueth that England and Scotland is but one Monarchy, and so discendeth in hys proues from Prince to Prince vntill he come to king Edward named the elder, who was the sonne of king Alured and so successiuely vnto Edward the confessor and Wylliam the conquerour, and last vnto king Henry the thirde this kings father. And at the length hauing declared that the title of the superiour dominion of Scotland was due vnto his father king Henry

Henry the third & so consequently to hym, he concludeth thus, sayeng. Where therfore we doe know our selues in full possession of the same Realme by the title of a full dominion, we neyther can nor ought but represse the insolencie of our subiectes and rebels, and if we finde any, and that in such maner as it shall seeme good by our kingly preheminence. And because by the premisses and other it doth euidently appere and is manifestly knowne, that the sayde kingdome of Scotland, as well by reason of possession as of propertie doth appertaine vnto vs by full right, nor that we haue done nor prouyded anye thing by worde or deede (as we could not) by which anye thing ought to be withdrawne of the same right and possession aforesayde: we humbly beseech your holynesse, the premisses being with good meditation considered, that you wyll vouchsafe to withdrawe your motion of minde, and not to geue credite in thys behalfe vnto the euill wyllers of the contrarie side, but also that you would if it please you with meere affection commend and set forth oure state together with our kingly rightes aforesayde, and thus. &c.

And immediately the Lordes also did vvrite theyr letter vnto the Pope, the tenor vv hereof ensueth.

The letters of the nobles of England written to the Pope.

OUr holy mother the Church of Rome, by whose ministerie the Catholike fayth doth with such perfection in her actes proceede (as we do firmely beleue and holde) that she will be preiudiciall to none: But will mainteyne and preserue the right and title of euery man inuiolate. In a generall Parliament sommoned at Lincolne by our most excellent and souereigne Lorde Edward, by the grace of God king of England, he our sayd souereigne Lord caused certeine letters Apostolike to be brought forth, and seriously to be expounded to vs, which he had receyued from your fatherhood concernyng certein businesse and affayres touchyng the state & condicion of this our realme. The which letters beyng heard, and diligently considered, we perceiued therin to be conteyned thinges both merueylous and straunge vnto vs, which before this time was neuer heard of. For we are certeine (most holy father) and in our parties it is well knowen, as also to many others it remayneth not obscure, that euer sithence the first institution of the Kingdome of England, the kinges thereof, aswell in the tyme of Britons, as of the English men, haue had in their possession the right, title, and dominion of Scotland, or else haue bene the chiefe Lordes in the superiorities both of the right and direct dominion of the sayde Kingdome of Scotland at all tymes continually, and that the sayd kingdome in temporal matters hath not at any time pertayned, or by any right now doth apperteyne vnto the Church aboue sayde. And moreouer the same Kingdome of Scotland hath vnto the progenitors of our sayde king beyng kynges of Englande, and vnto him also of auncient tyme remayned feodarie: Neither hath the king of Scottes and kingdome of Scotlande beene subiect to any other then to the kings of England. Neyther haue the kinges of England concernyng the right and title to the Kingdome aforesayd, or other the perceiles thereof, aunswered, or were bound to aunswere before any iudge spirituall or temporall by reason of the preheminence of their estate or kingly dignitie at al times inuiolately serued and kept. Wherfore hauing treated and diligently deliberated vpon the contents of your letters, the vniuersal assent and consent of all and euery of vs, hath bene, is, and Godwillyng hereafter most firmely shall be, that our foresaid souereigne Lorde the King shall

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in no wise aunswere in iudgement before you, concernyng the right and title to the kingdome of Scotland or other the perceles thereof, nor shall by any meanes submit himselfe to iudgement, nor shall byng his foresayde right and title in doubt, neither shal he send any procurators or Ambassadors vnto your presence in this behalfe, especially forasmuch as the premisses would manifestly tend vnto the dispersion of the title & right of the crowne of this realme of Englande, and kingly dignity, and to the notorious subuersion of the state therof, and also to the preiudice of the liberties, customes & lawes of our forefathers: vnto the obseruation and defence wherof, we are obliged and bound by our othe, the which also we will defende and mainteyne with our whole might and power, God Willyng. Neither do we permit, or in any wise will permit (as neyther we may nor ought) our foresayde soueraigne Lorde the king, yea, although he were willyng to do, or by any meanes to attempt the premisses, beyng thinges vnaccustomed, vnlawfull, preiudiciall and at no time before euer heard of. Wherefore we do reuerently and humbly beseech your holinesse, that you will more benignly suffer and permit our foresayde soueraigne Lord the king (who among other princes of the worlde doth shewe himselfe most Catholyke and deuoute vnto the Church of Rome) quietly to enioy and possesse his aforesayde right, title, liberties, customes and lawes inuiolably without diminucion or disquiet. And vnto this letter, were fixed of the Nobles and Lordes of the Realme (as sayth my recorde) more than an hundreth of the seuerall seales of their armes.

King Edward againe entreth into Scotland with a great armie.

¶ And in the ende of this yere, the king keeping his feast of Christmasse in the North partes, did so soone as the feast was ended prepare an armye against the Scottes: and his sonne Edward Prince of Wales likewise folowyng him with a great host of warlike men, and entered Scotland, and passed through a great part of the same, but found not one Scot that resisted.

At this time also the French king, whose sister beyng called the Ladie Margaret, which the king of England did shortly after mary as shal appere, sent the Abbot of Compeyn and certeine other Ambassadors vnto the king of England, desyryng him to haue peace with the Scottes callyng them hys friendes, which notwithstandyng receyued a short aunswere and so returned in vayne.

King Edward callyng to his remembraunce that the tyme of the truce lately taken betwene him and the French king was almost expired, called his preuy Counsaile vnto him at Westminster sone after the feast of Christmasse, and agreed and sent very noble and honorable Ambassadors vnto the French king, prayng him to declare and shewe his minde whether he had aduisedly determined to haue, truce, warre, or peace: To the which the French king aunswered, that without the presence of the. xij. peeres he could not deale in so weightie a matter, and also that the same Peeres were then occupyed in the prouision of newe warre: But he sayd that within. xv. dayes he loked for their comming. Which tyme beyng come, and they meetyng together, sayde that they would not meddle in the matter without the aduice of the Scottes. And so soone as the Englishe Ambassadours heard this, they returned into England.

A parliament holden at Westminster.

And shortly after king Edward called his Parliament at Westminster, and there declared the delayes and craftie dealyngs of the French king: But in

in the meane time the French king sent his Ambassadors to the king of England. And after a litle conference, it was agreed that both the kinges should mete together in a place conuenient betweene Flaundyrs and Picardie, and that then they would intreat and conclude of a friendly and continuall peace: Which meetyng was done with speede, and the sayde peace concluded vpon sondrie conditions, and among other this was one, that king Edward should take vnto wife Margaret, the sister of Philip le Beawe the Frenche king, and with her was deliuered in peaceable maner the Countie of Gascoyne with all rightes and liberties, in as large maner as the king helde the same in the begynnyng of his warres: The which Margaret while the king was in Scotland was brought vnto Dorner, and so vnto Cauntorbury, where the king maried her in the Month of September, & had by her in proces of tyme two sonnes, named Thomas and Edmond, and a daughter named Margaret. The first of the sonnes was named Thomas of Brotherton, and the second Edmond of Woodstocke.

A peace concluded with the French king.

And in the meane while that this matter was thus complayned vpō to the Pope, the sayd Robert le Bruze made all the labor he might vnto the Lordes of Scotland to be admitted for king of that Region, so ỹ vpon the. viij. day of December, a great assembly of the Lords was made at the Abbey of Stone. And the next day folowyng, by the meanes of the Abbot of that place, many of the sayde Lords assented vnto the will of the sayde Robert, except Sir John Comyn onely. The which in defence of his truth and othe before swozne vnto king Edwarde made many reasons and excuses, but finally sayde that he would not falsefie his othe for no man. And for this cause Robert le Bruce bare vnto Sir John Comyn a great stomacke, and so did many other of the Nobles. But he helde his opinion so firmely and stoutly, that other began to take his part, so that in the counsayle arose such variette of opinions, that the sayd counsayle was dissolued, and anewe assembled at the Gray Friers of Dunfrise, at Candlemasse next folowyng. At which day of assembly, when the cause of their meetyng was by Robert Bruce published and declared, and many of the great Lordes had graunted vnto him their ayde and assistance: But the aforenamed Sir John Comyn and other sate still and sayd nothing. Which Robert le Bruze marked well, and to him sayde: And you Sir John I trust for the defence and weale of this realme, will not be behinde. Whereunto he aunswered: Sir I would that you and all my Lordes here present knewe well, that for the weale, defence, and in the right of this land, I will stand with it to the vttermost of my power: But for that I see, ye rather entend the subuersion then the weale thereof, I geue you therefore knowledge I will neyther ayde you with counsaile, nor yet with strength: And some other also were present which allowed very well the graue saiyng and aunswere of Sir John Comyn. But Robert le Bruze was so amoued therewithall, that when Sir John Comyn, and Sir Roger his brother was departed from the counsaile, and was come into the Church of the Friers, Robert le Bruze folowed him, and wounded him to death with his swozde, and when his brother would haue defended him, he slue him also. After which murder little or no resistaunce was made against the vntrue meanyng and dedes of the sayde Robert le Bruze, so that he at Saint Johns towne was crowned king shortly after.

Robert le Bruze laboreth ỹ lordes to make him kinge of Scotland.

Sir John Comyn a worthie knight.

Sir John Comyn is murdered.

Robert le Bruze crowned king of Scottes.

Aboone

King Edwarde once agayne goeth with a great power to subdue ȳ Scots.

Assoone as king Edward was admonished of the murther of sir John Comyn, and that he had also well considered the continuall vntrouth of the Scottes, he forthwith made prouision and gathered a great power together to enter into Scotland. And hauyng, and holdyng at that time beyng Whitsontide a great feast of his Baronnie at Westminster, and duryng the time of the same feast, he made aboue two hundreth knightes. And assoone as his feast was ended, he sent with a goodly company of knightes and furniture of warlike men, Sir Aymer de valaunce Erle of Pembrooke and Sir Henry Percy Erle of Northumberlande into Scotland, and shortly after the king himselfe folowed with his host.

Battayle of Myethsen.

And it was not long after that the Erle of Pembrooke was arryued with his power in Scotlande, but that Robert le Bruse with a great power of the Scottes were gathered together in a place called Myethsen, euery of them hauing vpon his harnesse a whyte shyrte, and there they bade the Erle battayle. And the Erle with his power set manfully and courageously vpon them, so that there perished with the swoorde that daye a great number of the Scottes that came with the false king. And the sayde false king was that day three times beaten downe, but was euer releued by Sir Symon Frisell that valyaunt warryour, and by the craft and help of his whyte shyrte, he fled and escaped out of the battayle. The names of the chiefe prisoners that were taken at this skirmish of the Scottes were these, Thomas the sonne of Rainulph, Dauid of Inkmartyn, John of Someruile knightes, Nicholas Huttynges Marchall, and Hugh the false kinges Chapleyn who that daye was standard bearer and many other whose names were here to long to reherse. And the aforesayd Hugh the priest with dyuers other were shortly after condemned, but the priest was first hanged because he had sayd, that I the priest will beare your banner and lead you this iourney.

Robert le Bruse flyeth.

King Edwarde entereth Scotlande with a great power.

Sone after the flyeng of Robert Bruse, the king of Englande with his sonne the prince of Wales, being then about the. x. daye of August entered Scotlande being accompanied wyth a great number of the Nobles of the realme and a puyssaunt armie. And of manye of the Scottes the king was honorably receyued, and many fled from him and hid themselues in woodes and mariches. The king going forth in Scotland with his armie, raunged ouer all the lande and tooke many of the fugitiue Scottes, and many he put to death, and also manye he pardoned. But among other that were taken, there were two Bishops and an Abbot which crowned Robert le Bruse the false king, the which were hardly and streightly kept in strong prison so long as the king lyued. There was also taken the aforenamed Symon Frisell in whome rested all the Scottes hope and trust. And there was taken Herebert of Morham, a man of excellent bewtie and stature, farre exceeding all the other Scottes. The aforesayde Symon was shortly after hanged: But Herebert with his Squyre Thomas de boys were behedded. And the head of Symon Frisell for the manifold treasons by him committed was set vpon London bridge nexte vnto the head of Wylliam Walleys who was placed there before.

Symon Frisell taken.

King Edwarde causeth an inquisition to be made thorough the realme of Scotland by the othes of honest and good men, who and how many they were that murdered and consented to the murther of the noble

noble man John Comyn before named, and also to the coronation of the aforesayde Robert Bruse. And in a maner he tooke them all and put them to death. And suche as submitted themselues vnto the kings will and pleasure, he kept in streight and hard prison. And John Seyton and Chrystofer hys brother which were the Esquiers of Robert Bruse, and consented vnto the shamefull murder of the sayde worthy and noble John Comyn were also taken. Of the which John Seyton at New Castell vpon Tyne, and Chrystopher at Dumfrise were hanged, drawen, and quartered.

made in Scotlande for the murder of Sir John Comyn.

Robert le Bruze escaped by flyeng.

And during the time that this iustice was executed vpon the wicked and wretched Scottes, the lewde and vnworthye crowned king Robert Bruse fled into the Mountaynes, hyding hymselfe in suche places as he might best lurck in. And lykewise Sir John of Cambzes Erle of Athles practised to flye and escape, but by the prouydence of God he was taken: which when the king heard, although he was then troubled with grecious sickenesse, yet he bare the same the better, as one much comforted with these newes.

The aforenamed Sir John of Cambzes, Erle of Athes, as I finde in an auncient recorde, after he was apprehended, and among other prisoners committed to warde: There were certaine that resorted vnto the king, and shewed him that this Erle was of the bloud royall, and therfore they thought it vnseemely that he should be committed among the other cõmon offendors. To whome the king not respecting his bloud and progeny sayde: The higher that he is of degree, the more greeuous is his fall: if he among the other murderers did excel in bloud, then is it meete that he for his mischiefe should hang higher then any of the other: Take him, saith he, and carie him to London and there let him haue iustice. And shortly after, that is to say the. vij. day of Nouember, next followyng he was arreigned in Westminster Hall and found giltie of treason, and of the murder of Sir John Comyn, and had iudgement of death. And because he came of the bloud royall as aforesayde, he was not drawne, but was set vpon an horse, and so brought to the place of execution, and there hanged vpon a payre of Galowes that were fiftie foote high, hauing before his eyes a great fyre burnyng, and before he was halfe dead, he was cut downe and behedded, and his body cast into the burnyng fyre, where it consumed vnto Ashes, & his head was set vpon London bridge among the other Traytours and murderers heads, but a great deale higher then the other.

About the ende of Februarie a certaine Scot of Galoway named Dongalous came with three hundreth men and withstood a great Naue of Pirates replenished with. vij. C. men of warre that woulde haue landed vpon his ground: But he set so fiercely vpon them, that what with the fight and by drowning in the Sea and hauen, and followyng such as had recouered land and fled, they in a maner all perished. And among the principall of these theeues that were slaine in thys skirmish, the sayde Dongallus brought vnto the king of England the head of Malcolyn the Lorde of Kentyr, and two heads of two rulers of Irelande. And he brought with him as prisoners Thomas Bruse knight, and Alexander his brother Dean of Glaskowe, both brethren Germaynes of Robert Bruse the false king of Scotland. And also they presented Reynold of Craunford knight which was sore wounded, and halfe dead. Of which number Thomas Bruse knight was drawen, hanged

and hedded. And the reſt were onely hanged and headed at Carliſle.

And the aforeſayde yere there came from the Pope vnto the king of Englande a Cardinall and Mayſter Peter a Spanyard as Ambaſſadors, to conclude a mariage betwene Edward the king of Englands ſonne Prince of Wales, and the Lady Iſabell the daughter of the French king, the which in the yere followyng was fully fynished.

Robert le Bruze eſcaped by flyeng.

Robert le Bruze, after this diſcomfiture and loſſe of his chiefe friends, and fearing leaſt the Scottes with ſuche Engliſhmen as king Edward lefte there, would ariſe againſt hym: did therefore all comfortleſſe flie vnto the king of Norwaye, and there abode during the lyfe of king Edward.

When this noble and valiaunt Prince had thus ſubdued the Scottes, he yeelded thankes vnto almightie God for this victorie. And when he was truely aſſerteyned of the flyeng and departing of Robert le Bruſe, and alſo that he had ſet the lande in a good and quiet order, he returned into England.

The Scottiſhe Lordes beheaded.

And in this meane while, the aforeſayde Lordes of Scotland were arreigned at London, and there condempned and put to death, and their heads ſet vpon London bridge. And ſhortlye after was Iohn Waleys brother to Wylliam Waleys (which for lyke treaſon was put to death the yere nexte before) taken, hanged and quartered, and ſome of the Scottes that were taken as priſoners, remayned there a long time before they were hable to pay their fines.

1306
35

And ſhortly after the king for diuers cauſes returned againe into Scotlande, but ſome ſay he remayned at Barwike and kept hys Chriſtmas and Eaſter there, and did not returne to London vntill the Sommer following.

King Edwarde taken with a greeuous diſeaſe.

And that then in the time of his returne, a ſickneſſe tooke hym ſo feruently, that he knewe well he ſhould die. Wherefore he being at Bourgh vpon the ſandes beyond Carlyle, called to him Sir Aymer de Valaunce Erle of Penbrooke, Sir Henry Percye Erle of Northumberlande, Sir Henry Lacye Erle of Lyncoln, and Sir Robert Clyfford Baron, and cauſed them to be ſworne before him, that they ſhould crowne Edward his ſonne in as conuenient time after his death as they might, and to keepe the lande to his vſe vntill he were crowned.

King Edward giueth a great charge to his ſonne.

And after his Barons had taken the ſayde othe, he then called vnto him his ſonne Edward, and charged him with dyuers pointes vpon his bleſſing: among the which one eſpeciall was, that he ſhould neuer after that daye ſuffer Piers of Gaueſton to returne into Englande, and ſo ſhortly after ended his lyfe vppon the.vij. daye of Julie, when he had reigned. xxxiij. yeres. vij. Moneths and odde dayes. And after with great ſolempnity was conueyghed vnto Weſtmynſter, and there buried in the Chapell of S. Edward vpon the ſouth ſide, in a plaine Tombe of Marble at the head of his father. This noble prince had two wyues, and had iſſue by them as may appere before in the twentie yere, and in the. xxvij. yere of this kings reigne, where it is at large ſet out.

The iſſue of this king is ſet out in the xx. and. xxvij. yere of his reigne.

The deſcription of king Edward the firſt.

This king was of ſtature talle, ſomewhat ſwarte or black of colour, ſtrong of body, and nothing fat, for by much exercise he did eſchewe fatneſſe: he was amiable of countenaunce, hauing black eyes, which when he ware angry, would ſeeme to be fyrie: his heare was black and curled, he was very healthy and of a ſtoute courage, that neuer fayled in any daunger, or aduerſitie, he

tie, he was verie pregnant and had an excellent wyt, and commonly atcheeued any enterpriſe he tooke in hande. He was a great louer and fauourer of religion, but yet a great enemie to the pride and inſolencie of Prieſtes which in his dayes exceeded, and he iudged the ſame onely to ſpring of their wealth and riches. And therfore to bridle their wantonneſſe he eſtabliſhed the lawe for graunting landes in Mortmayn. Of friendſhip he was conſtaunt, and not eaſie to be reconciled where he conceyued a diſpleaſure. And in vacant times he gaue himſelf much to huntyng. Thus much Polidore.

Edwarde the ſeconde.



King Edward the ſeconde.

EDwarde the ſeconde of that name, and ſonne of Edward the firſt, borne at Carnaruan beyng a towne of Wales, began his reigne ouer this realme of England the viij. day of July in the yere of our Lord. 1307. and was crowned king at weſtminſter the. xxiiij. day of Februarye in the yere aforeſayd.

The deſcription of king Edward the ſecond.

This king was fayre of body, but vnſtedfaſt of maners and diſpoſed to lightneſſe. He refuſed the company of his Lordes and men of honor, and haunted among villeynes and vile perſonages. He gaue himſelfe alſo to ouermuche drinking, and lightly he would diſcloſe things of great counſaile: and leſt does that, he was geuen to theſe vices by nature, he was made much worſſe by the counſaile and familiaritie of certein euill diſpoſed perſons, as Piers of Gaueſton, Hugh Spencer the father, and the ſonne, and other, whoſe wanton company and counſayle prouoked him to the appetyte and pleaſure of the bodie, nothyng ordering hys common weale by gadneſſe, diſcretion and iuſtice, which thing cauſed great variance betwene him and his Lords, ſo that ſhortlye he became to them hatefull, and in the ende was depriued of his kingdom.

Piers of Gaueſtone.

But Polidore ſayth, that immediatly after the death of his father he being then in Scotland at Dunfrieze, callyng his counſayle together, did firſt of all cauſe the Lordes and rulers of Scotland to ſweare vnto him homage and fealtie, the which euery one, except certeine that leaned to the part of Robert le Bruze did willyngly offer. And then leauyng ſufficient furniture for defence in Scotland, he returned into England, and ſo to London.

So ſoone as his father was buryed, and the Exequies ſcantly finiſhed, he forgettyng the high and chargeable commaundement of his ſayde father, ſent in all haſt for his olde compire Piers Gaueſton, the which he receyued with all ioy and gladneſſe, and aduaunced him to much honour.

1307
1

And ſhortly after, that is to ſay in December next folowyng, he ſayled in-

King Edward maried to Isabell the French kinges daughter.

to Fraunce, and the .xv. day of January folowyng, he maryed at Boleyn Isabell the daughter of Philip the French king, which, as saith Froisart was one of the goodlyest Ladyes in the worlde. And shortly after he returned wyth her vnto London, where they were honourably receyued of the Citizens, and so conueyed to Westmynster where as it is before rehersed they were both solempnly crowned the .xxiiij. day of Febuary. At the which coronation was such preasse that a knight called Sir John Bakewell was thrested to death.

Piers of Gaueston aduaunced to the Erledome of Cornewall.

And shortly after, the king gaue vnto Piers of Gauestone the Erledome of Cornewall, & the Lordship of Walyngford, and was ruled all by his wanton counsayle, and folowed the appetyte and pleasure of his body, to the great offence of the nobilitie, and no lesse perill of his awne destruction.

1308
2

Langton Bishop of Chester commaunded to the tower.

Nowe shortlye after, the king callyng to hys remembraunce the great displeasure done vnto him and to his familier Piers of Gaueston by the Bishop of Chester, mencioned before in the .xxbiij. yere of the reigne of king Edward the first, commaunded him vnto the Tower of London, where he was streightly kept many dayes after.

Then the Lordes of the land, and specially Sir Henry Lacy, Sir Guy and Sir Aymer de Valance Erle of Lyncolne of Warwike & of Penbrook, to whom the noble Prince Edward the first, had geuen so great charge, that Piers Gaueston should no more come into Englande, sawe the rule of the lande, and howe that the kings treasorie by meane of the sayde Piers was wasted, assembled them in counsell & of one assent, with ayde of other Lords of the realme, so spake to the king, that contrarie to his pleasure, he was aduoyded the land, and banished into Ireland for that yere. But the king sent vnto him often tymes diuerse secrete messengers, and comforted him wyth many rich giftes, and made him his chiefe ruler of that countrie.

Piers Gaueston banished the land.

And afterward, diuerse and sondry grudges happened betwene the king and his Lordes for the banishment of the sayd Piers Gauestone: wherefore to continue amitie betwene him and them, the sayd Piers was fet home againe, and so continued to the more vnquietnes and mischiefe of the realme.

1309
3

The Isle of the Rhodes first recouered by christian men.

About this tyme (as sayth the Aucthor of Chronica chronicarum and other) the knightes of the order of saint John Baptist, called Saint Johns of Jerusalem, by knightly Manhoode, put out of the Isle of Rhodes the Turkes and infidels which to that day had kept and occupied the same Isle: and after that they wanne dayly and yerely vpon the sayd Turkes, so that they had in their possession much of the landes of the Turkes. This Religion of Saint Johns, was greatly preferred, by the fall and suppression of the Templers, whose possessions, landes and goodes were geuen to them.

1310
4

A Table & tresselles of gold take out of the kings Jewell house by Piers of Gaueston.

Gaueston againe banished.

The aforesayde Piers of Gauestone, more and more encreasyng in the kinges fauour, had at the last the guydyng of all the kinges Jewelles and treasure. And at a certeyne tyme he went to Westmynster, and there out of the kinges Jewell house he tooke a Table and a payre of Tressellies of gold, and conueied them with other Jewelles out of the land, to the great empouerishyng of the same. And moreouer, he brought the king by meane of hys wanton condicions to manifold vices, as adulterie, and other. Wherefore the aforesayd Lordes, seyng the mischiefe that dayly encreased by occasion of this vnhappie man, tooke their counsayle together at Lincolne, and there concluded to aduoyde him againe out of England: so that shortly after he was exiled

led in to Flaunders, to the kinges great displeasure.

This yere dyed Philip le Beaw French king, commonly called Philip the fayre.

1311
5

The birth of Edward the kinges eldest sonne, who after was king Edwarde the thirde.

In this yere was borne at Windsore the kinges eldest sonne named Edwarde, which after the death of his father was king of this realme, by the name of king Edward the third, & he was borne the .xiij. day of Nouember.

And this yere also was the aforesayd Gauestone called home againe out of Flaundyrs, which after his returne, did worsse then euer he did before: In somuch that he disdeyned the Lordes of England, flouted, scorned, and rudely taunted them. Wherfore the Lordes assented and agreed to put him to death: And soone after assemblyng theyr powers, they besieged him in the Castell of Scarborough, and in short tyme wanne the Castell, and tooke him and brought him vnto Gauerseede beside Warwike, and there the .xix. daye of June smote off his heade. But when the king was informed thereof, he shewed himselfe to be most grieuously displeased with the sayd Lordes, and made a solemne vowe that his death should be reuenged, as afterwarde it was, as shall appere.

Gaueston beheaded by the Lordes.

The king greatly offended with the death of Gaueston.

Nowe by this occasion, the rancour and Malice that before was kindeled betwene the king and his Lordes, was againe so encreased and inflamed, that it burst out to the vnderstanding of the whole realme: For after this day the king neither studied nor endeuored himselfe to any thing so much, as to seeke some cause agaynst his Lordes, that by some one meane or other, hee might attaine to an occasion of reuengement, for the death of the aforenamed Gauestone. In this meane tyme dyed Sir Henry Lacy Erle of Lincolne, the which lying vpon his death bed charged Sir Thomas Erle of Lancaster that had maryed his daughter, that he should stand with the other Lordes in the defence for the weale of England, the which request the said Erle graunted, and so did firmely obserue and kepe it, which was the occasion of the losse both of his awne life, and of many others also, as after shall appere.

1312
6

At this tyme the king helde his high Court of Parliament at London, where by the aduice of his Lordes, he made many good ordinaunces and statutes for the suppression of riots and other mischiefes that then reigned: And in the ende, the king was sworne to keepe them, and so were all his Lordes.

The returne of Robert le Bruse.

And shortly after, worde was brought vnto the king that Robert le Bruse was returned into Scotlande, and had caused the Scottes to rebell of newe. Before in the .xxxiij. yeere of king Edwarde the first ye haue heard how the sayde Edward chased the aforenamed Robert le Bruse out of Scotland into Normandy. But as it may be well coniectured, nowe when he vnderstoode of the misgouernaunce of the realme of Englande, and specially of the deuision betwene the king and his Lordes, he was encouraged with a small ayde of the Normans to returne againe into Scotland, where he behaued himselfe in such wise to the Lordes of Scotland, that sone after they agayne made him king of the Realme, and then warred he sore vpon England, and wanne many Castels and strong holdes, and did to the Englishmen great harme and dammage, and (as sayth Sir John Froissart) the Scottes came brennyng and spoylyng this Realme, so farre, that they were foure or fiue dayes iourney within the Realme of Englande.

1313
7

Nowe when the king was truely certefyed of thys great rage of the

Scottes, he with all conuenient speede made prouision to resist them, and gathering together a great power did passe by water and entred into Scotland and brent and destroyed suche villages and townes as lay in his way without all mercye. Whereof, when Robert le Bruze had knowledge, he with the whole power of Scotland coasted toward the Englishmen, and vpon Mydsomer day, mette with king Edwarde and his hoast at a place called Estrecuelyn, neere vnto a freshe ryuer that then was called Bannokesborne, where betweene the Englishmen and the Scottes was that daye foughten a most terrible and bloudie battayle: But the victorie fell to the Scottes, and the Englishmen flyeng, were chased of the Scottes so egerly, that many of them were drowned in the aforenamed ryuer, and many a noble man of Englande was that day slayne in that battayle, as Sir Gilbert de Clare Erle of Glouceſter, Sir Robert Clifford, Sir Edmond of Maule the kinges Steward, with other Lordes and Barons to the number (as sayth Guydo de Columna) of.xliij. and of knightes and Baronets to the number of.lxvij. beside.xxij. men of name, which that day of the Scottes were taken prisoners. And the king himselfe scaped with great daunger from that battayle, and wyth a fewe horse and small company came to Berwike, where he rested for a time. But Hector Boethus the Scot, whose nature is so shamefully and monstruously to lye, (that all the worlde may perceiue it) writeth that at this battayle were slaine fiftie thousand Englishmen with the Duke of Glouceſter and two hundreth knights. But beleue him as it pleaseth you. And after the Scottes had obteyned this victorie, they being enflamed with pride, published in the derision and mockage of Englishmen manye fond and foolishe rymes, the which I thinke meete to omit.

The battaile of Estrecuelyn

The Englishmen discomfited of the Scottes.

Hector Boethus a shamelesse lyer.

And after that king Edward had set the Towne of Barwike in as good order and suretie as he then might, he returned into England, and with small honour and lesse courage came to Westmynster the.xix. day of August.

King Edward returneth into England.

1314
8

And not long after a vileyne called John Poydras a tanners sonne of Ercester went about in diuers places of Englande and named himselfe to be the sonne of king Edward the first: & sayde that by meane of a false Norice, he was stollen out of his Cradell, and Edwarde which was a Carters sonne was layde in the same Cradell in his place, and he himselfe was afterwarde hardely fostered and brought vp in the North parte of Wales. But when this vileyn was layde for to be taken, for feare he fled to the Church of the whyte Fryers in Oxford: where he thinking to haue beene safe and sure, because king Edward the first was founder of that Church, and there he rehearsed agayne the former sayeng, addyng more therevnto, that it appeered well that the king was a Carters sonne, for hys conditions were accordyng to the same, as hys maners daylie vsed did manifestly expresse and shew.

A Counterfeater that named himselfe king Edward the seconde.

When thys vileyn had thus continued a whyle, not wythout some rumour in the lande, lastly he was taken out of that place and caryed as a Felon vnto Northampton, and there was arreigned and iudged for his falsenesse, and so drawen and hanged. The which at the houre of his death confessed that he had a Fende in his house in the similitude of a Cat, the which among other promises to him made, he assured him that he should be king of Englande. And Fabian sayth that he confessed that he had serued the sayde Fende three yeres before, to bring his purpose about.

John Poydras a Traytour hanged drawen and quartered.

Thus

Thus king Edward beset with manye aduersities kept a counsayle at Yorke sayth Polidore, for preparation of warre with Scotlande, and other things meete to be done for the weale of the realme of England. And shortly after Sir Peter Spalding knight was sent to Barwike with a crewe of Souldiours to fortefie that Towne, because the king had a certaine vnderstanding, that Robert le Bruze entended hastely to lay siege to that Towne.

A counsayle kept at Yorke.

Sir Peter Spalding knight.

1315
9

And not long after the sayde Castell and Towne of Barwike was yelden or lost, by treason of the aforesayde Sir Peter Spalding (as the common fame went) vnto Robert le Bruze king of Scottes. Also in this tyme was great misery in England by dearth of Corne, scarcetie of victualles and Moreyn and death of Cattell. Moreouer, in this time was sent into Englande two Cardinalles from Clement the fift Bishop of Rome to set an vnity and peace betwene the kinges of England and Scotland, and as they were ryding into Scotland they were met withall vpon the Moore of Wigilsdon in Yorkeshire, and there robbed of suche stuffe and treasure as they brought with them. After which robbery, great inquirie was made, and at the last two knightes named Sir Gilbert Myddleton and Sir Walter Selby with vi. hundred men were accused to be the doers of the same, and were committed to prison for that felony, and after were at London condempned, drawen and hanged for the same, and their heades set vpon London Bridge: But the Cardynalles recepued of the king double the value of their harmes.

The Castell of Barwike was yelded to the king of Scottes.

Two Cardinalles were robbed.

Gilbert Middleton and Walter Selby knightes condemned and hanged.

About this time also, Sir Goslyn Deynuile and his brother (as sayth John Hardyng) hauyng in his compayne two hundreth persons clothed in Fryers weedes, passed thorough the Countries as Outlawes and banished men, and robbed and spoyled all that they coulde meete with, and namely, they robbed and spoyled the Bysshop of Durhams house and left nothing therin but bare walles, but at the last they were taken and hanged at Yorke.

And in the ende of this yere fell suche aboundaunce of rayne and vnseasonable weather, that they could not carie in that little corne that they had on the grounde, by reason whereof followed great scarcetie, dearth, pestilence and death both of men and beastes.

Now againe the Scottes entred into Northumberland, and robbed and brent the Countrie most cruelly, and spared neither man, woman, nor childe, and did so great harme, that the Country was thereby greatly impouerished. To this mischiefe also was ioyned another misery: For as it is rehearsed before, victuall by reason of the Moreyn was wared so scant and dere, that people were forced to eate Dogges, and other vncleane and filthie beastes, as Fabian and other do recite. And the dearth of graine was so great this yere that wheat was solde for foure marke a quarter, which if you conferre with the value of an ounce of siluer then currant, as is before expressed in the.xv. yere of king Edward the first, which was.xx. pence, with ỹ time now which is the tenth yere of the reigne of our souereigne Ladye Queene Elizabeth in the which an ounce of siluer is currant for fiue shillinges, then after that rate, foure marke a quarter of that money, is of the money that is now currant with vs. viij. pound, and that is.xx. shillinges a bushell, which may well be called both a great prise, and a great dearth: and by reason of this dearth of grayne, and scarcitie of victuall, and of the warres with the Scottes, the people dyed and perished both by hunger and pestilence, so that the land was greatly

1316
10

A great scarcitie.

A great dearth.

A great plague.

greatly wasted and almost desolate of people, for the people liuing were scant so many in number as were able to bury the dead.

Yet the king assembled againe as great a power as he could get in thys realme of England, and went into Northumberland to resist the malice of the Scottes, which daply made assaultes vpon the Borders, and entered far within the realme of England, robbyng, brennyng and spoylyng the same. Wherefore, for great lacke and distresse of men, the king had manye people out of the South and East partes of England. And among other, the Citie of London, contrary to their liberties, were constreyned to find at their costes and charges two hundreth men, and so sent them to Yorke.

When the king then beyng at Yorke had receyued his people from sundry Countries and good townes of England, he with a conuenient number road toward Barwicke, and so sped his iourney, that at the length he came nere vnto Barwike, and layde his siege about the same.

The Scots commeth into Yorkshire, and cruelly burneth and spoyleth.

But while the king was busyed in the assault of the towne, the Scottes brake ouer the water of Swale in great number, and leauing the cost where the kinges people lay, in secret wise came downe into the marches of Yorkeshire, and there slue the people and robbed them in most cruell wise. Wherefore the Archebishop of Yorke constreyned of pure necessitie to defende that Countrie, gathered vnto him an vnredy and dispurueyed host for the warre, as Priors, Clerkes, Chanons, and other ministers of the Church, with husband men and other vnmete people: and so with a great number of men, and fewe warlye or discrete Capitaines, he went against the Scottes, and encountered them at a place called Mitton vpon Swale, the .xij. day of the moneth of October: But for lacke of wise and warly prouision, the Englishe men were beset of their enemies vpon euery syde, so that of them were slaine a great multitude, and the remnant put to shameful flight, by the which flight the sayde Archebishop, with the Abbot of Selby and other were preserued. And because in this Battayle there were slaine so many spirituall men, therfore it was after called of many writers the white battaile.

The Englishmen were againe discomfited of the Scots.

The king agayne returneth with great losse.

When the king was informed of this ouerthrow of the Northren men, and also that it drewe so nere wynter, he therefore brake vp his siege and returned vnto Yorke, and shortly after went further into England.

At this tyme there was nothing done that concerned the order and gouernement of the realme, without the aduice and counsayles of sir Hugh the Spencers, the father and the sonne, by whose procurement many thinges were done in England to the great grudge, as well of the noble men of the realme, as of the comons of the same, so that they were had in as great hatred and indignation, as before tymes was Piers Gaueston. And many euill reportes and great extorcions were tolde of them, as commonly it happeneth to all those that are out of fauour with the common people.

Sir Hugh Spencer the father, and sir Hugh Spencer the sonne ruled all England.

1318
12

This yere the king helde his counsayle or Parliament at Yorke, where contrary to the mynde of the Lordes Sir Hugh Spencer the sonne was made high Chamberlaine of England: By reason whereof he waxed so hautie and prowde, that no Lorde of this land durst displease him at any tyme, whereof grewe the occasion of the Barons warre, as after shall appere.

A parliament at Yorke.

Before ye heard of two Cardinalles that came to trauaile to make a peace betweene the two kinges, but it would not be, wherefore the king purchased

chased a curse of Iohn the .xxij. Bishop of Rome, to accurse the Scottishe king and all that helde with him, or mainteyned him. But it auayled nothing, but put the king to great costes and charges, for the Scottes ceassed not for all their curssynges, and the poore commons were so vexed and that with so many troubles, as losse of their moueable goodes, of their possessions, and of all that euer they had, not onely by the forreyne enemie, but euen here among our awne people, by reason of the misgouernance of the king, as also by the trouble and variaunce that was betwene him and his Lordes: so that many were vtterly vndone, & a fewe singuler disordered persons aduaunced.

Now when the greatest part of the Baronny of England beheld this miserie of the people, how they were punished by the hand of God, and also by the ignorance of the king, they in secret maner assembled themselues together at a towne called Sherborne, and there concluded a reformation for this mischiefe, which was, to remoue from the king the sayd Spencers, both the father and the sonne. And that this might take effect, Sir Thomas Erle of Lancaster, Sir Humfrey Bohum Erle of Herford, Sir John Mowbray Baron, Sir Roger Cliffords Baron, Sir Goslyn Daniell Baron, Sir Roger Toket, Roger Benefield, Sir Roger Mortimer, sir William Sulland, Sir William Elmenbridge, Sir John Gifford, and Sir John Tyers, Barons and knightes with diuers other, sware eche of them to stand by other vntill they had amended the state of the realme.

The Barons assembled in a counsaile at Shereborne.

And shortly after, by their aduice and agrement, Sir John Mowbray, Sir Roger Clyfford, and Sir Goslyne Danyell, with a strong company entred vpon the Manours, and Castelles of the sayde Spencers, standyng in the Marches of Wales, and spoyled and destroyed them. Of the which ryot the Spencers complayned to the king. And for an order of due punishment for these to be taken, ỹ king called vnto him dyuers of his counsell at Wyndsore, and there it was determined that the sayde Sir John Mowbraye, Sir Roger Clifford and Sir Goselyn Danyell should appere before the kinges counsell shortly after, and there to make answere vpon that ryot. And if they refused that to doe, that then they should aduoyde the lande shortly after as banished men. But no day of apparaunce was kept by them. Wherefore proclamations was made in dyuers places of the realme and at London the .xvj. day of Marche, that the sayde Sir John Mowbraye, Sir Roger Clifford and Sir Goslyne Daniell, should aduoyde the lande within .x. dayes following vpon paine of death. Whereof hering the Lords and Barons before named, reassembled them a more strong power, and vpon that sent a messenger vnto the king, beseeching hym humbly, to exclude and remoue from him the counsell of the Spencers, which daylie did vnto him great dishonour, and to the common weale of the realme great hinderaunce. The king heering this humble request, was with it nothing content, but yet fearyng greatly the destruction of his awne person, assembled his counsaile for the reformation of thys matter: where it was concluded, that the king shoulde call a Parliament at London. And foorthwith the king wrote his letters and sent thesame vnto the sayde Barons, commaundyng them at a daye prefixed to bee at the sayde Parliament, who at the day appointed, made their appearaunce at London, bringing with them a great hoste of men of armes in a suite of Iacquets or Cotes parted, yelow and greene, with a band of white

A ryot begon by the Barons against ỹ Spencers.

A message sent to ỹ king from the Barons that he should remoue the Spencers.

The Parliament of white Bandes.

cast

caſt ouer thwart. And for this cauſe, that Parliament long after was of the common people called the Parliament of whyte bandes.

At this tyme the Maiour of the Citie of London for the preſeruation of the ſayd Citie, & for the ſure keeping of the kings peace, cauſed daylie a thouſand men being well armed, to warde the Gates and water ſydes of the ſayd Citie, and the ſame warders or watchemen to begynne their watche at foure of the clock in the morning, and ſo continued vntill.vj. of the clock at night. At which tyme, as manye were ordeyned for to take the charge of the night watch, and ſo to continue vntill the houre of fiue of the clock in the morning. And becauſe the night watch ſhould be the more duely kept, therefore there was aſſigned nightly two Aldermen to ryde about the Citie with certaine officers of the Towne to ſee the watchmen well and diſcreetely ordred and guided. And the gates were ſhut at. ix. of the clock, and opened againe at.vj. in the morning, and euery Citizen was warned to haue his harnes by him, that he might be readie with ſhort warnyng whenſoeuer he were called.

The Citie of London was garded with a watch both day & night.

Thus duryng the tyme of the Parliament which was holden at Weſtmynſter, the watch, as aforeſayde, was holden and kept in London. And among other things it was ordeyned in that Parliament for the weale of the lande that Sir Hugh Spencer the father, and Sir Hugh the ſonne, ſhould be baniſhed out of the realme of Englande for terme of life. And ſhortly after that baniſhment was put in execution, ſo that they both were brought vnto Douer, there to take ſhypping. Where Hugh the father made great mone when he ſhould take his ſhip, and curſſed his ſonne in the hering of thoſe that had the guyding of them, ſayeng: that by his meanes he was baniſhed from the Flowre of all the landes chriſtened.

The Spencers both father and ſon baniſhed.

Then the king diſſolued the Parliament, and euery man returned to his awne. But it was not long after but that worde was brought to the king, that Sir Hugh Spencer the ſonne houed vpon the coaſte of England, and tooke prayes of all Marchaunts that paſſed by his courſe: But the king made as though he vnderſtood no ſuche thing, and ſuffred that and many mo euill deedes to go vnpunniſhed, the which at length he repented full ſore, and toke therof great remorſe of conſcience as appereth in the ende of his reigne.

1319
13

The king being bewitched with the loue of the aforeſayde Spencers did now agayne reuoke the actes and ordynaunces made in the laſt Parliament, and called againe into Englande the foreſayde Spencers to theirs and his caſtyng awaye, as after it ſhall appeere, and ſet them agayne in auctoritie as high as euer they were, mawgre the heart and minde of all his Barons, and to the great vnquietneſſe of all the realme. And ſhortly after beganne quarell piking, and the king beganne claymyng a title by the Queene of the Caſtell of Ledes in Kent, which belonged to ſir Barthen Bladeſmore knight then being on the Barons party, and the king beſieged the ſayde Caſtell, and by the helpe of the Citizens of London did at the laſt by ſtrength wynne the ſame, and ſpoyled the moueables thereof, which were of a great value.

The Spencers are called home againe by the king.

Nowe when the king had thus called home the Spencers, and things were ruled and gouerned after their ſenſuall appetites and pleaſures, without hauing any reſpect or regard to the common weale of the realme of England. The Barons alſo well pondering and conſidering among themſelues that this lewde kinde of gouernment vſed by the Spencers muſt of neceſſity at

at the laſt bring the lande to great ruyne, and the king to great diſhonour: they entendyng to preuent the miſchiefe that might enſue thereof, gathered vnto them a great power. And in the meane time that Sir Thomas Erle of Lancaſter was gathering of his people, the two Mortymers, that is to ſay, Sir Roger Mortymer of warke, and Sir Roger of Wygmore with other, went vnto the Marches of Wales, and tooke by ſtrength certayne Cities and Townes belongyng to the Spencers, and purſued alſo ſome of the kinges ſeruauntes. Wherfore the king heryng of the rebellion of hys Lords, made haſtie ſpeede, and with a great hoſte came about by Shrewſbury, and was neere vnto them before they were ware of hym, ſo that for feare, the ſayde Mortymers yeelded themſelues vnto the kings grace and mercy, the which forthwith were conueyed as priſoners vnto the Tower of London.

The Barons aſſemble their powers againſt the Spencers.

The Mortimers taken and committed to the Tower.

1320
14

When the king had ſet all thinges in order about the marches of Wales, he then gathered more ſtrength about him, and therefore about the begynnyng of March, he ſet forward and came to Glocester, where the Spencers with all their people met with him. And from thence they went to Lichefield, at which tyme the Erles of Lancaſter and of Herford with their hoſt were at Burton vpon Trent, and fortefied the bridge, that the king might not come ouer the ſayde Riuer. Then the king was brought vnto a foorde, and began to ſet ouer his knightes, whereof heeryng the ſayde Erles, they forſooke the towne and fled. But before they could paſſe farre vpon their iourney, they were encountered of Sir Aymer de Valaunce Erle of Pembrooke, with the Spencers and other of the kinges hoſt vpon the.xij. of March, and them did ouerſet, and cauſed them to flie, who at the laſt came to Pomfret. In thys meane tyme, the Erle Thomas had ſent a knight of his named Robert Holland, into Lancaſhire for to arrere his tenauntes. But when the ſayde Sir Robert heard of the ſayde ſkirmiſhe, and howe his maiſter was fled, he then drewe to the king, and preſented him with ſuch company as he then brought. And thus the kinges power daylye encreaſed, and the Barons diſcreaſed. Then the Barons heeryng of the goyng of Sir Robert Holland vnto the kinges partie, were therewithall aſtonied, and tooke their counſaile in the Friers of Pomfret, where after ſondrie reaſons and argumentes, they concluded that they would go vnto the Caſtell of Dunſtanborough, and there to remaine vntill ſuch tyme as they might purchaſe the kinges mercie. And as they ſet forward vpon their purpoſed iourney, takyng with them ſuch people as they had, at the laſt they came to a towne called Burghbridge, where they were encountered of Sir Andrew of Harkeley knight, with other that were come out of the North with a ſtrong company: Who gaue there an onſet vpon the Barons, and in the ende diſcomfited them, and chaſed their people. In the which fight was ſlaine the Erle of Herford, ſir Roger Benefielde, and ſir William Sulland, and other: and there was taken the Erle of Lancaſter, ſir Roger Clifford, ſir John Mowbray, ſir Roger Tuckettes, ſir William Fitz William, with dyuerſe other, and they were led to Yorke. And this fielde was faughten the.xv. day of March. 1320.

The Barons flie and are taken.

Thomas erle of Lancaſter and diuers other of the Barons taken, and committed to dyuerſe priſons & after were beheadded to the number of.xxij. Noble men.

It was not long after that Sir Hugh Daniell, and Sir Barthew de Bladiſmore were taken. And ſir Thomas Erle of Lancaſter was brought againe to his awne towne of Pomfret, where he was brought in iudgement before ſir Aymer de valaunce Erle of Pembrooke, ſir John Briteyn Erle of Richmond,

Richmond, ſir Edmond of Woodſtock Erle of Kent, ſir Hugh Spencer the father, and ſir Robert of Malmeſtrope Juſtice with other, and finally he was by them condemned and iudged to haue his head ſtricken off, which was done the. xii. day of Apzill next folowyng.

Thomas Erle of Lancaſter beheaded.

From this tyme forward for the ſpace of foure yeres, the Spencers encreaſed merueilouſly in fauour and auctho̊zitie with the king, and as faſt decayed the fauour of the king towardes the Queene, vntill ſuch tyme as ſhee was relieued by her bzother the French king, as after ſhall be ſhewed.

But nowe to returne where we left. The ſame ſame day that the afozeſayde Erle of Lancaſter was put in execution, Sir Roger Tuckettes, Sir William Fitz William, ſir Waren of Iſelde o̊z Iſell, ſir Henry of Bzadbozne, and ſir William Cheyny Barons and knightes, were alſo dzawen and hanged, and their heades ſmitten off and ſent to London, which were all put to death at Pomfret afozeſayde, with an Eſquier called John Page. And at Yozke ſoone after was dzawne and headed Sir Roger Clifford, Sir John Mowbzay, and ſir Goſelyn Daniell, Barons. And at Bziſtow, ſir Henry Womington, and ſir Henry Mountford Banerettes: And at Glouceſter ſir John Gifford, and ſir William Elmenbzidge knightes: And at London ſir John Tyers Baron: And at Wynchelſey, ſir Thomas Culpeper knight, and at Windſoze, ſir Fraunces Waldenham Baron, and at Caumtozbury, ſir Bathew Gladyſmooze, and ſir Bartholl de Aſbozneham Barons, and at Cardiffe in Wales, ſir William Flemyng knight.

A parliamẽt at Yozke.

After that the king had thus executed and ſubdued his Barons, he ſommoned a Parliament at Yozke about Whitſontide next folowing, in the which Parliament Edward the kinges ſonne was firſt made Pzince of Wales and Duke of Aquitaine, Sir Hugh Spencer the father was made Erle of Winchester, and ſir Andzew of Harkelay, Erle of Carleyle, and in the ſame were diſherited all ſuche as befoze tooke partes, o̊z had holden with the Erles of Lancaſter, and Herffo̊zd, except ſir Hugh Daniell and fewe other, the which ſyr Hugh was receyued to grace, becauſe he had maryed a kinneſwoman of the kinges.

Sir Hugh Spencer the father made Erle of winchester.

Shoztly after Maiſter Robert Baldock, a man of euill fame and name, was by the king made Chauncelour of England. And he helped forwarde that good ſtoze of forfeites and fines were gathered into the kinges treaſury, without ſparyng of pziuileged places o̊z other: ſo that whatſoeuer could be found, the ſame was ſeaſed for the king: By reaſon whereof, much treaſure was bzought vnto the kinges Coffers, beſides great thinges that were bybed and ſpoyled by the Officers of diuers ſhires.

Robert Baldock an euill man made Chauncelour of England.

1321
15

This yere ſayth Fabian, the king gathered the firſt penny of all temporall mennes goodes within England, Ireland, & Wales, which was graunted vnto him in the afozeſayd Parliament for the defence of Scotland: which money was not payed without great murmure and grudge, conſideryng the manifold miſeries that the common people at thoſe dayes were wzapped in. And this yere alſo (as Fabian ſayth) the Sunne appered to mannes ſight as red as blood, and ſo continued by the ſpace of fiue houres, and it was vpon the laſt day of October.

A great faire.

The ſonne appered as red as blood.

About this tyme the Scottes entendyng to do a feate in Ireland, and to ſubdue that countrie to their obeyſaunce, entered it with a ſtrong hoſt vnder their

their Capitaine, Edward le Bzuze, bzother to the Scottiſh king. But the Iriſhe men bare them ſo manfully, that they vanquiſhed the Scottes, and chaſed them out of that countrie. In which chaſe and fight the ſayd Edward le Bzuze and many other noble men of Scotland were ſlaine.

Edward le Bzuze the bzother of the king of Scots ſlaine.

1322
16

Nowe againe the king made great pzouiſion for to haue entred vpon Scotland, ſo that he was entring the lande about the beginnyng of Auguſt. But the Scottes hauyng knowledge of the greatneſſe and ſtrength of hys armie, withdzewe themſelues into Mountaynes, Mariſſes and other ſuche places, as the Engliſhe army could not come at them: And this was done by the Scottes of purpoſe to werye and tyer the Engliſhe army. And ſhoztly after among the hoſte entered ſundzie diſeaſes and ſickneſſes, ſo that many of them dyed, and were caſt away in that iourney, aſwell for lack of victuall, as by other infirmities, ſo that the king for theſe cauſes & other, was conſtreyned to returne againe into England without doyng any notable act: Wherof when the Scottes were infozmed, ſir John Douglas, and other Capiteines folowed and coſted the king in ſuch wiſe, that they had almoſt taken the king at dinner, at an Abbey called Bellaunde. Then the king of pure conſtraint defended himſelfe, and withſtood the Scottes ſo well as he might. But after a ſmall and weake fight, the king was compelled to flie, and by that meane to ſaue him ſelfe.

The king againe entreth Scotland but returneth home without any victozy.

In the afozeſayde ſkirmiſhe was taken Sir John Bzitayne Erle of Richemonde, and the kinges treaſour was there ſpoyled and caried awaye, and the ozdynaunce belongyng to the hoſte, a great parte of it, was by the Scottes caryed into Scotlande.

Then the Scottes in their returne homeward, wanne the Caſtell of Nozham, and robbed the Towne of Nozthallerton, and other. For this loſſe and harmes Sir Andzew of Harkeley Erle of Carleyſle was much blamed and charged by miſleadyng of the kinges hoſte.

This yere it was ozdeyned, that when anye theefe o̊z other treſpaſſer ſhould be hanged, that from thencefozth, the ſame ſhould foozthwith be cut downe and buried, where befoze they were wont to hang ſtill vntill they were conſumed.

Theues being dead was appoynted to be buryed.

1323
17

The king now being infozmed that the great diſhonour and loſſe befoze mencioned by the Scottes, happened by the vntruth and treaſon of the afozeſayde Sir Andzewe of Harkeley Erle of Carleiſle, cauſed a knight named Sir Anthony Lucye to areſt the ſayde Sir Andzewe Erle of Carleyl, and to bzing him ſafely vnto hys pzeſence. And the ſayde Sir Anthony made ſuche ſpeede herein that the ſecond day of Marche folowyng the ſayde Erle was taken, & ſo kept in pziſon vntill October next folowyng, at which tyme the ſayde Sir Andzewe was arreigned and condemned for that he had taken money of the Scottes to betray the king his naturall Lozde. For the which treaſon he was at Weſtcheſter o̊z at Shzewesbury dzawen and hanged, and his head ſent after to London, and ſet vpon the Bzidge.

Sir Andzew Erle of Carliſle, hanged dzawen and quartered for treaſon.

At this time alſo, the warre began to quicken in Guyan betweene the Engliſhmen and Frenchemen, whereof the occaſion was (ſayth the French Chzonicle) for a Baſtile o̊z Fozteſſe buylded by the Lozde Mount Pelart, a Lozde of Gaſcoyne, vpon the Frenche kinges ground, as the Frenchemen ſayde: But the Gaſcoynes and Engliſhmen iuſtified it to be within the terri-

toꝛy of Guyan. Foꝛ this, firſt began great woꝛds, and after many thꝛeates, but in the ende, moꝛtall warre. So that the Gaſcoynes, with the ayde of the kings Steward of Englande ſlue many of the Frenchemen that came to ouerthꝛowe the ſayde Baſtile.

When Charles the French king heard of the ouerthꝛow of the Frenchmen, and howe the Gaſcoynes foꝛtified the ſayde Baſtile within his ſayde Seignoꝛy as he was infoꝛmed, he ſent with all ſpeede his Uncle Charles de Ualoys with a great hoſte, who made ſharpe and cruell warre agaynſt the Gaſcoynes, and wanne from them the Towne of Angeow and Anyas with dyuers other, and at the laſt came vnto the Townes oꝛ Citie of Ryoll, and layed ſiege vnto the ſame: But the Engliſhmen with the Gaſcoynes iſſued out of the towne and gaue battaile vnto the Frenchemen, and put them to the woꝛſe, and ſlue. xiiij. C. of them. Among the which a Lorde, called the Lord of Saint Flozentine, with other noble men of Fraunce were ſlayne, and the other enfoꝛced to lye further from the Towne. Howbeit in the ende, the ſayd Towne by appoyntment was yelden to the Frenchmen vpon condition, that all ſuche Engliſhmen as were within the Towne ſhould go freely with their goodes to Burdeaux, oꝛ if they woulde remaine there ſtill, then to be ſwoꝛne vnto the French king, and to remayne there as Frenchmen.

The City of Ryoll beſieged by the Frenchmen.

The Frenchmen diſcomfited.

After which Towne yeelded as afoꝛeſayde, Sir Edmond of Woodſtock the kinges bꝛother, then beyng at Burdeaux as the kinges Deputie, made ſuche reſiſtaunce agaynſt the ſayde Charles de Ualoys, that a truce was taken foꝛ that yere.

And about Mydlent next folowyng, the king hauing knowledge of this warre in Guyan, and howe the French king entended to ſeaſe all Gaſcoyne and Guyan, foꝛ bꝛeaking of couenauntes betweene them made, and not by king Edward perfoꝛmed, ſent ouer the Queene his wife the French kinges ſiſter to entreate an agreement and peace betweene them, as ſayth Fabian. But Sir John Froiſſart in his hiſtoꝛie, ſheweth the cauſe of her goyng to be otherwiſe, and wꝛyteth as followeth.

The cauſe of the Queenes goyng into Fraunce.

When the Queene (ſayth he) perceyued the pꝛide of the Spencers and howe they pꝛeuayled with the king, and had cauſed him to put to death the greateſt parte of the nobles of his realme of Englande, and alſo that they bare towarde hir a ſower countenaunce, and ſhe fearing leaſt they ſhould haue put ſomething into the kinges head, that might haue beene to the peꝛill of her lyfe, was theꝛefoꝛe deſyꝛous to be out of this feare, and pitiyng alſo the miſerable gouernement daylie pꝛactiſed and vſed agaynſt the whole ſtate and communaltie of the Realme in all kinde of tyꝛannies and cruelties, by theaforeſayde Spencers. The Queene theꝛefoꝛe purpoſed nowe to flye the Realme and to go into Fraunce, and theꝛefoꝛe did feyne her ſelfe that ſhee would go on pilgꝛimage to Saint Thomas of Cauntoꝛbury, from whence ſhe tooke hir way to Winchelſey, and in the night entred into a ſhip which before was pꝛepared foꝛ her, and had with her, her eldeſt ſonne Edwarde, and the Erle of Cane. and Sir Roger Moꝛtymer, who a little before bꝛake out of the Tower of London, as after ſhall be ſhewed. And in another Ship they had placed their neceſſarie pꝛouiſion and furnyture & then hauyng wind at will, they arriued ſhoꝛtly at the hauen of Boleyn in Fraunce, where ſhee was moſt ioyfully receyued of the Capiteyne of the Towne, and alſo of the Abbot

The Queene landeth at Boleyn in Fraunce.

Abbot there, who conueyed her and all her company into the Abbey, where they were feaſted and cheered. And after the Queene had remayned there two dayes, ſhe then daylie iourneyed ſo farre, that at the laſt ſhee came to Paris. But the French king her bꝛother, hauing before knowledge of her comming, had ſent to meete her dyuers of the greateſt Loꝛdes of his realme, as the Loꝛde, ſir Robert de Artoys, the Loꝛde of Cruey, the Loꝛd of Sully, the Loꝛde of Roy and dyuers other, who honoꝛably did receaue her and bꝛought her into the Citie of Paris, vnto the king hir bꝛother. And when the king ſawe his ſiſter, whome he had not ſene long before: as ſhe ſhould haue entred into his Chamber he met her, and tooke her in his armes and kiſſed her and ſayd: ye be welcome fayꝛe ſiſter, with my fayꝛe Nephew your ſonne and tooke them by the handes and led them foꝛth. The Queene who had no great ioye at her heart, but that ſhe was ſo neere to the king her bꝛother, ſhe woulde haue kneeled downe two oꝛ thꝛee times at the feete of the king: But the king would not ſuffer her, but helde her ſtill by the right hande, demaundyng right gently of her eſtate and buſineſſe. And ſhe aunſwered him right ſagely, and recounted to him all the vilanyes and iniuries done to her by Sir Hugh Spencer, and pꝛayed of him his ayde and comfoꝛt.

The Queene was honoꝛably receaued in Fraunce.

When the Noble king Charles of Fraunce had heard his ſiſters lamentation, who with teares had expꝛeſſed her heauie caſe, he moſt comfoꝛtably ſpake vnto her and ſayd: fayꝛe ſiſter quiet your ſelfe, foꝛ by the fayth I owe to God and Saint Deniſe, I ſhall right well pꝛouyde foꝛ you ſome remedy. The Queene then kneeled downe whether the king would oꝛ not, and ſayd: My right deere Loꝛd and fayꝛe bꝛother, I pꝛay God reward you. The king then tooke hir vp in his armes, and led hir into another chamber, the which was appareled foꝛ hir, and foꝛ the yong Pꝛince Edward her ſonne, and ſo foꝛ that time departed from her, and cauſed all thinges that was behouefull and meete foꝛ her and her ſonne to be delyuered vnto them at hys coſtes and charges.

And not long after, the ſayde Charles, French king, foꝛ thys cauſe chiefly aſſembled together a great number of the greateſt Loꝛdes and Baꝛons of his realme, to haue their counſayle and good aduiſe, howe he might beſt pꝛouyde to remedy and help the diſtreſſe of his ſiſter the Queene of Englande. And it was thought beſt to them, that the Frenche king ſhould ſuffer hys ſiſter to make the beſt friendes ſhe could, in Fraunce oꝛ any other where and that the king ſhoulde not take anye knowledge thereof: Foꝛ ſayde they, the king to miniſter an occaſion of warre with Englande, and ſo bꝛing hys owne realme in trouble, is neyther honoꝛable foꝛ hymſelfe noꝛ pꝛofitable foꝛ his realme. And they concluded, ꝑ the king might conueniently ayde her with Golde and Syluer, which is the Metall that purchaſeth both the loue of the Gentleman and alſo of the ſouldyour. And to thys counſell and aduyce the king agreed: and cauſed thys determination to be ſhewed to the Queene pꝛiuely by Sir Robert de Artoys, who at that time was one of the greateſt Loꝛdes in all Fraunce.

The French king conſulteth with his Loꝛdes how to ayde his ſiſter the Queene of England.

Nowe the Baꝛons of Englande that were lefte, conſideryng that the Spencers had ſo dꝛawne the king to doe and conſent to whatſoeuer they required: and conſidering alſo how they had not onely made awaye the greateſt parte of the Baꝛony of Englande, but alſo kept thoſe that remayned in

The Baꝛõs of England write to the Queene ouer into France.

such feare and awe that they could beare no rule, nor be heard with the king by reason of their authoritie. Therefore the sayde Barons which were left, assembled themselues together, and with one accord, wrote ouer into France to the Queene of England, certefying her that if she could finde the meanes to haue any company of men of armes (if it were but to ỹ number of a thousand) and to bring hir sonne and heyre with her into England: that then they would all drawe to her, and obey vnto her and her sonne Edward, and ayde them with all their power, as they were bounde to doe of duetie.

The afforesayde letters beyng secretly sent vnto her out of Englande, she shewed them vnto king Charles her brother: Who aunswered her and sayd, Good sister, if God be your ayde, your businesse shall preuail the better. Take of my men and subiectes, to the number of that your friendes haue written vnto you for, and I consent well to this voyage: I will cause to be deliuered vnto you, golde, and siluer so muche as shall suffice you. And herein the Queene had so traueyled, what with her prayer, giftes and promises, that many great Lordes and yong knightes agreed to bring her again into England. Then the Queene as secretly as she coulde, prepared for her voyage, and made her prouision: But she could not do it so secretly, but that sir Hugh Spencer had knowledge thereof. Wherefore he thought to get the good will of the French king her brother from her, by giftes: And secretly he sent messengers into Fraunce, with great plentie of golde, syluer and riche Jewels, and specially to the king, and to his preuy counsaile: The which giftes tooke such effect, that in a short space, the French king and all his preuie counsaile were as colde and as straunge to helpe the Queene forwarde in her voyage as though they had neuer talked of the matter. And the Frenche king brake that voyage, and made proclamation, commaundyng all his subiectes vpon paine of banishement, that none should be so hardie, as to go with the Quene to bring her againe into England. And besides this, the sayd sir Hugh Spencer practised more malice, and compassed and deuised with himselfe a further mischiefe, which was, howe he might bring to passe to get againe the Quene into England, to be vnder the kinges daunger and his. And to bring this about, the sayde sir Hugh caused the king to wryte vnto the Pope, effecteously desyryng him that he would sende and wryte to the Frenche king, that he should send the Queene his wyfe againe into England. For he tooke God to record that it was not through his faulte or occasion that she departed from him, for he entended nothing towardes her, but loue and good fayth, as belongeth vnto matrimonye. And he caused also like letters to be made to dyuerse of the Cardinalles, wherin were practised many subtile deuises, which were to long here to be rehersed. And to suche as were most nerest and about the Pope, he sent great plentie of golde and siluer: insomuch, that they so traueyled and preuayled with the Pope, that they caused him to wryte vnto the French king, that vpon payne of curssyng, he should send his sister Isabel into England to the king her husband. These letters were brought vnto the French king by the Bysshop of Xayntes, whome the Pope had sent in that legation. And when the king had red the letters, he caused them to be shewed to the Queene his sister, whome he had not seene of a long space before, and now he cõmaunded her forthwith to auoide his realme, or else he would cause her to auoide with shame.

The French king geueth good wordes to the Queene his sister.

Gyftes corrupt ỹ wyse.

The practise of Sir Hugh Spencer.

Money is of so great a vertue that it corrupteth Popes.

The French king goeth frõ his word and is in displeasure with the Queene his sister.

When

When this tidinges was brought to the Queene, she was at her wittes ende, and knewe not what to do, or what aduise to take, for as then, all the Barons of Fraunce had forsaken her by the commaundement of the French king, and so she was left all comfortlesse, sauyng that her dere Cosyn the Erle of Arthoys did secretly counsaile and comfort her as muche as he might, for otherwise he durst not, because the king had forbidden him: But he was fully perswaded that the Queene was wrongfully vexed and troubled. Thus was sir Robert of Arthoys at the Queenes commaundement, but he durst not speake nor be acknowen thereof. For he heard the king say and sweare, that whosoeuer spake to him for the Queene his sister, should lose his landes and be banished the realme. And he knewe secretly howe the king was in minde and will, to cause his sister to be taken, and Edward her sonne, and the Erle of Cane, and sir Roger Mortimer, and to put them al in the handes of the king, and of sir Hugh Spencer. Wherefore he came on a night and declared all this to the Queene, and aduised her of the perill that she was in. Then the Queene was greatly abashed, and besought him with weepyng eyes to geue her his best counsaile. Then he sayd, Madame I counsayle you that you departe and go into the Empire, where as there bee mayre great Lordes, who may right well ayde you, and specially the Erle Guillam of Henault, and sir John of Henault his brother. These two are great Lordes and wise men, true, dread, and redoubted of their enemies. Then the Queene caused to be made redy all her prouision, and payde for euery thing as secretly as she might, and so she and her sonne, and the Erle of Cane, and all her company departed from Paris and rode towarde Henault, and so long shee roade vntill at the last she came to Cambresey. And when she knewe that she was in the Empire, then she thought her selfe in some better assurance than she was in before: And so passed through Cambresey, & entered into Ostrenaunt in Henault, and lodged at Ambricourt in a knightes house, who was called sir Dambricourt, who receyued her right ioyously in the best maner to his power. In so much that afterward the Queene of England and her sonne had the same knight and his wife and children with them into Englande and aduaunced them in diuerse maners.

A friend in neede, is a friend in deede

Sir Robert de Arthoys a true & faythfull friend to the Queene.

The Queene flyeth out of Fraunce.

And in this meane tyme (sayth Polydore) Water Stapleton Bishop of Exeter, which hetherto had bene with the Queene and was of her counsaile in Fraunce, did priuely flie from her into England vnto the king, and reuealed vnto him all Queene Isabels counsayles and ententes, the which his doings was the beginnyng of his mischiefe, as shall be shewed.

Sone after the comming of the Queene of England and her sonne into Henault, the same was well knowen in the house of the good Erle of Henault, who then was at Valenciens. And sir John of Henault was certified of the tyme when the Queene came to the house of sir Dambricourt, the which sayde John was brother to the sayde Erle Guyllam. And the sayd sir John as one all yong and lustie and desyrous of honor, mounted on his horse backe and departed with a small companie from Valenciens, and came the same night to Ambricourt, and did to the Queene all the honour and reuerence that he could deuise.

The cõming of the Queene into Henault

The Queene, who was right sorowfull, declared (complaynyng most piteously) vnto him with weepyng eyes her miserable case, whereof the sayde

The great friendship and gentilnesse of the good knight Sir John of Henault.

sir John had great pitie, so that the water ran out of his eyen, and sayd, fayre Lady, beholde me here your awne knight, who will not fayle to dye for you in the quarrell, I will do the best of my power to conduct you and my Lorde your sonne, and helpe to bring you into your estates in England by the grace of God, and with the helpe of your friendes in those parties. And I and such other as I can desyre, will put our lines and goodes in aduenture for your sake, and we will get men of warre sufficient (if God be pleased) without the daunger of the French king your brother.

Then the Queene would haue kneeled downe for great ioy that shee had, and to haue yelded thankes for the good will that he had offred vnto her: But this noble knight tooke her vp quickly in his armes, and sayde: By the grace of God, the noble Queene of Englande shall not kneele to me. But Madame, recomfort your selfe and all your companie, for I will keepe you faythfull promise, and ye shall go see the Erle my brother, and the Countesse his wife, and all their fayre children, who will receyue you with great ioy, for so I hearde them say they would do.

The Queene is greatly comforted by Sir John Heynault.

Then the Queene sayde, sir I finde in you more loue and comfort then in all the worlde. And for this that you haue sayde and affirmed vnto me, I thanke you a thousand times: and if you will do this that you haue promised, in all curtesie and honour I and my sonne shall be to you for euer bound, and the whole realme of Englande shall consider your great curtesy and gentilnesse, and it is right that it should so be.

And after these wordes, when they were thus agreed, sir John of Henault took his leaue of the Queene for that night, and went to Domaingue, and lay in the Abbey. And in the morning he tooke his horse, and came againe vnto the Queene, who receiued him with great ioy: And before he came, the Queene had dyned, and was ready to mount on her horse, and to go wyth him: And forthwith the Queene departed from the Castell of Dambrecourt, taking her leaue of the knight, and of the Lady, and thanked them for their gentle entertaynment, and sayde, that shee trusted once that she or her sonne should remember well their curtesie.

The Queene vsed no delayeng of her weighte affayres.

Thus departed the Queene in the company of Sir John Heynault, Lorde Beamont: who right ioyously did conduct her to Valenciens: and to salute and welcome her, there came many of the Burgesses of the Towne, and receaued hir right honorably. And so was shee brought before the Erle Guyllam of Henault, who receaued her with great ioye, and in like maner did the Countesse his wyfe, and feasted her right nobly. And at the same time the sayde Erle had foure fayre daughters, Margaret, Philip, Jane, and Isabell. Among whome the young Prince Edward set most his loue, and had to his company Philip, and also that young Lady was in all honor more conuersaunt with hym, then was any of hir sisters. Thus the Queene of Englande aboade at Valenciens by the space of. viij. dayes wyth the good Erle, and wyth the Countesse his wyfe, whose name was Jane de Valoys.

The Queene is right honorably receyued by the Erle of Henault.

The Queene applyeth her businesse.

In the meane season, the Queene prepared and called on for the setting forward of her businesse: and the aforesayde Sir John wrote letters very effectuously vnto knightes, and suche companions as he trusted best in all Heynault, in Brabant, and in Behaigne, and prayed them of all loues and friendships that was betwene them, that they would go with him in this enterprice

terprice into Englande, and there came great numbers, what of one Countrie and other, that were content to go with him for his loue. But this sayde Sir John Henault was greatly discouraged, and counsayled to the contrary both of the Erle hys brother, and of the chiefe of the counsell of the countrie, because it seemed to them that the enterprise was right highe and perilous, considering the great discorde and hatredes that then were in Englande amongst the Barons themselues. And also considering that the Englishmen most commonly haue enuye at straungers. Therefore they doubted that the sayde Sir John of Heynault, and his company shoulde not returne agayne with honour. But howsoeuer they blamed or counsayled him, the gentle knight would neuer chaunge his purpose, but sayd that he had but one death to dye, the which should be when and howe as God would, and sayde moreouer, that all knightes ought to ayde, to their powers, all Ladyes and damoselles, chased out of their awne Countries, being bothe without counsayle and comfort.

Sir John of Heynault is aduised not to take this enterprise in hand, but his corage would forward, who euer said nay.

Now thys courageous and lusty knight assembled his people, and appointed at a daye, the Henaultes to be readie at Hale, the Brabanders at Bredas, and the Hollanders at Durdzight. Then the Queene of Englande tooke her leaue of the Erle of Henault, and of the Countesse, and thanked them greatly for their honorable feasting and great cheere that they had made her, and kissed them at her departure. Thus the Queene with her sonne and all the rest of her company came forward with Sir John of Heynault, who with muche adoe gate leaue to depart from his brother the Erle, sayeng vnto him: my Lorde and brother, I am young, and I thinke that God hath prouyded for me this enterprise for mine aduauncement. I beleue verily that wrongfully and synfully this Lady hath bene chased out of England, and also her sonne. It is almose and glorie to God, and to the worlde to comforte and helpe them that are comfortlesse, and specially so highe and noble a Lady as thys is, who is daughter to a king, and descended of a royall king: we be of her blood, and she is of oures. I had rather renounce and forsake all that euer I haue, & go serue God ouer the sea, and neuer to returne into this countrey, rather then thys good Lady should haue departed from vs without our comfort and helpe. Therefore deere brother, suffer me to go with your good will, wherein ye shall doe nobly, and I will geue you most humble thankes for the same, and my voyage shal be the more prosperous. And when the good Erle of Henault had well heard his brother, and perceaued the great desyre he had to this enterprice, and sawe well it might turne hym and hys heyres to great honour hereafter, sayde to him. My dere brother, God forbid that your good purpose should bee broken or let: therefore in the name of God I geue you leaue, and kyssed hym, streyning hym by the hande, in token of great loue.

The Queene departeth frō the Erle of Henault yelding great thankes for her honourable entertainement.

Howe Sir John of Henault taketh his leaue of his brother the Erle

Thus he departed, and roade the same night to Mounce in Heynauld with the Quene of England. What should I make long processe, they made so speedie iourneys, that shortly they came to Durdzight in Holland, where they made their speciall assembly. And there they prouyded for shippes great and small, such as they could get, and shipped their horses and harneys and other prouision, and committed themselues into the handes and defence of almightie God, and so tooke shypping, and set forward on their passage by

Sea.

The names of the Lords and knightes that accompanied Sir Iohn of Heynault.

Sea. In thys company there were of knightes and Lordes: Firſt, Sir Iohn Heynault Lorde Beamond, Sir Henry Dautonig, Sir Mighell de Lyne, the Lorde of Gomegnes, Sir Perciuall de Semeries, Sir Robert de Bailleull, Sir Sampes de Boſſoyt, the Lorde of Vertoigne, the Lorde of Pocelles, the Lorde Villers, the Lord of Heyn, the Lorde of Sars, the Lorde of Boyſiers, the Lorde of Dambzeticourt, the Lorde of Sarmuell, and Sir Oulpharte of Guſtell, and dyuers other knightes and eſquyers, all in great deſyre to ſerue their mayſter. And when they were all departed from the hauen of Durdzight, they were ſoz their quantitie a very fayze fleete and well ozdered, and the weather was fayze, cleere and temperate, and at their departing with the firſt flood they came befoze the digneſſe of Holland. And the nert daye, they hoyſed vp their ſayles and tooke their waye in coaſtyng Zeland, & their entents were to haue taken land at Dongpozt, but they could not, foz a tempeſt toke them in the ſea, that put them ſo farre out of their courſe, ỹ they wiſt not of two dayes where they were, wherin God wzought mercifully foz them, foz if they had landed where they purpoſed to haue lãded, they had bene all loſt, foz they had fallen into the handes of their enimies, who knew wel of their comming, & abode them there to haue put them al to death.

Sir Iohn Heynault and the Quene with their company is embarked toward England.

Gods ſecret & moſt wonderfull wozke.

And it came ſo to paſſe that by the ende of two dayes, the tempeſt ceaſed, and the maryners diſcried lande in England, and therevnto dzewe right ioyfully, & there landed on the ſandes without any hauen oz pozt, nere vnto Harwich in Suffolk, as the Engliſh chronicle ſayth, the. xxiiij. day of September 1325. and ſo taried on the ſands thzee daies with ſmal pzouiſion of victual, in ỹ which time they vnſhipped their hozſe & harneys, not knowing in what part of England they were, whether among their friends, oz in the daunger of their enimies. The fourth day they ſet fozward in ỹ aduenture, deſyzing God to be their guyde, and as people that had ſuffred cold and tempeſts, with hunger alſo and feare went weakely onward as well as they might. And thus they kept their courſe by hilles and dales on the one ſide & on the other, vntill at the laſt, they found Villages, & a great Abbay of black Monkes, the which was called S. Hamon, where as they thzee dayes refreſhed themſelues wel. And then newes was ſpzead abzode thozough the realme, of the landyng of the Quene and of her ſonne, ſo that at the laſt it came to the knowledge of the Barons, by whom the Queene was called again into England, and they appareled themſelues in all haſte to come to Edwarde her ſonne, whome they would haue to their ſouereigne Lord. And the firſt that came and gaue them moſt comfort was Henry Erle of Lãcaſter with ỹ wzie neck, called Tozt coll, who was bzother to Thomas Erle of Lãcaſter ỹ was behedded, as ye haue heard befoze, who was a right vertuous & good knight as after ye ſhal here.

Queene Iſabell the wife of king Edward the ſecond and her ſonne Pzince Edward landed beſide Harwich.

How the Lordes came to the ayde of the Queene.

This Erle Henry came vnto the Quene with a great company of men of warre. And after him came from one part & other, Erles, Barons, knightes, and Eſquiers, with ſo many people that they thought themſelues out of all perilles, and their power ſtill encreaſed as they went.

So ſone as king Edward had knowledge of the landyng of the Quene his wife, and of his ſonne Pzince Edwarde, and heeryng alſo howe the Barons and Nobles of the realme reſozted vnto her with great powers from al partes: The king beyng then at London, left the ſayde Citie vnder the gouernment and ozder of Maiſter Walter Stapleton, Biſhop of Exeter, who was

was nowe high treaſurer of England, and the king himſelfe accompanyed with the Spencers, and a few other, taketh his way into Wales: But when he came to Bziſtowe, he cauſed that towne to be foztefyed, and committed the charge and cuſtodie thereof vnto ſir Hugh Spencer the elder, and the Erle of Arondell: and he himſelfe with ſir Hugh Spencer the yonger, entered into the Caſtell, and foztefied the ſame.

The Queene heeryng of the kinges departyng from London, did foztwith ſend her letter to the Maioz and communaltie of the ſayde Citie requyryng of them aide to ſubdue the oppreſſoꝛs of the cõmon wealth of the realme, and that they would ſee that the Citie of London & the Tower might be kept to the vſe of the Pzince her ſonne: and ſondzie other thinges were conteyned in the ſayd letter, but foz that the Copie that came to my hande ſeemed to conteyne diuerſe repugnaunces, I haue therefoze omitted the reherſall thereof. After the receipt of this letter, Fabian ſayth, that Walter Stapleton, Biſhop of Exceſter, to whome the cuſtodie and gouernement of the Citie was committed, as afozeſaide, ſent to the Maioz of London to haue the keyes of the Gates of the Citie by vertue of his commiſſion, which the Maioz, whoſe name was Hamond Chickwell, denyed. But the Biſhop vſed ſuche ſtoute wozdes in the kings name, to the Maioz and Citizens, who had an euill opinion of him, foz bearyng with the Spencers, whom the people hated as euill as the Deuill, and alſo foz betrayyng of the Queene and Pzince as is afozeſayde, that the ſayde Citizens in a rage and fury tooke the ſayde Biſhop the. xiiij. day of October, and him with two of his houſholde ſeruauntes behеaded at the Standard in Chepe in London, of the which two one was his bzother, as appereth by a monument in the Cathedzall Church of Exceſter. And the ſame day, ſayth Fabian, was taken foz a ſpie a Citezen called Iohn Marchal, which fauozed the Spencers partie and was beheaded in the ſame place. And the dead cozps of the ſaid Biſhop and his two ſeruants, & of Marchall were haryed vnto the Thaimys hyde, where the ſayd biſhop had begon to buylde a tower, and there in the rubbiſhe oz ſand of the ſame, they buryed the foure bodyes afozeſaide. And Polidoze ſayth that after the Citizens had thys done with the Biſhop, that then they went vnto the Tower and poſſeſſed the ſame, and there killed and ſpoyled all the kinges officers, and put in new officers geuyng them charge to keepe the ſame foz the Queene and her ſonne the Pzinces vſe. And when theſe thinges were done, the Maioz ſente vnto the Queene and her ſonne thzee graue perſonages, and certefied them of all that the Citezens had done, with pzomiſe that they would obey whatſoeuer ſhoulde pleaſe the Queene and her ſonne to commaund them, and that the Citie was quiet and at their commaundement: The which meſſage the Queene and her ſonne accepted very thankfully, and ſuffered not the Meſſengers to depart vnrewarded.

The king & ſir Hugh Spencer the yonger glad to take the Caſtell at Bziſtow.

The Quene and her Lozdes beyng thus aſſembled, as afozeſayd, counſayled and agreed among themſelues to go the ſtreight way to Bziſtowe, where as the king was, who had with him the Spencers. The which was a good towne and a ſtrong, and well cloſed, ſtanduyng on a good pozt of the ſea, and a ſtrong Caſtell, the ſea beatyng round about it. And therein was the king, and ſir Hugh Spencer the elder, who was aboue ninetie yeres of age, and ſir Hugh Spencer his ſonne, who was the chiefe gouernour of the king, and

and coũsayled him in all his euill dedes. Also there was the Erle of Arondell, who had maryed the daughter of sir Hugh Spencer, & diuers other knightes and Esquiers attendyng and waytyng on the kinges Court.

The Queene besieged the citie of Bristow wherein the king was

Then the Queene and all her companie, the Lordes of Heynault Erles and Barons, and all other Englishe men, tooke the right way to the towne of Bristowe, and in euery towne where they entered, they were receyued with great feast and honour, and alwayes their people encreased, and so long they roade by their iourneyes, that at the last they came to Bristow, and besieged the towne round about as nere as they might. But the king and Sir Hugh Spencer the yonger helde them in the Castell, and the olde sir Hugh, and the Erle of Arondell abode in the towne.

And when the people of the towne sawe and considered what a power the Quene had, (for the greatest part of the whole power of England came with her,) and also perceiued what perill and daunger they themselues were presently in: They tooke counsaile among themselues, and determined to yelde vp the towne to the Queene, so that their lyues and goodes might be saued. And forthwith they sent to treate with the Queene and her counsaile in this matter: But the Queene nor her Counsayle would not agree thereunto, without she might do with sir Hugh Spencer, and with the Erle of Arondell, what her pleasure was.

When the people of the towne saw they could haue no peace otherwise, neyther saue the towne, their goodes, nor their lyues, beyng in that distresse they agreed to the Queene, and opened the Gates, so that sir John of Heynault, and all her Barons, knightes, and Esquires, entered into the towne, and tooke their lodgyngs within as many as might, and the rest without.

Sir Hugh Spencer the elder and the Erle of Arondell are taken and brought before the Queene.

Then sir Hugh Spencer, and the Erle of Arondell were taken, and brought before the Queene, to do her pleasure with them. Then also was brought to the Queene her owne children, John her sonne, & her two daughters, which had beene in the keeping of the sayd Sir Hugh Spencer: At the sight of whome the Queene much ioyed, because she had not seene them long before. And at this tyme, it may well be coniectured, that the king and Sir Hugh Spencer the yonger, had great sorow and care, to see that they themselues were fast enclosed, and that the greatest part of the realme turned to the ayde and succour of the Queene, and to Edward her eldest sonne.

The heauy & daungerous estate of king Edward the second and the yong sir Hugh Spencer stood in.

Nowe when the Queene and her Barons, and all the companie that came with her, were lodged at their ease, then they besieged the Castell as nere as they might. And the Quene caused sir Hugh Spencer the elder, & the Erle of Arondell to be brought forth before her, and her sonne, & before all the Barons that were present: and sayd, that she and her sonne would take right and lawe vpon them according to their desertes. Then sir Hugh Spencer said, Madame, God be to you a good iudge, and graunt vnto you good iudgement: and if we cannot haue it in this worlde, I pray God we may haue it in another. Then stood forth a good knight called sir Thomas Wage which was Marshall of the Queenes hoste, and there openly he red and rehersed their deedes in waytyng: and turned him vnto another auncient knight, that he should prone him guiltie, and to shewe his opinion what was to be done with those persons, and what iudgement they should haue for such offences. Then the sayd knight counsayled with others, that is to say, with the Barons

The arreignment of Sir Hugh Spencer and of the Erle of Arondell.

rons and Erles, and knightes there present, and then he reported their opinions and iudgementes. The which was, that they had well deserued death for their diuerse and horrible deedes that they had committed, and to haue iudgement three maner of wayes. First to be drawne, and after to be headed, and then their bodyes to be hanged on a Gibbet. And as this iudgement was geuen, so was it executed before the Castell gate of Bristow, in the sight of the king, and of sir Hugh Spencer the yonger. 1325.

The iudgement geuen against Sir Hugh Spẽcer the elder and the Erle of Arondell.

1325
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And after thys execution, the king and the yong Spencer seyng themselues thus trapped and besieged, and beyng without hope of any comfort: In a morning betymes, they two with a small companye entred into a little Vessell behinde the Castell, thinking to haue fled into the Countrie of Wales. And they were .xj. dayes in the ship, and enforced it to sayle as much as they might: But whatsoeuer they did, the winde was so contrary vnto them (for it seemed that God would so haue it) that euery daye once or twise they were brought againe within a quarter of a myle of the sayde Castell. At the last it happened Sir Henry Beamond, sonne to the Vicount Beamond in England (espyeng the sayd small Vessell so often to come before the Castell) to enter into a Barge and certaine companye with hym, and rowed after this Vessell so long, that the ship wherin the king was, could not make any great way before them, but at the last they were ouer taken, & so brought agayne to the Towne of Bristowe, and delyuered to the Queene and her sonne as prisoners.

The king and Sir Hugh Spẽcer the yonger fled, but fortune fauored them not.

The king and Sir Hugh Spẽcer the yonger taken.

Thus it befell of this high and hardy enterprice of syr John of Henault and his company. For when they came out of their countrie and entred into their shippes at Durdzight, they were but three hundred men of armes. And thus by their helpe and the Lordes of England, Queene Isabell conquered agayne all her estate and dignitie, and put vnto execution her great enemies, to the great comfort and reioysing of the greatest parte of the realme.

A great enterprise of Sir John of Heynault a courageous and faithfull knight.

And when the king and Sir Hugh Spencer were brought to Bristow by the aforesayde Sir Henry Beamond. Then the king by the counsayle of all the Barons and knightes was sent vnto the strong Castell of Barkeley, and put in good and honest keeping, for there were ordeyned people of estate about him and such as knewe right well what they ought to doe: But they were streightly commaunded, that they should in no wise suffer him to passe out of the Castell. Then Sir Hugh Spencer the sonne was delyuered to Sir Thomas Wage Marshall of the hoste.

The king committed to the Castell of Barkeley.

These things done, the Quene set forward towards London, the chiefest Citie in Englande, and her grace and her sonne with all her hoste and company, tooke so their iourneyes, that at the last they came to the City of Harsford. And in all the waye, Sir Thomas Wage had caused syr Hugh Spencer to be bounde and to be set vpon a lewde Jade, and was lead after the Quene, and he had put vpon him a Tabarte, such as Traytors & theeues were wont to weare, & thus he passed thorough the townes with Trumpes & Pipes of Reedes blowen before him, to do him the more scorne & despight.

Sir Hugh Spencer the yonger lead about for wondermẽt, lyke a beast.

And when the Quene was come to Herford, the Citizens receaued her very honorably with great solempnitie. And there she and all her company remayned & kept the feast of all Saintes very royally, and the more bountifully and honorably it was done, because of her sonne and the straũgers that were

were preſent.

Nowe when this feaſt was done: then Sir Hugh Spencer the ſonne who was nothing beloued, was brought foorth before the Queene and all the Lordes and knightes. And before him in writing was reherſed all hys deedes, vnto the which he would make no maner of aunſwere. And ſo was he then iudged by playne ſentence. First, to be drawen on a hardell with Trompes and Trumpettes throughout all the Citie of Herford, and after to be brought into the market place, where as all the people were aſſembled, and there to be tyed vpon an high ladder that euery man might ſee hym: & in the ſame place a great fyre to be made, and there hys priuie members to be cut from hym, and to be brent in the fyre before his face. And then his harte to be drawen out of his body and caſt into the fyre becauſe he had conſpired treaſon and was a falſe traytour in his heart, and that by his Traiterous counſell and extorcion the king had ſhamed his realme and brought the people thereof to a great michiefe, for he had cauſed to be behedded the greateſt Lordes of his realme, by whome this Realme ought to haue beene gouerned and defended. And he had ſo enduced the king, that he would not ſee the Quene his Wyfe, nor Edward his eldeſt ſonne, and cauſed hym to chaſe them out of the realme for feare of their lyues. And then his head was ſtryken off and ſent to London, and ſo according to his iudgement he was executed.

The arreignment & iudgement of Sir Hugh Spẽcer ỹ ponger.

After this execution the Quene and all her Lordes tooke their waye to London, whereof the Citizens both ſhe and her ſonne, were very honorably and ioyfully receaued. Now after the ſtraungers had bene there feaſted.xb. dayes, they, namely Sir John of Heynault and all his company, had great deſyre to returne agayne into their awne countries, for they thought they had well done their deuoyre and atcheued great honor: and therefore tooke their leaue of the Quene and of the Lordes of the realme. But the Queene and the Lordes entreated them earneſtly to tary lenger, and chiefly that they ſhoulde ſee what ſhould be done with the king before they went. But the ſtraungers had ſuch minde home, that they would not be entreated to tarye any lenger. And when the Quene and her counſayle ſawe that, then yet ſhe intreated Sir John of Heynault to tarie vntill it was paſt Chriſtmas, and to reteigne with him ſuch of his company as pleaſed him beſt. And he lyke a gentle knight would not leaue to performe his ſeruice, but curteouſly graunted the Quene to tarrie as long as it ſhould pleaſe her, and he cauſed of hys company ſuch to tarie as he could entreat, which was but a fewe, for the reſt would needes awaye, with the which he was diſpleaſed.

Sir Iohn of Henault deſireth licence to depart to his countrie.

The ſtraungers depart, but ſir Iohn of Henault tarryeth.

When the Quene and her counſayle ſawe that no intreatie could cauſe them to tarie any lenger: Then ſhe made vnto them great chere and feaſtes. And the Queene cauſed to be geuen vnto them plentie of Golde and Syluer for their coſtes and ſeruices, and alſo rewarded euerye of them with riche and goodly Jewelles, according to their eſtates and degrees, ſo as they all helde themſelues right well pleaſed and contented. And beſides this, they had money for their horſſes, ſuch as they would leaue behinde them at their awne price, without any grudging.

And thus Sir John of Henault abode ſtill in Englande with a ſmall company, but he was ſo beloued, chered, and feaſted of the Engliſhe men (who

(who honored him in the beſt maner that they could imagyne) and recreated him with ſundrie diſportes and paſtymes, that the time ſeemed the leſſe vnto him. And in lyke maner he was welcomed to the Ladies and Damoſels: for at that tyme there was with the Quene many Ladies and Counteſſes, which came ſpecially to accompany the Quene.

Nowe after that the moſt part of the companie of Henault were departed, and ſir John of Henault Lorde of Beamond taryed: The Queene diſcharged her armie, and gaue them leaue to returne home euery man to his Countrie and place, ſauyng certeine noble men, which ſhe ſtill kept about her and her ſonne as their counſaylors, and all the other knightes and gentlemen ſhe commaunded to returne againe at Chriſtmaſſe, at which tyme ſhe promiſed to keepe open houſhold, and ſo ſhe did. And immediately after the diſpatche of theſe people, the Queene with her ſonne, by the aduice of her counſaile ſommoned her high Court of Parliament at Weſtminſter, which began the.xbj. day of January. And in this aſſembly it was declared that this realm could not continue without a heade and gouernour: And therefore firſt they agreed to drawe into articles the miſgouernement of the king that was in priſon, and all his euill doynges, which he had done by euill and naughtie counſaile: And when the ſayd articles were read and made knowen to all the Lordes, Nobles, and Commons of the realme, then they conſulted howe the realme ſhould be gouerned thenceforth: and after good deliberation and conſideration of the aforeſaid articles of the kinges euill gouernement, they concluded, that ſuch a man was not worthie to be a king, nor to weare a crowne royall. And therfore they all agreed that Edward his eldeſt ſonne, who was there preſent, and was rightfull heyre, ſhould be crowned king in ſteed of his father, ſo that he would take about him, ſage, true, and good counſaile, and that from thenceforth the realme might be better gouerned, then before it had bene. And it was alſo agreed, that the olde king his father ſhould be well and honeſtly kept as long as he lyued, according to his eſtate.

A parliament at Weſtminſter.

And ſo ſone as all things were cõcluded, as aforeſayd, it was then further ordred & agreed, that during the Parliament time, a ſolemne meſſage ſhould be ſent vnto the king to Kenelworth Caſtell, to declare vnto him not onely the determination of the three eſtates concernyng his depoſyng from the Kingdome, but alſo to reſigne vnto him in the name of the whole realme, all theyr homages that before tyme they had done vnto him. And to do this meſſage there was aſſigned three Biſhops, three Erles, two Abbots, two Barons, and two Juſtices, with the ſpeaker of the Parliament, whoſe name was ſir William Truſſell. And when theſe Meſſengers were come into the kinges preſence at Kenelworth aforeſayde, the aforenamed ſir William Truſſell the xxb. day of January by the auctoritie of his office in the heering of the aforeſayd Lordes, vſed vnto the king theſe wordes folowyng.

Kenelworth Caſtell.

The depoſition of king Edward the ſeconde.

I William Truſſell in the name of all men of this land of England, and ſpeaker of the Parliament, reſigne to thee Edward, the homage that ſometime was made vnto thee, and from this time forth depriue thee of all kingly power, and I ſhall neuer be attendant vnto thee as king, after this time.

Nowe ſir John of Heynault, who had remayned with the Queene all the Chriſtmaſſe, and perceyuyng king Edwarde depoſed, who had reigned king of this realme fully.xviij.yeres. vj.monethes, and odde dayes, de-

Rewardes geuen to sir John of Henault.

sired licence of the Queene, and would needes depart, and could by no meanes be entreated to tary any lenger: Wherefore the Queene by the assent of her sonne and counsaile gaue vnto him foure hundreth markes sterlyng, of rent, heritable to holde of the king in fee, to be payde euery yere in the towne of Bridges. This gift after the rate that money was then valued, which was at.xx. pence the ounce, and our money is now valued at fiue shillynges the ounce, was after that rate of our money nowe currant.viij. hundreth pound yerely. And likewise the Queene rewarded Philip of Chasteaux his chiefe Esquier and Counsaylour, with one hundreth markes of yerely rent, to be payde at the aforesayde place. And also she deliuered vnto them great summes of money to pay for their costes and charges, when they were ouer the sea, beside many riche and massy Cheynes, and costly Jewelles, that she rewarded all the Gentlemen withall that came with him. And when this noble knight was readie to depart, the Queene caused him to be conducted wyth many noble knightes and Gentlemen to Douer, and there deliuered him and all his passage free. And to the Ladyes that were come into England wyth the Queene, and namely to the Countesse of Garennes, who was sister to the Erle of Barre, and to dyuerse other Ladyes and Damosells, there were geuen many riche and fayre Jewelles at their departure.

King Edward kept in the Castell of Kenelworth.

And here to ende and finishe this history of king Edward the seconde, ye haue heard howe he was deposed, and remayned in the Castell of Kenelworth vnder the custody and kepyng of Sir Henry Erle of Lancaster, which was brother vnto Erle Thomas of Lancaster, that was beheadded at Pomfret. And Robert Baldocke, who was the kinges Chauncelour beyng a man of very euill name and fame, was committed to the prison of Newegate in London, where shortly after he dyed miserably. And the Erle John of Arondell was put to death at Herforde within foure dayes after sir Hugh Spencer the sonne.

Edwarde the thirde.



After the deposicion of king Edward the seconde, as before ye haue heard, then Edward hys sonne, begotten of Isabell the onely daughter and child of Philip le Beaw ꝑ French king, was proclaymed king of Englande by the name of king Edward the thirde (hys father yet lyuyng) the .xxvj. day of Januarij. 1326. and was crowned at Westminster vpon Candlemas daye then next followyng, beyng then of the age of.xv. yeres.

In his begynnyng, sayth Fabian, chaunced many good haps, for the earth became plenteous, the ayre temperate, and the Sea had quietnesse, and to the Church grewe

grewe peace.

And first he confirmed the liberties and Fraunchises of the Citie of Lõdon, and ordeyned that the Maior for the tyme beyng should sit in all places of iudgement within the liberties of the same for chiefe Justice, the kinges person onely except. And that euery Alderman that had bene Maior, should be Justice in all London, and Middlesex, and euery Alderman that had not bene Maior, should be Justice of peace within his awne warde. And also he graunted to the Citezens, the Fee farme of London for three hundred pound by the yere, & that they should not be cõstreyned to go out of the Citie to fight or defend the land for any neede. Also that after ꝑ day, the Fraunchises of the Citie should not be seased into the kings hands, but onely for treason & rebellion done by the whole City. And at that time also Southwarke was admitted to be vnder the gouernement and rule of the Citie, and the Maiour of London to be Bailyfe of Southwarke, and the Maior to chose vnder hym suche a Bailife of that Borough as him lyketh, the which ordynaunce endureth to this day.

1326. A

Euery Alderman that hath bene Maior, is a Justice in London and Myddlesex, and euery other Alderman to be a Justice of peace in his awne Warde.

About the Moneth of Apryll, many great and sundrie suites were made for the releasing of king Edward that was in prison. But among all other, the Freer preachers, commonly called the Black Fryers, laboured most earnestly for him, and practised sundry deuises both by night and day which way to get him out of prison. And among the companye that the Fryers had priuely procured & brought, there was one Fryer called Dunhed, which should haue bene the chife Capitaine and worker of their enterprice, but he was betrayed and taken, and then put into the Castell of Pomfret, and there he dyed in prison.

Shortly after, syr Henry Erle of Lancaster that had Edward the kinges father in keeping, did by the commaundement of the king deliuer the sayde Edward by Indenture to Sir Moryce of Barkeley. And then Sir John Matreuers and the sayde Sir Moryce led him to the Castell of Barkeley, and kept him there safely. And often tymes while the king was there imprisoned, he would say vnto his keepers. What haue I trespassed Isabell my wife or Edward my sonne which nowe is made king, that none of them will come and visit me? And then his keepers answered, my worthy Lorde be not offended that I tell you a truth: the cause is, for that they are certefied, in thys wise, that if the Quene your wyfe came any thing nere you, that ye would strangle and kyll her. And that ye would doe lykewise to the king your sonne. Then answered he with heauie chere: alas, alas, am not I here in prison, & at your awne will? and God I take to witnesse I neuer thought it: But I would to God I were deade, for then were I past all my trouble.

The olde king is remoued to Barkley Castell.

And shortly after, the king thorough the counsell of Sir Roger Mortymer, as sayth Carton in his Chronicle (which he calleth the Frute of Tyme) graunted the keeping and garde of Sir Edward his father vnto Sir Thomas Toiourley, and to the aforesayde Sir John Matreuers by his letter sealed, and cleerely discharged the aforesayde Sir Moryce of the keeping of him. And then they toke and led the king vnto the Castell of Corfe, the which Castell the king hated to the death: But other writers saye, that he was brought to the Castell of Barkeley, but what Castell soeuer it was, there, sayth mine Authour, they kept him vntill September next following.

The olde king is remoued to Corfe castell.

Sir Roger Mortimer deuised the maner how king Edward should be put to death.

wyng. And then the aforesayde Sir Roger sent a letter vnto them, signifyeng howe and in what wise he should be put to death. And anone after that the aforesayde Thomas and John had receyued the letter, and considered the contents therof, they made the king good cheere and good countenaunce at his supper, when he thought least of the purposed treason. And when bed tyme came, the king went to his bed and laye and slept soundely. And he beyng in his sound sleepe, these traytours and falle forswoorne persons agaynst their homage and fealtie, came priuely into his Chamber, and their company with them, and layde a great Table vpon his belly, and with strength of men at all the foure corners pressed it downe vpon his body., wherewith the king awooke and beyng sore afrayde of death, turned hys bodye, so that then he laye grouelyng. Then these murderers tooke a horne and thrust it vp into his fundement as farre as they might, and then tooke a hote burnyng Spit, and put it thorough the horne into his body, and in the ende killed and vilye murdered him: but yet in suche wise, that after his death it could not be perceyued howe he came by his death, but being dead he was after buryed at Gloucester.

The maner how king Edward was murdered.

1327
2

Now, sayth Froissart, after the departure of Sir John of Heynault, the yong king of England, and the Queene his mother gouerned the realme by the counsayle of the Erle of Kent Uncle vnto the king, and by the counsaile of sir Roger Mortimer, of whome mencion is made before in the. xvij. yere of king Edward the second, the which Mortimer was taken when the Barons and Lords were taken, as aforesayd, and he was no smal doer among them, and therefore was committed to the tower of London, where in the begynnyng of August next folowyng, by the meane of a sleapyng poyson or drinke that he gaue to his kepers (as the common fame went) he escaped, and went with the Queene into Fraunce, and returned againe with her, as before you haue heard. And beside these counsaylors, the king vsed much counsaile of Sir Thomas Wage, who was accomted for a very sage and graue counsaylour, but these counsaylours were not without some enemies, as fewe counsaylors are (as sayth Froyssart) the which commonly happeneth, not onely in England, but also in all other countries.

Sir Thomas Wage a graue counsaylour.

About this tyme, Robert le Bruze king of Scottes, who had bene hardie and suffered much trauaile against Englishe men, and oftentimes in the life of king Edward the first, Graundfather to this yong king Edward the thirde, he had bene chased and discomfited, and was nowe become very aged, and sicke (as it was sayde) of the great euill and maladie: He nowe heeryng of the troubles of late happened in England, and of the deposyng of the olde king, and also of the puttyng to death of certeine of his counsaylors (as before you haue heard) thought a meete tyme for him to enter this realme, and to inuade the same, and the rather because king Edward the third was yong. And therefore about Easter in the yere of our Lorde. 1327. he sent his letters of defiaunce vnto the aforesayd yong king, sendyng him worde how that he would enter into the realme of England, and brenne before him as he had done before tyme, at suche season as the discomfiture was at the Castell of Estreuelyn, where the Englishe men receyued great dammage.

Robert le Bruze king of Scottes. sendeth letters of defiance to king Edward.

When the king of England and his counsaile perceyued that they were defied, they caused it to be knowen ouer all the realme, and commaunded that the

the Nobles, and all the other should be in a redinesse, euery man after his estate by Ascention day next after, at the Citie of Yorke. The king sent much people before to kepe the frontiers against Scotland, and with much speede he sent a great Ambassade to sir John of Heynault, prayng him right effectuously that he would ayde him, and accompanie him in this voyage agaynst the Scottes, and that he would be with him at Yorke the day before appoynted, with such companie as he might get of men of warre in those partes.

Sir John of Henault sens for to ayde king Edward.

When sir John of Henault Lord of Beamond hearde the kinges desire, he sent streight his letters, and his messengers into euery place where as he thought to recouer or atteyne any company of men of warre. And shortly to tell, the sayde sir John Henault made such speede that he landed at Douer, accompanied with a great number of baliaunt knightes, to the number of fiue hundreth men of armes, whose names for tediousnesse I ouerpasse, and within three dayes of Whitsonday, he with all his Lordes and knightes came to Yorke, where the king and his mother then were, being accompanied with all their Nobles, and a great hoste taryng the commyng of sir John of Heynault: But the king had sente many of his Lordes and men of armes and common people before, and lodged them fiue or sixe mile before him. And when sir John of Henault was come to the king and Queene, he and hys Lordes and knightes were most ioyously receyued, and heartely welcomed. And such as came with sir John of Henault, were lodged in the Suburbes of the Citie of Yorke, and sir John Henault himselfe was lodged in an Abbey of white Monkes, where he and his housholde remayned.

Sir John of Heynault and his company are hartely welcommed to the king and Queene.

And the king of England the better to feast and enterteyne the straunge Lordes and knightes, helde a great feast on Trinitie Sonday in the Friers, where he and the Queene his mother were lodged, kepyng their house eche of them apart. At this feast the king had there beside his Nobles, fiue hundreth knightes that gaue their attendaunce vpon the straungers, and lykewise had the Queene aboue. lx. Ladyes and Damoselles, and all to chere sir John Heynault and the straungers.

The king feasteth the straungers.

There might haue bene seene much nobleneſſe: And there were Ladies and Damosels freshly apparelled ready to haue daunced if they might haue had leaue. But such was the vnhappy chaunce, ꝑ incontinent after diner there began a great fray betweene some of the gromes and pages of the straũgers, and of the Archers of England, which were lodged among them in the sayd suburbes: And anone all the Archers assembled them together with their Bowes, and droue the straungers home to their lodgings. And the most parte of the knights and Masters of them were as then in the kings Court: But assone as they heard tydings of the fray, eche of them drew to their lodgyngs in great haste, so many as might enter, & such as could not get in, were in great perill. For the Archers who were to the number of three thousand shot fiercely, sparyng neyther masters nor varlets. And it was thought and supposed that this fray was begonne by some of the friendes of the Spencers and of the Erle of Arondels, who were put to death before by the ayde and counsayle of Sir John of Henault, as is aforesayde, and as then thought to be somewhat reuenged by setting of discord in the hoste. And the Englishmen that were Hosts to these straungers, shut fast their doores & Wyndowes, and would not suffer them to enter into their lodgings: Howbeit some gate

A lowde and vnhappie fray.

in on the backside and quickly armed themselues, but they durst not issue out into the streete for feare of arrowes: Then the straungers breaking out on the backsydes, brake downe Pales and hedges of Gardyns and drew them into a certaine playne place, and there taryed for their company, till at the last they were an hundreth men of armes and mo, and as manye mo vnharnessed, which could not get into their lodgings. And when they were assembled together, they made speede to succour and releue their companions who defended their lodgings in the great streete. And as they went forth, they passed by the lodging of the Lorde of Denghyen, where as there was greate gates both before and behynde openyng into the streete, and the Archers of Englande shot fiercely at that house, and there were many of the Henawdes hurt. But finally the Archers that were at that fray were discomfited and put to chase, and there were of them dead in that place about the number of three hundred, & as the report was, they were all Lincolnshiremen. But continually after thys fray the straungers were in great feare. And the king was greatly offended therewith, but the numbers were so great, and the tales so diuerse of the begynnyng of this Fray, that no certaintie was had, neyther might the king as then go about the examination thereof. And after thys fray they soiourned and remayned in the same place the space of three weekes, but the straungers beyng afeard of the Englishmen, did in the meane time make many good deuises and ordynaunces for their awne sauegarde. And at the ende of three wekes, knowledge came from the king to the Marshals of the hoste, that the next weeke euery man should prouyde for Cartes and Chariots with Tentes and Pauilions to lye in the field, & for all other necessaries therevnto belonging, to the entent to draw into Scotland. And when the time came, the king of England and his hoste heard of the fyres that the Scottes made daylie in England, for the Scottes vnknowne to the kings armie were gotten ouer the ryuer of Tyne and were entred into Englande: But the king with all his power in all possible hast followed them, and hunted them from towne to towne, and from mountayne to mountayne, and from place to place, from day to day, and weeke to weeke, by the space of v. weekes and when the king thought himselfe most sure of them and had hedged them in, they escaped at Midnight and were gone where the king could not follow them, for his people, were tyred, and the wayes were ouer such mountaynes and thorough marishes and such combersome places that he lost both manye of his people and also of hys carpages. And so this puysaunt armye, which was deuided into three battailes, wherein were .xxx. thousand armed men, and .xxiij. thousande Archers, beside two wynges, wherein were fiue hundreth goodmen of armes, returned home agayne with euill luck, and did nothing at all worthy the wryting. But surely it was a very chargeable armye vnto the king and the realme, for besides the prouision of all the Englishmen and their munition, the very charges of Sir John Henault and the straungers that came with him were so great, that the king lacked money presentlye to pay them, and Sir John of Heynault tooke vpon hym to promise the payment therof, which, as Froissart sayth, was payd within one yere followyng, euery man accordyng to his awne asseyng. But the euill hap of this iourney, was imputed to Sir Roger Mortymer who afterwarde was charged therewith as ye shall here.

The straungers were in great feare of the Englishmen.

The king with his armie setteth forward into Scotland.

The Scots came ouer the ryuer of Tyne, and so entred into England, and our army nothing preuailed therevnto.

The king of England returneth without doyng any thyng in Scotland.

The greatnesse and strength of the armie of Englande.

Now

Now after the returne of the king out of Scotland, and breakyng vp of the sayd warre, the gentle knight sir John of Henault tooke his leaue of the king and Queene, and departed with all his men of armes into their countrie.

Sir John of Heynault taketh his leue of the king.

And shortly after, the king and the Queene his mother, the Erle of Kent his Uncle, the Erle of Lancaster, and sir Roger Mortimer, who then bare the chiefe rule of this realme vnder the king, and all the Barons of England with the aduice and consent of the kinges Counsaile, sent a Bishop and two knightes Banerettes, with two notable Clerkes, to Sir John of Heynault, prayng him to be a meane that theyr Lorde the yong king of England might haue in mariage the yongest daughter of the Erle of Henault his brother, named Philip: for the king and all the Nobles of the Realme desyred rather to haue her then any other Ladye, chiefely for the loue they bare vnto the said Sir John of Henault. And when the Ambassadors were come to Sir John of Henault (who right gently and honourably entertayned them) and that they had shewed their message and ambassade vnto him. He then (after that he had feasted them and made vnto them great cheere) brought them to Valenciens to the Erle his brother, who also right honourably receyued them, and made vnto them merueylous great and costly cheere, which were to long here to reherse. But when they had expressed and shewed the content of the message or ambassade vnto the Erle. The Erle sayd, Sirs I thanke greatly and most hartely the king your Prince, and the Queene his mother, and all the Lordes of England, for that they haue sent such sufficient persons as you be, to do me suche honour as to treate for the mariage, to the which request I do right well agree, if our holy father the Pope will consent therevnto. With the which aunswere the Ambassadors were right well content, and forthwith they sent two knightes, and two Clerkes to the Pope to Auignion to purchase a dispensation for this mariage. For without licence they might not mary, because they were of kinne in the thirde degree, for their two mothers were cosyn Germaynes, and issued of two brethren. And to be short, the licence was graunted, and the Messengers returned and brought the same from the Pope, vnto Valenciens, and then was this mariage concluded on both partes. And the mariage was foorthwith made, and solempnized by procuration from the king of England. And after the solemnitie thereof, and the feastes ended: this yong Queene came onward of her iourney, and tooke shippyng at Wisant, and safely arriued with all her companie at Douer. And sir John of Henault her Uncle did conduct her to the Citie of London, where she was most honourably and triumphantly receyued. Froissart. But Fabian sayth, this marryage was solemnized in Yorke.

An Ambassade sent vnto sir John Heynault for a mariage to be concluded for king Edward with his brother the Erle of Henaultes daughter named Philip.

Nowe when all thinges were finished that belonged to the receyuyng of the yong Quene, then sir John of Henault Uncle to the Queene, tooke hys leaue of the king and the yong Queene, and also of the olde Queene, and of all the Lordes and Barons of England, and so departed towardes his countrie, beyng conducted to the See with the companie of diuers and sundrye Lordes.

Soone after his departure, the king at whitsontide folowyng called his high Court of Parliament at Northhampton. At the which Parliament (as sayth Fabian) by ỹ euill counsaile of syr Roger Mortimer, & the old Queene, (as the common fame and report was) the king made with the Scottes an vnprofitable

A parliament at Northhampton.

A dishonourable peace made with the Scottes.

vnprofitable and a dishonorable peace, to endure three yeres. For first, he released vnto them their fealtie and homage, and he deliuered vnto them theyr olde and auncient writyngs, sealed with the Seales of the kinges of Scots, and of diuerse Lordes of the land, both spirituall & temporal, with many other Charters and Patentes, namely one called Ragman, by the which the king of Scottes bound himselfe and them to be Feodaries to the Crowne of England. At the which tyme also were delyuered certeine Jewelles, which before tymes had bene wonne from the Scottes by kinges of England, and among other, the blacke crosse of Scotland is chiefely named. And not onely the king by thys doyng lost the right and title that he had to the realme of Scotland, so farre as he could passe from it, but also all the Lordes and Barons, and all other men of Englande that had any landes or rentes within Scotland, lost their right in lyke maner, except they would dwell vpon the sayde landes, and become the king of Scottes liege men. And shortly after was concluded a mariage, betwene Dauid le Bruze, sonne of Robert le Bruze, and Jane the kinges sister, which of diuers writers is surnamed Johan of Towres.

Ragman.

1328
3

A parliamẽt at Sarisbury

Shortly after, there was another Parliament holden at Salsbury, or rather Sarisbury, at the which Parliament sir Roger Mortimer was made Erle of Marche against the minde and will of all the Barons, and sir John of Eltham the kinges brother, was made Erle of Cornewall: To the which Parliament, Henry Erle of Lancaster would not come. Wherefore the king was brought in beliefe, that he ment euill towardes him, and that he purposed the destruction of his person. For the which, the king by the meane of sir Roger Mortimer, caused to be assembled a great hoste, and made towardes Bedford, where Erle Henry lay with his company. Then the Erle Marchal, and the Erle of Kent, made a peace betweene the king and the Erle of Lancaster: on whose part was sir Henry Lord Beamond, sir Fouke Fytzwayn, sir Thomas Rocellyn, sir William Trussell, sir Thomas Wyther, and about an hundreth knightes, who all were exiled and banished Englande, by the counsaile of Queene Isabell, and the Erle Mortimer. For the sayd Mortimer was couetous, and thought to haue obteyned all their landes.

This yere Robert le Bruze the false king of Scottes dyed of a leapory, leauyng behinde him his sonne Dauid of the age of. viij. yeres, whome the Scottes receyued willyngly for their king.

Sir Edmõd of Woodstock Erle of Kent apprehended.

Also about this tyme (as sayth Fabian) sir Edmond of Woodstock Erle of Kent, supposyng that his brother king Edward the second had beene aliue, (for so he was informed,) and mindyng a reformation of the misorder of the realme, wrote certeine letters vnto him, conteynyng denyses for his deliuery, and sent them vnto him: Of the which doyng he was shortly after accused, by the procurement of sir Roger Mortimer, who ought him malice. And by authoritie of parliament holden at Winchester, about Whitsontide folowyng, he for that deede was adiudged to haue his heade smitten off, which execution was done in the sayd Citie of Winchester the. xxb. day of May folowyng.

But Froissart sayth, he was behedded the. x. daye of October. And not long after sayth he (it was openly reported) that Isabell the kinges mother was with childe by Mortymer: and howe that the sayde Mortymer had caused the king to put to death his Uncle without reasonable or iust cause, for all the realme accompted him for a noble and good man.

The

The. xb. daye of June was borne the kinges first sonne at Woodstock, and was named Edward, which in processe of tyme did grow to a noble and famous man, and was in his dayes accompted the Flower of all Chyualrye throughout all the worlde, and also some writers name him the black prince.

In this time the king helde his high Court of Parliament at London (as sayth Fabian) duryng which tyme the king caused Sir Roger Mortymer Erle of Marche to be apprehended at Nottyngham, and brought to Lõdon. And before the Lordes and nobles were expressed and declared in writyng, the wickednesse and offences of the sayde Mortymer. Then the king demaunded of his counsaile what should be done with him: And all the Lords by one assent gaue iudgement and sayd, he hath deserued to die the same death that Sir Hugh Spencer the sonne dyed. And after thys iudgement there was no sparyng, respite or delaye could be graunted: but incontinent, he was drawen on a hardell thorough London, and then set on a Ladder, and hys members cut from him, and cast into the fyre, and hys heart also, because he had conspired treason, and then quartered, and his quarters sent to foure of the best Cities of the realme, and his head set vpon London Bridge. Thus farre Froissart.

1329
4

The like iudgement that Mortimer procured for Spencer the ponger he tasted nowe of himselfe.

But Fabian sayth, he was charged and condempned for sundry articles, whereof he maketh mencion of fyue especiall, which follow.

Articles alleged against sir Roger Mortimer.

1 First, that Sir Edwarde of Carnarthan, which was King Edward the second, was by his meanes, by most tyrannous death murthered in the Castel of Barkeley.

2 The second, that to the kings great dishonour and dammage, the Scots by his meanes and treason, escaped from the king at the Parke on Stanhope, which then should haue fallen in the kings daunger, if the sayd Roger had not fauoured them.

3 The thirde, that he for the execution of the sayde Treason, receaued of the Capitaine of the sayde Scottes, named Sir James Douglas, great summes of money: but another writer sayth, he receaued. xx. thousand pound and also that he had for lyke meede, to the great dishonour of the king, and hurt of this realme, concluded a peace betweene the king and the Scottes, and caused to be delyuered vnto them, the Chartre or Indenture called Ragman, with many other things, to the Scottes great aduantage, and to the great dishonour of the imperiall state of this realme of England.

4 The fourth, he was charged, that by sinister and vnlawfull meanes, contrary to the kings pleasure and will, or assent of the Lordes of the kings counsaile, he had gotten into his possession much of the kings treasure, and that he had prodigally and vnskilfully wasted and spent the same. By reason wherof, the king was in necessity and driuen perforce to assay his friends.

5 The fift, that he had imparopered vnto him diuers wards, belonging vnto the king, to his great gayne, and the kinges great hurte: and that he was more secret with Quene Isabell the kings mother, then was to Gods pleasure or the kings honour.

The Quene committed to prison.

Sone after this, the king by the aduise of his counsell, commaunded that the Quene his mother should be kept close in a Castell, and to haue appointed to attende vpon her certaine Ladies and damozelles, and knightes and Esquires according to her estate, and certaine landes were assigned where-

with

with to maintayne her noble estate during her lyfe: But speciall commission was geuen, that she should not departe out of the Castell, onlesse it were to see such spoztes as sometime were shewed before the Castell gate foz her recreation. Thus this Lady led there her lyfe meekely, and once oz twise a yere the king her sonne came to visite and see her.

In this yere, sayth Polidoze, John Archbishop of Cauntozbury assembled hys clergie together at a Synode holden at London, in the which after dyuers abuses remoued, and other good things restozed in their places, he then and there among other things, by the consent of the saide Synode, excommunicated all those, whatsoeuer they were, generally, that were guiltie of the death of Walter Stapleton Bishop of Excester, oz did procure oz consent to the same, oz layde any handes vpon him. The which maner of doyng seemeth somewhat straunge to mee, foz the sayde Stapleton as before ye haue heard was put to death by the Citezens as an enimie to the Quene, and was also the same yere and in the first Parliament that king Edwarde the thirde helde, attaynted of high treason by name, with the two Spencers afoze mencioned, but I leaue this to the consideration and iudgement of the reader.

And Polidoze sayth mozeouer, that the sayde Stapleton Bishop of Excester paraduenture did fozesee that he could not long continue in the seruice of princes with the sauetie of his lyfe, and therefoze (when he had time) he builded at Oxfozd two notable houses, that should endure many hundzeds of yeres, whereof the one to this day is called Excester Colledge, and the other is called Hartes hall, in the which he placed a number of scholers, with right worthy and good maintenance.

Excester College.

Hartes hall.

1330

5

Now after that the king had caused to be done the afozesayd executions, he chose vnto hym newe counsaylours of the noblest and sagest persons of his realme. And towarde the ende of thys yere Philip Ualoys, beyng newly crowned king of Fraunce, all the Barons of hys realme came to him to doe their homage and Fealtie, and likewise did all other noble personages that helde of him, except the king of England, who had not done his homage foz the Duchy of Guyan, neyther was he sommoned therevnto. Wherefoze, the French king by the aduise of his counsayle, sent as an Ambassade into England, the Lozde Auycenes, the Lozde Beausalt, and two noble Clarkes Maysters of the Parliament of Paris, whose names were, Mayster Peter of Orlyaunce and Maister Peter of Masiers. These foure departed from Paris, and came into Englande to the king then beyng at Wyndsoze. The king of Englande foz the honour of the French king his Cosyn, caused them to come into his presence, and receaued them honozably, and then they published their message vnto the king. And the king aunswered that as then the nobles of his realme was not about him, neyther was his counsell then present, wherfoze he prayed them to resozt to the Citie of London, and there to stay awhile, and they should haue aunswere to their contentation. And so they dyned in the kinges Chamber, and after departed, and laye the same night at Colbzoke, and the next day at London.

Ambassadors sent from the French king to king Edward to demaunde homage foz the Duchie of Guien.

And shortly after, the king came to his palace at Westminster where he assembled all his counsaile: And thether came the French Ambassadors, and there agayne declared the occasion of their comming, and deliuered their letters. Then the king and his counsell went aside into the counsell Chamber, and

and counsayled what was to be done. And they agreed that the Ambassadors should be aunswered by the ozdynaunce and stile of his predecessors, by the Bishop of London. Then were the Frenchmen called into the counsayle Chamber.

The Bishop of London then sayde, ye Lozdes that are here assembled foz the king of Fraunce. The kings grace my souereigne Lozde hath heard your wozdes and read the tenour of your letters. And foz aunswere, we say vnto you, that we will counsell the king our souereigne Lozde here present, that he go into Fraunce to see your master his deare Cosyn, who right louingly hath sent foz him. And as touching his faith and homage, he will doe his deuoyre in euery thing that of right he ought to doe. And ye may shewe vnto the king your master, that within shozt space that the king of England our master will arryue in Fraunce, and there to doe all that reason shall require.

An answere made to the Ambassadors by the Bishop of London.

Then these Messengers, after they had beene feasted, and that the king had rewarded them with great giftes, and riche Jewelles, they tooke their leaue, and at the last came to Parys to king Philip, to whome they declared their aunswere and message: Whereof the Frenche king was right glad and ioyfull, when he vnderstood of the kinges comming, foz he was very desyrous to see him, because he neuer sawe him, and yet was hys nere Cosyn and kinsman. Then the French king caused this to be spzead abzoade throughout all Fraunce. Then Dukes, Erles, and other Lozdes apparelled and appoynted themselues in their best maner. And the Frenche king wzote his letters to king Charles of Behaygne his Cosyn, and to the king of Nauerre, certefiyng them of the day and time when the king of England would be in Fraunce, desiryng them to be with him at the same day and tyme, and so they came with a great aray. Then was it counsailed the French king, that he should receyue the king of England at the Citie of Amyas, and there to make prouision foz his comming: There were Halles, Chambers, Hosteries, and lodgynges made redy, and apparelled to receaue them all and their companie. And also foz the Duke of Burgoyne, the Duke of Burbon, the Duke of Lozeyn, and Sir John of Arthoys. There was prouision made foz a thousand hozse, and foz sixe hundzeth hozse that should come wyth the king of England.

The yong king forgate not his voyage into Fraunce, and beyng furnished of all thing mete foz him and his trayne, he departed out of England, accompanied with three Bishoppes, foure Erles whose names were, Henry Erle of Darby, the Erle of Salsbury, the Erle of Warwike, and the Erle of Herford, and sixe Barons, the Lozde Reignold Cobham, the Lozde Thomas Wage Marshall of England, the Lozde Percey, the Lozde Manney, and the Lozde Mowbzay, and mo then xl. knightes, so that the king and hys companie were aboue a thousand hozse, and the king was two dayes in passing betweene Douer and Wysant.

King Edward goeth into Fraūce.

Then the king and his company roade to Boleyn, and there taryed one day, and this was about the middest of August. And anone tidynges came to king Philip of Fraunce, howe the king of England was at Boleyn. Then the French king sent his Constable with a great number of knightes to mete the king of Englande, who then was come to Mountrell, and there were great embzacynges and shewynges of frendship on both sydes, from thence

the

the king of England, now beyng accompanied with the Constable of Fraūce and other French Lordes, and his awne Lordes, road forwarde so long vntill they came to the Citie of Ampas, where the French king, and the king of Bohaingne, the king of Mailorgues, and the king of Nauerre, beyng well appoynted, were ready to receyue him, with many other Dukes, Erles, and Barons. For there were all the. xij. Peeres of Fraunce, ready to feast, and to cheere the king of England and his Nobles, and also to be there in peaceable maner to beare witnesse of the king of Englandes homage.

And thus the king of England beyng nobly and honourably receyued, taryed and was feasted with these kinges, and other Pryinces in Ampas. xv. dayes. And in that meane tyme, there were sondrie wayes deuysed howe the king should do his homage, but so farre (sayth Froissart) as I could learne, the king of England made his homage vnto the French king, onely by word and not by puttyng of his handes betwene the Frenche kinges handes, nor none other Pryince nor Prelate limited nor appoynted to do it for him, neyther would the king of England do his homage any otherwise, but was determined rather to returne againe into England. And there was red openly the priuileges that of auncient tyme were graunted, the which declared how and in what maner the king should do his homage to the French king, and what seruice he should do him. Then sayd the French king: Cosyn, we will not at this tyme any further trouble you, for that ye haue nowe done, contenteth vs well, vntill ye be returned home againe into your realme, and that ye haue seene vnder the seales of your predecessors, howe and in what wise ye should do your homage.

King Edwarde did homage to the French king for the Duchie of Guyan,

And shortly after, the king of England toke his leaue of the French king, and of all the other Pryinces that were there, and departed very louingly, the one embracyng the other. Then the king made hast homeward, and with good speede returned into England, and so to Windsore, where of the Quene he was receyued right ioyfully. Then she demaunded howe her Uncle the French king did, and her kinsfolkes that were about him. The king shewed her all that he knew, and of the great cheere & honor that he had there, and sayde that in hys opinion, there was no Realme to be compared to the Realme of Fraunce.

The king geueth a great commendation to Fraunce.

A new Ambassade sent out of France to king Edward for the hoyng of hys homage for the Duchy of Guyan and Aquitaine.

It was not long after, but that the French king sent a newe Ambassade to the king of Englande, who were certeine of his priuie counsaile, as the Bishop of Charters, the Bishop of Beauuoys, the Lorde Lewes of Clermount, the Duke of Burbon, the Erle of Hercourt, and the Erle of Tankermile, with diuerse other Knightes and Clerkes, who, as aforesayd, were sent to the king, and to the Counsaile of England, which was then holden and kept at London, about the performance of the kinges homage, whereof ye heard before.

Now when the king of England and his counsaile had well considered the maner of his predecessors in doyng their homage for the Duchie of Aquitaine (although there were many in England that murmured and sayde, that the king their Lorde was nerer by succession vnto the crowne of Fraunce, then Philip of Ualoys that was nowe French king) yet the king nor hys counsaile would not know it at this time, nor speake a worde thereof, but the counsaile and assembly aforesaid had much ado about this homage. And they were

were so long in the matter, that the Ambassadors were inforced to tary here all the Winter vntill May folowyng, before they had any aunswere definitiue. But finally the king with the aduice of his counsayle, vpon the sight of former presidentes, to the which they gaue great credite, did determine to write letters in the maner of patentes, sealed with his great seale, knowledgyng therein the homage that he ought to do to the Frenche king, as in Froissard ye may read more at large.

The king of Englande was now enformed that king Dauid of Scotlande, who had maried his sister, was seased of the towne of Barwike, the which ought to apperteine to the realme of Englande, for king Edward the first, his Grandfather, had it in his peaceable possession. Also the king was enformed that the realme of Scotland should holde in chiefe of the Crowne of England: and how the young king of Scottes had not as then done his homage. Wherefore the king of England sent his Ambassade to the king of Scottes, desyryng him to make deliuerance of the towne of Barwike, for it perteyned to his heritage. And also that they should sommon the sayd king of Scottes to come vnto the king of Englande, and to do his homage for the realme of Scotland.

The king of Scottes is sommoned to come and do his homage to the king of England for the kingdome of Scotland.

Then the king of Scottes tooke counsaile howe to aunswere this matter. And at the last, he aunswered the Ambassadors and sayd, sirs, both I and all the Nobles of my realme meruayle greatly of that ye haue required vs to do, for we finde no auncient recorde that the realme of Scotlande should be subiect to the realme of England, neyther by homage, nor other wayes: neyther did the noble king our father any homage vnto the kinges of England, for any warre that was made vnto him by anye of them, and no more doe I purpose to do. And as for the towne of Barwike, our father conquered it by force of armes against king Edward your kinges father, and by right helde it all the dayes of his life, as his good heritage, and we purpose to the best of our power to do lykewise. Notwithstandyng, we require you Lordes to be meanes to the king your Maister, whose sister we haue maryed, that he will suffer vs peaceably to enioy our fraunches and rightes, as his auncetours haue done here before.

The answere of the king of Scottes.

Then the Ambassadors aunswered and sayde, sir we haue well vnderstand your aunswere, and we will declare it vnto the king our Lorde. And so tooke their leaue and returned into England to the king, and declared their aunswere, wherewithall the king was nothing contented.

A parliament holden at Westminster.

Then the king sommoned a Parliament to be holden at Westmynster, where all the nobles and wise men of this realme were assembled, to determine what was meetest to be done in this matter. And they concluded, that it was not for the kinges honour to beare those iniuries and wronges that the Scottes did daylie vnto him, and they besought him to prouyde his force and strength of men of warre, to attayne thereby the Towne of Barwike, and to enter into the realme of Scotland with such force, that he should constrayne the king of Scottes to be glad to come and doe his homage. And all the nobles and commons of the Realme of England sayd, they would gladly and wyllingly go with him in that iourney. And for their good willes the king thanked them and prayed them to be in a readynesse, & at a day assigned to be together at New Castell vpon Tyne. And then euery man went home

A great preparation against Scotland.

and prepared for that iourney.

A defiaunce made to the Scottish king.

Then the king sent other Ambassadors to the king of Scottes sufficiently to sommon him: and that if he would not be otherwise aduised, then the king gaue them full auctho[r]itie to defye him.

Sone after the day of the assembly of the kinges hoste drewe on, at the which day the king with all his armie arryued at New Castell vpon Tyne, and there taried three dayes for some of the armie that were not come. And the fourth day he departed with all hys power toward Scotland, and passed thorough the landes of the Lorde Perey, and of the Lorde Neuell, who marched on the Scottes, and so did the Lorde Rosse, and the Lorde Ligye, and the Lord Mowbray.

The king entreth into Scotlande & a great power

Then the king with his armie drew nere to Barwike; for the king of Scots made none other answere then he did at the first, wherfore they somoned him, & then openly defyed him. And so the king of England taried not at Barwike, but went forward into Scotlande and burned the Countrey as he went. In the which iourney he wasted & destroyed all the plaine countrey of Scotland, & brent and destroied many townes and billages & toke the strong Castel of Edynborough and set therein a garison. And then he passed ouer the second ryuer in Scotland, & ran ouer all the countrey thereabout to Scone, and destroyed the good towne of Donfremlyn, Dondy & Dombritayne, and many other, for there were no Scottes that would appere before the Englishmen, for they were fled into the Forest of Gedwoorth with all their goods and they cared not much for that they left behinde. And it was no great mer-uayle though they were thus driuen, for the king of Scottes was but. xv. yeres of age, and the Erle of Murrey was but yong, and the Nephewe of Wylliam Dowglas, that was slaine in Spayne, was also of the same age. So as at that time the realme of Scotland was vnprouyded of Capitaines.

Edenbrough Castel taken.

Gedwoorth Forest.

Now when the king had runne ouer all the playne Countrie of Scotlande, and had taryed there the space of. vj. Moneths, and sawe that none would appere against him: Then he strengthened and furnished certayne Castels that he had wonne, thinking by them to make warre to all the other. And afterwarde he withdrew hymselfe fayre and easily towarde Barwike, where the king layed his siege round about, and sayde he wouldе neuer departe thence vntill he had wonne it. But after manye assaultes and sharpe skirmishes had with the Scottes for suche as kept the Towne defended the same manfully, yet at the last they yeelded the Towne to the king conditionally that they might haue their lyues and goodes saued, and that the souldyours might departe into their Countrie without any dammage. And then the king entred into the Towne with great solempnitie, and taryed there. xij. dayes, & made Capitain there syr Edward Bailleol, whom also he made king of the Scots, and betooke the gouernement of the whole realme vnto him.

Barwike yelded to the king.

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And when the king had thus set all thinges in good order, he returned to London, where he was right ioyfully receaued and saluted of all hys people. And thus at thys tyme the king wanne the greatest parte of Scotlande, as sayth Froyssart.

In the meane while that the king prepared the aforesayde voyage and army into Scotland, it chaunced sir Robert de Arthoys, who was one of the noblest men in Fraunce, vpon displeasure had betweene him and the French king

king, to flie out of Fraunce and came into England to the king disguysed in a Marchaunts apparell. This Sir Robert was he, of whom before ye haue heard, that in the great distresse of the Quene and her sonne, beyng in France with her brother the French king, she found him an especiall friend and helper vnto her, and it was his counsell that she passed into Henault, where she was releeued and by the good helpe of the gentle knight Sir Iohn of Henault was restored to the quiet state and possession of the crowne of England. And at the comming of the sayde Sir Robert, the king receyued him right ioyfully, and reteined him as one of his counsell and to him assigned the Erledome of Richemond. This knight hauyng a sentence passed against him of the Erledome of Artoys, and the same giuen from him to Ione Countesse of Artoys by the French king and his nobles, was with that sentence so sore displeased, that he sayde openly against the Frenche king: By me he was made a king and by me he shal be dismissed againe. For the which words when they came to the kinges vnderstandyng, he caused the sayde Sir Robert to be proclaymed an enimie vnto the Crowne of Fraunce, wherevpon he fled, as is aforesayde.

Sir Robert Erle of Arthoys fled out of France vnto the king of England for succour.

Sir Robert of Arthoys made Erle of Richemond.

The cause why sir Robert fled out of Fraunce.

During the time of the aforesayde voyage into Scotlande, and the king hauyng with him the aforesayde Sir Robert, who went with him all that iourney, the sayde Sir Robert was often tymes in hande with the king (espyeng the Countrie of Scotland to be bareyne and beggerly) to leaue his warres in that countrey, and to clayme his right and lawfull inheritaunce of the crowne of Fraunce, and the whole realme of the same, which iustly and rightly did belong and apperteigne vnto hym, but the king gaue no care therevnto.

The king this yere in Wynter, in the month of November went againe towarde Scotlande, and kept his Christmas at Yorke. And after that feast, he went into Scotlande, where he layde siege to the Castell of Kylbrydge, and at the last wanne it by strength and then he set the countrie in some quietnesse, and after he returned to New Castell vpon Tyne, and taried there a certaine of time, and kept there his Whitsontyde with great royaltie. And within short space after, thether came Sir Edward Baillioll king of Scots, and the. xix. day of June made his homage vnto king Edward for the kingdome of Scotland, in the presence of many of the nobles of both the realmes, and sware vnto him fealty and fidelity. And that being done, he returned into Scotland, and king Edward went vnto Yorke and so to Wynsor. Then were all suche Lordes of Englande as before tyme in King Edward the secondes dayes, dissessed of suche landes as they held in Scotland, restored agayne to their possessions, and for them made their homage vnto ꝑ king of Scots, sauyng their allegeaunce vnto their souereigne Lorde. Fabian.

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Kylbrydge Castell besieged.

Edward Baillioll king of Scottes doth his homage to king Edward for the kingdome of Scotland.

Now shortly after, certaine Ambassadours were sent from the French king, as the Bysshop of Thurayne and the Lorde of Ferrey, and Peynguy for to conclude certaine articles of variaunce, betweene their Lorde and the king of England. But this purpose toke none effect, sauyng that the king graunted to send vnto the French king shortly after, certayne of hys Lords to haue further communication with him touching the sayde articles.

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And this yere the king kept his Christmas in the Castell of Rokesborough in Scotlande, which Castell he caused to be newly repayred. And when

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Ambassadors sent vnto the French king for the consultation of a peace, but it tooke no effect.

when he had set suche things in order as before he purposed: Then he returned agayne into England. And sone after he sent the Archbyshop of Cauntorbury, Sir Philip de Mountague & Sir Geoffrey Scrope, into ỹ realme of Fraunce, to the entent to haue concluded an amity betwene him & the French king, which before in the last yere was moued by the French Ambassadors. But when these sayde Lordes were landed in Fraunce, they were long delayed before they could come to the kinges presence, in somuch that they sayde playnely vnto such Lordes of Fraunce as were by the French king assigned to passe the time with them, that they supposed that it was not the kings pleasure to speake with them.

By meane of which wordes, they were shortly after brought vnto the kinges presence, of whome they were receyued with ioyous countenaunce, and so continued a certeine tyme in furtherynge of their Ambassade, so that at the last, a conclusion of peace betwene England and Fraunce was agreed vpon, so farre forth as the same should haue bene published the next day in Parys by proclamation. But howe the French kinges minde altered, the Englishe Ambassadors were scantly returned vnto their lodgynges, but they were sent for againe, and further enformed, that the French kinges pleasure and minde was, to haue Dauid late king of Scottes to be included within the same peace, and that he should againe be restored vnto his kingdome. Wherevnto it was aunswered by the Englishe Ambassadors, that their commission stretched not so farre, neyther that their Prince had geuen them any such authoritie. Wherefore all the former communication was reuoked and annulled, and they returned into England without making any conclusion.

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I finde written in an olde Englishe Chronicle, which beareth the name of one Robert of Auesbury, that this King Edwarde the thirde, did aboute this tyme chaunge and aduaunce his coyne, that is to say, from.xx. pence the ounce sterlyng, vnto.xxb. pence the ounce, which maketh of currant money the pound weight of siluer.xxb.shillynges, and before it was currant for. xx. shillynges.

The coyne aduaunced.

warre proclaymed betwene Fraunce and England.

Nowe for somuch as no conclusion of peace might be had betweene the French king and the king of Englande, warre was proclaymed vpon both partes, the which warre was greatly procured by sir Robert of Arthoys, for as saith Froissart, he was euer nere about king Edward, and alwayes counsaillyng him to defie the French king, who kept his heritage from him wrongfully. Of the which matter the king oftentymes conferred with his priuie counsayle, for gladly he desired to haue obteyned his right, but the meane to come by it was very difficult and chargeable. And he also considered with himselfe, that to make a clayme to the Crowne of Fraunce, and not to go through with his claime, it should be better for him to say little, and to be still, rather then to make a great sturre, and then nothyng should followe nor come of it that should be to any purpose: And therefore after certaine meetyngs and conference vpon this matter, his counsaylours aunswered him saying: Sir the matter is so weightie, and of so highe an enterprize, that we dare not speake therein, neyther to geue you any counsayle. But sir, if it may please you, we thinke it were meete that you sent sufficient Messengers well enformed of your meanyng to the Erle of Henault (whose daughter ye haue maryed) and to sir Iohn of Henault his brother, who hath valiantly serued you

you at all tymes: And to desyre them in the way of amitie and friendship, to geue you their counsaile in this matter, for they knowe better what is meete for such an enterprize than we do: And sir, if they agree to your entent, then will they counsaile you what way you shall worke, and what friendes you were best to make.

The king when he had heard the aduise of his counsaylours, and had well considered the same, he thought well of it, and iudged it to be a good way of entraunce vnto his enterprice: and forthwith the king appoynted the Bishop of Lincolne, and with him two Banerettes, and two Doctors to do this message. And they made them readie and tooke shippyng, and arryued at Dunkerke, and roade through Flaunders, vntill they came to Valenciens, where they found the Erle lyng in his bed sicke of the Goute, and with him sir Iohn his brother. And after the Erle vnderstoode their message, he aunswered and sayde. As helpe me God, if the king might attaine his desire, I would be right glad thereof, for I had rather the welth of him that hath maryed my daughter, then of him that neuer did any thing for me: Though I haue maryed his sister. And to say truth, I haue no cause to do for him, for he letted the marryage of the yong Duke of Brabant, which should haue maried one of my daughters, wherefore I will not faile to ayde my dere and welbeloued sonne the king of England, and counsaile him to the best of my power, and so shall Iohn my brother do, who hath serued him or this. Howbeit, he must haue more helpe then ours. For Heynault is but a small countrie in respect of the realme of Fraunce, and England is farre off to ayde vs.

Ambassadors sent to the Erle of Henault.

Then sayd the Bishop, we thanke you on our maysters behalfe, for the comfort that ye haue geuen vs: Nowe we hartely desyre you to geue our maister counsaile what friendes he were best to labour vnto for his ayde. Surely sayde the Erle, I cannot deuise a more puysaunt Prince to assist him then the Duke of Brabant, who is his Cosin Germaine: and the Bishop of Liege, the Duke of Guerles, who hath maried his sister. The Archebishop of Coleyn: the Marques of Iullers, Sir Arnolde de Baquehen, and the Lorde of Falkemount. These Lordes are they that may make most men of warre, in shortest space of any that I know: they are good men of warre and they may well make ten thousand men, so that they haue wages thereafter.

The Erle of Henault geueth counsaile to king Edwarde.

After that the Erle had thus declared his mind of the best wayes to enter into the sayd enterprise, the aforesayd Ambassadors returned into England, and so to the king, and shewed him all that the Erle had sayd, & counsayled. At the which message the king did greatly reioyce, and tooke much comfort. And shortly after, the king appoynted ten Banerettes, and. xl. other knightes, and sent them in Ambassade to Valenciens, and with them went the bishop of Lincolne to treate with the Lordes of the Empire, such as the Erle of Henault had named. And when these Ambassadors were come to Valenciens, eche of them kept a great estate and port, and spared no cost, no more then if the king of England had beene there in proper person, whereby they did get great renowme and prayse.

A great Ambassade sent to ỹ Erle of Henault.

Now while these thinges were thus in compassyng at Valenciens: The French king sent a crewe of Souldiours into Scotland to ayde the Scottes against the Englishe men: By reason whereof the Scottes made sharpe warre vpon the king of Englandes subiectes and friendes, and put the lande

The French king sendeth a crewe of Souldiours to ayde the Scottes against king Edward.

to great veration and trouble, insomuch that the king was inforced to assemble his power, and to spede him againe thether.

About Mydsomer the king entred Scotland by Sea and warred vpon the Scottes and French men, at which tyme the king subdued his enimies and had the victory and tooke dyuers prisoners. Among the which one called the Erle of Mozet a Frenchman, was chiefe, which afterwarde was deliuered in exchaunge for the Erle of Namur, another French Lord.

The Erle of Mozet a French Lord taken prisoner.

When King Edward had now againe pacefied the Scottes, and had taken homage of such as before rebelled, he then stablished agayne the aforenamed Edward Baylioll as king of Scottes, and committed the rule of the lande vnto him as before times he had done. Then the king of Scottes and the nobles for the great kindnesse they had founde in the king, and partly in recompence of the great charges which he sundrie times had beene at, in the defending and ordering of that realme, graunted and bound themselues vnto him and to his heyres, kings of England, that they would ayde and assist him agaynst all princes. And whensoeuer he or any king of Englande had warre, eyther within his awne lande or with any other prince: The Scots of their proper expences and charges should finde him three hundreth horsemen well armed, and a thousande footemen well and substancially furnished for the warre, the which .xiij. hundred men the Scottes should wage for a whole yere. And if the king of Englande ended not his warre within the yere, then he to hyre and wage the sayde Scottes as he did his other souldyours. And sone after that these graunts and agreements were made, the king returned into England.

The Scots againe did homage vnto king Edwards.

The Scots make a larger offer vnto king Edward, then euer they purposed to performe.

1336

About thys tyme the French king, hauing purposed a iourney into the holy lande against the Turck, and for the furniture of that iourney hauing made such prouision as neuer christian prince had done the lyke before, and vnto the same iourney requesting the company and ayde of the king of Englande, who, as aforesayd, was otherwise minded and occupied: and hauing also prepared for his sayde voyage at sundrie portes, as Marcile, Aquis Mortuis, Narbone and Mountpillier suche a number of Vessels, Ships, Carickes and Galeys, as were sufficient to passe ouer three hundred thousand men of armes, which ships also were most plentifully furnished with Bisket, Wyne, freshe Water, salt Fishe and all other victualles necessary for the aforesayde number of men of warre for the space of three yeres. And moreouer, hauyng obtayned by his Ambassadors of the king of Hungary (who not a little reioyced at that message) that he would be in a readynesse, and open the passages and streytes of his Countrey, that the kinges souldyours and armie (whom he called the Pilgrimes of God) might quietly passe through. And in lyke maner sendyng to the king of Cypres, to the king of Cicille, to the Venecians, to the Genowayes and to all the Cities that were situate vpon the ryuer of Geane, and hauing answere of them all, that they were readie to obey. And the sayde Frenche king being answered by the great Priour of Fraunce, whom he had sent to the Isle of Rhodes, and also to the Venecians to prouide in the Isle of Crete which was vnder their seigniory, for the receyuing of him, his associates and armie, that all things were prepared and in a readynesse.

The French king purposed a iourney into the holy land.

About this tyme, I say, newes came vnto him of all the king of Englands

lands entent and purpose agaynst the realme of Fraunce, and of the assembly of king Edwardes Ambassadors, who at that tyme were with the Erle of Henault, and of all their counsailes and deuises. Wherevpon this voyage to the Turkes was vtterly dashed and all the former trauailes and prouisions came to nothing, neyther coulde he abide to here of them, but bent himselfe wholy to make defence against the king of Englande, who purposed the inuasion of his realme, and to make clayme therevnto as right inheritour to the same, as after more at large shall appere.

In this meane time the kinges Ambassadors which were sent into Henault as aforesayd, so applyed their Ambassade, ꝑ they had obteyned the good will and fauour of all, or the greatest parte of those persons whom the Erle of Henault thought meete to be labored vnto for the ayde of the king in thys enterprise. And to bring the same to a full conclusion and effect, King Edward himselfe went ouer into Flaundyrs and there allyed himselfe with Jaques Dartuell gouernour of all Flaundyrs, and then came to Andwarp in Brabant, where he kept a most honorable estate and royall household, and thether came vnto him people from all partes, to see him and to beholde the great estate that he kept. And duryng the time of his abode there, he sent for his Cosyn the Duke of Brabant, and the Duke of Guerles, the Marques of Jullers, the Lorde John of Henault, and all suche as he trusted to haue any comfort of, and they all came vnto him betwene Whitsontyde and Mydsomer. And when the king had well feasted them, he desyred to knowe their good willes towardes him, and when they would be in a readynesse: for saide he, I am vpon the promise of your good willes come hether my selfe, & not only remaine here at great expences, but also the season and conuenient tyme of the yere passeth away, therefore I pray you to let me know your mindes. They altogether answered, that they were at that time come onely to see his grace, and not to determine any thing: but they would returne home and speake with their seuerall counsayles, and within three weekes next followyng to make direct answer what and when they would attend vpon his enterprise. And about the time of their appoyntment, they sent answere vnto ꝑ king that they and all their men which they had promised were in a readynesse, so that the Duke of Brabant woulde be ready for his parte: So that the king was enforced once againe to talke with the Duke of Brabant, who for that he had before made promise to the French king, that though the king of Englande were in his Countrey, whome he might not denie, because he was his Cosyn Germayne, yet he would in no wise conclude any amitie or friendship with him agaynst the sayd French king, with much ado at the last agreed to ayde the king of England, but first he desyred that he might once again speake with the aforesayd Lordes: and he sent for them & after long cõmunication, they agreed and made vnto the king of England this answere: we haue (sayde they) assembled and conferred together, and we cannot consyder any lawfull cause that we maye defye the French king: But if your grace can obtaine the fauour and good will of the Emperour, who may commaunde vs, then we wyll be readie: And the Emperour can no lesse do, consydering how that many yeres past, there was a couenaunt swoorne and sealed, that it should not be lawfull for the French king to make warre, or by any meanes to apprehend or take into his possession any thing appertayning

King Edwarde goeth ouer into Flaundyrs to allye himselfe with as many friends as he could make.

King Edwarde kept an honorable estate in Andwarp in Brabant.

to

to the Empire: and it is euydently sene and knowne that Philip now French king hath taken the Castell of Creuecure in Cambresey, and the Castell of Alues in Pallieull, & also the Citie of Cambray, and therfore the Emperour hath good cause to defie hym, and then will we be readie. The king then considering with himselfe how farre he had enterprised, and seing now his purpose would come to none effect, onelesse he followed the determination and deuyses of the sayde Lordes, did therefore with all speede send his Ambassadors vnto the Emperour, with whome the sayde Lordes, for that they did beare vnto the king right true and harty good will, sent also Ambassadors of their owne, the which might more certainely declare their good meanings towards the king of England, if it might please the Emperours Maiestie to licence them therevnto, and so much was done therein, and chiefly by the labour of the Lady Margaret of Henault, whom Sir Lewes of Bauyer beyng Emperour had then maryed, that the Emperour graunted a commission vnto foure right honorable personages, and vnto two Doctours which were of his priuie counsayle, to authorise and make king Edward of Englande his Vicare generall throughout all the Empire, and of the same the Lordes abouenamed had instrumentes and Seales sufficiently authorised by the Emperour.

King Edwarde was made Vicare generall of al the Empire.

In this meane while, king Edwarde considering his great charge of warres that he had continually with Scotland: But chiefely and most specially forseeyng the great and inestimable charges that must folowe of this his enterprice in Fraunce, did gather in England by diuers and sundrie meanes great and inestimable summes of money, so that for lacke of money in this realme of England (as sayth Fabian) victuall came to such reasonable cheapnesse and price, that at London a quarter of wheate was solde for two shillynges, and a fat Ore for.iij.shillynges and.viij. pence, a fat sheepe for.iij. pence, and.iij.Pigeons for a pennie, a fat Goose for twopence, a fat Pigge for a pennie, and so all other victuall after the same rate.

Lacke of money causeth plenty & good cheepe of victuailes.

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And in this.xij.yere of his reigne, he helde his Parliament in England at Westminster, wherein great summes of money were graunted vnto him for the maintenance of his warres. And so soone as the same Parliament was finished, and that he had put the realme of Englande in good order, he then returned againe into Flaundrys, and at the last stayed at Louayne Castell in Brabant, where he attended his aunswere from the Emperour, and also expected the commyng of the former Lordes. And king Edward beyng in the Castell aforesayde, kept there an honourable and princely house, and sent into England for the Queene, for that he purposed not to returne into England vntill he had done some notable acte in Fraunce.

And in the aforesayd Parliament there was made an acte for the reformation of apparell, and good cause there was that it should so be, for the people did excede meruellously, not so much in costly and chargeable apparell, as in fond and foolishe apparell, for, as sayth Caxton in his Chronicle, called the fruite of tyme, The Englishe men (sayth he) so much folowed and counterfeated the madnesse and the folly of the straungers, that from the first commyng in of the Henaultes, they dayly chaunged their apparel, sometime long and wide, and at another tyme, cutted, short and streight, and altogether vnsemely and vnhonest. And the apparel of the women was more fond then the men.

A reformation of fond apparell.

men. For their clothes were made so strept to their bodyes, that they were faine to sowe Fore tayles vnder their clothes, for to set forth and hyde their buttockes, the which foolish pride the Scottes derydyd, and made foolishe rimes and ieastes of them.

In the moneth of Nouember next folowyng, the king sent first to the Duke of Brabant, and then to all the other Lordes that were allied vnto him, desyring to know of them where their place of meting and Parliament shoulde be kept and holden: And the Duke of Brabant aunswered, it was best to kepe it at Arques in the Countie of Loz. And then the king sent thether, and caused the great hall of the towne to be apparelled and appoynted in as rich maner as if it had bene the Kinges Chamber. And there the king sate crowned with a crowne of Golde, fiue foote higher then any other, and there was read openly the letters of the Emperour, by the which the king was made Vicare generall, & Lieutenant for the Emperour, and had power geuen him to make lawes, and to minister iustice to euery person in the Emperours name, and to coyne money of Golde and Siluer. And it was further ordered and commaunded by the Emperour, that all persons of his Empire, and all other his subiectes should obey to the king of England his Vicare, as to himselfe, and to do him homage. And forthwith there was claime and aunswere made betweene parties as before the Emperour, and order and iudgement geuen. And when all these thinges were done, the Lordes tooke a day that they all would appere at Cambray (which towne was then French) three Weekes after Midsommer next followyng, and then euerye man departed to his awne. King Edward as Vicare of the Empire, went then to the Castell of Louayne to the Queene his wyfe, who was newely come thether out of England with great noblenesse, and well accompanyed with beutifull Ladyes, and goodly Damozelles of England. And there the king and the Queene kept their house right honourably all that Winter, and caused great sommes of money, both of Golde and Syluer to be coyned at Andwarpe.

Letters patents graunted by the Emperour vnto king Edward the thirde openly read to the Lordes of the Empire.

King Edward coyned both Golde and Siluer at Andwarp.

The Frenche king beyng nowe credibly informed that king Edwarde would enter the realme of Fraunce to make warre vpon the same, did therefore make great prouision to resist him: For the common fame was then in Fraunce, that king Edward entended not onely to claime Gascoyn and Guian, but also all Fraunce as his proper and rightfull inheritaunce, as in the right of his mother. Wherefore the French king assembled an hooge hoste, and committed the gouernement thereof vnto the king of Nauerne; and to the Erle of Alanson, brother vnto the sayde French king: The which sayde Capitaynes with their people awayted dayly the king of Englandes comming, who disappoynted them for that yere.

And this yere it is noted that the king graunted, that the Officers of the Maior and Shirifes of London, should from that tyme forth vse Maces of Siluer and percell gilt.

Maces of siluer and gilt.

Now when the Winter was passed, and the Sommer come, Midsommer which was the tyme appoynted drewe nere. And the Lordes of Almain that were allyed with king Edward, began to set forth themselues to accomplish their promise. And in like maner the French king, who vnderstood most of king Edwardes doynges, made marueylous great prouision to mete him, and

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King Edwardes power out of Englande came to Villenoze by sea.

and to withstand him. But king Edward caused first his prouision for men of warre that came out of England to passe by Sea, and they were with him anone after Midsommer, and he himselfe lodged at Villenoze, and there caused as many of his people as he might, to be lodged in the towne, and the rest lay along on the ryuer syde in Tentes and Pauillions, and there he tarryed from the middest of July vntill the. viij. day of September, euer lookyng for the Lordes of the Empire, specially for the Duke of Brabant, on whose commyng all the other wayted. And when the king of England sawe that they came not, he sent great and honourable Messengers to euery of them, sommonyng them to come as they before had promised, & to meete him at Machlyn at a day appoynted, and then to shewe him for what occasion they tarryed so long. Thus king Edward lay at Villenoze, and kept dayly at his cost and charge, xuij. hundreth men of armes, and. x. thousand Archers that came ouer the Sea, beside all other prouisions, and beside the great rewardes that he had geuen to the Lordes, and beside the great Armyes that he had vpon the Sea.

The French king on his part, had set Scots, Genowayes, Normanes, Britons, Picardes, and Spanyardes to be ready on the Sea, to enter into England assoone as the warre was opened.

In the ende, the aforesayd Lordes at the sommons of the king of England came vnto him to Machlyn, as he had appoynted them, but not without much businesse: But at the last they agreed, that the king of England might well set forward within. xv. dayes next after. And to the entent their warre should be the more laudable, they agreed to sende euery of their defiaunces to the French king: that is to say. First the king of England, then the Duke of Guerles, the Marques of Jullers, Sir Robert de Arthoys, Sir John of Heynault, the Marques of Musse, the Marques of Blanquebourre, the Lord of Falquemount, Sir Arnolde of Baquehen, the Archebishop of Coleyn, Sir Galeas his brother, and all other Lordes of the Empire. These defiaunces were written and sealed by all the Lordes (except the Duke of Brabant) who sayde he would do his dede himselfe at tyme conuenient. To carie these defiances into Fraunce, was appoynted the Bishop of Lincolne, who caried them to Paris, and there did his message in such sort, that he was much commended, and had his safe conduit to returne safely vnto the king of England to Machlyn.

Specialt defiaunces sent to the frenche king.

Lyonell the kinges third sonne borne in Andwarp.

In this meane tyme Queene Philip the wife of king Edward, lying at Andwarpe, was brought a bed and deliuered of a man childe, which afterward was named Lionell.

Immediately after the defiaunces were made and sent, as afore sayde, the French king stirred not a little, but gathered vnto him an innumerable number of people, and tarryed with them at Amias, from the ende of August vnto the beginning of October. And when he sawe that king Edward came not, he deuided his great hoste, and sent many of them home to their owne houses, and the other he placed in diuers Castels, and Fortes thereaboutes, to let the passage of king Edward into Fraunce. And in this tyme also the French king had sent diuers Ships vnto the Sea with men of warre for to take the English Marchauntes, and other that came in their course. And it so chaunced, that they encountered with two great Shippes of England called

led the Edward and the Christopher, the which (as sayth the French Chronicle) were fraight with great richesse, and also well manned. Assone as eyther of them was ware of the other, Gonnes went off, and Bowes and Arblasters shot, so that betwene them was a mortall and cruell fight, but not egall. For of the Frenchmen were. xiij. sayles great & small, and of the Englishe men but fiue, that is to say, these two great shippes, two Barkes and a Caruell, and the three small shippes escaped by swiftnesse of sayling, but the two great abode, and fought more then. iv. houres, insomuch as there were slaine vpon both partes aboue. vj. hundreth men: But in the ende the sayde two shippes were taken, and brought into the French kinges streames, and many of the English men that were wounded, were cast into the Sea. And sone after the sayde French nauie landed at Southhamton, and brent and spoyled the towne, and so departed.

King Edward lost two of his great ships.

Southampton brent.

Assone as king Edward had brought all things into a readynesse, he set forward towarde his purposed iourney into Fraunce, and first passed from Machlyn vnto Bruzelles, and all his people passed by the Towne, and thether came to king Edward. xx. thousand Almaynes. And then the king sent once agayne to the Duke of Brabant, to know whether he mynded to go to Cambrey, or whether he thought it good to leaue it. And the Duke answered, it was best to go to Cambrey, and that assone as he heard that he had besieged the Towne, he would come thether with twelue hundred speares of good men of warre. Then the king passed forward, and the first night came to Nyuell, and there laye one night, and the next daye remoued to Mons in Henault, and there he found the yong Erle of Heynault, who receaued him right ioyously, and remayned with him two dayes, and from thence remoued to Valencianes, and he and only. xij. with him entered the Towne, and no mo persons, and thether was come the Erle of Henault and Sir John of Heynault his Uncle, and the Lorde of Fagaynelles, the Lorde of Uerchyn, the Lorde of Haureth, and dyuers other who were about the Erle their Lorde. And the king and the Erle went hand in hand to the great Hall of the Towne, which was appointed and appareled meete for them. And as they went vp the steyres of the Hall: The Bychop of Lyncolne who was there present, spake out a lowde and sayde: Wylliam Bishop of Cambrey, I admonishe you as procurer to the king of England, Uicare of the Empire of Rome, that ye open the gates of the Citie of Cambrey, and if ye doe not, then shall ye forfayt your lands, and we will enter by force. There was none that answered to that matter, for the Bishop was not there present. Then the Bishop of Lyncolne sayde agayne, Erle of Heynault, we admonish you in the name of the Emperour, that ye come and serue the king of Englande hys Uycare before the Citie of Cambrey, with suche number as ye ought to doe. The Erle who was there present, sayde, with a right good will I am ready. And then they entered into the Hall, and the Erle brought the king into his Chamber, and anone Supper was readie. The next day the king departed and went to Asper and there taried two dayes, and suffered all hys people to passe forward. And then they came to Cambraye and lodged at Wys, and besieged the Citie of Cambray rounde about, and daylie hys power encreased. Thether came the young Erle of Henault in great aray, and Sir John hys Uncle, and they lodged nere to the king, and so did the Duke of Guerles and his

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Sommons.

Cambrey besieged.

his company the Marques of Mulle, the Erle of Mouns, the Erle of Saynes, the Lorde of Falquemount, Sir Arnold of Bouquehen, with all the other Lordes of the Empire, suche as were alyed with the king of England. And within. vj. dayes next after the siege was layed to the Citie of Cambrey, the Duke of Brabant came thether with.ix. C. speares, beside other souldyours. And assone as he was come, he sent to defye the French king, who was then at Compeigne. The siege aforesayde thus continuyng, daylie assaultes and skirmishes were made, and many good feates of armes done: But in the ende the souldyours of Cambrey so valiauntly defended the Citie that it was thought but time lost to continue the siege any lenger, & namely they perceaued Wynter to approche, and that as yet they had done nothing, but had lyen at great expences and charges, wherefore the king determined to breake vp the siege, and to enter into Fraunce, and so caused the Lordes to dislodge and trusse vp their Tents and Pauilions, and all maner of armor and so departed toward Mount S. Martyn, the which was at the entrie of Fraunce, and thus they roade forth in good order, and passed the ryuer of Lescault at their ease. And when the Erle of Heynault had accompanied the king vnto the departyng out of the Empire, and that he should passe the riuer and enter into the realme of Fraunce: Then he tooke his leaue of the king and sayde he would ryde no farther with him at that time, because king Philip the French king was his Uncle, and that he would not haue his euill wil, and therefore he did say that he would now go and serue the French king in Fraunce, as he before had serued the king of England in the Empire: And thus the Erle of Henault and the Erle of Namure forsooke the king and departed from him and all their people with them, ready to serue the Frenche king, as aforesayde, agaynst king Edward.

The Duke of Brabant sendeth his defiaunce vnto the French king.

But King Edward with those that remayned with him passed forward into Fraunce, wastyng, spoylyng and brennyng the Countrie as they went, and at the last came so nere the Frenche armie, that they were within two leagues the one armie of the other. And the French king hauing. lx. thousande men and mo in his armie, and comming to a place called Vyzonfosse (and knowyng the king of England to be at hande as aforesayde) sayde that he would not go thence vntill he had fought with the king of England and with his alyes. The king of England vnderstanding the minde of the French king, demaunded of his Lords what he should doe, (his honour saued): for he sayde that he minded to geue the French king battayle. Then the Lordes beheld eche other, and they desyred the Duke of Brabant to saye first his minde. The Duke sayde that he was of that minde to geue battayle, for else sayde he, they coulde not saue their honours: And therefore he counsayled that Heraulides should be sent to the French king to demaunde a daye of battayle. The which request the Frenche King graunted and named the daye, which was within two dayes after. And when knowledge thereof came to the Lordes of both the hostes, they much reioyced, and the next day folowyng they prepared all thing in readinesse. And when the day came, both the hostes appareled and appointed themselues to fight, in order folowyng: And first we will speake of the Englishmen, they drewe them into the field, and made three battayles on foote, and did put all their horses and baggages into a little wood behinde them, and fortefied it. The first battayle was led by the

Vyzon fosse.

The English army put themselues in three battayles.

The first battayle.

Duke

Duke of Guerles, the Marques of Mulle, the Marques of Blanquebource, Sir John of Heynault, the Erle of Mouns, the Erle of Saynes, the Lorde of Falquemount, Sir Guillam du Fort, Sir Arnold of Baquehen and the Almaynes, and among them was. xxij. Banners and. lx. Pennons, and in the whole. viij. thousand men.

The second battayle had the Duke of Brabant, and the Lordes and knightes of his countrey. First the Lorde Kulle, the Lorde Bergues, the Lorde of Bredangh, the Lorde of Rodes, the Lorde of Vaucelare, the Lord of Borgupnall, the Lorde of Stoneuort, the Lorde of Wyten, the Lorde of Elka, the Lorde of Cassebegne, the Lorde of Duffle, Sir Thyrre of Valcourte, Sir Raufe of the Grees, Sir John of Cassebegne, Sir John Filike, Sir Giles of Cotereby, Sir Water of Hotebergue, the three brethren of Harlebecque, Sir Henry of Flaundyrs, and diuers other Barons & knights of Flaundyrs, who were all vnder the Duke of Brabants Baner, as the Lorde of Hallen, the Lorde of Guyten, Sir Hector Villaynes, Sir John of Rodes, Sir Valflart of Guystell, Sir Wylliam of Strates, Sir Golwyn de la Wale and many other. The Duke of Brabant had. xxiiij. Banners and. lxxx Pennons, and in all. vij. thousand men.

The second battayle.

The third battaile, and the greatest had king Edward, & with him his cosyn the Erle of Darby, the bishop of Lincoln, the bishop of Durham, the Erle of Salsbury, the Erle of Northhampton, & of Glocester the Erle of Suffolke, sir Robert de Arthoys who was then Erle of Richemond, the Lorde Reynold Cobham, the Lord Percey, the Lord Roose, the Lorde Nowbray, sir Lewes, and sir John Beauchamp, the Lord Delaware, the Lord of Laucome, the Lord Ballet, the Lorde Fitzwater, sir Water Manny, Sir Hugh Hastynges, sir John Lisle, and diuers other that I can not name, and among other was sir John Chandos, of whome much honour was spoken. The king had with him. xxviij. Banners, and. xx. Pennons, and in his battaile. vj. thousand men of armes, and. vj. thousand Archers. And he had set another battaile as in a wyng, wherof the Erle of Warwike, the Erle of Pembroke, the Lorde Barkeley, the Lorde Multon, and diuers other were chiefe, and they were on horsebacke. Thus when euery Lorde was vnder his Banner as it was cõmaunded by the Marshalles: The king of England mounted on a Palfrey, beyng accompanyed onely with sir Robert de Arthoys, sir Reynold Cobham, and sir Water of Manny, roade along before all the battailes, and right gently and earnestly desyred all his Lordes and others, that they would that day defend his honour, and the honour of England, and they all willyngly promised him so to do. Then he returned vnto his awne battaile, and set euery thing in good order, and commaunded that none should go before the Marshals Banners. Now let vs speake of the Lordes of Fraunce, what they did.

The third battaile.

The kinges battaile at Vyron fosse.

In the armie of the French king, were. CCxx. Banners, foure kings, fiue Dukes, xxbj. Erles, and mo then foure thousand knightes, and of the Commons of Fraunce, mo then. lx. thousand. The kinges that were there with the French king, were the king of Behayne, the king of Nauarre, and the king of Scotland. The Duke of Normandie, the Duke of Britayne, the Duke of Burbone, the Duke of Loreyne, and the Duke of Athenes. Of Erles, the Erle of Alanson brother to the French king, the Erle of Flaun-

The French kinges armie at Vyron fosse.

dyes, the Erle of Henault, the Erle of Bloys, the Erle of Barre, the Erle of Fozestes, the Erle of Foys, the Erle of Armanack, the Erle Dolphyn of Auuergne, the Erle of Longuile, the Erle of Stampes, the Erle of Vandosme, the Erle of Harecourt, the Erle of Saint Paule, ỹ Erle of Guisnes, The Erle of Bouloigne, the Erle of Roussy, the Erle of Dampmartyn, the Erle of Valentynoys, the Erle of Aucer, the Erle of Saucer, the Erle of Gemme, the Erle of Dzeux, and of Gascoigne, and of Languedocke, and so many other Erles and Vicountes, as were to long to reherse. It was a beutifull sight to beholde the Banners and Standerds wauyng in the winde, and horses richely barded, and knightes and Esquiers richely armed. The Frenche men ordeyned three battayles, and in euery Battaile. xv. thousand men of armes, and. xx. thousand footmen.

France is of great power.

Now when both the armies aforesayd were thus in a redinesse to geue battaile, and eche of them within sight of other, it was meruelous straunge that they both departed without any stroke striken. But the Frenche men were not all of one mynde. Some sayde it were a great shame if they fought not, seyng their enemies were so nere them in their awne Countrie, & raunged in field: And some other sayd, it should be a great folly to fight, for it was heard to knowe euery mannes minde and ieopardie of treason, for they sayd, if fortune were contrary to their King, as to leese the field, he then should put all his whole realme in a ieopardie to be lost. And though he did discomfite his enimies, yet for al that, he should be neuer the nere of the realme of England, nor of the landes apperteynyng to any of the Lordes that were alyed with him. Thus contendyng among themselues, the day passed vntill nocne, and then sodainely their started a Hare in the French armie, and such as saw her, made a great shoute and crie, by reason whereof, they that were behind, thought that they that were before were a fightyng, and therefore put on their Helmettes, and tooke their speares in hand: And forthwith were made diuerse newe knightes, and specially the Erle of Heynault made. xiiij. who were euer after called knightes of the Hare. And thus the battaile stood still all that day, and at night, the French King dislodged his armie, and departed into Fraunce. And in like maner king Edward brake vp his armie, and departed into Brabande, and so this iourney ended.

Many heads many wittes

Knightes of the Hare.

A costly iorney to small effect.

Now when king Edward was returned into Brabande, he went streight vnto Brusselles, where the Duke of Guerles, the Duke of Julliers, the Marques of Blanquebource, the Erle of Mouns, Sir John of Heynault, the Lorde of Falquemount, and all the Lordes of the Empire, suche as had bene in the former iourney, did there take aduice and counsayle what should be more done in the matter that they had begon. And for the more expedicion to be had in the cause, they ordeyned a Parliament to be holden at Brussels, and to come thether was desyred Jaques Dartuell of Gaunt, who came thether with a great company, and all the Counsayles of the good townes of Flaundres. In the which Parliament king Edward was greatly entreated and desyred of all his alyes of the Empire, that he would require them of Flaundres, to ayde and maintayne his warre, and to defie the Frenche king, and to go with him where as he would haue them: and in their so doyng, he to promise them to recouer the Isle Dolway, and Bethayne. This request was well heard of the Flemyngs, and therevpon they desyred to take counsaile

A parliament holden at Brussels.

saile among themselues, and so they did, and then after said to king Edward. Sir where ye haue made a request vnto vs to ayde you, truely if we might do it sauyng your honour and our selues, we would gladly do it: But Sir, we are bound by fayth and othe, and in the summe of two Myllyons of Florens in the Popes Chamber, that we may make nor moue no warre against the king of Fraunce, who soeuer it be, vpon payne to forfeit and lose the sayd summe, and besydes that, to incurre the sentence of cursyng. But sir, if you will take on you the armes of Fraunce, and quarter them with the armes of Englande, and call your selfe king of Fraunce, as of right ye ought to doe: Then we will take you for rightfull king of Fraunce, and demaund of you quittaunce of our bandes, and so you to geue vs pardon therefor as king of Fraunce, and by this meanes we shall be assured and dispenced withall, and then will we go with you whether soeuer you will haue vs.

The first occasion of the quarteryng of the armes of Fraunce wyth the armes of England.

Then king Edward tooke counsaile, for he thought that it was a sore matter to take on him the armes of Fraunce and the name, and as then had conquered no peece thereof, neyther could tell what might come of that enterprice: And on the other syde he was very loth to refuse the offer of the aide made vnto him by the Flemynges, who might ayde him more then any of the other. After that the king had taken counsayle of the Lordes of the Empire, and of the Lorde Robert de Arthoys, and other of his speciall friendes: He then aunswered the Flemynges, that if they would sweare, and seale to this accorde and promise to mainteyne his warre, he would with a good will do all that they requyred, and promised also to get them againe, Leyle, Dowary, and Bethayne: And all they with one voyce aunswered that they were content. Then there was a day assigned to meete at Gaunt, at which day the king was there and the most part of the aforesayd Lordes, and all the Counsayles generally in Flaundres, where all the aforesayd matters were rehersed, sworne and sealed. And then the king quartered the armes of Fraunce with the armes of England: And from thenceforth tooke on him the name of the king of Fraunce, and so continued still vntill he left it by composition, as after shall be shewed.

A daye of meeting at Gaunt.

The armes of England quartered wyth the armes of Fraunce.

And at this counsell they determyned agaynst the next sommer folowyng to prouide to make great warre vpon Fraunce, promysing to besiege the Citie of Tourney, whereof the Flemings were ioyfull, for they thought themselues strong inough to get it. And thus the parliament ended, and euery man departed home: The king of England went to Andwarp, and the Queene abode still at Gaunt, and was oftentimes visited by Jaques Dartuell, and by other Lordes, Ladyes, and Damoselles of Gaunt. And when the kinges shippes were readie, he tooke the See, and then sayled into England, and so came to London, where he was honorably receaued. And shortly after he had many complaintes made vnto him, howe the Frenchmen had brent and destroyed the Towne of Southampton, and had done sundrie other hurtes in England, namely vpon the Sea coastes. And the king aunswered that he trusted before it were a yere lenger, it should be well reuenged.

Southampton brent.

And soone after the returne of the king into Englande, he called hys high Court of Parliament at Westmynster, in the which was graunted vnto him toward the recouery of his right in Fraunce the. v. parte of the moueable goodes of euerye inhabitaunt within the Realme, and the Custome of

A parliament holden at Westminster.

A sore and greuous subsidie.

Subsidies of their owne nature, procure the hatred of the people towarde the prince.

wolles payde two yeres before hande, and the. ix. cheafe of euery mannes corne: But before the same were all gathered and payde, the prayer of the people turned into cursseyng, and their loue tourned into hatered. And for that the king was forced to occupie money before these payments could be made, he was therefore compelled to borow of sundrie persons great somes of money, namely of the Citie of London, of whome he borowed twentie thousande Marke, which was leuyed vpon sundrie wardes in London, as appereth in Fabian.

The first Coyne of Gold wherin the French armes were mixed.

Also in this yere the king caused a new coyne of Gold to be coyned, called the Noble, of the value of vj. shillings. viij. pence or. ix. pence. &c. Wherein was mixed and quartered the armes of Fraunce and England, and also the writing and inscription of the same was, Edward by the grace of God king of Englande and of Fraunce. &c.

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When king Edward had set all his lande in good order, and when also he had prepared all things in a readynesse for the warres of Fraunce, he toke Shypping and sayled toward Flaundrys, and had with him two hundred sayle of good shyppes well furnished with men of warre, and the king kept his course to Sluce, and betweene Sluce and Blanqueberque on the See, there was Sir Hugh Kyrpell, Sir Peter Bahuchet and Barbanoyr and aboue. Crr. great Vessels beside other, and in them were of Normans, Genowes and Picardes aboue the number of. xl. thousande. And there they were purposely layde to resist and withstande the landyng of king Edward when he should come to Sluce. And when the king drewe somewhat neere them and espied such a number of shippes, whose Maistes a farre of seemed as it had bene a great Forest or Wood: The king demaunded of the Master of his Ship what people he thought they were. And he answered: I thinke they be Normans, layde here by the french king to let your passage, and I thinke they be euen the same that burned Southampton, and that tooke your great Ship called the Christopher. A quoth the king, I haue long desyred to fight with the french men, and now by the grace of God I shall meete with some of them, for they haue done me many displeasures. Then the king caused all his shippes to be set in order, the greatest before, well furnished with Archers, and euer betwene two shippes of Archers he placed one ship with men of armes: And then he made another battaile to lye alofe, with Archers to comfort them that were most wearie if neede were. And in the sayde ships were a great number of Countesses, Ladyes, Knightes wyues and other Damoselles that were goyng to see the Quene at Gaunt: These Ladyes the king caused to be well kept with three hundred men of armes, and fyue hundreth Archers.

A great fleete of French shippes.

The battell at Sluse vpon the sea.

Assoone as the king and his Marshalles had ordered hys battayle, he drewe vp the sayles and came with a quarter winde to haue the bauntage of the sonne. And so at the last they turned a little, to haue the winde at will. But when the Normans sawe them recule back, they had maruell why they did so. And some sayde they are afrayde to medle with vs, and therefore they go backe.

Then the french men beganne to set themselues in order. for they were good men of warre on the Sea, and they did set the Christopher, which before they had won, as afore sayde, formost, furnished with many Trumpets & Instruments

Instruments and so gaue the onset vpon their enimies. And then began a sore battayle vpon both partes: Archers and Crosbowes beganne to shoote, and men of armes approched and fought hande to hande: and the better to come together, they had great hookes and grappelers of Iron to cast out of one Ship into another, and so tyed them fast together. There were manye worthy deedes of armes done in taking and rescuyng againe. And at the last the great Christopher was first wonne by the Englishmen, and all that were within it drowned or slaine. Then was there great crye and pitifull noyse, and the Englishmen fortefied the Christopher with archers, and caused him to passe before to meete with the Genowayes. This battaile was right fierce and terrible, for the battayles on the Sea are more fierce and more daungerous, then are the battayles by lande. For on the Sea there is no reculyng or flyeng, there is no remedy but to fight and to abide fortune, and euery man to shew his prowesse.

And in this fight Sir Hugh Kyrpell and syr Bahuchet and Barbenoyr which were the Admyrals to the french flete, shewed themselues to be right good and expert men of warre. This battayle continued from the morning vntill it was noone, & the Englishmen (sayth Froyssart) endured great paine, for their enemies were foure agaynst one, and all good men on the sea.

And in this fight the king of Englande shewed himselfe a noble and valyaunt Prince of his awne handes, for he was then in the chiefe flowres of his youth. And in lyke maner did the Erle of Darby, Pembrooke, Herford, Huntyngdon, Northampton and Gloucester: Sir Raynold Cobham, Sir Richard Stafford, the Lorde Percy, Sir Water of Manny, Sir Henry of Flaundrys, Sir John Beauchamp, the Lord Felton, the Lorde Bralleton, Sir Chandos, the Lorde Delaware, the Lorde of Multon, Sir Robert de Artoys called the Erle of Richmond, and dyuers other Lords & knights, who shewed themselues so valyauntly that they obteyned the victorie: So that the Frenchmen, Normans and other were discomfited, slayne and drowned, and there was not one that escaped.

A great victorie that king Edward had of the French men.

After this victorie thus atcheeued, the king all that night abode in hys ship before Sluce with great noyse of Trompets and other Instruments. And thether came to see the king dyuers of Flaundrys, suche as had heard of the kinges comming: and then the king demaunded of the Burgesses of Bridges how Jaques Dartuell did: and they answered that he was gone to the Erle of Henault against the Duke of Normandy with three score thousande Flemyngs.

And on the next day after this battaile, which was Midsommer day, the king and all his tooke land, and the king went in Pilgrimage a foote to the Lady of Ardenborough, now called Odenbourgh, and there dyned, and then tooke his horse and roade to Gaunt, where the Queene receyued him with great ioy, and all his cariage came after him by little and little.

Shortly after, the king wrote to the Erle Heynault, and to them that were within the Castell of Thyne, certefying them of his arriuall and victory. And assoone as the Erle knewe thereof, and that he had discomfited the French armie vpon the Sea, he dislodged, and gaue leaue to all the Soudiours to depart, and tooke with him all the great Lordes to Valenciens, and there feasted them honourably, and specially the Duke of Brabant, and

Jaques Dartuell.

Jaques Dartuell. And there Jaques Dartuell openly in the Market place in the preſence of all the Lordes, and of all ſuch as would here him, declared what right the king of Englande had to the Crowne of Fraunce: And alſo what puyſſaunce the three Countries were of, Flaundyrs, Heynault, and Brabant, and howe they were ſurely ioyned in one allyaunce. And he did vter it ſo grauely, and ſo eloquently, that all the people that heard hun, prayſed him much, and ſayd he had nobly ſpoken, and as a man of great experience. And then the Lordes departed, and promiſed within. viij. dayes to meete at Gaunt to viſite the king of Englande, and ſo they did, and the king feaſted them right honorably, and ſo did the Queene who then was newly churched of a ſonne called John of Gaunt, who was after Duke of Lancaſter by hys wife, which was daughter to Henry Duke of Lancaſter. And ſhortly after king Edward held a counſaile at Villenort, at a day limited.

John of Gaūt Duke of Lancaſter.

When the French king heard howe his armie on the ſea was diſcomfited, he diſlodged and drewe to Arras, and gaue leaue to his men to depart vntill he heard other tydynges. And he ſent Sir Godmer du Foye to Tourney, to ſee that there lacked nothyng, for he feared more the Flemynges then any other. And he ſent the Lorde of Beauiewe to Mortayne, to kepe the frontiers agaynſt Heynault: And he ſent alſo many men to Saint Omers, to Ayre and to Saint Uenaunt, and prouided ſufficiently for all the fortreſſes frontyng on Flaundyrs.

Robert king of Cicile.

In this ſeaſon there reigned a king in Cicille called Robert, who was reported to be a great Aſtronomer, and he alwayes fauouryng and louyng the French king, did counſaile and warne him in no wiſe to deale, nor haue to do with the king of England, for ſayd he, it is geuen to the king of England to be right luckie and fortunate in all his enterprices. This king Robert would gladly haue ſet theſe two kinges at a good accorde, for he bare ſuche loue and affection vnto the crowne of Fraunce, that he was right ſory to ſee or thinke of the deſolation thereof. And in lykewiſe the ſayd king Robert labored to the Pope to be a meane to appeaſe theſe two kinges, but all theyr labor tooke none effect.

Ye haue heard a little before, that a day of counſayle was appoynted to be holden at Villenort, which day was now come. And at this counſayle were preſent, the king of England, the Duke of Brabaut, the Erle of Heynault, Sir John his Uncle, the Duke of Guerles, the Erle of Juliers, the Marques of Falquebource, the Marques of Muſſe, the Erle of Mouns, Sir Robert de Arthoys, the Lorde of Falquemount, Sir William du Mont, the Erle of Namure, Jaques Dartuell and many other great Lordes, and of euery good towne of Flaundyrs three or foure perſonages, as counſailors.

A counſaile holden at Villenort.

And in this counſayle was made a league betweene the three countries, namely, Flaundyrs, Brabant, and Heynault, that from thence forth eche of them ſhould ayde and comfort other in all caſes. And further they concluded, that if any of them had to do with any countrie, the other two ſhould geue them ayde. And alſo that if hereafter it ſhould fortune any of them to be at diſcorde one with another, that then the thirde ſhould ſet an agreement betweene them. And if he were not able ſo to do, that then they ſhould abyde the order of the king of England, vnto whoſe handes they did willyngly commit the ſame, and tooke their othes to ſtand, abyde, and obey his iudgement. And for

for further and better confirmation of this loue and amitie, they ordeined this agreement to be made a lawe, and to be publiſhed thorough thoſe three countries, and the ſame afterward was called the lawe of the Companions or Allyes. And in the ſame counſaile it was alſo determined that the king of England ſhould in the moneth of July next folowyng, beyng accompanyed with the ayde of the aforeſaid Lordes, and the powers of all the good townes lay ſiege to Tourney. And ſo the Counſayle brake vp, and euery man departed home to make prouiſion againſt the tyme appoynted.

The French king fortefieth the towne of Tourney.

The French king after the departure of theſe Lordes from the aforeſayde counſayle, was informed of the moſt part of theyr determination, and therefore forthwyth ſent to Tourney the chiefe men of warre that he had in all Fraunce, as the Erle of Ewe, the yong Erle of Guynes his ſonne, Conſtable of Fraunce, the Erle of Foyts and his brethren, the Erle Amery of Narbon, Sir Aymer of Poyters, Sir Geoffrey of Charney, Sir Garard of Mountfaucon, the two Marſhalles, Sir Robert Bertrand, and Sir Mathewe de Troy, the Lord of Cayeux, the Seneſchall of Poyteau, the Lord of Chaſtelayne, and Sir John of Landas, and theſe alſo had with them many other valiaunt knightes, and Eſquiers, and came to Tourney, and founde there ſir Godmer du Foy, who was placed there, as before you haue heard. And ſo ſoone as they were come thether, they diligently conſidered the ſtate of the towne, firſt for furniture of all neceſſary victualles, and after for men, munition, and armor.

The ſiege of Tourney.

And nowe approched the time that king Edward and his Allyes ſhould mete before Turney, for then the Corne began to rype, which was the. xxiij. day of July, and the king departed from Gaunt, accompanied with. viij. Erles of England. viij. Biſchoppes, xxviij. Baronettes. CC. knightes, foure thouſand men of armes, and. ix. thouſand Archers, beſyde men of foote, and all out of Englande: And all his hoſte paſſed thorough the Towne of Andwarpe, and ſo paſſed the ryuer of Leſcault, & lodged before Tourney, at the gate of Saint Martyn, which was the way toward Lille and Dolway. And ſhortly after came the duke of Brabant, with mo then. xx. thouſand men, knightes, Eſquiers, and Commons, and he lodged at the bridge of Aryes, by the riuer of Leſcault, betwene the Abbey of Saint Nicholas, and the gate of Valentenoys. And not long after, came the Erle of Heynault with a goodly compayny of his Countrie, with many of Holland, and Zeland, and he was lodged betweene the king, and the Duke of Brabant. Then came Jaques Dartuell with mo then. ix. thouſand Flemynges, beſyde them of Ipre, Poppynguy, Caſſell, and Bergues, and they were ſent to the other ſyde. The ſayde Jaques Dartuell lodged at the gate called Saint Fountayne. And the Duke of Guerles, the Erle of Juliers, the Marques of Blanquebource, the Marques of Muſſe, the Erle of Mouns, the Erle of Sauines, the Lord of Faulquemount, Sir Arnold of Baquehen, and all the Almaynes were lodged on the other ſyde toward Heynault. And thus the Citie of Tourney was enuyroned round about, and euery hoſt might reſort eche to other, ſo that none could iſſue out without eſpying.

During the tyme of the ſiege, although they were ſo great a number, yet were they well prouyded and furniſhed of freſhe victualles, and at reaſonable price, for the people came from all partes to victuall them. And while this

this siege continued, there were daylie outrodes, and dyuers prayes and booties taken, and many villages brent, and the countries thereabouts greatly annoyed and hurt. And many and sundrie times there were sundrie skirmiches and many feates of armes done. But this siege continued long, for that the Souldyours of Tourney defended the same very valiauntly, yet at the last, victualles within the Towne waxyng very scant, they were forced to put out all their needie and poore people, which passed thorough the Duke of Brabants hoste, who caused them to be conducted to the frenche kinges Campe, who lay then at Arras, accompanied with a great & houge hoste, to whome the poore people made a most lamentable and pittifull repoxte of the state of Tourney.

All the time that this siege continued, which was by the space of ten weekes and more, the Lady Jane of Valoys, sister to the French king, and mother to the Queene of England, and to the Erle of Heynault, trauayled greatly, as well on the one parte as on the other to haue a truce and a respite betweene the frenche king and the king of England and his Allyes for a season, that they might depart without battayle. And dyuers times she kneeled at the feete of the frenche king in that behalfe. And in lyke maner made great laboure to the Lordes of the Empire, and specially to the Duke of Brabant and to the Duke of Jullers, who had her daughter in mariage, and also to Sir John of Heynault. Insomuch that the good Lady procured, with the ayde and counsayle of Lewes Daugymount, who was welbeloued with both parties, that at the last it was graunted that eche partie should send foure sufficient persons to treate by the space of three dayes of some good wayes for the agreement of a truce. The persons that should be appointed shoulde meete in a little Chapell standyng in the fieldes called Esplotyn. And at the daye appointed these persons met, and the good Ladye with them. Of the Frenche parte, there was Charles king of Behayne, Charles Erle of Dalanson brother to the frenche king, the Bishop of Liege, the Erle of Flaundyrs, and the Erle of Armanack. Of the Englishe parte there was the Duke of Brabant, the Bishop of Lyncolne, the Duke of Guerles, the Duke of Jullers, and Sir John of Heynault.

Ambassadors appointed to common and determine a peace betwene ỹ king of England & the Frenche king.

And when they were all met, they made eche vnto other louyng salutations and great cheere, and then entred into their treatie, and all that daye they commoned of dyuers wayes of accorde: And allwayes the good Lady of Valoys was among them, effecteously entreatyng them on both sydes that they would doe their endeuour to make a peace: howbeit that daye passed without anye thing done, and so they returned and agreed to meete there agayne the next day, the which day they met, and streight waye entered to the matter of their treatie: and at the last agreed vpon certaine pointes: but it was then so late that they coulde not finishe in good order, that which they had agreed vpon. The thirde day they met agayne, and finally agreed on a truce to remayne for one yere next to come betwene all parties and all their men, and also betwene them that were in Scotlande, and all suche as made warre in Gascoyn, Poyteau, and Samton, and the same truce to beginne. xl. dayes next ensuyng: and within that space euery person to geue knowledge vnto his men without male engyne: and if suche companies will not keepe the peace, let them be at their choise. But as for Fraunce, Picardy, Burgoin, Britayne

A truce agreed and concluded betwene the king of Englande and the French king for one yere.

Britayne and Normandy to be bounde to this peace without any exception: and this peace to beginne incontinent betwene the hostes of the two kinges, namely of England and of Fraunce. And it was further determyned that eyther of the sayde kinges should send foure or fiue personages as their Ambassadors, and to meete at Arras: and the Pope in lyke maner to send thether foure, and there to make a full confirmation without any meane. Also by this truce it was ordered, that euery partie should enioye and possesse euerie thing that they were then in possession of. This truce was foorthwith proclaymed in both the hostes: whereof the Brabanters were right glad, for they were sore weryed with the lyeng so long at the siege, so that the nexte day, assone as it was daye light, ye should haue sene such pullyng downe of Tentes and Pauilions, such charging and lading of Waggons, such casting and throwing of their armour, such shooting off of ordynaunce, both great and small, and the people remouing so thick, that to such as sawe it, it might haue appered to haue bene a new worlde.

Thus the king of Englande departed from Tourney, sore against hys minde, if he could haue done otherwise, but he was fayne to yeelde to the other Lordes, and to folow their counsayles, and then he came to Gaunt to the Queene his wife, and shortly after returned into Englande with all his people, except such as were left behind to attend vpon the assembly at Arras, as aforesayde, and vnto this assembly or counsaile of Arras, there came first from the Pope as Legates, the Cardinall of Naples, the Cardinall of Cleremount, who first came to Paris where the french king receaued them with great honor and after conueyed them to Arras. For the French king thether came, the Erle of Alanson the brother of the French king, the Duke of Burbon, the Erle of Flaundyrs, the Erle of Blois, the Archebishop of Senes, the Bishop of Beawayes, and the Bishop of Aucerre. For the king of Englande, came the Bishop of Lyncolne, The Bishop of Durham, the Erle of Warwike, Sir Robert de Arthois which was Erle of Richemond, Sir John of Heynault, and Sir Henry of Flaundyrs. In the which treaty many matters were commoned of, and they continued. xv. dayes, but agreed to no one point of effect, for euer the Englishmen demaunded, and the frenchmen would nothing graunt, but onely to render the Countie of Poyteau, the which was geuen to Quene Isabel in mariage with king Edward ỹ second. So this assembly brake vp, and nothing done, but that the truce was yet prolonged two yeres more, & that was al that the Cardinals could get graunted vnto them. And thus euery man departed, & the two Cardynals went thorough Henault at the desire of ỹ erle, who feasted them right nobly. Froissart.

A meetyng at Arras.

The truce continued for two yeres lenger.

After king Edward was returned out of Fraunce into England, in the which voyage and passage of the Sea, he had an exceedyng and most horrible tempest, and escaped with great daunger, which tempest after the opynion of sundrie wryters was rered and stirred vp by the Necromanciers of the French king to the intent to haue destroyed the king, or else to haue abated his courage for attemptyng the Sea any more.

A tempest on the Sea.

In the time that the king lay at the siege of Tourney, as aforesayde, the Scottes had agayne recouered the greatest parte of their lande, & all their fortes except three, wherefore the king was now counsayled to make a voyage into Scotland and so he did, and roade thetherward betweene Mighelmas

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The king with his power goeth again into Scotland.

mas and Hallontyde, commaundyng certaine Capteynes to gather their men together and to folow him to Barwike, & so euery man began to flyxe, and came thether as they were commaunded. The king at the last came to Yorke and there taryed for his people. The Lordes of Scotland were enformed of the comming of the king of Englande, wherefore they gaue most sore and fierce assaultes to the Castell of Estreuelyne, which before they had long besieged, and so constrayned those that kept it, with engynes and Canons, that they were fayne to yeelde vp the Castell, sauyng their lyues and members: but nothing should they carie awaye.

The Castell of Estreuelin yeldes vp to the Scottes.

These tydings came to the king of Englande where as he was, and then he departed and drewe towarde Estreuelyn, and came to New Castell vpon Tyne, where he taried more then a Moneth, abyding prouision for hys armie, the which was shipped to come by sea, betwene Hallontyde and the last of Nouember, but many of the shippes were cast awaye vpon the Sea, so that it was a small prouision of victuall that came thether. And some of the shippes were driuen into Holland and into Friseland, by reason whereof the English armie had great lack of victualles, and euery thing wared vnreasonably deare, and Winter was at hand, so that they knewe not where to haue forage, and in Scotland the Scottes had put all their goods into forteresses,

A great army.

and the king of England had there mo then. vj. thousand horsemen and. xl. thousand footemen.

The Lordes of Scotland after their winnyng of Estreuelyne, drewe themselues into the Forestes of Gedeours, and they vnderstood well howe that the king of England lay at newe Castell with a great number to brenne and spoyle Scotland. Then they tooke counsaile what they should do, they thought themselues to weake and to small a company to maintein the warre, and the rather for that they had continued the warres almost seuen yeres without head or Capitaine, neyther as then they could not perceyue any succour to come from their awne king, and therefore they determined to send to the king of England, a Bishop and an Abbot to desyre a truce. The which Messengers departed from Scotland and came to Newcastell, where they found the king.

A truce concluded with the Scottes for foure monethes.

These Messengers shewed to the king and his counsaile the cause of their comming: and at the last a truce was concluded for foure monethes, on this condicion, that they of Scotland should sende sufficient Ambassadors into Fraunce to king Dauid, saiyng, that if he came not before the ende of the moneth of May nexte folowyng with puyssaunce and force sufficient to defende his realme, that then they would yelde themselues to the king of England, and neuer after to take Dauid for their king. So thus these two prelates returned againe into Scotland, and incontinent they ordeyned to send into Fraunce, Sir Robert Uersay, and Sir Robert Percye, and Sir Simon Fryssell and two other knightes to shew to the king their appoyntment.

The king of England agreed the sooner to this truce, because his hoste lacked victuall, and so he came backe againe, and sent euery man home. The Scottishe Messengers went toward Fraunce, and toke shippyng at Douer.

Nowe king Dauid of Scotland, who had beene. vij. yere in Fraunce, and knewe well that his realme was sore distressed, tooke his leaue of the French king, to the entent to come home to comfort his awne people: and so he

he tooke shippyng with his wyfe and such small company as he had, and put himselfe vnder the guidyng of a Mariner called Richard Flamont, and so arriued in Scotlande at a port called Norpoyse, or euer that any in Scotlande knewe thereof: Neyther knewe he any thing of the Messengers that were gone into Fraunce to speake with him, nor they knewe not of his returnyng home.

The returne of Dauid king of Scottes out of Fraunce.

So sone as the commyng of king Dauid was knowen to the Scottes, they came about him with great ioy, and solempnitie, and brought him to the towne of Saint Johns, and thether came to him people from all partes of his countrey, greatly complaynyng and cryng out of the dammages and great hurtes that they had susteyned in his absence by the Englishmen: To whom he aunswered that he trusted right shortly to be reuenged vpon them, or else it should cost him both his life and his realme.

Then he sent Messengers to all partes of his Countrie, both farre and nere, requyryng euery of them to helpe him forwarde in his enterprice. And shortly after came vnto him the Erle of Orkeney, a great Prince and a puyssant, he had maryed the kinges sister, and with him came a great number of men of warre, and diuers other Lordes and knightes of Souegne, of Nebegne, and of Denmarch, some for loue and some for wages, so that when they were all together, they were. lx. thousand footmen, and three thousand horsemen armed after their maner: and when they were all ready, they remoued settyng forward toward England, and to do therein as much hurt as they might, for the truce was as then expired, or else to fight with the king of England, who had so much greued and annoyed them.

A great army of the Scottes.

Thus the Scots departed from S. Johns towne, & went to Donfremelyn, & the next day there they passed a little arme of the Sea: Then they went with great diligence, and passed by Edenbourgh, & after by Roulbourgh, the which was as then English, but they made there no tariance, for they purposed to do a great feat, before they returned again into Scotland. And so they passed forward and went not farre from Barwike, and passyng it also without any assault geuyng, they entered into the Countrie of Northumberland, and came to the ryuer of Tyne, brennyng all the countrie round about them, and at the last came to New Castel vpon Tyne, and there the king of Scots and all his people lay about that towne all night.

The Scots besiege newe Castell vpon Tyne.

In the morning a certeine number of Gentlemen that were within the towne issued out to the number of two hundreth Speares, to make a skrye in the Scottes hoste. They dashed in so sodeynely vpon the Scottes, and namely vpon the Erle of Norettes tentes, who bare in his armor Syluer, thre Greylles Goules, and there they toke him in his bed, and slue many, before the host was moued, and wanne great pillage.

A skirmishe made by the Englishmen vpō ỹ Scots wherein the Erle of Norst was take.

Then they returned into the Towne valiauntly, and with great ioye, and delyuered the Erle Noret as prisoner to the Capitaine of the Castell, which then was the Lorde John Neuell.

When the Scottes were vp, they armed them, and ranne lyke mad men to the Barryers of the towne, and gaue a great assault therunto, the which endured long, but little it auayled them, and the Scots lost there many men, for there were very many good men of warre within the towne, the which defended the same so manfully and wisely, that the Scots to their great losse

were

were fayne and glad to withdraw their siege.

Now when the Scottishe king sawe that their tarying at New Castell was daungerous, and that he had there neyther hope of gayne nor honour, then he departed and entred the Countrie of the Bishoprick of Durham, and there brent and wasted all that was before him, and at the last came to the Citie of Durham, and besieged it rounde about, and made many terrible and desperate assaultes lyke mad men, because they had lost the Erle of Moret, and also they knewe well that there was much ryches in that towne, for all the countrie there about was fled thether.

The Scots besieged Durham.

The Scots made Ingines and Instruments to come to the walles to make the fiercer assault. But when the Scots were gone from New Castell as you heard before, then syr John Neuell Captaine there, mounted on a good horse, and tooke away farre off from the Scottes, and made suche good speede that within fiue dayes he came to Chyrtsay, where as king Edward lay then, & there declared vnto him the doynges and enterprices of the Scots.

King Edwarde goeth into Scotlande.

Then king Edward sent foorth Messengers into euerye parte of his realme, commaundyng euery man betwene the age of.xv. and. lx. all excuses set aparte, to drawe Northward, and to meete him in that Countrie, for the ayde and defence of England, which the Scottes attempted to destroy, and foorthwith the king departed and tarryed for no man, and suffred euery man to come after as well as they might.

Then the Lordes, knightes, Esquiers, and gentlemen drewe together, euery one bringing with them as many men as they coulde make, and drew toward the North, folowyng the king.

The Scots wynne the towne of Durham.

In this meane tyme the Scottes gaue a most cruell assault vnto the towne of Dureham, and folowed the same so fiercely with Ingines and Instruments, that they that were within were not hable to make any longer defence, but that the Scottes entered the towne by force, and robbed and spoyled the same, and then set it on fyre, and destroyed all the people that were therein, men, women, children, Monke, Fryer, Nonne, Chanon, and suffred not one person to escape on lyue, & then set a fyre the Churches, Chapels and all that euer was there, sparyng nothing that myght be spoyled or brent.

And when the Scottishe king had finished this hys tiranny vpon the Towne of Durham, he was then aduised to drawe back agayne along the ryuer of Tyne, and to come to Carleyle, and as he and his armie passed that way, he lodged beside a Castell of the Erle of Salisburies, the which was well furnished and kept with men of warre, and syr Wylliam Mountagew sonne to the Erle of Salisburyes sister was Captaine thereof. The next day the Scottes dislodged and went toward Carleyle (they had much caryage with them of suche pillage as they had at Durham) and when Sir Wylliam Mountagew sawe howe the Scottes passed by without restyng, then he with.xl. with him mounted on horsback, and issued out of the Castell, and folowed couertly the hinder trayne of the Scottes, who had horses so charged with baggage, that they might scant go any great pace. And he ouertoke them at the entring into a Wood, and set vpon them, and there slue and hurt of the Scottes mo then. CC. and tooke mo then. Crr. horses laden with pillage, and so ledde them towarde the Castell, the crie and bruite of the slight came to the hering of syr Wylliam Dowglas who had the charge of the rereward,

Sir William Mountagew a hardy knight.

ward, and as then he was past the Wood. When he sawe the Scottes came flyeng ouer the dales and mountaines, he had great maruell, and then he and all his company ranne foorth and rested not vntill they came to the foote of the Castell, and mounted the hill in hast. But or he came to the Bayles the Englishmen were entred, and had closed the Barryers, and put the pray in safetie. Then the Scottes begaunne to assayle fiercely, and they within defended manfully. There these two Wylliams did what they might eche to greue other. This assault dured so long, that at the last the king and all the hoste came back agayne and layde siege to the Castle.

When the Scottish king and his counsayle sawe howe his men were slaine, lyng in the field, and the Assaylauntes sore hurt, without winnyng of any thing, then he commaunded to ceasse the assault and to lodge. Then euery man began to seeke for his lodgyng, and to gather together the dead men, and to dresse them that were hurt. The next day the king commaunded that euery man should be ready to assaile, and they within were as redy to defend. There was a sore assault and a perillous: But there might haue beene seene that day many a noble feate and deede of armes. There was within the Castell, the noble Countesse of Sarisbury, who was as then reputed and taken for the sagest and fayrest Lady that was in all England, whose husband was taken prisoner with the Erle of Suffolke before Lisle in Flaunders. The king of England gaue the sayde Castell to the sayde Erle, when he maryed first the sayd Lady, for the prowes and good seruice that he had done before, when he was called but sir William Mountagew. This noble Lady comforted them greatly which were within, for by her sweete countenaunce and gentle speche, she made euery man worth twaine. This assault dured long, and the Scottes lost many of their men, for they aduentured themselues very hardly, and caryed wood and tymber to haue filled the ditches, to the entent to bring their engines to the walles, but they within defended them so valiauntly, that the assaylauntes were faine to drawe back. Then the king of Scottes commaunded the Ingines to be well kept that night, and the next day to enforce the assault, and then euery man drewe backe to his lodgyng. Some wept & bewailed their friendes that were slaine, another sort comforted them that were hurt: and they of the Castell sawe well that if king Dauid continued his siege, that they should haue much ado to defende their Castell, and therefore they tooke counsaile among themselues to sende to King Edward, who then lay at Yorke, as it was shewed them by such prisoners as they had taken of the Scottes. Then one of them beheld another, as who should say, who is he that dare go foorth to cary this message, and not one of them would offer him selfe, which thing sir William Mountagew perceyuyng, stepped forth and sayd, sirs I will put my body in aduenture to do this Message, for I haue such trust in you, that you will right well defende thys Castell vntill my returne: and on the other side I haue such trust in the king, that I shall shortly bring you succours, which will cause you to be ioyful, and I trust the king will so reward you, that ye shall be content. And when night came, the sayde sir William made him readie as priuely as he might, and it happened well for him, for it rayned all night, so that the Scottes kept still within their lodgynges. At midnyght sir William passed through the hoste of the Scottes, and was not seene, and so roade forth vntill it was day, and

A sore and cruell assault.

The Countesse of Salisbury a sage and discreete Lady.

A worthye and courageous knight.

then he met with two Scots a mile from the hoste, dryuyng before them two Oxen, and a Cowe towarde the hoste. Sir William knewe well that they were Scottes, and therefore set vpon them, and wounded them both, and slue the Cattaile, to the entent that they of the hoste should take no profite by them, and then sayde vnto the two hurt Scottes, go your wayes, and say to your king, that William of Mountagew hath thus passed through his hoste, and is goyng to fetch ayde of the king of England, and so departed.

In the morning the king of Scottes made a fierse assault, but yet he preuayled nothing, and dayly they assaulted it, but all in vaine. Then the king of Scottes and his counsayle, considering that there they did but lose their men, and that the king of England might wel come thether before the Castel were wonne, and therefore by one assent they sayd vnto the king, that their abyding there, was neyther for his profite, nor yet for his honour. And further they sayd, Sir ye haue right honourably atchieued your enterprice, and haue done great despyte to the Englishe men, in that you haue bene nowe in this Countrie of England. xij. dayes, and taken and destroyed the Citie of Durham. Wherefore sir all thinges considered, it were good now that you returned, and to take with you the Pillage that ye haue wonne, and another time ye may returne againe when it pleaseth you. The king who would not do against the opinions of all his counsayle, agreed to them sore against his minde, and the next morning he dislodged, and tooke the way streight to the great Forest of Gedours, there to tary at their ease, and to vnderstand what the king of England purposed further to do, eyther to go backe againe, or else to go further into Scotland.

The Scottishe king flieth for feare of king Edward.

The same day that the Scots departed from the sayd Castell, king Edward came thether with all his hoste about Noone, and came to the same place where as the Scottes had lodged, and he was sore displeased that he found not the Scottes there, for he came thether in such haste, that his horse and men were sore trauayled. Then he commaunded to lodge there all that night, and sayd that he would go see the Castell and the noble Lady therein, for he had not sene her sith she was maryed before, then euery man tooke his lodging as he list.

And assoone as the king was vnarmed, he tooke. x. or. xij. knightes with him, and went vp to the Castell to salute the Countesse of Sarisbury, and to see the maner of the assaultes of the Scottes, and the defence that was made against them. Assoone as the Lady knewe of the kinges commyng, she set open the gates, and came out so richely besene, that euery man maruayled at her beutie, and could not cease to regarde her noblenesse, and the pleasant wordes and gracious countenaunce that she had. And when shee came to the king, she kneled downe on the earth, thanking him of his succours, and so led him into the Castell, where she made him honourable chere, as she was one that could right well do it. The king beyng in the Castell went into a Window, and leaned on his elbow as one beyng in a great studie: The Ladie went about to make cheere to the Lordes and knightes that were there, and commaunded the Hall to be dressed for dinner. And when shee had made all thinges in a readinesse, then shee came to the kyng with a merye cheere, who was in a great studie, and she sayde: dere Sir, what meaneth your grace so to studie without cause, it doth not apperteyne vnto you

you sir so to do, but rather ye should make good chere and be ioyfull, chiefly e for that you haue chased away your enemies, who durst not abyde your comming, and let other men studie for the remnaunt. Then the king sayd, A dere Lady, know for a truth, that sithe my entrance into this Castell, there is such a matter entered into my minde, that I can not choose but muse, neyther can I tell what may fall thereof, for put it out of my heart I can not. Sir quoth the Lady, ye ought alwayes to make good cheere to comfort therewith your people, and chiefely ye haue cause to reioyce in God, for that he hath ayded and supported you in all your great affayres and enterprises, and hath made you the most renowned and famous Prince in all Christendome: And if the Scottishe king haue done you any dispite or dammage, ye may well reuenge it when it shall please you. Wherfore sir, I pray you leaue your musyng, and come into the Hall (if it please you) for your dinner is all ready. A fayre Lady quoth the king, other thinges lie in my heart that ye know not off, but surely the swete and gentle behauiour of you, the great wisedome, noblenesse, and excellent beautie which I beholde in you, hath so sore surprised my heart, that I can not but loue you, and without your loue I am but dead. Then answered the Lady saiyng: A right noble Prince, for Goddes sake mocke not, nor tempt me not, I can not beleue that it is true that ye say, neyther that so noble a Prince as ye are, could haue so euill a thought, as to dishonour me and my Lord my husband, who is so valiant a knight, and hath done your grace such good seruice, and as yet remayneth prisoner in Fraunce for your cause and quarell: Certeinly sir, ye should in this case haue but a final praise, and nothing the better thereby: I geue almightie God thankes, that hetherto I had neuer such a thought in my heart, nor I trust in God shall haue at the request or perswasion of any man: And if I had any such lewde intencion, your grace ought not onely to blame me, but also to punish my bodie, and by true iustice to be dismembred: and therewith the Ladie sodenly departed from the king, and went into the Hall to hast forward the dinner, and then she came againe and brought some of his knightes with her, and sayd: sir, if it please you to come into the Hall, your knightes abideth for you to washe, ye haue bene to long fastyng. Then the king went into the Hall and washed, and sate downe among his Lordes and knightes, and the Lady also. The king did eate very little, but sate still musing, and euer as he durst, he cast his eyne vpon the Lady. Of his sadnesse the knightes had much maruell, for he was not accustomed so to be: Some thought it was because the Scottes were escaped from him. But to be short, although the king fared right honourably, yet could he not by any meanes be made mery, so that after dinner done, yet remayned he there all that day. And beyng wrapt in the snares and bondes of loue, he had sundrie imaginations: Sometime he imagined that honour and truth forbad him to set his heart in such a case, to dishonour such a Lady, and so true a knight as her husband was, who had alwayes serued him so truely and valiauntly: On the other part, loue so constrained him, that the power thereof, surmounted both honour and truth: And thus was the king troubled in himselfe all that day and night. In the Morning the king arose and dislodged all his hoste, and drewe after the Scottes to chase them out of his realme. And at his departure he tooke his leaue of the Lady, and sayd, my dere Lady, to God I commend you vntill I returne againe, requi-

In amorous Prince.

The answers and speech of a vertuous and wise Lady.

The departure of the king from the Ladye and her Castell.

ryng you to aduyse you otherwise then you haue sayde to me. Noble Prince quoth the Lady, God the father most glorious be your guide and conduct, and remoue from you all vileyne thoughts: & sir, I am and euer shall be redy to do your grace such seruice, as may be to your honour and mine, & therewith the king departed, altogether abashed.

Then the king folowed the Scottes vntill he came to Berwick, & went still forward, vntill he came within foure leagues of the Forest of Gedours, where as king Dauid and all his company was entred, in trust of the great wildernesse. The king of Englande taryed there three dayes, to see if the Scottes woulde issue out to fight with him, in the which tyme there were sundrie skirmishes on both partes, and dyuers of the Scottes taken, slayne and sore hurt. Sir William Dowglas was he that did most hurt to the Englishmen, he bare Azure a Comble siluer, and three starres Goules.

A truce take with the Scottes for two yeres, if the French king would agree thereunto.

In this tyme that king Edwarde laye there, there were certayne noble men vpon both partes that treated for a peace to be had betweene these two kinges: And the same treatie tooke suche effect, that a truce was agreed to endure for two yere, if the French king would thereto agree. For the king of Scottes was so allyed to the French king, that he might take no peace with the king of Englande without the consent of the french king. And therfore it was then agreed, that if the French king would not agree to the peace, then the truce to endure vntill the first day of May next folowyng. And it was also agreed that the Erle of Moret which was prisoner in Newcastel, should be deliuered of his imprisonment, if the king of Scottes could doe so muche with the french king as to purchace that the Erle of Salsburie might lykewise be quyte out of prison in Fraunce, and the same to be doue before the feast of saint John Baptist next after.

King Edward agreed the rather to this truce, for that at this instant he had warre in Fraunce, in Gascoyn, in Poyteau, in Xaynton, in Britayne and almost in euerye place he had men in wages to hys maruellous great costes and charges: And when all thinges were concluded, as aforesayde, then the king returned into Englande.

The Erle of Sarisbury, husband to the Ladie a litle before spoke of was exchaunged for another prisoner in Fraunce, and sent home to his wyfe.

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And sone after, the king of Scottes sent great messengers to the french king to agree vnto this truce: The French king was content at the desyre of the king of Scottes, and then was the Erle of Salsburie, who had beene long prisoner in Fraunce, sent home into Englande. And the king of Englande sent incontynent the Erle Moret into Scotland.

And in the ende of this yere the Queene was deliuered of a man childe at the Towne of Langley, the which after was named Edmond, and surnamed Edmond of Langley.

A little before ye haue heard how the king was striken in loue with the Countesse of Salsbury. And now it happened, that for the loue of the sayde Lady, who yet was not out of his minde, he caused a great feast to be publyshed abroad, and a Justes to be holden in the Citie of London (in the place now called west Smithfield) in the middes of August next folowyng, the which was also proclaymed in Flaundyrs, in Henault, in Brabant, and in Fraunce, graunting to all commers out of euery Countrie safe conduyte to come and go. And also he gaue speciall commaundement thorough his owne Realme, that all Lords, Knights, Esquyers, Ladyes and Damoseis should be

be there without any excuse, and commaunded expressly the Erle of Salsbury, that the Lady his wyfe should be there, and to bring with her all the Ladyes and Damoselles of that Countrie. The Erle graunted the king, as he that thought none euill. The good Ladye durst not saye nay, although shee knewe right well what was ment thereby: But yet shee durst not discouer the matter to her husband, notwithstanding she thought within her selfe that she would order the matter well ynough.

A great feast and royall Justes.

Thys was a royall feast, and at the same was the Erle Wylliam of Heynault, and syr John of Heynault his Uncle, and a great number of Lordes and knightes of high lynage. There was great triumphyng and iustyng the space of.xv. dayes. And running at the same iustes was slaine the Lorde John, eldest sonne to the Vycount of Beaumond of England. And at this triumph all the Ladyes and Damoselles of England were freshly trimmed and attyred, according to their degrees, except the Lady Alice Countesse of Salsbury, for she went as simply as she might, to thentent that the king should not phansie her, for she was fully determyned that she would doe nothing that should dishonour her husband and her selfe. At this feast were syr Henry with the wrie neck Erle of Lancaster, and syr Henry his sonne Erle of Darby, syr Robert de Artoys Erle of Richemond, the Erles of Northhampton, of Gloucester, of Warwike, of Salsburie, of Pembroke, of Hereford, of Arondell, of Cornewall, of Oxenford, and of Suffolke, and the Baron of Straumforde and dyuers other Lordes and knightes of England.

And before this great triumph was altogether ended, and the Noble men departed, king Edward receaued sundrie and dyuers Letters out of sundrie Countries, as Gascoyn, Bayon, Flaundyrs from Jaques Dartuell, and out of Scotland from the Lorde Rose, and the Lorde Perey, and from syr Edward Baileoll Captaine of Barwike, who certefied the king, that the Scottes held but simply the truce concluded the last yere, for they newly assembled together much people, but for what entent they could not tell. Also the Capitaines in Poyteau, Xanton, Rochell and Burdeloys, wrote to the king how the Frenchmen made great preparations for the warre, because the peace that was made at Arras was almost expired, which caused ỳ king to haten the ende of his feasting. And so sone as the straungers were departed: The king by the aduise of his counsayle did answere the former letters.

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A parliament holden at Westminster.

After the former feast ended, the king called his Court of Parliament, who assembled together at Westmynster shortly after Easter, then next folowyng. And in the time of the sayde Parliament, the king created Edward his first begotten sonne (who was borne in the thirde yere of his reigne) Prince of Wales, and he prooued the most royall Prince in Chiualrie that was in all Christendome. And in the sayde Parliament was graunted vnto the king toward the finishyng and ending of his warres with Fraunce of the commons and of the Townes and Cities of the Realme of Englande, foure fiftenes to be paid in two yeres next folowing. And likewise ỳ Clergy graũted vnto him three fiftenes to be paide in three yeres, but both the commons and the clergie had graunted vnto them by the king suche liberties as ye may read in the statute made in the sayd. xviij. yere, as counterueyled their gift. And these fiftenes were also graũted with these cõdicions, that all such somes of money as should be leuied of the aforesayde grauntes, should be onely and wholy

Edward the Kinges first sonne created Prince of Wales.

The Clergie are politique.

It shoulde seme that the king was here partye out of credite with ỹ commons because he had consumed so great summes of money in his warres as before had bene leuied of his subiectes, & the same came to small purpose.

wholy employed vpon the explopte and expedition of the full fynishing and ending of the warres with Fraunce, and the same to be disposed by the aduice of certayne Lordes and other great men that were speciallye nominated and appointed therunto by the Parliament house. And also, that the king should not for any friend, letter or letters, entreatie or entreaties, nor for any fayre promises, withdraw his enterprice in the expence of this money in his warres of Fraunce vntill he had fully ended and fynished the same eyther by conquest, or else by the conclusion of a finall peace. And herevpon the Lordes of the realme graunted to go with the king, and to aduenture their lyues with him in the same.

A new coyne called the Floreyn.

And at this time also the king made a newe coyne of Golde and named it the Floreyn, that is to saye, the penny of the value of. vj. shyllings. viij. pence, the halfe penny of the value of three shyllings, foure pence, and the farthyng of the value of twentie pence, the which Coyne was speciallye ordeyned for his warres in Fraunce: For the Golde thereof was not so fyne as was the Noble, which as before in the. xiiij. yere of hys reigne he caused to be coyned.

The death of Sir Robert de Arthoys Erle of Richemond.

Nowe after the aforesayde Parliament ended, king Edward woulde needes ayde the Countesse of Mountfoorde agaynst the Lorde Charles of Bloys. And for her relicfe he sent Sir Robert de Arthoys, Erle of Richemond accompanied with a certayne number of good men of warre, and Archers, the which Sir Robert by reason of tempestes on the Sea, was long before he came thether: But for the time he remayned there, he did very valiauntly, notwithstanding at the last he was sore wounded, and returned into England and dyed in London and was buried in the Quier, or vpper parte of Paules Churche, whome king Edward caused to be buried with as solempne an obsequy, and as nobly was it done, as if it had bene for his awne Cosyn Germayn the Erle of Darby.

King Edwarde being greatly offended with the death of Sir Robert de Arthoys, sware a great othe that he would neuer reast but he woulde reuenge his death, wherefore incontinently he sent out letters thorough out all the Realme, commaunding euery noble man and other to attend vpon hym within one Moneth next after. And in the meane tyme he prepared a great number of shippes, and at the ende of the Moneth he tooke the Seas and landed in Britayne not farre from Uannes, where Sir Robert de Arthoys arryued before: he was three dayes in landyng of all his prouision, and the fourth day he went toward Uannes. And all this meane tyme the Erle of Salisbury and the Erle of Pembrooke lay at the siege of Renes. And shortly after, the king besieged Uannes, and did many noble feates of warre, and at the last the Duke of Normandy came with a mightye power to breake vp the siege: But in the ende, by the meanes and labour of two Cardynalles, a truce for three yeres was agreed vpon, and so the warres brake vp, and the king returned againe into England about Christmas.

King Edward with a great power landeth in Britayn.

A peace made with the French king for three yere.

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Windsore castell first builded by king Arthure.

After the king was thus returned, he went to his Castell of Windsore, the which was first builded by king Arthure (as sayth sir John Froyssard) and nowe newely reedified by king Edwarde, wherein he tooke great pleasure. And the sayde sir John Froissart sayth, that in this Castell king Arthure did first begin the order of the round table, whereby sprang the fame of so

so many noble knightes throughout all the worlde, But other write that the same was ordeyned first at Winchester, for there is yet the table that is called king Arthures round table. And nowe king Edward purposyng a lyke encouragement of noble and worthie knightes, beyng at Windsore as aforesayde, did ordeyne and establiche in the same Castell the most honourable order of knighthood of the blewe Garter, and a solempne feast to be kept for the same yerely vpon Saint Georges day. And to begin this noble order, the king caused to be assembled together all the Erles, Lordes, and Knightes of his realme, and expressed vnto them his purposed deuice, wherin they toke great pleasure, because they sawe it was that which tended to great honour, and that by the same, great amitie, frienship, & loue might growe among the nobles of this realme. And then were there chosen out a certeine number of the most valiauntest men in ỹ realme, and they right gladly swore and were content to seale, to mainteine those ordinaunces that then were deuised for the sayde order.

The order of the Garter.

The Chappell within the Castell of Windsore builded by king Edward ỹ third.

And then also the king builded a Chappell of Saint George within the sayde Castell of Windsore, and stablished therein certein Chanons, and other Ministers for the saiyng of deuine and dayly seruice, and endued them with right good liuynges and possessions.

Then the king sent to publish this his royall feast by his Heraults, into Fraunce, Scotland, Burgoyn, Henault, Flaundyrs, Brabant, and into the Empire of Almaine, geuyng and promisyng euery knight and Esquier that would come to the sayd feast. xv. dayes of safe conduict, before the feast, and xv. dayes after the feast, the same feast to begyn on the day of Saint George next folowyng, which was in the yere of our Lorde. 1344. and the Queene to be there, accompanyed with three hundred Ladyes and Damoselles, all of noble linage, and apparelled accordingly.

A royall feast.

When the day of this royall feast drew nere, thether came a noble company of Erles, Barons, Ladyes and Damoselles, Knightes and Esquiers. And also diuerse Lordes and knightes of straunge Countries came thether out of dyuerse places, as out of Flaundyrs, Heynault, and Brabant, but out of Fraunce came none.

During the time of this feast, newes came to the king out of dyuerse Countries: Thether came knightes out of Gascoyne, as the Lorde of Lespare, the Lorde of Chawmount, the Lord of Musident, who were sent from the other Lordes of the Countrie, such as were Englishe: as the Lorde de Labreth, the Lord of Puniers, the Lord of Mountferaunt, ỹ Lord of Duras, the Lorde of Carton, the Lorde of Grayly, and diuers other. And in like maner came sundrie Messengers from sundrie other places, and all aduised the king to send vnto them succours in due season, for they were in great feare of their enemy the French King, who made great prouision to annoy them.

These troubleous newes caused the king the soner to shorten his feast and triumph. And when the same was ended, and all the straungers departed, and the Ladyes and Damoselles, then the king went to counsayle wyth his Lordes what was best to be done. And shortly they agreed that it were meete some chiefe Capitaine and succours were sent vnto Burdeaux, for the defence thereof, and for the rest of Gascoyne. Then the king agreed to sende ouer the Erle of Darby his Cosyn Germaine as Cheuetaine, who wyth all possible

possible speede prepared himselfe, and he was accompanied with the Erle of Pembrooke, the Erle of Nozffolke, the Baron of Staffozd, Sir Gualtier of Manny, Sir Richard Haydon, the Lozde Franque de la hall, the Lieure de Brabant, sir Hugh Hastynges, sir Stephen de Tombey, the Lozde of Manny, the Lozd Nozmant of Fynefroyde, sir Robert of Lerney, sir John Nozwich, sir Richard Rockclefe, sir Robert of Quenton, and diuers other, to the number of.v. C. knightes and Esquiers, and two thousand Archers. And the King sayd to his Cosyn the Erle of Darby, take with you Gold and Siluer ynough, ye shall not lacke, and depart largely thereof vnto your men of warre, whereby ye shall get their loue and fauoz, and thus the Erle of Darby departed vnto Burdeaux, who after his comming thether did many noble and valiaunt deedes of armes, aswell in assaultyng of diuerse townes, as also in conquering & recouering from ỹ French men many rich Cities & townes.

The Erle of of Derby sent to Burdeaux with a goodly company to withstand the malice of the French king.

In this time (as before you haue heard) reigned in Flaundyzs in great prosperitie and puyssaunce, Jaques Dartuell of Gaunt, who was a speciall friend and louer of king Edward. And the same Jaques had promised the king that he would make him Lozde and inheritour of Flaundyzs, and to endue his sonne the Prince of Wales therewith. Foz the which cause, about the feast of Saint John Baptist, king Edward went ouer vnto Sluce with many of his Lozdes and knightes, and brought thether with him the young Prince his sonne, vpon the wozde and promise of Jaques Dartuell. The King with all his nauie laye in the Hauen of Sluce, and there he kept hys house, and thether came to visite him his friendes of Flaundyzs. There were great counsayles betwene the king and Jaques Dartuell on the one parte, and the Counsayles of the good townes of the other part. So that they of the Countrie were not of the agrement with the king, neyther with Jaques Dartuell, who went about to perswade them to disenherite the Erle Loys their awne naturall Lozde, and also his yong sonne Loys, and to inherite the sonne of the King of Englande, to the which they sayde they would neuer agree vnto. And so the last day of their Counsaile, which was kept in the Hauen at Sluce in the kinges great ship called the Katheryn: They with one minde and voyce gaue a determinate aunswere and sayd: sir, ye haue desired vs to a thing that is great and weightie, the which hereafter may soze touche the Countrie of Flaundyzs and our heyzes: Truely we knowe none at this day whose preferment and honour we would be moze glad to aduaunce then yours: But sir, this thing we can not do alone, we must haue herevnto the whole commonaltie of Flaundyzs. Therefoze foz this present we will go home, and euery man to speake with his friendes generally within euery towne, and as we finde the most part to agree, so will we be right well content: and within a moneth we will be here againe with you, and geue you such aunswere as we trust ye will be content. The king neyther Jaques Dartuell could haue none other aunswere at that time: Howbeit they required a shozter day, but that would not be.

Jaques Dartuell of Gaūt a great louer & friend to king Edward.

So thus departed that Counsaile, and euery man went home to theyr awne townes: But Jaques Dartuell taryed a little with the King, and still he promised the king that he would bzing them vnto his entent, but he was soule deceyued as after will appere.

Jaques Dartuell tooke his leaue of the king and went first to Bruges and

and perswaded with the Lozds there, and lykewise with the rulers of Ipze, and in the ende they graunted vnto him, so that Jaques made a full accompt that he had obteyned and ended this matter, foz he assured himselfe of the towne of Gaunt, whom as he thought he might rule as he lust, but he found it otherwise. When he had ended at Bruges he returned to Gaunt, not suspecting any thing, but that they were his verie friends: and before he came to the towne, it was tolde to the inhabitaunts that Jaques Dartuell went about to disenherite the right Erle of Flaundyzs and his sonne, and to geue the inheritaunce vnto the sonne of king Edward of England, a straunger, at the hering wherof they assembled themselues in the Market place, and were in a great furie agaynst Jaques Dartuell, but at the last they departed from the Market place, and euery man went home to his awne house. Shoztly after about noone, came Jaques Dartuell into Gaunt, not knowyng anye thing of the fozmer doing of the men of the towne, but they knewe well of his comming, and therefoze walked in the streetes in heapes, euen where he should passe. And when they sawe him, they beganne to murmour, and began to whisper together and to fall to secret talke, and at the last they spake out alowde one to another and sayde. Beholde, yonder commeth the great master that will rule all Flaundyzs as he lust, and geue the inheritance therof where he thinketh meete. Also there was a bzute blowen abzoade among the inhabitaunts of the Towne, that Jaques Dartuell foz the space of. ix. yeres past had in his handes all the reuennes of Flaundyzs, and neuer did accompt foz the same. And farther, that he had sent great ryches and treasure vnto the king of England: These tales set them of Gaunt on a fyze. And as Jaques Dartuell roade thzough the streete, he perceaued that there was some matter in framing against him, foz he saw, as he came by, such as were wont to doe reuerence vnto him, turne their faces from him, and went into their houses. Then he began to doubt, and assone as he was alighted in his lodging, he closed fast his gates, dozes and wyndowes. This was scant done, but all the streete was full of men, and specially of them of meanest occupations, then they beset his house both behinde and before and round about, and began to breake vp the house: But he and his defended themselues within the house along space, and slue and hurt many without. But finally he could not endure, foz thzee partes of the men of that towne were at that assault. When Jaques sawe that he was so soze oppzessed, he came to a wyndow with great humilitie barehedded and spake in gentle maner and sayde: Good people, what ayleth you, why are you so soze offended at me? Wherein haue I displeased you, let me vnderstande it, and I will gladly make suche amends as I trust shall content you. Then such as heard him, answered all with one voyce, we will haue accompt made of the great treasure of Flaundyzs, that you haue sent out of the waye without any title oz reason. Then Jaques meekely aunswered and sayde: Certainely Sirs, of the treasure of Flaundyzs I neuer tooke any thing. I pzay you withdzaw your selues patiently into your houses, and come againe to mozow in the mozning, and I will make you so good an accompt, that ye shall be well pleased and contented withall. Then they all cryed and sayde, nay, we will haue an accompt incontynent, thou shalt not scape oure handes so: we knowe foz truth that thou hast sent great riches into England without our knowledge, and therefoze thou

Jaques Dartuell was greatlye deceaued.

The behauiour of the people of Gaunt at the entring of Jaques Dartuell into their towne.

The poozest and of least discretion are euer commōly the most busieste.

The wise and mylde speech of Jaques Dartuell to the common people.

A hard matter for to suffre rude and disordrely persons.

thou shalt die. When Jaques heard that worde, he ioyned his handes together and sore weeping sayde: Sirs, such as I am ye haue made me: and ye haue sworne to me or this to defende me agaynst all persons. And will you now slay me agaynst all reason, and no cause heard nor examined? ye maye doe it if ye will, for I am but one man amongst you all, but yet for Gods sake take better aduise, and remember the tyme past, and consyder the great graces and frienship that I haue shewed and done vnto you: and then I trust ye will not so vngently reward me, and chiefely for the great goodnesse that I haue shewed vnto your towne. Ye know right well that the trade of marchaundise was cleerely decayed in this towne, and countrey, and by my meanes ye haue recouered it. Also I haue gouerned you in great peace and rest, for in the time of my gouernement ye haue had all things as your harts desyred, corne and all other marchaundise.

Then the people cryed all with one voyce, come downe to vs & preach not so high, and geue vs accompt of the great treasure of Flaundyrs which ye haue gouerned so long without compt making, which becommeth no officer so to doe, to receaue the goodes of hys Lorde, or of hys Countrie, and make none accompt.

Jaques Dartuell taken & slaine without all mercy and pitie.

When Jaques sawe that he could not appease them: he drewe in his head and closed in his Wyndow, and thought to haue stollen out on the backside into the Church that ioyned to his house: But his house was so broken that foure hundred persons were entred into it, and finally, there he was taken and slaine without any pitie or mercie, and one Thomas Denyse gaue him his deathes stroke. And thus ended Jaques Dartuell.

King Edward heering of the death of Jaques Dartuell returneth into England.

When king Edward, who lay all this while at Sluise, abyding the aunswere of the Flemyngs, heard how they of Gaunt had slaine Jaques Dartuell his great friend, he was sore displeased. Wherefore incontinent he departed from Sluce, and entred into the Sea, sore threatning the Flemynges and the countrie of Flaundyrs, and sayde, how his death should be reuenged.

The rulers of 5 townes in Flaundyrs come to king Edward to make their excuse for the death of Jaques Dartuell.

Then the Counsaylours of the good townes of Flaundyrs thought no lesse but that the king of England would take the death of Jaques Dartuell greeuously, wherefore they determined to go to the king and excuse themselues, and specially they of Bruges, Courtray, Iper, Andwarp & Franke: They sent into Englande to the king for a safe conduyt that they might come to their excuse. The king then being somewhat cooled of his great furie, graunted their desire. And then there came into England men of estate out of the good Townes of Flaundyrs, except out of Gaunt there came none. This was aboute Mighelmas, and the same time the king laye at Westmynster besides London.

When they were come vnto the kinges presence, they in most lowly maner humbled themselues before the king, and cleerely excused themselues of the death of Jaques Dartuell, and sware solemply that they knewe nothing thereof vntill it was done. And if they had, he was the man that they would haue defended to the best of their powers, and sayde that they were ryght sorie of his death, for he had gouerned the Countrie right politikely and wisely. And also they sayde, that though they of Gaunt had done that dede, yet should they make a sufficient amendes. And further they sayd vnto the king and his counsaile, that though he be deede, yet the king of England was neuer

uer the further off from the loue & fauour of them in Flaundyrs in all things, except the enheritance of Flaundyrs, which by no meane nor way they wyll put from the right heyres. And saiyng also further vnto the king: Sir you haue a yong daughter, and we haue a yong Lorde, who is the enheritour of Flaundyrs, we haue him in our kepyng, may it please you to consent to a mariage to be made betweene them two, and by that meanes the Countie of Flaundyrs may for euer be in the issue of your Childe. These wordes and many such like did greatly pacifie the king, and finally the king was content with the Flemyngs, and they with him, and so by little and little the death of Jaques Dartuell was quite forgotten.

A new offer of amitie made by the Flemynges to king Edwarde.

The death of Wyllia Erle of Heynault the louer and great friend of king Edward.

And shortly after the death of Jaques Dartuell, dyed also William Erle of Henault, the kinges great louer and friend, and not long after sir John of Heynault the kinges most chiefe and speciall friende (who from the first begynnyng and entraunce of the king into the Realme and Kingdome of England, assisted and defended him) did now refuse the king of England and became French, because as some write, that the king of Englande, refused to pay him his pencion that he graunted vnto him. And thus was king Edward destitute of a great many of his chiefe and speciall friendes, euen vpon a sodeyne.

1345 20

The Lorde Godfrey of Harecourt being banished out of France was ioyfully receaued in Englande by king Edward.

About this time the king heard howe his men were in sore distresse at the siege of the Castell of Aguillon in Gascoyne, and therefore prepared him selfe with a great and puissaunt army to go ouer for their reskue. And in this meane time, the Lord Godfrey of Harecourt, beyng banished out of Fraunce came into England, and was well receyued with the king, and he retayned him to remaine and continue about him, and assigned him landes in England to mainteine his degree.

Then the king caused a great nauy of shippes to be readie in the Hauen of Southhampton, and caused all maner of men of warre to be there at the feast of Saint John Baptist. 1345. And at that time the king departed from the Queene, and left her in the guidyng of the Erle of Cane his Cosyn. And he ordeyned and appoynted the Lorde Percey, and the Lorde Neuell to be Wardeynes of his realme, with the Archbishop of Yorke, the Bishop of Lincolne, and the Bishop of Durham: For the king at no tyme departed out of this realme, but that he left sufficient behind him to defend the realme if nede were. Then the king roade to Hampton, and taryed there for winde: And at the last he entered into Ship, and the Prince of Wales with him, and the Lorde Godfray of Harecourt, and all other Erles, Barons, Lordes, and knightes, with all their companies. They were in number foure thousand men of armes, and ten thousand Archers, beside Irishemen and Welshmen that folowed the host on foote, and.xj.C. sayle of shippes, as some write.

A royall nauy and army that sayled with the king into France.

And here I thinke it not amisse to name vnto you all the Lordes that went in this iourney with the king. First Edward his eldest sonne Prince of Wales, who as then was of the age of.xvj. yeres, or there aboutes, the Erles of Herkford, Northhampton, Arondell, Cornewall, Warwike, Huntyngdon, Suffolke, and Orenford. And of Barons, the Lorde Mortimer, who was after Erle of Marche, the Lordes, John, Lewes, and Roger of Beauchamp, and the Lorde Reynold Cobham. Of Lordes, the Lord of Mowbray, Rose, Lucy, Felton, Braston, Mylton, Labey, Maule, Basset, Barlet,

let, & Willoughby, and diuers other Lordes. And of Bachelers, there were John Chandoys, Fitzwaren, Peter and James Audeley, Roger of Vertuall, Bartholomew of Burys, Richard of Pembruges, with diuers other that I can not name.

Thus they sayled forth that day in the name of God, and they were well onward on their way toward Gascoyn: But on the thirde day, there arose a contrary wynde, and draue them on the Marches of Cornewall, and there they lay at anker. vj. dayes. In that space the king had other counsayle by the meanes of Sir Godfrey Harecourt: he counsayled the king not to go into Gascoyn, but rather to set a land in Normandie, and he sayde to the king, Sir the Countrie of Normandie is one of the most plenteous Countries of the worlde. And Sir, on ieopardie on my head, if ye will land there, there is none that will resist you: The people of Normandie haue not bene vsed to warre, and all the knightes and Esquiers of the Countrie are nowe at the siege before Aguillon with the Duke. And Sir, there ye shall finde great Townes that be not walled, whereby your men shall haue such wynnyng that they shall be the better therby. xx. yere after: & ye may follow with your armie vntill ye come to Cane in Normandy. And Sir, I pray you beleue me, and take this voyage. The king who was as then but in the flower of hys youth, for he passed not. xxxb. yeres of age, and desiryng nothing so much as to haue deedes of Armes, enclined greatly to the sayyng of the Lorde Harecourt, whome he called Cosin. Then the king commaunded the Mariners to set their course to Normandie: And he tooke into his ship the Baner or Badge of the Admirall the Erle of Warwike, and sayde howe he would be Admirall in that voyage, and so sayled on before, as gouernour of the nauie. And they had wind at wil: Then the king arriued in the Isle of Constantine, at a port called Hoggue Saint Waste.

The counsail of sir Godfray Harecourt to king Edwarde, which counsayle was good as it after proued.

King Edward tooke vpon him to be Admirall to the whole naupe.

The king arriued at Constantine an Isle in Normandie.

Tydings anone spreade abroade, howe the Englishmen were landed: The townes of Constantyne sent downe woord to Parys to king Philip. And he had heard before how that king Edward was on the sea with a great armie, but he vnderstood not what waye he woulde take, whether into Normandy, Gascoyne, or Bziteyn.

Assoone as he knewe that the king of Englande was landed in Normandy, he sent his Conestable the Erle of Eupnes, and the Erle of Tankervile, who were but newly come to him from his sonne from the siege of Aguillon, to the towne of Cane, commaunding them to keepe that towne against the Englishmen: They sayde they would doe their best, and so departed from Parys with a good number of men of warre, and daylie there came mo vnto them by the waye. And so at the last came to the towne of Cane, where the men and people of that towne receyued them with great ioy. And assone as these Lordes were come, they busily prouyded for the good defence of the sayde Towne, and set all things in good order.

The king of England, as afore sayd, was arriued at the Porte Hoggue Saint Waste, neere to Saint Sauyour the vicount, which was the right heritage to the Lord Godfray of Harecourt, who as then was there with the king of England. Assone as the king was arriued in the afore sayde porte, as he lept out of his ship, the first foote that he stepped on the grounde he fell so vntowardly, that the blood brast out of his nose. The knightes that were about

about him, tooke him vp and sayde, syr for Gods sake enter againe into your Ship, and come not a lande this daye, for this is but an euill signe for vs. Then the king answered quickly and sayd, wherfore? this is a good token for mee, for the lande desyreth to haue mee. Of the which answere all his men were ioyfull: So that day and night the king lodged on the sandes. And in the meane time discharged the ships of their horses and other baggages. There the king made two Marshalles of his hoste, the one, Lorde Godfray of Harecourte, and the other the Erle of Warwike, and the Erle of Arondell Constable. And he ordeyned that the Erle of Huntyngdon should keepe the Fleete of shippes with an hundreth men of armes and foure hundred Archers. And also he ordeyned three battayles, one to go on his right hande close to the sea side, and the other on his left hande, and the king himselfe in the middes, and euery night to lodge all in one field.

The Lorde Godfrey of Harecourt & the Erle of Warwike made Marshalles of the kings armie.

Thus they set forth as they were ordeyned, and they that went by the Sea tooke all the shippes that came in their wayes, and so long they went forth what by sea, and what by lande, that at the last they came to a good porte, & to a good towne called Harflew, the which incontinent was wonne: For they within gaue vp for feare of death. And albeit the sayde towne was robbed and spoyled, and much Golde, Siluer, and riche Jewels taken out of the same, yet there remayned so muche riches that the boyes and villaynes of the hoste set nothing by good furred Gownes. And before they entred into the rifelyng of the Towne, they caused all the inhabitauntes of the towne to come forth and go into their shippes, because they would not suffer them to be behinde them for feare of rebellyng againe. And thus was the towne of Harflewe taken and spoyled without brenning.

Harflewe wonne.

Then the armie spreade abroade in the Countrie, and did what they lust, for there was none to resist them. And at the last they came to a great and riche towne called Chierbourgh. The towne they wanne and spoyled and brent parte of it: But into the Castell they coulde not come, it was so strong and well furnished with men of warre. Then they passed forth & came to Mountbourgh, and tooke and spoyled it and brent it cleane. In thys maner they spoyled and brent many other townes in that countrey, and wanne so much ryches that it was incredible. Then they came to a great towne called Quarentyne, where there was also a strong Castell, and many souldyours within to keepe it. Then the Lordes came out of their shippes and made a fierce assault: The Burgesses of the towne were in great feare of their lyues, wyues and children. And they gladly suffered the Englishmen to enter into the towne against the minde and will of all the souldyours there: They put all their goodes vnto the Englishmens pleasures, because they thought they should so the better obtaine their fauour, and mitigate their rygour. When the French souldyours sawe the Englishmen enter into the towne, then they fled, and went into the Castell. And the Englishmen kept the towne two dayes, and therein made sore assaults vnto the Castell, and at the last the Frenchmen seing no remedy, did geue it ouer. And thus were the Englishmen possessed both of that good towne and Castell. And when they sawe they might not maintaine nor keepe it, they set it on fyre, and brent both towne and Castell. And while they were thus spoyling of the Towne, they made all the Burgesses and people of the towne to go into their shippes as

Chierbourgh taken and spoyled.

Mountbourgh take and spoyled.

Quarentyne a good towne taken & spoyled and brent.

before they had done with them of Harflew, Chierbourgh & Mountbourgh and other townes that they had wonne on the Sea side. All this was done by the battayle that went on the Sea side, and by them on the sea together.

Now let vs speake of the kinges battayle, when he had sent his first battaile along by the sea side, as ye haue heard before, whereof the Erle of Warwyke was Captaine and the Lorde Cobham with him. Then he made his other Marshall to leade his hoste on the left hande, for he knewe the issues and entries of Normandy better then any other did. The Lorde Godfray as Marshall roade foorth with fiue hundred men of armes, and roade of from the kings battayle fiue or seauen leagues, in burnyng and spoylyng the Countrey, the which Countrie was plentifull in euery thing. The Granges were full of Corne, the houses full of all ryches, riche Burgesses and Citezens, Horse, Swine, Sheepe and other beastes and Cattell great plenty: They tooke what pleased them, and brought into the kinges hoste. But the souldyours made none accompt to the king nor to none other of his officers of the Golde, Siluer, and Jewels that they did get, for that they kept to themselues.

Thus Sir Godfray of Harecourt road euery day from the kings host, and yet for the most parte euery night he resorted into the kings fielde.

The king tooke his way to Saint Clowe in Constantine, but before he came there, he lodged by a ryuer, abyding for his men that went along the Sea side. And when they were come, they set forth their carpage: And the Erle of Warwike and the Erle of Suffolke, Syr Thomas Holland and Syr Raynold Cobham, and their company road out on the one side & wasted and spoyled the countrey as the Lorde of Harecourt had done. And the king euer roade betwene these battayles, and euery night they lodged together.

The French king gathereth together a great power.

In this meane time the French King sent for Sir John of Heynault, who came to him with a great number of men. And in like maner the sayde king sent for other men of armes, Dukes, Erles, Barons, Knightes, and Esquiers, and assembled together such a great number of people as had not bene sene in an hundreth yeres before. He sent also for men into so farre Countries, that it was long before they came, so that the king of Englande did what him lyst in the meane season. The French king knew well ynough what he did, and sware that he shoulde neuer returne out of his Realme vnfought withall, and that such hurtes and dammages as they had done, should be deerely reuenged.

King Edward hauing in his battaile three thousand men of armes, and vj. thousand Archers, and ten thousand footemen, besydes them that roade with the Marshals, left the Citie of Constance, and went to the great towne called Saint Clowe, which was a rich towne of Drapery, and many riche Burgesses therein. When the King came thether, he tooke his lodging without the towne, for he would neuer lodge within any towne for feare of fire: But he sent his men before, and the towne was immediately taken and spoyled. The ryches of that towne was very great, namely in Cannas. Then the king went towarde Cane, the which was a greater towne, and full of Drapery of Lynnen and Woollen cloth, and other riche Marchandise, and the inhabitauntes of the towne were very riche men, noble Ladies, beutifull Damoselles, goodly and riche Churches, and two great riche Abbeyes, one of

The towne of S. Clowe taken and spoyled.

of the Trinitie, another of Saint Stephen. And on the one syde of the towne one of the fayrest Castels in all Normandy, of the which sir Robert of Biargmy was Capitaine, with three hundreth Genowayes, and in the Towne was the Erle of Ewe, and of Guynes Constable of Fraunce, and the Erle of Tankeruile with a good number of men of warre.

The king of England roade all that day in good order, and lodged all his battayles together that night, about two leagues from Cane, in a towne with a little hauen called Haustreham: and thether came also all his nauie of ships with the Erle of Huntyngdon, who was gouernour of them.

The Constable and other Lordes of Fraunce that night watched well the towne of Cane, and in the morning armed themselues, and all the fightyng people in the Towne. And then the Constable tooke order that none should issue out of the Towne, but kepe their defences on the Walles, Gate, Bridge, and Riuer, and left the suburbes voyde, because they were not closed: For they thought they should haue ynough to do to defende the towne, because it was not closed, but with the riuer. But they of the towne sayd they would issue out, for they were strong ynough to fight with the king of England. When the Constable sawe them so bent, he sayde, in the name of God be it, ye shall not fight without me. Then they issued out in good order, and made good face and shewe to fight with the Englishe men, and to put theyr liues in aduenture.

The Englishe men roase earely in the morning, and made themselues ready to go to Cane. The king heard noyse before the sonne rising, & therefore he and the Prince his sonne tooke their horse, and sir Godfrey of Harecourt, Marshall and leader of the host, whose counsaile the king much folowed. And the kinges army went forward in good array, and approched nere to the good towne of Cane.

When they of the Towne, who then were ready in the field, sawe these three battayles comming in good array, with their Banners and Standards wauyng with the winde, and the Archers which they had not bene accustomed to see: they were so sore afrayde that they fled towarde the towne, without any order or good array, and the Constable could not stay them: But the Englishe men pursued them egerly.

Cane beseged taken and spoyled.

When the Constable and the Erle of Tankerupll sawe that, they tooke a Gate at the entrie and saued themselues and certeine with them, for the English men were entred into the towne as sone as they. And suche of the Frenche as knewe the way to the Castell, went thether, and the Capitaine thereof receyued them all, for the Castell was large. The Englishe men in the chace slue many, for they tooke none to mercy.

Then the Constable and the Erle of Tankerupll beyng in the little towre at the Bridge foote, looked along the strete, and sawe their men slaine without mercy, they doubted to fall in their handes. At the last they sawe an English knight with one eye called Sir Thomas Holland, and fiue or sixe other knightes with him, they knewe them, for they had seene them before in Prusse, in Granado, and in other voyages. Then they called to sir Thomas and sayde, howe they would yelde themselues prisoners. Then sir Thomas came thether with his companie, and went vp into the Gate, and there found the sayd Lordes, and .xxv. knightes with them, who yelded them all vnto sir

Thomas, and he tooke them for his prisoners, and left companie to keepe them. And then he tooke his horse againe and roade into the streetes, and saued the lyues of many Ladies and Damoselles, and Cloysterers from deflowryng, for the Souldiours were without all compassion and mercie. And it chaunced so happely the same time for the Englishmen, that the riuer which was well able to beare shippes, at that tyme was so lowe, that men went in and out beside the bridge. And such of the towne as were entred into their houses, cast downe into the streete, stones, timber, and yron, and slue & hurt mo then fiue hundreth English men, with the which doing the King was sore displeased. And at night when he heard thereof, he commaunded that the next day that all should be put to the sworde, and the towne to be brent. But then sir Godfray of Harecourt sayd: dere sir, for Goddes sake asswage somewhat your courage, and let it suffice you that ye haue done, ye haue a great exployt to do before ye come to Calice, whether ye purpose to go: And Sir, in thys towne there are much people that will defende their houses, and it will cost many of your mennes liues, before that ye haue all your will, and by that meane ye may fortune to be disapoynted of your voyage to Calice, the which would turne to your great griefe: Wherefore sir, saue your people, for ye may chaunce to haue nede of them before this moneth passe, For I thinke verely that your aduersarie King Phillip will meete with you to fight, and ye shall find many streight passages and reencountries. Wherefore your men, and ye had mo shall stande you in good steede, and Sir without any further sleapng, ye shall be Lorde of this towne, men and women will put themselues and all that euer they haue vnto your pleasure.

Then the king sayd, Sir Godfray, you are our Marchall, order euery thing as best shall seeme vnto you. Then sir Godfray with his Banner roade from streete to streete, and commaunded in the kinges name, none to be so hardy as to put fire in any house, to slay any person, or to violate any woman.

When they of the towne heard that crie, they receyued the Englishmen into their houses, and made them good cheere. And some opened their Coffers, and bad them take what they woulde, so that they might be assured of their lyues: Howbeit at that time there were many murders, robberyes and euill deedes done in that towne.

Cane taken and sacked by the Englishmen.

Thus the Englishmen were Lordes of the towne of Cane three dayes, & wanne great ryches, the which they sent awaye by Barkes and Barges by the ryuer of Austrehen vnto their Nauie with two hundred men of Armes and foure hundred Archers, and so the Nauie departed into Englande wyth great riches and many riche prisoners. And the king bought of syr Thomas Holland two of his prisoners, which was the Constable of Fraunce, and the Erle of Tankeruyll, & gaue him for them ten thousand Marks in old nobles.

Then the king departed from Cane, and roade in the order that he did before, brennyng and spoylyng the Countrie, and tooke the way to Ewreus, and so past by it. And from thence they road to a great towne called Loupers, it was the chiefe towne of all Normandy of Drapery, ryche and full of all Marchandise: The Englishmen soone entred into it, for as then it was not closed, and it was ouer runne, ransacked and spoyled without all mercie, and there was wonne great rychesse.

Loupers taken & spoiled.

Then they entered into the Countrie of Eureux, and brent and spoyled the

the Countrie, except the walled townes and Castells, to the which the king made none assault for sparyng of his people and his artillery.

On the ryuer of Seyn nere vnto Roane, there was the Erle of Harecourte brother to Sir Godfray of Harecourt, but he was on the French partie, and the Erle of Dreux with him, with a good number of men of warre. But the Englishmen left Roane and went to Gysours, where was a strong Castell, they brent the towne, and after brent Vernon and all the Countrie about Roan and Pount de Larche, and came to Mauntes and to Meulence and wasted all the Countrie about, and passed by the strong Castell of Robboys, and in euerie place along the ryuer of Seyne they founde the bridges broken. At the last they came to Poyssey and found the bridge broken, but the Arches and Joystes laye in the ryuer. The king laye there fiue dayes, and in the meane time the bridge was made to passe the hoste without perill. The Englishe Marchalles ranne abroade euen iust to Parys, and brent Saint Germayns in Lay, and Mountioye and S. Clowde, and pety Boleyn by Parys, and the Quenes Bourgh. They of Parys were not well assured of themselues, for it was not as then walled nor closed.

Gysors, Vernon, & Pontlarche brent and spoyled.

Saint Germain, Mountioye, Saint Cloude, Pety Boleyn, all destroyed.

The French king vnderstanding the king of Englande to be so nere, remoued from Paris to Saint Dionyce which is nere vnto Paris: and before he went, he caused all the Penthehouses of the Towne of Parys to be pulled downe. And vnto Saint Denyce there were al ready come to the aide of the French king, the king of Behayne, the Lorde John of Heynault, the Duke of Lorreyne, the Erle of Flaundrys, the Erle of Bloys and many other great Lordes and knightes.

When the people of Paris saw their king depart, they came to him and kneeled downe and sayde: A syr, and right Noble king, what will you doe? will ye nowe departe and leaue both vs and this noble Citie as a spoyle to your enimies? The king answered them and sayde, be not afrayde good people, for the Englishmen will come no nere you then they are. Why so syr quoth they, for they be within these two leagues: And assone as they knowe of your departure they will come and assayle vs, and we be not able to defend them, wherefore good syr, for Gods sake tarie here still and helpe to defende your noble Citie of Paris. Speake no more to me quoth the king, for I will go to Saint Dionyce to my men of warre, and I will encounter the Englishmen and fight with them, whatsoeuer fall therof.

At this time the king of Englande being at Poyssy, lay at the Monery there, and kept there the feast of our Ladye the Assumption, and sate in his robes of Scarlet furred with Ermins, and that feast being ended, he then went forth in the same order that he did before.

The Lorde Godfrey of Harecourt road out on the syde with .v.C. men of Armes and .xiij.C. Archers: And by aduenture he encountred a great number of the Burgesses of Amyens on horseback, who were ryding by the kinges commaundement to Paris. The Englishmen quickly gaue them the onset, and they valiauntly defended themselues, for they were a great number and well armed, and had to their Capitaines foure knights of Amyens. This skirmish dured long, at the first meeting many were ouerthrowne of both partes: But finally the Burgesses were taken and almost all slaine, and the Englishmen tooke all their caryages and harnesse: Of this number

A skirmiche wherin were slaine .xx.C. Burgesses of Amiens.

there were slaine. xij. hundred that lay in the field.

Then the king of England entred into Beauuoisyn burnyng and spoyling the plaine countrie, and lodged at a fayre Abbey and a riche, called saint Messene, nere to Beaways, and there the king taried one night, and in the morning departed. And when he was on his way, he looked back and saw the Abbey on fyre, and he caused incontinent. xx. of them to be hanged that set it on fyre, for he had commaunded before vpon paine of death none to spoyle any Church, nor to burne any Abbey or Monastery.

Then the king passed by the Citie of Beaways wythout anye assault geuing, because he would not trouble his people nor wast his artillery. And so that daye he tooke his lodging betimes in a little towne called Nully. The two Marchalles came so neere to Beaways, that they made a skirmische at the Barryers in three places, the which assault dured a long space: But the Towne within was so well defended by the meane of the Bysshop, who at that tyme was within the towne, that finally the Englishmen departed and burnt cleane heard to the gates all the suburbes of the same. And at night they came into the kinges field.

The next day the king departed, burnyng and spoyling all before him, and at night lodged in a good village called Gracuiellure. And the nert daye the king passed by Argies, and there was none to defend the Castell, wherefore it was soone taken and burnt. Then they went forth, destroyeng the Countrie all about, and so came to the Castell of Poys, where there was a good towne and two Castels. There was no body in them, but two fayre Damoselles daughters to the Lorde of Poys, and they were sone taken, and had bene violated if two Englishe knightes had not beene, syr John Chandos and Sir Basset: They defended them and brought them to the king, who for his honour made them good cheere, and demaunded of them whether they woulde fayrest go, and they sayde to Corbe, and the king caused them to be brought thether without any perill. That night the king lodged in the Towne of Poys. And they of the towne and of the Castels spake that night with the two Marchals of the host, to saue them and their towne from burnyng, and they to paye a certaine some of Floreyns, and the same was graunted vnto them. The next daye the king departed in the morning with all his hoste, except certayne that were left there to receaue the money which the towne had promised to paye. When they of the towne sawe the hoste departed and gone, and that there were few left behinde: then they sayde, that they would pay neuer a penny, and so ranne vpon the Englishmen, who defended themselues as well as they might, and sent after the host for succour.

Poys brent & destroyed.

When Sir Thomas Holland, and Sir Reignold Cobham, who had the rule of the reregarde, heard therof, they returned & cried treason, treason and so came againe to Poys ward, & found their Companions fighting styll with them of the towne. Then anone they of the towne were nighe all slaine, and the towne brent, and the two Castelles beaten downe. Then they returned to the kinges Hoste, who was as then at Araynes, and there lodged, and commaunded all maner of men vpon paine of death to do no hurt to no towne of Artoys, for there the king was minded to lie a day or two to take aduise howe he might passe the riuer of Some: For it was necessary for him to passe the riuer, as after ye shall here.

The

The Frenche king was nowe in great readinesse to folowe the king of England, and was so farre forward, that he with a meruelous great armie of the number of a hundreth thousande men and mo, were come as farre as Ampens, and thought to haue enclosed the king of England with the water of Some, for he had caused all the Bridges to be broken, and those that remayned to be so garded and kept, that there was no way left for the king of England to escape.

The king of England beyng thus enclosed, first caused his two Marchalles with a thousand men of armes and two thousand archers to go along the ryuer to seeke out some passage. And as they went, they entered into a towne called Founteynes, that standeth on the riuer of Some, and by reason it was not closed, they sone conquered, spoyled, and brent it. And from thence they went to sundrie passages, but all were so well defended, that there was no way for the king of England to passe the riuer of Some.

Founteynes spoyled and brent.

The king of England beyng verye pensife, did the next morning rise very earely and dislodged, and euery man folowed the Marchals Banners, and so roade into the Countrie of Vimew, approchyng to the good towne of Abbeuile, and found a towne thereby whereunto was come many people of the Countrie, in trust of a little defence that was ther: But the English men shortly wanne it, and all that were within were slaine, and many taken of the towne and of the Countrie. The king tooke his lodgyng in a great Hospitall that was there. And the same day that the king departed from Araynes, the French king the next day came thether with all his armie into the same lodgyng where the king was, and found there a great deale of the prouision of the king of England, which for haste he was faine to leaue behinde him.

Vimew won

That night the king of Englande was lodged at a towne called Dysement, And at night when his two Marchalles were returned, who had that day ouerrunne the Countrie to the Gates of Abbeuile, and to Saint Valery, where they had made a great skirmische, who brought him worde that they could find no passage: Wherefore the king caused to be called before him all the prisoners that he had taken in the Countries of Ponthieu, and Vimew, and gently demaunded of them, that if there were any among them that knewe any passage beneth Abbeuile, that he and his host might passe the ryuer of Some, if any of them would shewe him thereof, he should be acquited of his raunsome, and twentie of his companie for his loue. There was at that time among the prisoners, a yerlet called Gobyn a Grace, who hering the kinges request, stepped forth and sayd to the king. Sir, I promise you on the ieopardie of my head, that I will bring you to such a place, where as you and all your host shall passe the ryuer of Some without perill. There are certeyne places in the passage that ye shall passe. xij. men on front two times in a day and night, & that ye shall not go in the water aboue the knees: but when the flood commeth, then the riuer encreaseth so great, that no man can passe, but when the flood is gone, it is so low, ỹ it may be passed without all daunger, both on horsebacke and on foote, and the passage is hard in the bottome, so that all your carpage may go safely through, and therefore the passage is called Blanchtaque, and if you make readie to depart betymes, ye may be there before the sonne rising or soone after. The king beyng somewhat comforted with this tale, answered and sayde: if this be true that thou hast

Dysement.

Gobyn a Grace.

Blanche taque.

haſt ſayde, I will quite the thy raunſome and all thy company, and moreouer I will geue thee an hundreth nobles in thy purſe. Then the king commaunded euery man to be readie at the ſound of the Trompet, and to depart.

At the breakyng of the day, the king with all his hoſte departed from Oyſement, and roade after the guidyng of Gobyn of Grace, ſo that they came by the ſonne riſyng to Blanche taque: but as then the flood was vp, ſo that they might not paſſe, wherefore the king taried the ebbe.

The Frenche king had his currours in the Countrie, who brought him worde of the demeanor of the Engliſhe men, then he thought verily to haue cloſed the king of England in betweene Abuile and the riuer of Some, and then to haue fought with him at his pleaſure. And whyle the French king was at Amience, he appoynted a great Baron of Normandy, called Sir Godmar du Foy, to go and keepe the paſſage of Blanche taque, where the Engliſh men muſt paſſe, or elſe in none other place: he had with him a thouſand men of armes, and fiue thouſand a foote with the Genowayes. And alſo he had with him a great number of the men of that Country, and alſo a great number of them of Mutterell, ſo that they were a. xij. thouſande men one and other.

A great ſkirmiſhe with the French men at the paſſage of Blanchtaque.

When the Engliſhe hoſte was come thether, Sir Godmer du Foy arraunged all his companie to defende the paſſage. The king of Englande ſtayed not for all that, but when the Tyde ſerued, entered into the water, & ſo did they on the other ſyde, and many a man drowned. There were ſome of the French men of Arthoys in Picardie, that were as glad to iuſt on the water as on the drie land. The French men defended ſo well the paſſage at the iſſuyng out of the water, that the Engliſhe men had much ado to recouer the land, the Genowayes did them great trouble with their Croſbowes: And on the other ſyde the Archers of England ſhot ſo wholy together, that the Frenche men were faine to geue place to the Engliſhe men. There was a ſore Battaile, and many a noble feate of armes done on both ſides: Finally, the Engliſh men paſſed ouer, and aſſembled themſelues together in the field, and the king and the Prince paſſed, and all the Lordes, and then the Frenche men kept none aray. When Sir Godmar ſaw this diſcomfiture, he fled and ſaued himſelfe. Some fled to Abuyle, and ſome to Saint Reignyer: but thoſe French men that were there on foote could not flee, ſo that there were ſlaine a great number of them, & the chaſe endured more then a great league. And as yet all the Engliſhe men were not paſſed the riuer, and certeine currours of the king of Behayne, and of Sir John of Heynaultes, came vpon them that were behinde, and tooke horſes and caryages, and flue dyuerſe before they could take paſſage.

The Frenche king the ſame morning was departed from Areines, truſting to haue found the Engliſhe men betweene him and the riuer of Some: But when he heard how that ſir Godmar du Foy and his company were diſcõfited, he taryed in the field, & demaunded of his Marſhals what was beſt to do: and they ſayde, Sir ye can not paſſe the ryuer but at the Bridge of Abeuile, for the flood is come in at Blanche taque, wherefore he returned and lodged at Abbeuyle.

The king of England, when he was paſt the riuer, thanked God, and ſo roade fourth in like maner as he did before. Then the king called vnto him

him Gobyn a Grace, and did quite him his raunſome, and all his companie, and gaue him an hundreth nobles, and a good horſe. And ſo the king roade fourth fayre and eaſily, and thought to haue lodged in a great towne called Nozell: But when he knewe that the towne did apperteyne to the Counteſſe of Dammerle, ſiſter to the Lorde Robert of Arthoys, the king aſſured the towne and Countrie, aſmuch as apperteyned to her, and ſo went fourth, and his Marſhalles roade to Crotoy on the See ſyde, and brent the towne, and found in the Hauen many Shippes laden with wynes of Ponthieu belongyng to the Marchauntes of Faynton, and of Rochell: They brought the beſt there of to the kinges hoſte. Crotoy brẽt.

Then one of the Marſhalles road to the gates of Abbeuyle, and from thence to Saint Reignyer, and after to the towne of Rue Saint Eſpirite. And this was on a Friday, and both the Marſhalles battayles returned to the kinges hoſte about noone, and ſo lodged all together neere vnto Creſſy in Ponthieu.

The king of Englande was well informed howe the French king folowed after him to fight. And therefore he ſayde vnto his company, let vs take here ſome place of grounde, for we will go no farther vntill we haue ſeene our enimies: I haue good cauſe here to abyde them, for I am on the right heritage of the Quene my mother, the which land was geuen her at her mariage: I will challenge it of mine aduerſarie Philip of Valoys. And becauſe he had not the eight man that the French king had, therfore he commaunded his Marſhalles to choſe out a plot of ground, ſomewhat for his aduantage, and ſo they did, and thether the king and his hoſte went. And then he ſent his Currours vnto Abbeuyle to ſee if the French king drewe that daye into the field or not. They went fourth and returned agayne, and ſayde they ſawe none apparence of his comming. Then euery man tooke their lodging for that day, and to be readie in the Morning at the ſounde of the Trumpet in the ſame place.

Thus all the Fridaye the French king taried ſtill in Abbeuyle, abidyng for his company, and ſent his two Marſhalles to ryde out to ſee the dealing of the Engliſhmen: And at night they returned and ſayde, howe that the Engliſhmen were lodged in the fieldes.

And that night the French king made a Supper to all the chiefe Lords that were there with him, and after Supper, the king deſyred them to be friends eche with other: The French king looked for the Erle of Sauoye who promiſed to haue come vnto him with a thouſand Speares, for he had receaued wages for three Monethes of them at Troy in Champaigne.

The. xxvj. of Auguſt in the morning very early, being Saturday, the king of Englande aroſe and ſet forward his armie, commaunding euerye man to drawe to the field to the ſame place before appointed. And then the king cauſed a Parke to be made by the Wood ſyde behynde his hoſte: and there was ſet all Cartes and cariages: and within the Parke were all their horſes, for euery man was on foote. And into this Parke there was but one entrie. And then he ordeyned three battailes.

The order of king Edwards battayles.

In the firſt was the yong Prince of Wales, with him the Erle of Warwike and Cauford, the Lorde Godfrey of Harecourt, Sir Reignald Cobham, Sir Thomas Holland, the Lorde Stafford, the Lorde Manny, the Lorde

Lorde de lawarre, Sir John Chandos, Sir Bartholome wde Borres, Sir Robert Neuyll, the Lorde Thomas Clyfford, the Lorde Bourchier, the Lord de la Tumier and dyuers other knightes and squires that I cannot name: They were eight hundred men of armes and two thousand Archers, and a thousand of other with the Welchmen, euery Lorde drewe to the field appointed, vnder his awne penone and Banner.

In the second battayle was the Erle of Northampton, the Erle of Arondell, the Lorde Rosse, the Lorde Lygo, The Lorde Willoughby, the Lorde Basset, the Lorde of Saint Aubyne, Sir Lewes Tueton, the Lord of Wyleton, the Lorde de la Sell and dyuers other, they had eyght hundred men of armes and. xij. hundred Archers.

The thirde battayle had the king: he had. vij. hundred men of armes and two thousand Archers, beside Lords and knights that I cannot name. When all these battayles were set in an order, then the king lept on a Hobby with a whyte rodde in his hande, one of his Marchalles on the one hande, and another on the other hande, and he road from ranke to ranke, desyring euery man to take heede that day to his right and honour. And he spake it so gently and with so good a countenaunce, that all suche as heard him tooke great courage and comfort by him.

And when he had thus ordered and visited all his battailes, it was then ix. of the clock in the forenoone. And then he caused euery man to eate and drinke a little, and so they did at their leasure. And afterward they ordered againe their battayles, and then euery man layde him downe on the grounde and his Salet and Bowe by hym, to be the more freshe when the enimies shoulde come.

This Saturday also early in the morning the French king came forwarde, and when he was come about two leagues from Abbeuyle, some of his Lordes sayd vnto him: Sir, it were good that ye ordered your battailes, and let your footemen passe on somewhat before, that they be not troubled with the horsemen. Then the king sent foure knightes, the Moyne Bastell, the Lorde of Noyers, the Lorde of Beauiewe and the Lorde Dambegny to ryde to viewe the Englishe hoste: And they roade so nere, that they might well see parte of their dealyng. For the Englishmen sawe them well, and knewe that they were come thether to vewe them, and they let them alone, and made no countenaunce toward them, but suffered them to go as they came. And when the French king sawe these foure knightes returne, he taried vntill they came vnto him, and sayde, Sirs what tydings? These foure knightes eche of them looked on other, for there was none that offered to speake: finally, the king sayde to Moyne which belonged to the king of Behayn, and had done in his dayes suche good seruice, that he was reputed one of the valyauntest knightes in the worlde. And the French king bade hym speake. And he sayde, Sir we haue ridden and seene the behauing of your enemies, and knowe ye for a truth that they are rested in three battailes abidyng for you. Sir, I would counsayle you for my part, sauing your displeasure, that you and all your company wouldе rest here and lodge this night. For or they that be behinde of your company come hether, and or your battayles can be set in good order, it will be very late, and your people be werie and out of araye, and ye shall finde your enimies freshe and readie to receaue you:

you: Earely in the morning ye may order your battayles at more leasure, and aduise vpon your enimies with better deliberation, and to consyder well what waye ye will assayle them: for Sir surely, they will abide you. Then the king commaunded it should be so done. Then his two Marshalles, one roade before and another behinde, sayeng to euery Banner: tarie and abide here in the name of God and Saint Dionyce. They that were formost stayed a little, but they that were behinde, would not staye vntill they were come as farre as the formost. And when they before sawe them come on behinde, then they roade forward agayne, so that the king nor his Marshalles could not rule them: And so they roade without order or good array, vntill they came within the sight of their enimies. And assone as the formost sawe them, then they reculed back without all order: whereof they that were behinde had great marualle and were amased at the matter, and thought that the formost company had bene fighting, and that then they might haue had leasure to haue gone forward if that they would. Some went forth and some aboade still. The common people, of whome all the high wayes betweene Abbeuile and Cressy, stood full. When they sawe that they were nere to their enemies, they drewe out their swordes and cryed out, downe with them, let vs slay them all. There was no man though he were present at this battayle that was hable to imagine or declare the euill order that was among the Frenche partie, and yet they were a marueilous great number. That I write in this thing (sayth Sir John Froissart) I learned it specially of the Englishmen, who well beheld their dealyng, and also of certaine knightes of sir John of Heynaultes, who was allwayes about king Philip, and they shewed me as they knewe.

The Englishmen lyeng on the ground to rest them, assone as they saw the Frenchmen approche, they roase fayre and easely, and stood vpon their feete and aranged in their battayles. The first which was the Princes battaile, the Archers therein stood in maner of a herse and the men of armes in the bottome of the battayle. The Erle of Northampton and the Erle of Arondell, with the second battayle were on a wyng in very good order, readie to comfort the Princes battayle if neede were.

The Lordes and knightes of Fraunce came not to the assemblie in good order, for some came before, & some came after, in such hast that one of them troubled another. When the French king sawe the English men, his countenaunce chaunged, and he sayde to his Marshalles, make the Genowayes go on before and begin the battaile in the name of God and saint Dionice. The battaile of Cressy.
There were of the Genowayes Crosbowes about. xv. thousand: But they were so wery in goyng on foote that day a fire leagues armed with their Crosbowes, that they sayde to their Constables, we be not well ordered to fight this day, for we be not in case to do any deedes of armes, we haue more neede of rest. These wordes came to the Erle of Alanson, who sayde, a man is well at ease to be charged with such a sort of Rascalles to be faint and faile nowe at most neede. And the same season there fell a great raine and a clipse, with a terrible thunder: and before the raine there came fleyng ouer both the battayles a great number of Crowes, for feare of the tempest commyng. Then anone the ayre began to waxe cleare, and the sonne to shine fayre and bright, the which was right in the French mennes eyen. When the Genowayes

wayes were set in order and began to approche they made a great leape and crie to haue abashed the English men: but they stood still and stirred not one foote. Then the Genowayes againe the seconde time made another leape and a foule crie, and stepped forwarde a little, and the Englishe men remoued not one foote: Thirdely, againe they lept and cryed vnreasonably, and so went forth vntill they came within shot, and then shot off fiercely with their Crosbowes. Then the Englishe Archers stepped forwarde, and let flie their arrowes, so wholy and so thicke, that it seemed Snowe. When the Genowayes felt the Arrowes pearcyng thorough their heades, armes & breastes, many of them cast downe their Crosbowes, and cut their stringes, and returned discomfited. When the French king saw them flie away, he sayd, slay these Raskalles, for they will let and trouble vs without all reason. Then ye should haue seene the men of armes haue dashed in among them, and killed a great number of them. And euer still the Englishe men shot where as they sawe thickest preasse: The sharpe arrowes pearced the men of armes and their horsses, and many fell horse and men among the Genowayes, and when they were downe, they could not releue again, the preasse was so thicke that one ouerthrew another. And also among the Englishe men there were certaine Raskalles that went a foote with great knives, and they went in among the men of armes and slue and murdered many of them as they lay on the ground, both Erles, Barons, Knightes and Esquiers, wherewith the king of England was afterward sore displeased, for he had rather they had bene taken prisoners.

The valiant king of Behaine, called Charles Luzenbourgh, sonne to the noble Emperor Henry of Luzenbourgh, for al that he was nere blind. When he vnderstood the order of the battaile, he sayde to them about him, where is the Lorde Charles my sonne? And his men answered, sir we can not tell, we thinke he be fightyng. Then he sayd, sirs ye are my men, my companions and my friendes in this iourney. I require you bring me so farre forwarde, that I may strike one stroke with my sworde, they sayde they would do his commaundement. And to the entent ꝑ they should not leese him in the preasse, they tyed all the reynes of their Bridels eche to other, and set the king before to accomplishe his desyre, and so they went on their enemyes. The Lorde Charles of Behayne his sonne, who wrote himselfe king of Behayne and bare the Armes, he came in good order to the battaile: But when he sawe the matter went awrye on their partie, he departed, I can not tell you which way. The king his father was so farre forwarde, that he strake a stroke with his sworde, ye and more then foure, and fought valiauntly.

The French king would faine haue come thether when he sawe their Banners, but there was a great hedge of Archers before him. The same day the French king had geuen a great blacke Courser to Sir John of Heynault, and he made the Lorde John of Fusselles to ryde on him, and to beare his Banner. The same horse tooke the Bridle in the teeth, and brought him thorough all the Currours of the Englishe men: and as he would haue returned againe, he fell into a great ditche and was sore hurt, and there had dyed if his Page had not beene.

This Battaile betweene Broye and Cressye was right cruell and sore foughten, and many a feate of armes there done that came not to my knowledge.

ledge. And when night came, diuerse knightes and Esquiers lost their maisters, and sometime or they knew, they came vpon the English men, who receyued them in such wise that they were slaine downe right, for there was no taking to mercie nor raunsome, for so the Englishe men were determined in the morning. At one tyme duryng this battaile, it chaunced certeine French men and Almaynes to geue such a charge and onset of the English hoste, that perforce they opened the Archers of the Princes battaile, and came & fought hand to hand with the men of armes. Then the second battaile of the English men came to succour the Princes battaile, the which was tyme: For they had as then much ado. And they that were with the Prince, sent a Messenger to the king, who was on a little windemill hill heard by, and sayde vnto him, Sir, the Erle of Warwike, the Erle of Camfort, and sir Reignold Cobham, and other such as are aboute the Prince your sonne, are nowe fiercelye fought withall, and are sore handeled: Wherefore they desyre that you and your battaile will come and ayde them. Then the king sayde, is my sonne dead or hurt, or felled to the ground? No Sir quoth the knight, but he is hardly matched, and therefore hath neede of your ayde. Well sayd the king returne againe to him and them that sent you hether, and bid them that they send no more to me for any aduenture that falleth, as long as my sonne is aliue: and say also to them that they suffer him this day to winne his spurres: For if God be pleased I will this iourney to be his, and the honour thereof, and to them that are about him.

Then the knight returned againe, and shewed the kinges wordes, the which greatly encouraged them, and then they repented that they did send to the king as they did.

Sir Godfrey of Harecourt, would gladly that the Erle of Harecourt his brother might haue bene saued, for he heard say by them that sawe his Banner, how that he was there in the fielde on the French partie: But syr Godfrey could not come to him betimes, for he was slaine before he coulde come at him, and so was also the Erle of Aumerle his Nephew. In another place the Erle of Alanson and the Erle of Flaundrys fought valiauntly, euery Lorde vnder his awne Banner, but finally they could not resist against the puyssaunce of the Englishmen, and so there they were also slaine and dyuers other knights and squires. Also the Erle Lewes of Bloys Nephewe vnto the French king, and the Duke of Lorayn fought vnder their Banners, but at the last they were closed in with Englishmen and Welshmen, and there were slaine for all their prowes. Also there was slaine the Erle of Auster, the Erle of S. Paule and many other. And in the euening the French king, who had as then left about him a. lx. persons one and other, whereof Sir John of Heynault was one, who had remounted once agayne, for his horse was slaine with an arow. Then he sayde to the king, Sir departe hence, for it is time, leese not your selfe wilfully, if ye haue losse at this time, ye shall recouer it agayne at another season. And so he tooke the kinges horse by the bridle, and led him away, in maner perforce. Then the king roade, vntill he came to the Castell of Broy, the gate was closed, because it was at that time darke. Then the king called the Captaine, who came to the walles & sayde: who is it that calleth there at this time of night: Then the king sayde, open your gate quickly, for thys is the fortune of

Fraunce. The Capitaine knewe then that it was the king, and opened the gate and let downe the bridge, and then the king entred in, and had with him but fiue Barones, Sir John of Heynault, Sir Charles of Momorency, the Lorde of Beauiewe, the Lorde Dabegny and the Lorde of Mountford. The king woulde not tarie there, but dranke and departed thence about Midnight and so roade to Ampence and there rested. And the Englishmen kept the fielde all this Saturday at night.

The victory of the Englishe men at the battaile of Cressie.

And assone as night was come, and the Englishmen perceauing that no mo Frenchmen approched, then they accompted among themselues that the victorie was theirs, for the Frenchmen were discomfited, slayne or runne away. Then they made great fyres and lighted vp Torches and Candels, for it was very darke. Then the king came downe from the little hill where as he had stande all the day long, and his Helmet neuer came of his head.

Then he went with all his battayle to his sonne the Prince, and embraced him in his armes and kissed him and sayde, good sonne, God geue you good perseueraunce, you are my good sonne, and you haue done very nobly, ye are worthie to keepe a realme. The Prince bowed himselfe to the earth honouring the king his father. This night they thanked God for their good aduenture, and did neither crake nor boast therof, but wholy gaue the prayse and thankes vnto almightie God the geuer of victorie.

The nexte daye in the morning, which was Sunday there was suche a Mist, that a man coulde not see the breadth of an Acre of lande from him. And then the king commaunded his Marchalles to go abroad, and to viewe whether any Frenchmen gathered agayne together in any place, and they had with them fiue hundred Speares and to thousande Archers. And the same morning out of Abbeuile and Saint Reignyer in Ponthew, the commons of Roane and of Beuioys issued out of their townes, not knowyng of the discomfiture the day before, and sodainely met with the Englishe Marchalles, wenyng to them they had bene Frenchmen.

And when the Englishmen sawe them, they set on them freshly: and there was a sore fight, but at the last the Frenchmen brake their araye and fled, and there were slaine in the wayes, and in the hedges and bushes mo then. vij. thousand. And if the day had bene clere, there had not escaped a mã.

And anone after, another companye of Frenchmen were met by the Englishmen. The Archbishop of Roane, and the great Priour of Fraunce, who also knewe nothing of the discomfiture the daye before, for they were enformed that the French king should haue fought the same Sonday, and they were going thetherwarde. But when they met with the Englishmen there was a great battayle, for they were a great number, but they coulde not endure against the Englishmen, for they were nigh all slayne, few escaped, the two Lordes were slayne. And this morning also the Englishmen met with diuers companies that had lost their way on the Saturday, and had lyen all night in the fieldes, and wist not where the king was, nor their Capitaines: and the Englishmen slue them all as many as they met. And it was shewed me (sayth Froyssart) that of the commons and men on foote of the Cities and good Townes of Fraunce, there were slayne foure times as many on the Sunday, as there were slain on the Saturday at the great battayle. And after these sundrie great and wonderfull victories, the Marchalles

A great slaughter.

shalles of the Englishmen with their men returned to the kinges battayle, and sayde vnto the king, Sir, we thinke surely that there is nowe no more apparence of your enimies.

And then the king commaunded Sir Reignold Cobham and syr Richard Stafford with three Herauldes, to serche the field and countrie for the number of them that were slaine, and they roade in the fieldes all that daye, and made a diligent vewe, and returned agayne about Supper time, and made report to the king and sayde, howe there were in the field dead. xj. great Princes. lxxx. Banners, twelue hundred knightes and mo then. xxx. thousand other. The Englishmen kept still their fielde all that night, and on the Monday in the morning the king prepared to departe. But before hys departure he caused proclamation in the Countrie to be made, and graunted a truce for three dayes to the entent they should come and bury the dead. And all the great Lordes he caused to be brought with him and caryed them to Mounterell, and there were buried, and his Marchalles went toward Hedyn, and brent Uambam and Seram, but they did nothing to the Castell, it was so strong and so well kept. They lodged that night on the riuer of Hedyn towardes Blangye. The next day, they roade towardes Boleyn, and came to the towne of Unysame: There the king and the Prince lodged and taried a daye to refreshe his men. And on the Wednesday, the king came before the strong towne of Calice.

A notable victory at the battayle of Cressy.

Uambam and Seram brent.

At the same time in the towne of Calice was a knight called Sir John Uien chiefe Captaine thereof, and with him also was Syr Andrewe Dandrehen, syr John de Sury, syr Bardon de Belborne, syr Godfrey de lament, syr Peyn de Uzmew, and diuers other knights and squiers.

When king Edwarde was come before Calice, he layde his siege thereto, the thirde day of September, and ordeyned Bastides betweene the towne and the hauen. And he caused Carpenters to make houses and lodgynges of great timber, and set the houses like streetes, and couered them with Reede and Broome: so that it was like a little towne, & there was euery thing to sell, and a Market place, and Market kept euery Tuesday, and euery Saturday, for flesshe and fishe, for Mercery ware, houses for cloth both linnen and woollen: Also there was bread, wine, and all other necessary thinges, which came out of England, and out of Flaundyrs, and there they might buy what they lust.

Calyce besieged.

The king would not assayle the towne of Calice, for he thought it but a lost labour, and therefore he spared his people and artillarie, and sayde he would famishe them within the towne with long siege, without the Frenche king came to rayse his siege perforce.

When the Capitaine of Calice sawe the maner and order of the Englishemen, then he constreyned all meane and poore people to issue out of the towne. And on a Wednesday there issued out of the towne, of men, women, and children, mo than. xvij. hundreth. And as they passed through the hoste, they were demaunded why they departed, and they aunswered and sayde, because they had nothing to liue vpon. Then the king of his mere pity and mercye suffered them to passe through his hoste without daunger, and gaue them meate and drinke to dyner, and vnto euery person two pence sterlyng in almose, for the which diuerse of them prayed for the kinges prosperitie.

The Scots rebell.

In this meane while that the king lay at the siege of Calice, Dauid king of Scotland by the styrzyng of the French king, made his sommons to his people to mete him at Saint Johns Towne, vpon the riuer of Taye in Scotland. Thether came Erles, Barons, and Prelates of Scotland, and there agreed that in all haste possible they should enter into England, and to ayde them in that iourney, John of the Illes, who ruled the wilde Scottes should go with them. The same John came with a three thousand of the most outrageous people in the whole worlde. When all the Scottes were assembled, they were one and other fiftie thousand fightyng men.

A great army of the Scots.

The Scots could not make their assembly so secret, but that the Quene had knowledge thereof, beyng at that tyme at Yorke. Then she sent all about for men, and then with as much speede as might be, the people came to the Queene from all places. But the Scottes were fully perswaded that there were no men left in England, for they were eyther with the king at the siege of Calice, or else in Gascoyne and Bretayne defendyng of the French king.

In this meane time the king of Scottes departed from Saint Johns towne, and went to Domefremlyne the first day, and the next day they passed a little arme of the Sea, and so came to Estreuelyne, & then to Edenbourgh. And there they numbred their people, and they were a three thousand men of armes, knightes and Esquiers, and a. xxx. thousand of other vpon small Hacquenayes, beside foote men. Then they came to Rousbourgh the first fortresse Englishe on that part, whereof Sir William Mountagew was Capitaine. The Scottes passed by without offeryng of any assault, and so went forth brennyng and destroiyng the Countrie of Northumberland, and their Currours ran to Yorke, and brent as much as was without the walles, and returned againe vnto their host, which then was within a myle of newe Castell vpon Tyne.

The Queene of England who desyred to defend her Countrie, came to newe Castell vpon Tine, and there taried for her men, who came dayly from all the partes of the Realme.

The Quene of England gathered a great power agaynst the Scottes, and gaue them battaile.

When the Scottes knewe that the Englishmen were assembled at new Castell, they drewe thetherward, and their Currours came runnyng before the towne: and at their returnyng they brent certeine small Hamlets thereabountes, so that the smoke therof came into the towne of new Castell. Some of the Englishe men would haue issued out, to haue fought with them that made the fyre: But the Capitaynes would not suffer them to go out.

The next day, the King of Scottes with. xl. thousand men one and other came and lodged within three English myles of the towne of newe Castell, in the land of the Lorde Neuyll: and the king sent to them within the towne, that if they would issue out into the fielde, he would fight with them gladly, and they had answere, that they would come out & fight with him in the field. Then the Lordes and Prelates of England sayde vnto the Queene, we are content to aduenture our lyues with the right and heritage of the king of England our Maister. And then they all issued out of the Towne, and were in number. xij. hundreth men of armes, three thousande Archers, and. vij. thousand of other with the Welchemen.

Then the Scottes came and lodged agaynst them nere together: and euery man was set in order of battaile. And then the Queene came among her

her men, and her battayles were thus ordered.

The order of the Queenes battailes.

There was ordeyned foure battayles, one to ayde another. The first was in the gouernaunce of the Bishop of Durham, and the Lorde Percy: The seconde, the Archebishop of Yorke, and the Lorde Neuyll: The thirde, the Bishop of Lincolne, & the Lord Mowebray: The fourth, the Lorde Edward Bailioll Capitaine of Barwike, and the Archebishop of Cauntorbury, and the Lord Rosse, euery battaile had like number after their quantity: and the Quene went from battaile to battaile, prayeng them to do their deuoyre for the defence of the honour of their Lord and maister the king of England, and in the name of God euery man to be of good heart and courage, promisyng them that to her power, she would remember them as well and better, as though the king her Lorde were there personally. And so the Queene departed from them, recommendyng them to God.

And anone after, the battayles of the Scottes began to set forward: and in likewise, so did the Englishmen. Then the Archers beganne to shote on both parties: howbeit the shot of the Scottes endured but a short space: But the shot of the Englishmen was long and fierce. So that when the battayles approched, the battayle was cruell and daungerous. They began at nyne of the clock in the morning, fought vntill it was noone. The Scottes had great Axes heard and sharpe, and gaue with them many sore and cruell strokes: howbeit in the ende the Englishmen obteyned the victorie of the fielde, but they lost many of their men.

A cruell battaile.

There were slaine of the Scots, the Erle of Sys, the Erle of Ostre, the Erle of Patrys, the Erle of Surlant, the Erle of Dastre dare, the Erle Mare, the Erle John Dowglas and the Lorde Alexander Ramsey, who bare the kings Banner, and diuers other knightes and squiers. And there the Scottishe king was taken, who had fought valiauntly and was sore hurt: A squire of Northumberland tooke him called John Copland. And allone as he had taken the king, he went with him out of the field with an eyght of his seruaunts with him, and roade all that daye vntill he was. xv. leagues from the place of the battayle, and at night he came to a Castell called Orgulus. And then he sayd that he would not deliuer the king of Scots to no man nor woman lyuyng, but onely to the king of England his Lorde. The same day there was also taken in the fielde the Erle Morey, the Erle of Marche, the Lord William Dowglas, the Lorde Robert Uesy, the Byshop of Dadudame, the Byshop of Saint Andrewes & diuers other knights and Barones. And there were slaine of one and other. xv. thousand, and the other saued them selues as well as they might. This battaile was foughten besides New Castell vpon Tyne in the yere of our Lorde. 1346.

The Scottishe king taken by a Squire of Northumberlande called Iohn Copland.

Prisoners taken.

1346
21

Now when the Quene of Englande being at New Castell vnderstood of the victorie: she then tooke her horse and roade to the place where the battayle had bene. And there it was shewed her how the king of Scottes was taken by a squire called John Copland, and he had caryed him awaye, no man knew whether. Then the Quene wrote to the squire, commaunding him to bring his prisoner the king of Scottes vnto her, and that he had not well done to depart with him without leaue. All that day the Englishmen taried in that place, and the Queene with them. And the next day they returned to New Castell.

The answere of John Copland.

When the Quenes letter was brought to John Copland, he answered and sayde: That as for the king of Scottes his prisoner, he would not delyuer him to no man nor woman lyuing but onely to the king of England his souereigne Lorde. As for the king of Scottes he sayde should be safely kept, and he would geue accompt for him. Then the Queene sent letters to the king to Calice, wherby the king was informed of the state of his realme. Then the king sent incontinent to John Copland, commaunding him forthwith to come ouer the sea to him to Calice. Then the sayde John did put his sayde prisoner in a strong Castell in safe keeping, and so rode thorow England vntill he came to Douer, and there toke the sea & arriued before Calice.

When the king of England sawe the squire, he tooke him by the hande and sayde, welcome my squire, which by your valiauntnesse haue taken mine aduersarie the king of Scottes. The squire kneeled downe and sayde: syr, if God by his grace haue suffered me to take the king of Scottes by true conquest of armes, I thinke no man ought to haue any enuie thereat: For as well God maye sende by his grace suche a fortune to a poore Squire, as to a great Lorde. And Sir, I require your grace not to be miscontent with me, though I did not delyuer the king of Scottes to the Queene at her commaundement. For syr I holde of you as mine othe is to you, and not of her, but in all good maner.

The king sayde to him, John, the good seruice that ye haue done and your valiauntnes is so much worth, that it must counteruayle your trespace, and to be taken for excuse, and blame haue they that beare you any euill will. Therefore ye shall returne againe home to your house, and then my will and pleasure is, that ye delyuer your prisoner the king of Scottes to the Queene my wyfe. And in rewarde, I assigne you here to your house, where as ye thinke best your selfe fiue hundreth pound starling of yerely rent to you and to your heyres for euer: and here I make you squire for my body.

Then the thirde daye he departed into Englande, and when he came home to his owne house, he assembled together his friendes and kinsmen, and so they tooke the king of Scottes and roade with him to the Citie of Yorke, and there from the king of England he presented to the Queene the king of Scottes, and excused himselfe so discretely as the Queene and the counsayle were content.

Then the Quene made good prouision for the Citie of Yorke, the Castell of Rokesbourgh, the Citie of Dureham, the towne of New Castell vpon Tyne, and in all other garrisons on the marches of Scotlande: And left in those Marches the Lorde Percy and the Lorde Neuyll as Gouernoures there, and then the Quene departed from Yorke to London.

Then she placed the king of Scottes in the strong tower of London, and the Erle Moret and all the other prisoners with him, and set good keeping ouer them. Then she went to Douer and there tooke the Sea, and had so good winde, that within a short space she arriued before Calice, three dayes before the feast of all Saintes: For whose comming the king made a great feast and dinner to all the Lordes and Ladies that were there. The Quene brought many Ladies and Damoselles with her, as well to accompany her, as also to see their husbandes, fathers, brethren and other friendes that laye at that siege.

The

The French king assembleth his lordes at Amiens, & counsayleth which way to raise the siege at Calice.

The Frenche king vnderstanding well that his men in Calyce were charged sore, sent forth his commaundement throughout Fraunce, that euery man should be with him at the towne of Amyens at Whitsontyde next following, and there was none that durst say naye. And when Whytsontyde came, the French king kept there a great feast, and thether came vnto him the Duke of Odes and of Burgoyn, and the Duke of Normandy his eldest sonne, and the Duke of Orleance his youngest sonne, the Duke of Burbon, the Erle of Foyts, the Lorde Lewes of Sauoy, Sir John of Heynault, the Erle of Armanack, the Erle of Forestes, the Erle of Valentenoys, and dyuers other Erles, Barons, Lordes, and knightes.

When they were all at Amiens, they counsayled together, howe they might best enter towarde Calice, to rayse the siege. And some counsayled the French king to make meanes to the Fleminges to haue the passages of Flaundyrs open, and then might he come in by Grauelyng, and not only raise the siege, but also on that syde he might easely geue them battaile. And soone after the Frenche king sent great Ambassadors into Flaundyrs, to treate in the aforesayde matter. But the king of England had made there suche fast friendship, that they would not agree to that request: And then the Frenche king sayde that he would enter on the syde towarde Burgoyn.

In this meane time the king of England saw that he could not get Calice, but by famine, and therefore he made a strong Castell, and a highe, to close vp the passage by the sea: And this Castell was set betwene the towne and the sea, & was well fortefied with Springaldes, Bombardes, Bowes, and other Artillery. And in this Castell were .ix. men of armes, and two hundreth Archers, and they kept the Hauen in suche wise, that nothing coulde come in nor out, but by their licence.

And in this time also the king of Englande had so laboured and solicited the Counsaile of Flaundyrs, that they came out of Flaundyrs with an hundreth thousand men, and went and layd siege to the towne of Ayse, and brent the Countrie round about, as Mehyuell la Gorge, Estelles Le Uentre, and a Marche called la Loe, and to the Gates of Turwyn, and Saint Omere. Then the French king went to the towne of Aras, & sent many men of warre to the Garrison of Arthoys, and specially he sent his Constable, sir Charles of Spaine to S. Omers: For the Erle of Ewe, and of Guynes, who was Constable of Fraunce, was then prisoner in England, as before it is shewed.

The Fleminges did the French men great trouble before they departed. And when the Fleminges were returned, then the French king and his companie departed from Arras, and went to Hedyn. His host with their cariages helde well in length three Leagues of that Countrie, and there he taried one day, and the next day he went to Blangy: And there he rested to take aduice what waye to go forth: Then he was counsayled to go through the Country called la Belme: and that way he toke, and with him two hundreth thousand one and other, and so passed by the County of Franquebergh, and so came streight to the hill of Sangates, betwene Calice and Wyssant. They came thether in goodly order, theyr Banners displayed, that it was greate beutie to beholde theyr puyssant array. They of Calice, when they saw them lodge, it seemed to them to be a newe siege.

A hoge armie of french men.

When the king of Englande knewe and sawe the Frenche king come with

with such a power to rayse the siege. Then he had made so good prouision for the stoppage of the passages, that he was sure that the French king coulde not with his armie come nere to Calice, except it were in two places, the one was by the downes by the sea syde, or else aboue by the high way: and there were many ditches, rockes, and marishes, and but one way to passe ouer a Bridge called Newland Bridge. And all alongest the Downes, the king of England caused all his nauye to lie, and euery ship wel furnished with Bombardes, Crosbowes, Archers, Springalles, and other artillary, whereby the French hoste might not passe that way.

And the king caused the Erle of Darby to go and keepe Newelande Bridge with a great number of men of armes, & Archers, so that the French men coulde passe no way, without they would haue gone through the Marshes, the which was a thing impossible.

On the other syde towarde Calice, there was a high Tower kept with xxx. Archers, and they kept the passage of the Downes from the Frenche men, the which was well fortefied with great and double Ditches.

When the French men were thus lodged on the hill of Sangate: The Commons of Tourney who were. xb. C. came to the Tower last aboue named, and they within shot at them: But they passed the ditches, and came to the foote of the wall with Pikes and Hookes, and there was a sore assault, and many of them of Tourney hurt: But at the last they wanne the Tower, and slue all that were therein, and the Tower beaten downe.

The French king sent his Marshalles to aduyse what way hee might approche to fight with the Englishe men: and so they went forth, and when they had well aduised the passages and streytes, they returned to the king and sayde, that by no meanes he could not come at the Englishe men without he would leese his people. So the matter rested all that day and night. The nert day the French king sent to the king of England, the Lorde Godfrey of Charney, the Lorde Eustace of Rybamount, Guy of Nele, and the Lorde of Beauiewe: and as they roade that strong way, they sawe well that it was harde to passe that way. They praysed much the order that the Erle of Darby kept at Newland bridge, by the which way they passed. Then they road forth vntill they came to the king of England, who was well accompanied with Noble men about him.

Then they foure alighted, and came to the king, and did their reuerence vnto him: Then the Lorde Eustace of Rybamount sayde, Sir, the king my Maister sendeth you worde by vs, that he is come to the hill of Sangate to do battaile with you, but he can finde no way to come at you: And therefore sir he would that ye should apoynt certeyne of your counsaile, and he will do likewise of his, and they betwene them to deuise a place for the Battaile.

The king of Englande was readie to aunswere and sayde, Sirs, I haue well vnderstand that ye desire me on the behalfe of mine aduersary, who kepeth wrongfully from me mine heritage: Wherefore I am sory. Say vnto him from me if ye list, that I am here, and so haue bene nere a whole yere: and all this he knewe right well: he might haue come hether sooner if he had would, but he hath suffered me to abide here so long, the which hath beene greatly to my costes and charges. And I now could do so much if I would, soone to be Lorde of Calice. And therefore I am not determined to folowe your

your maisters aduice, nor to depart from that which I am at a poynt to win. Wherefore if he nor his men can passe this way, let them seeke some other passage if they thinke to come hether, for I entende not to styre my siege to come to them.

Then these Lordes departed, and were conueyed vntill they were past Newelande Bridge: And then they shewed the Frenche king, the king of Englandes aunswere.

And in this tyme, while the French king studyed howe to fight with the king of England, there came into his host two Cardinalles from Pope Clement in message, who tooke great paine to ryde by and downe betwene the se two hostes, and they laboured and endeuoured themselues so much, that they obteyned a graunt for an entreatie of an accorde and peace, and a respite betwene the two kings, beyng the one at the siege, & the other in the field onely. And so there were foure Lordes appoynted on eyther party to counsayle together for a peace. For the French king, there was the Duke of Burgoyn, and the Duke of Burbon, Sir Lewes of Sauoy, and Sir John of Heynault. And for the English partie, the Erle of Darby, the Erle of Northampton, the Lorde Reignald Cobham, and the Lord Gualtier of Manny, and the two Cardinals were as indifferent meanes betwene both parties.

Two Cardinalles laboured betwene ỹ two kinges for peace.

These Lordes met three dayes, and many deuises put forth, but none tooke effect: And in the meane season the king of Englande alwayes fortefied his hoste and fielde and made diches on the downes, that the Frenche men should not come sodainely vpon him. These three dayes passed without any agreement, and then the two Cardinalles returned to Saint Omers. And when the French king sawe that he could doe nothing, the next daye he dislodged betymes and tooke hys waye to Ampens and gaue euerye manne leaue to departe.

The French king departeth with all his great and houge armie.

When they within Calyce sawe their king departe, they made great sorowe. Some of the Englishmen folowed the tayle of the French armie, and wanne Sommers, Cartes and cariages, horse, wine and other things, and tooke dyuers prisoners and brought them to Calyce.

After the departure of the french king from Sandgate, then they with in the towne perceauing they were vtterly without relefe and succor, cryed vpon their Capitaine syr John of Vyen that he would entreate the king of Englande for mercie. And at the last the Capitaine graunted so to doe, and went to the walles, and made a signe to speake with some of the hoste: whereof knowledge was immediatly brought to the king. And when the king heard thereof, he sent thether syr Gualtier of Manny and syr Basset. Then syr John of Vyen sayde vnto them: Sirs, ye be right valiant knights in deedes of armes, and you knowe well how that the king my master hath sent me and other vnto this towne, and commaunded vs to keepe it to his behoofe, in such wise as we take no blame nor yet be to him any dammage, and we haue done all that lyeth in our power to doe: And now our succours hath fayled vs, and we be so sore streyned, that we haue not to lyue withall, but that we must all die or perish by famine: except the noble & gentle king of yours will take vs to mercy, the which thing to doe we praye you to be a meane of entreatie for vs, that it would please him to take pitie of vs, and to let vs go and departe as we be, and let him take the towne and the Castell and

The French men within Calice praye king Edwardes mercy and licence to depart the towne.

and all the goodes that be therein, the which is a great abundaunce.

Then syr Gaultier of Manny sayde, Sir we knowe partly the kinges minde, for he hath shewed it vnto vs. And therefore know you for a truth, it is not his minde that you nor they that are within the towne should departe so: For it is his will that ye all shall yeelde your selues simply to hys will and pleasure, to raunsome or put to death whom & as he please. Then sayd the Capitaine, this is to heard a matter to vs, we are in thys towne a small sorte of knightes and squiers, who haue as truely serued the king our master, as you haue serued yours, and in lyke maner we haue endured great veration and paine, and we will endure as much paine as euer knights did rather then to consent that the worst lad in the towne that should susteyne any more euill then the greatest or best of vs all, therfore syr we pray you of your humanitie and gentlenesse that ye will go and speake with the king of England and desire him to haue pittie vpon vs, for we trust so much in his gracious goodnesse that his minde will chaunge, and that he will take pittie and compassion vpon vs.

Sir Gualtier of Manny and syr Basset returned to the king, and declared to him all that had bene sayde. The king being in a great furie, sayde that he would none otherwise but that they should yelde themselues vp simply to his will and pleasure. And then syr Gualtyer sayde, syr sauyng your displeasure, in this ye may be in the wrong: For ye shall geue by this an euill ensample, if ye sende any of vs your seruauntes into any fortresse, we will not be very glad to go, if ye put any of the towne to death after they be yeelded, for in lyke case they will deale with vs, if the case fall lyke, the which sayeng diuers other Lords that were there susteyned and mainteyned. Then the King sayde: Sirs, I will not be alone against you all, therefore Syr Gualtier of Manny, ye shall go agayne to the Capitaine and saye, that all the grace that ye nowe can finde at oure handes is, that they let. vj. of the chiefe Burgesses of the Towne come out barehedded, barefooted and barelegged, and in their shertes with halters about their neckes, with the keyes of the Castell and towne in their handes: and let them. vj. yelde themselues simply to my will, and the residew I will take to mercy.

How king Edward required fiue Burgesses of this towne to be deliuered vnto his mercy.

Then Sir Gualtier returned and found Sir John of Vyen still on the wall, abyding for an answere: Then sir Gualtier shewed him all the grace that he could get of the king: well sayde syr John, I require you to tarie here a certaine space till I go into the towne, and shewe this vnto the commons who sent me hether.

Then syr John went into the market place, and there tolled the common Bell, and then incontinent men and women assembled there.

Then the Capitaine made report of all that he had done, and sayde, Sirs, it will be none otherwise, and therefore nowe take aduise and make a short answere. Then all the people beganne to weepe and to make suche sorow and lamentation that there was not so heard a hart, if they had seene them but would haue had pittie vpon them. The Captaine himselfe wept also and that pittifully. At the last the most riche Burgesse of all the towne called Eustace of Saint Peters, rose vp and sayd openly: Sirs, both great and small, a most pittifull and horrible thing were it, to suffer such a number of people to dye as are in this Towne, eyther by famine or otherwise, so long

The maner howe the fiue Burgesses were appointed and sent to king Edward.

long as there is any meane to saue them: I thinke he or they shoulde haue great merite of our Lorde God that would delyuer them from such mischiefe as for my parte I haue so good a trust in our Lorde God, that if I dye in the quarell to saue the residew, that God wyll pardon mee, wherefore to saue them I will be the first to put my lyfe in ieopardie. When he had thus sayde, euery man worshipped him, and diuers kneeled downe at his feete, weeping and wringing their hands most greuously. Then another honest Burgesse stood out and sayde, I will keepe company with my Gossyp Eustace, his name was John Dayze, then came Jaques of Wyssaunt who was riche both in goodes and heritage, he sayde also that he would keepe companye with his two Cosyns, and so sayde Peter of Wyssaunt his brother, and after came two other and sayde they would doe the same, and then they went and appareled them as the king desyred. Then the Captaine went with them to the gate, there was great mone and lamentation made at their departyng both of men, women and children. Then the gate was opened, and the Captaine issued out with the. vj. Burgesses, and closed the gate agayne: So that they were betweene the gate and the barryers. Then he sayde to syr Gualtier of Manny: Sir, I delyuer here to you as Captaine of Calice, by the whole consent of the people of the towne these. vj. Burgesses, & I sweare to you truely that they be and were to day the most notable, riche and worthyest Burgesses of all the towne of Calice: wherefore, gentle knight I require you to pray the King to haue mercy vpon them that they die not. Then sayde syr Gualtier, I cannot tell, neyther can I say what the king will doe, but I will doe for them the best I can. Then the Barryers were opened and the. vj. Burgesses went towardes the king, and the Capitayne entered agayne into the Towne.

When Sir Gualtier presented those Burgesses vnto the king, they kneled downe and helde vp their handes, and sayde: Gentle king, beholde here vs sixe who were Burgesses of Calice, and great merchauntes, we haue brought to you the keyes of the towne and Castell of Calice, and we submit our selues wholy vnto your will and pleasure, onely for the safetie of the rest of the people of Calice, who haue suffered great paine and miserie: Sir we beseech your grace to haue mercie and pitie vpon vs through your high noblenesse. Then all the Erles and Barons, and other that were there, wept for pitie. The king looked felly and cruelly vpon them, for greatly he hated the people of Calice, because of the great dammages and displeasures that they had done him on the Sea before. Then the king commaunded their heades to be stryken off: Then euery man cryed and besought the king to haue mercie, but he would here no man in that behalfe. Then Sir Gualter of Manny said, A noble king, for Gods sake refraine your courage, ye haue the name of soueregne nobleneſſe, therefore nowe do not a thing that should blemiche your renowne, neither geue occasion for any to speake vilanie of you: for euery man will say it is a great tyranny to put to death suche honest personnes, who of themselues haue willingly put themselues into the handes of your grace, for the safetie of their companie. Then the king turned from him, and commaunded him to send for the Hangman, and sayd: They of Calice haue caused a great number of my men to be slaine, and therefore these also shall die likewise. Then the Queene beyng great with childe, kneled downe, and

How the sixe Burgesses are presented to the king.

The submission of the sixe Burgesses vnto the king.

The petition of the Queene for the sixe Burgesses vnto the king

fore

sore weppng sayd. O gracious king, sithe I passed the sea in great perill, I haue desired nothyng of you: Therefore now I humbly require you in the honour of the virgin Mary, and for the loue of me, that ye will take mercy of these fire Burgesses. The king beheld the Queene and stood still in a study a little while, and then sayde, A Dame, I would ye had bene as now in some other place, for I am not able to denie your request: Wherfore I geue them to you, to do your pleasure with them. Then the Queene caused them to be caryed to her Chamber, and made the halters to be taken from their neckes, and caused them to be new apparayled, and gaue them their dinner at their leysure. And then she gaue eche of them fire Nobles in his purse, and made them to be brought out of the hoste in safegard, and set at their libertie.

A Godly and charitable Quene.

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Thus was Calice yelded and geuen vp to the king in the latter ende of September, so that he had laide siege therevnto one whole yere and more. And then the king called vnto him Sir Gualtier of Manny, and his two Marshalles, the Erle of Warwike, and the Erle of Staffordе, and sayde to them, Sirs take ye here the keyes of the Castell, and towne of Calice. Go and take possession thereof, and put in prison all the knightes that be there: And all other Souldiours that came simplie to winne their liuyng, cause them to auoyde the towne. And in like maner auoyde the towne of all other men, women, and children, for I will repeople the towne againe with mere Englishe men.

Certaine Lordes are sent to take possession of Calice.

So these three Lordes with an hundreth with them, went and tooke possession of Calice, and first did put in prison, Sir John de Vien, sir John of Surrey, Sir John of Belborne and other: Then they caused all the souldiours to bring all their harnesse into a place appointed, and layde it all on an heape in the hall of Calice. Then they caused all maner of people to voide, and kept there no mo persons but one priest, and two other auncient personages, such as knewe the customes, lawes and ordinaunces of the towne, and to signe out the heritages howe they were deuided. Then they prepared the Castell to lodge the king and Queene in, and prepared other houses for the kinges companie.

The king entereth into Calice triumphantly.

Then the king mounted on his horsse, and entered into the towne, with Trumpettes, Drommes, and other Instrumentes of Musicke, and there the king laye vntill the Queene was brought in bed and deliuered of a faire Ladye named Margaret. The king gaue to Sir Gualtier of Manny diuerse fayre houses within the towne, and to the Lorde of Staffordе, to the Lord of Bethene, to sir Bartholomew of Bomes, & to diuerse other Lordes and Knightes, to repeople the towne againe. The kinges minde was when he came into England, to sende out of London. xxvj. good Citezens to Calice to dwell there, and by that meanes to people the towne with pure Englishe men, the which the king afterward performed.

Then the newe towne and Bastide that was made without the towne was pulled downe, and the Castell that stood on the Hauen, was likewyse pulled downe, and the great timber and stones brought into the towne. Then the king ordeyned men to kepe the Gates, walles and Barriers, and amended all thinges within the towne. And sir John de Vien, and his companie were sent into England, and were halfe a yere at London before they were put to raunsome.

A pitifull sight was it when the Burgesses and other men of the towne of Calice, and women, and children, were put out of the Towne, and faine to forsake houses, heritages and goodes, and to take nothing with them: Neyther had they any restitution of the French king, for whose sake they lost all. The most part of that people went to Saint Omers.

At this tyme the Cardinall called Guy de Bologne as a Legate from Clement the first, came vnto the French king his Cosyn in the Citie of Amiens. And he applyed the matter so, betweene ỹ king of England & the French king, that a truce was concluded and taken to endure for two yeres. To thys truce all parties were agreed: But Britaine was clerely excepted, for the two Ladyes made still warre one against another.

A truce concluded betweene the king of England and the French king for two yeres.

Then the king of Englande, and the Queene returned into England: And the king made capitaine of Calice, Sir Amery of Pauy a Lombard borne, who the king had greatly aduaunced. Then the king sent from London. xxvj. Citezens to Calice, who were riche and sage, and their wyues, and children, and dayly the number encreased: For the king graunted there such liberties and franchesses, that men were glad to go and dwell there.

Sir Amery a Lõbard made Capitaine of Calice.

The same time was brought to London Sir Charles de Bloys, who called himselfe Duke of Britaine, who was taken in Britaine by the kinges people, duryng the tyme of the siege of Calice, and was nowe committed into Curtoyse prison in the Tower of London, with the king of Scottes, and the Erle Mozette: But he had not bene there long, but at the request of the Queene of England, Sir Charles, who was her Cosyn Germaine was receyued on his fayth and truth, and road round about London at his pleasure: But he might not lye past one night out of London, without it were in the Court where the king and Queene lay: Also the same tyme there was prisoner in England the Erle of Ewe, and Guynes, which was Constable of Fraunce, a right gentle knight, and his behauiour was suche, that he was welcome whereseoeuer he came, both with the king, Queene, Lordes, Ladyes, and Damoselles.

Sir Charles de Bloys Duke of Britayn.

At this time in the towne of Saint Omers was the Lorde Geoffrey of Charney Capitaine, and he kept the Frontiers there, and vsed and ordered euery thing concerning the warre as king. This Lord Geoffrey callyng to his minde, which way he might compasse or deuise how he might practise to get agayne the Towne of Calice, and considered with himselfe that Lombardes are couetous, he thought he would practise with syr Amery the Captaine of Calice, and he knewe he might the better do it without all suspition because at that time they might by reason of the truce the one frankly resorte vnto the other. Then syr Geoffrey espyeng a conuenient time, fell secretly in communication with syr Amery for the towne of Calice. And in the ende syr Amery promised for the some of twentie thousand crownes to delyuer Sir Geoffrey the towne of Calice.

A practice of the French men for the recouering agayne of Calice.

This compact was not so secretly made, but it came to the knowledge and vnderstanding of the king of Englande: wherefore the king sent for Sir Amerie de Pauie to come vnto him into England to speake with hym, and so he came, and when the king sawe hym, he toke him a parte and sayd: Thou knowest well that I haue geuen thee in keeping the thing that in this worlde I loue best, next my wyfe and children, that is to saye, the Towne

Sir Amery is sent for to come to king Edward.

and Caſtell of Calyce, and thou haſt ſolde it to the Frenchmen, and therfore thou haſt well deſerued to die. Then the Lombard kneeled downe (and ſayd) A noble king, I crye you mercy, it is true that ye haue ſayde: But ſyr, the bargayne maye well be broken, for as yet I haue receyued neuer a penny. The king loued well the Lombard and ſayde, Amery, I will that thou go forward on thy bargayn and the day and time that thou appointeſt to deliuer the towne let me haue true knowledge therof before: And on this condition I will forgiue thee thy treſpaſſe. And ſo the Lombard returned agayne to Calice and kept his matter ſecret.

Sir Geoffrey of Charney aſſured himſelfe to haue receiued Calice, and therfore prouided a certeine number to ſtrengthen him.

Then ſyr Geoffrey of Charney thought well to haue Calice, and aſſembled a certain number ſecretly, about a fiue hundred ſpeares, and there were but a fewe that knewe what he purpoſed: And it was to be thought that he neuer made the French king a counſayle thereof, for if he had, it was not lykely that he would haue conſented therevnto for breaking of the truce.

This Lumbard had appointed to haue delyuered the towne and Caſtell of Calyce the laſt day of December at night, and he ſent worde thereof by a brother of his vnto the king of Englande.

King Edward tooke paſſage to Calice to preuent the betraying therof.

When the king knewe the certaine day appointed, he departed out of Englande with three hundred men of armes, and tooke ſhipping at Douer, and in the euening arryued at Calice, ſo ſecretly that no man knewe thereof, and went and layde his men in buſhmentes in the Chambers and Towres within the Caſtell.

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Sir Gualter Manny.

Then the king ſayde to ſyr Gualtier Manny, I will that ye be chiefe of this enterpriſe, for I and my ſonne the Prince wil fight vnder your banner.

The Lorde Geoffrey Charney, the laſt daye of December at night departed with all his company from Arras, and came nere to Calice about the houre of midnight, and there taried awhile abyding for his company, and in the meane time he ſent two ſquires to the poſterne gate of the Caſtell of Calice, and there they founde Sir Amery ready. Then they demaunded of him if it were time that the Lorde Geoffrey ſhould come, and the Lombard ſayde yea. Then they returned to their maſter and ſhewed him as the Lombard had ſayde: Then he made his men to paſſe Newland Bridge in good order of battayle. Then he ſent. xij. knightes with an hundreth men of armes to go and take poſſeſſion of the Caſtell of Calice: for he thought if he might haue the Caſtell, he ſhould ſoone get the Towne. And he delyuered to the Lorde Edward of Rency twentie thouſand Crownes to pay the Lombard. And ſyr Geoffrey houed ſtill in the fieldes priuely with his Banner before him. His intent was to enter into the towne by the gate, or elſe not, and the Lombard had let downe the bridge of the poſterne, and ſuffred the hundred men of armes to paſſe peaceably: and ſyr Edward at the Poſterne deliuered twentie thouſand Crownes in a bagge to the Lombard, who ſayde, I truſt here be all, for I haue no leaſure now to tell them, and it will be day anone. Then he caſt the bagge with the Crownes into a Cofer, and ſayde to the Frenchmen: come on Sirs, ye ſhal enter into the Dungeon, for then ſhall ye be ſure to be Lordes of the Caſtell, and they went thether, and he drewe apart the barre, and the gate opened.

The Frenchmen conueyed into a Dongeon.

Within this Caſtell was the king of Englande with two hundreth ſpeares, who iſſued out with their ſwordes and axes in their handes, cryeng Manny,

Manny, Manny, to the reſkewe, what: weneth the Frenchmen with ſo few men to wynne the Caſtell of Calice? Then the Frenchmen ſeyng well that defence coulde not auayle them: Then they yeelded themſelues priſoners, and ſo there were but a fewe hurte, and the reſt were cloſed vp in the ſame Towre in priſon.

And the Engliſh men iſſued out of the Caſtell into the towne, and mounted on their horſes, for they had all the French priſoners horſes. Then the Archers roade to Boleyn gate where ſyr Geoffrey was with his Banner before him of Goules, three ſhotcheons of Siluer. He had a great deſyre to be the firſt that ſhould enter into the towne: he ſayde to the knightes that were about him: without this Lombard open the gate ſhortely, we are lyke to dye here for colde. In the name of God ſayde Sir Pepp dewere, Lombards are malicious people and ſubtile, he is now looking on your crownes, whether all be good or not, and to recken if he haue his whole ſome or no.

Therewith the king of Englande and the Prince his ſonne was readie at the gate vnder the Banner of Sir Gualtier of Manny, with dyuers other Banners, as the Erle of Stafford, the Erle of Suffolke, the Lorde Iohn Mountagew, brother to the Erle of Salſburie, the Lorde Beauchampe, the Lorde Barkeley, and the Lord delaware: All theſe were Lords and had Banners, there were no mo in that iourney.

Then the great gate was ſet open, and all they iſſued out: when the Frenchmen ſawe them iſſue, and heard them crye Manny to the reſkewe, they knewe well they were betrayed. Then Sir Geoffray ſayde to his company, Sirs if we flie we are cleane loſt: yet were we better to fight with a good courage, in hope the iourney ſhall be oures.

The Engliſhe men heard theſe wordes and ſayde, by ſaint George ye ſay truely, ſhame haue he that flieth. The Frenchmen alighted on foote, and put their horſes from them, and ordered themſelues in good aray of battaile.

When the king ſawe that, he ſtood ſtill (and ſayde) let vs put our ſelues in order to fight, for our enimies will abyde vs. The king ſent parte of hys company to Newlande Bridge, for he heard ſaye, that there were a great number of Frenchmen. Then thether went a. vj. Banners, and three hundred Archers, and there they founde the Lorde Monau of Frenes, and the Lorde of Creques keeping the Bridge. And betwene the Bridge and Calice there were manye Croſbowes of Saint Omers and Ayze: So there was a ſore fraye, and there were ſlaine and drowned mo then. vj. hundreth Frenchmen, for they were ſone diſcomfited and chaced into the water. This was early in the morning, and incontinent it was day. The French men kept their ground awhile, and manye feates of armes were there done on both parties: But the Engliſhmen euer encreaſed by comming out of Calyce, and the Frenchmen diſcreaſed. Then the Frenchmen ſawe well that they could not long kepe the Bridge, wherfore they that had their horſes by them mounted vpon them, and ſhewed their horſe heeles, and the Engliſhmen followed them in chace. There was many a man ouerthrowne, and many were taken of their owne courage, which might haue ſcaped if they had liſt.

When it was fayre day, that euery man might know other: Then ſome of the French knightes and Eſquiers aſſembled together againe, and turned and fought manfully with the Engliſhe men: So that there were ſome

of the Frenchmen that tooke good prisoners, whereby they had both honour and profite.

How valyauntly the king of England quit him selfe against ꝑ French men.

Nowe let vs speake of the king of England, who was there vnknowen to his enemies, vnder the Banner of Sir Gualter of Manny, and was on foote among his men to seeke his enemyes, who stood close together wyth their speares a fiue foote long. At the first meetyng, there was a sore rencountrie: and the king chaunced to light vpon the Lorde Eustace of Rybamount, who was a strong and valiaunt knight, and there was a long fight betwene the king and him, that it was ioy to behold them, but at the last they were put asunder, for a great company of both partes came the same waye, and fought there fiercely together.

The Frenche men did there right valiauntly: But specially the Lorde Eustace of Rybamount, who strake the king the same day two tymes on his knees: But finally the king himselfe tooke him prisoner: and so he yelded his sworde to the king, and sayd, Sir knight I yeelde me vnto you as your prisoner, he knew not at that time that it was the king. And so this iourney was for the king of England: and all that were there with Sir Geoffrey, were eyther slaine or taken, for very fewe escaped. There was slaine Sir Henry of Boys, and Sir Peppn de Lawarre, and Sir Geoffrey taken. Thus this iourney was achieued beside Calice, the yere of our Lorde. 1348. the last day of the moneth of December, and in the beginnyng of the. xxiij. yere of the reigne of king Edward.

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When this battaile was done, the king returned againe to the Castell of Calice, and caused all the prisoners to be brought thether. Then the frenche men knew well that the king of England had bene there personally himselfe, vnder the Banner of Sir Gualter of Manny. The king sayde he would geue them all a Supper that night in the Castell of Calice: And when the houre of Supper was come, and the tables couered: The king and hys knightes were there euery man in newe apparell: And the French men also were there, and made good cheere, though they were prisoners.

The king sate downe and the Lordes and knights about him right honourably. The Prince, Lordes and knightes of England, serued the king at the first messe. And at the second they sate downe at another table: they were all well serued and at great leasure.

Then when supper was done, and the Tables taken away: The king taryed still in the Hall with his knightes and with the Frenche men, and he was bare headed, sauyng a Chapelet of fine Perles that he ware on his hed. Then the king went from one to another of the French men: And when he came to Sir Geoffrey of Charney, a little he chaunged his countenaunce, and looked vpon him, and sayd, Sir Geoffrey ye haue geuen me occasion to loue you but a little, when ye would steale by night that thing from me which I haue so derely bought: But yet this pleaseth me best, that I haue taken you with the maner. Ye would haue come to a better market then I came vnto, when you thought to haue had Calice for. xx. thousand Crownes: But God hath holpen me, and ye haue fayled of your purpose, and therewith the king went from him, and he gaue him neuer a worde to aunswere.

The wise spech of king Edward vnto sir Geoffrey of Charney.

Then the king came to Sir Eustace of Rybamount, and ioyously to him he said, Sir Eustace ye are the knight that among all other are the most valiauntest

liaunte﹦ that I haue seene, as well in the assaylyng of your enemie as in the defendyng of your selfe, neyther was it my chaunce to mete with any knight that euer put me to aunswere, and defende myselfe body to body as ye haue done this day, wherefore I geue you the prise aboue all the knightes of my Court, by right sentence. Then the king tooke the Chapelet that was vpon his head, beyng both fayre, goodly, and riche, and sayd, Sir Eustace I geue you this Chapelet for the best doer in armes in this iourney past on eyther partie, and I desyre you to beare it this yere for the loue of me. I know wel ye be freshe and amorous, and often tymes ye are among Ladyes, and Damoselles: Say where soeuer ye come, that I did geue it you, and I requite and discharge you of your imprisonment and raunsome, and ye shall depart to morowe if it please you.

And in the end of this yere, the plague of Pestilence reigned sore in England, but chiefely in the Citie of London, that beside the bodyes that were buryed in sundrie Churches and Churchyardes in London, there were also buryed in the Charterhouse Churchyard fiftie thousand persons and aboue.

A great plague and pestilence.

This yere and the. xxij. day of August, dyed Philip the French king at Nogent, and was buryed in Parys: And the. xxvj. day of September folowyng, John eldest sonne to king Philip was crowned French king at Reynes, and the same day also the Queene his wife was crowned with him, and at the same tyme, the king made also manye knightes, and created Erles Marqueses, and Dukes.

1349 / 24

Philip the French king dead.

This yere about the latter ende of August, a noble man of Spaine called Sir Charles, to whome king John of Fraunce had newely geuen the Erledome of Angolesme, entendyng to winne some honour vpon the English men, with a strong nauie of Spanyardes entered the English streames, and did much harme vnto king Edwardes friendes. So that the king about the tyme aboue sayde met with the sayde naupe vpon the coast of Winchelsey, where betwene the king and them was a long and cruell fight, to the great losse of many people vpon both partes: But in the ende God sent vnto the king the victory, so that he chased his enemies, and wanne from them. xxij. of their Shippes, with many prisoners. Fabian

1350 / 25

An ouerthrowe geuen to the french men by sea.

In the ende of this yere, there were solempne Messengers sent in Ambassade to Rome, for to conclude a perfite peace betwene the two kinges of England and of Fraunce, so that king Edward should resigne and geue vp all his title and claime that he made vnto the Crowne of Fraunce: And the French king should clerely geue vnto him all the Duchy of Guyan, with all such landes as at any time before, were taken by any of his progenitors from it. And that king Edward and his heyres kinges, should freely holde and occupie the sayde Duchie, without doyng of any homage to any French king after that day. But the conclusion of this matter was so prolonged and deferred by the Pope, that the Erle of Darby, and other which were appoynted for the king of England, returned without speding of their cause. Wherfore king Edward made new prouision to warre vpon king John of Fraūce.

In the. xxvj. yere of the reigne of this king, the Castell of Guynes nere vnto Calice was yelden vnto the Englishe men, by the treason of a French man called Guyllam de Beauconry, for the which treason the sayde Guyllam was shortly after put to execution by ꝑ French king in the towne of Amiens.

1351 / 26

A victory ouer ỹ French men.

And the same yere Sir Guy of Neale then Marshall of Fraunce with a strong companie gaue battaile vnto the Englishe men then beyng in Bziteyn, in the which the sayde Sir Guy, with the Lorde of Bzikebet, and the Chasteleyn of Beaueyes, with manie other noble men were slaine, and many taken prisoners.

Trinity hall.

And at this tyme was builded Trinitie hall in Cambzidge, by William Bateman, Bishop of Norwiche.

1352
27

The dzie or hote Sömer.

At this time happened throughout Englande so hote a Sommer, that many yeres after it was called the dzie Sommer, for from the later ende of Marche vntill the later ende of July, then next followyng there fell little or no rayne, by reason whereof, many great inconueniences followed. And chiefely the price of Corne this yere beganne greatly to be aduaunced, and the yere folowyng it was more dere, and so lykewise were Befes and Mottons greatly aduaunced by reason of the lack of pasture and feeding, which thing happened in Fraunce as well as in Englande.

1353
28

A parliament at Westminster.

This yere the king called his high Court of Parliament at Westminster, and about Whitsontyde folowyng the king created the Erle of Darby, Duke of Lancaster, and syr Rause Staffozd, Erle of Staffozd. Then thys Duke of Lancaster was sent agayne ouer the Sea, where in the ende of of this yere (as sayth Froyssart) he was appealed of the Duke of Bzunswike, a Duke of the Countrie of Almayne, of certaine wozdes that were agaynst his honour: For the which he offered to wage his battayle with the sayde Duke in the court of the French king.

The Erle of Darby was appealed before ỹ French king by the Duke of Bzunswick.

Then thys Henry, which some call Henry of Bolyngbzoke Duke of Lancaster, purchaced his safeconduite of the French king, and kept his daye apointed for that battaile in a field called in the French, La preux Clers, where was for them ordeyned a place listed and closed in goodly wise: king John beyng there present with the greatest parte of the Nobles of Fraunce.

And there came in first into that field the aforenamed Duke of Bzunswike appellaunt, and after him came the Noble Duke of Lancaster, to the great honour of all England. And soone after (dyuers obseruances accozding to the lawe of armes done) and solempne othes taken, eyther of them set hys speare in the rest to haue runne the first course. But then king John of his speciall grace ceassed the matter, and tooke the quarell into his owne hands, so that eyther of them departed the field without any stroke striking: and then the French king pacified the appeale to the honour of the Duke of Lancaster although he was the French kings enemie.

The French king taketh vp the matter

And shortly after this, the sayde Duke of Lancaster, with other nobles assigned vnto hym by the king of Englande, went vnto Iuinion with the Archebishop of Rone then Chauncelour of the Realme of Fraunce, and also the Duke of Burbone, and other that were apointed for the king of Fraunce to conclude a peace betweene their two princes aforesayde, who were at the Citie aforesayd and there heard at length of the election of a new Pope, then called Innocent the. vi. which also lyke vnto his predecessor was a French man borne. In conclusion after many and great arguments made on both sides, it was there agreed that the peace betweene the two sayde kinges should be kept and holden inuiolable vntill Mydsomer then next followyng.

1354
29

Now for as much as the townes of Flaundyzs did refuse to keepe the bandes

bandes of amity that before time had beene made betwene the king of Englande and them, in the tyme and lyfe of Jaques Dartuell afore mencioned: But that now they beganne to fauour the French king, therefore the king withdrewe from them the Martes or Markets and staples of wolles which to their great aduauntage by the procurement of the sayde Jaques de Artuell was in sundzie of their townes vsed and kept. And the king caused the same to be kept in sundzie good townes of England, as Westminster, Chichester, Lyncolne, Bzistow, and Cauntozburie.

Staple of Wolles kept in England.

And shortly after Easter the French king sent his eldest sonne Charles Dolphyn of Uyenne into Normandy for to take the rule of that country, and specially for to ceasse certaine lands and Castels, which at that day belonged vnto the king of Nauarre, which then was out of the french kings fauor for the death of syr Charles of Spayne late Constable of Fraunce which by his meanes was murdered in a towne called Aigle in Normãdy. ij. yeres before.

And while the Dolphyn was thus busied in Normandy, he made such meane to the rulers thereof, that they graunted him ayde of three thousand men for three Monethes at their proper costes and charges.

Of this sone after sprang such tydings, that the king of England was informed that the French king had geuen to his sonne Charles the Duchy of Normandy, with all Gascoyne and Guyan: and how the Normans had graunted to the sayde Charles three thousande men for three moneths to warre at their costes on the Englishmen, which (as the French boke sayth) was graunted him onely to defende the king of Nauerre, which came to Constantyne shortly after, to repossesse suche landes as the Dolphyn had seased there of his, and therefore he made warre vpon the Dolphyn.

The Prince of Wales entreth into Gascoyne.

But howsoeuer it were, in October next followyng the Prince of Wales with a great hoste entred into Gascoyne, and passed by Tholous and the ryuer of Gcround and so by Carcassion, and brent the Bulwarks of that Citie, and from thence to Narbon in brennyng and spoylyng all as he went.

And in the same yere king Edward with his power landed at his towne of Calice, where he rested him all the Winter followyng.

1355
30

Ye haue heard in the last yere that the Prince of Wales with an army of men went ouer into Gascoigne, where he did many a noble dede and feate of armes, and tooke many townes and Castels and subdued his enemies with great courage. At the last the French king made suche great prouision to encounter with him, that there was no remedy but he must fight with him. Wherfore he made all the prouision he could, and sayde courageously for the comforting of his men beyng God wote but a handefull in comparison to the French armie, well syrs sayth he, although we be but fewe in regarde to the multitude of our enimies: Let vs not be abashed therefore, for the victorie lyeth not in the multitude of the people, but where it pleaseth almighty God to geue it. If it fortune that the tourney be oures, we shall be honoured thorough the whole worlde: And if we die in a right and good quarell, I haue a king to my father and I haue brethren, and you haue good friendes and kinsmen that will reuenge oure deathes. Therefore Syrs, for Gods sake take the good heartes of Englishmen vnto you this daye, for if God will, this daye shall ye see me doe the parte of a good knight. These wordes and suche other that the Prince spake, did greatly encourage his people. The

Prince Edwarde commonly called the black Prince was of great courage.

Prince

Prince had placed himselfe with his armie among the Vynes and had closed in the weakest parte thereof with the carpages.

Now that the time of battaile approched, the Prince hauyng by hym the Lorde Sir John Chandos and the Lord James Audeley, who assisted him and neuer went from him all the time of the battayle. But the Lorde Audeley kneeled downe (and sayde vnto the Prince) Sir I haue serued alwayes truely my Lorde your father and you also, and will doe as long as I lyue. I saye this because I made once a vowe that the first battaile that eyther the king your father or any of his children should be at, how that I would be one of the first setters on, or else to die in the trauaile: Therefore I beseeche your grace as in rewarde for anye seruice that euer I did to the king your father or to you, that you will giue me licence to depart from you, and to set my selfe there as I may accomplishe my vowe.

The Lorde James Audley his worthy to the Prince.

The Prince agreed to his desyre, and sayde, Sir James, God ayde you so this day, that ye may proue the best knight of all other, and so tooke hym by the hande. And the knight departed from the Prince, and went to the formost front of all the battayles, beyng only accompanied with foure Esquiers in whom he put great trust & confidence, and they promised not to fayle him.

This Lorde James was a right sage and vertuous knight, and by him was much of the hoste ordered and gouerned. Thus Sir James was readie to fight in the front of the Battaile, against the battayles of the Marchalles of Fraunce. Then the battaile began of all partes, and the battayles of the Marchalles of Fraunce approched, and they set forth that were appointed to breake the array of the Archers: They entred on horsebacke into the way where the great hedges were on both sydes set full of Archers: As soone as the men of armes entered, the Archers beganne to shoote on both sydes, and did slay and hurt knightes and horsses a great number. So that the horses when they felt the sharpe Arrowes, they would in no wise go forward, but drue backe and slang, and tooke on so fiercely, that many of them fell vpon their maisters: So that for preace they could neuer rise againe. In so much, that the Marchalles battaile could neuer come at the Prince: But yet certein knightes and Esquiers that were well horsed, passed through the Archers, and thought to haue approched to the Prince, but they could not. The Lord Audely with his foure Esquiers was in the front of that battaile, and there did marueiles in Armes, and by great prowes he came & fought with Sir Arnolde Dandrehen, vnder his owne Banner, and there they fought long together, and Sir Arnold was there sore handled. The battaile of the Marchalles began to disorder, by reason of the shotte of the Archers, with the ayde of the men of armes, who came in among them, and slue of them, and did what they lust. And there was the Lorde Arnold Dandrehen taken prisoner by other men, and not by the Lorde Audeley, for that day he neuer tooke prisoner, but alwayes fought and went on his enemies. Also on the French part the Lorde John Cleremount fought vnder his owne Banner as long as he could endure, but there he was beaten downe, and coulde not be relieued nor raunsomed, but was slaine without mercie. So within a short space the Marchalles battailes were discomfited, for they fell one vpon another, and could not go forward. And the Frenchmen that were behinde, and could not come forwarde, reculed backe, and came on the battaile of the Duke

A sore and cruell battail called the battaile of Poyters.

Duke of Normandy, the which was great and thicke, and were on foote, but anone they began to open behynde. For when they knewe that the Marchalles battail was discomfited, they tooke their horses and departed he that might best make way to be gone: Also they sawe a rowte of Englishe men comnyng downe a little hill on horsebacke, and many Archers with them, who brake in on the one syde of the Dukes battaile. To say the truth, the Archers did their company that day great seruice, for they shot so thick, that the French men wist not on what syde to take hede, and little and little the English men wanne ground on them. And when the men of Armes of England sawe that the Marchalles battaile was discomfited, and that the Dukes battaile began to disorder & open, they lept then on their horses, the which they had redy by them. Then they assembled together, & cryed Saint George. And the Lorde Chandos sayde to the Prince: Sir, take your horse and ryde forth, thys iourney is yours: God is this day with you, and fighteth for you, and let vs go vnto the French kinges battaile, for there lyeth all the sore of this matter. I thinke verely by his valyantnesse that he will not flie, I trust by the helpe of God and Saint George we shall haue him, if he be well fought withall: And Sir in the beginnyng of the battaile I heard you say, that this day I should see you a good knight, nowe is the tyme therefore, folowe it. The Prince sayd, let vs go forth, ye shall not see me this day returne backe, and then sayd the Prince, aduaunce forth your Banner in the name of God and Saint George: The knight that bare it, did his commaundement. There was then a sore battaile and a daungerous, and many a man ouerthrowne, and he that was once downe could not be relieued againe without great succour & ayde. Then the Prince and his company gaue the onset of the battaile of the Duke of Athens Constable of Fraunce, and there was many a man slaine and cast to the earth. And as the Frenche men fought in companies they cryed (Moune ioye Saint Dionice) and the Englishe men, Saint George. Anone the Prince with his companie met with the battaile of the Almaynes, whereof the Erle of Salesbyrie, the Erle of Nosco, and the Erle Neydo were Capitaines: But in a short space they were put to flight. The Archers shot so wholy together, that none durst come in their daungers, they slue many a man that could not come to raunsome, and the afore sayde three Erles were slaine, and diuerse other knightes and Esquiers of their company. Then the Kinges battaile came on the Englishe men, there was a sore fight, and many a harde stroke both geuen and receyued: The French king and his yongest sonne mette with the battaile of the Englishe Marchalles, the Erle of Warwike, and the Erle of Suffolke, and with them of Gascoynes, the Captall of Buz, the Lorde of Pomyers, the Lorde Amery of Charre, the Lorde of Mucident, the Lorde of Langram, and the Lorde de la Strade. To the Frenche partie there came time ynough, the Lorde John of Landas, and the Lorde of Woodney, they alighted on foote, and wente into the kinges battaile. And a little beside fought the Duke of Athens, constable of Fraunce, and a little aboue him the Duke of Burbon, and many good knightes of Burbonoys, and of Picardie with him. And a little on the other syde, there were the Poytenynes, the Lorde de Pons, the Lorde of Partney, the Lorde of Dampmar, the Lorde of Montabaton, the Lorde of Suggers, the Lorde John Sayntre, the Lorde Argenton, the

A corageous Prince.

Duke of Athens.

Duke of Burbon.

Poytenynes.

Lorde

Lorde of Lymyers, the Lorde of Mountandre, and dyuers other: Also the Vicount of Rochenart, and the Erle of Daunoy. And of Burgoyn, the Lord James Beauieu, the Lorde de la Castell vileyn, and other. In another part there was the Erle of Vantadowre, and of Mountpencer, the Lorde James of Burbone, the Lorde John de Arthoys, and also the Lord James his brother, the Lord Arnold of Cernolle called the Archepriest, armed for the yong Erle of Alanson. And of Auuergne, there was the Lord Marcuell, the Lord de la Towre, the Lorde of Chalenton, the Lorde of Mountagew, the Lorde of Rocheford, the Lorde de la Chayre, the Lorde Dachone. And of Limosin, there was the Lorde Delmall, the Lorde of Norwell, and the Lord of Piers Buffier. And of Picardie, there was the Lorde William of Merle, the Lord Arnolde of Reinewall, the Lorde Geoffrey of Saint Digier, the Lorde of Chamy, the Lorde of Heley, the Lorde of Mounsaunt, the Lord of Hangies, and diuers other. And also in the kinges battaile was the Erle Douglas of Scotland, who fought a season right valiauntly: But when he sawe the discomfiture, he departed and saued himselfe, for in no wise he would be taken of the English men, he had rather haue bene slaine.

Burgoyn. Auuergne. Lymosyn. Picardy.

On the English part the Lord James Audeley with the ayde of his foure squiers, fought alwayes in the chiefe of the battayle: he was sore hurt in the bodye and in the visage, but yet as long as his breth serued him, he fought. At the last towarde the ende of the battayle, hys foure squiers tooke and brought him out of the field, and layed him vnder a hedge side for to refreshe hym: and they vnarmed him, and bounde vp his woundes as well as they coulde.

Lord James Audeley.

On the French part, King John was that day a full right good knight, if the fourth parte of his men had done their deuoyres as well as he did, the iourney had bene his by all lykelyhood: howbeit they were all slaine and taken that were there, except a very fewe that were with the King, which saued themselues by flyeng.

John the French king.

There were slaine the Duke Peter of Burbone, the Lorde Guysshard of Beauiewe, the Lorde of Landas, and the Duke of Athens Conestable of Fraunce, the Bishop of Chalons in Champeyne, the Lorde Wylliam of Neele, the Lorde Eustace of Rybamount, the Lorde de la Towre, the Lorde William of Mountagew, syr Gupuenton of Chambley, syr Baudyn de la house and many other as they fought by companies. And there were taken prisoners, the Lorde of Woodney, the Lorde of Pompador, and the Archepriest sore hurt, the Erle of Vandos, syr Loys of Melwall, the Lord Piers Buffier and the Lord of Senetache: There were at that bront slaine and taken mo then two hundreth knightes.

French men slaine.

This battayle was fought nere vnto Poyetiers in the fields of Beaumount and Malpertues, the which was great and perillous, and manye worthie deedes of armes were there done that came not at all to my knowledge, sayth Froissart. The fighters on both partes endured muche trauaile and paine: King John with his owne hands did that day like a valiant Prince, he had an Axe in his hande, wherewith he fought in the breaking of prease to haue come to the Prince, very courageously and manfully. And nere vnto the French king was taken the Erle of Tankerupll, Sir James of Burbon Erle of Ponthieu, and the Lorde John of Arthoyes Erle of Ewe.

French men taken.

Ewe. And a little aboue that vnder the Banner of ỳ Capitol of Buz was taken syr Charles of Arthoys, & diuers other knightes and squires. The chace endured to the gates of Poytiers: There were manye slaine and beaten downe horse and man, for they of Poytiers had closed their gates, & would suffer none to enter: wherefore in the streete before the gate, was a great & horrible murther, and many men hurt and beaten downe: The Frenchmen yelded themselues as farre offas they might know an Englishman. There were diuers Englishe Archers that had foure, fiue, or sixe prisoners, the Lorde of Pons a great Baron of Poyton was there slayne, and many other knightes and squires. And there was taken the Erle of Rochenart, the Lord of Dammauement, the Lorde of Pertney and of Faynton, the Lord of Motendre and the Lord Saint John: But he was so sore hurt that he neuer had helth after, he was accompted for one of the best knightes in Fraunce. And there was lefte for deade among other deade men, the Lorde Richard Dangle, who fought that daye by the king right valiauntly, and so did the Lord Charney, on whom was great prayse, because he bare the souereigne Banner of the kinges: his awne Banner was also in the fielde, the which was Goules three Scotcheons Siluer.

So manye Englishmen and Gascoynes came to that parte, that perforce they opened the kings battayle, so that the French men were so mingled among their enemies, that some time there was fiue men vpon one Gentleman. There was taken the Lord of Pompadour, and the Lord Bartholomew de Brunes: and there was slaine Sir Geoffrey of Charney with the kinges Banner in his handes. Also the Lorde Reynould Cobham slue the Erle of Dammartyn. Then was there great prealling to take the King, and suche as knewe him cryed vnto him and sayde, Sir, yeelde you, or else ye are but dead. At that tyme there was a knight of Saint Omers retayned in wages with the King of Englande called syr Thomas Morbeck, who had serued the king of Englande, fiue yere before, because in his youth he had forfeyted the Realme of Fraunce for a murder that he did at Saint Omers. It happened so well for this knight, that he was next to the King when they were about to take him, and he stepped forth into the prease, and by strength he came to the French King and sayde vnto him in good French (Sir yeelde you) the king beheld the knight and sayde vnto him, to whom shall I yeelde me? where is my Cosyn the Prince of Wales, if I myght see him I would speake with him, Sir Denyse answered and sayde, Sir he is not here, but yeelde you to me, and I will bring you to him: who be you quoth the king? Sir sayth he, I am Denyse of Morbeck, a knight of Arthoys: But I serue the King of England, because I am banished the realme of Fraunce, and I haue forfayted all that I had there: Then the king gaue him his right Gauntlet, sayeng I yeelde me vnto you. There was a great prease about the king, for euerye man cryed that he had taken the King, so that the king coulde not go forwarde wyth hys young sonne Philip wyth him for the prease.

This Sir Geoffrey was he that wouldbe haue stollen Calyce.

The French king is taken

The prince of Wales, who was courageous and cruell as a Lyon, toke that day great pleasure to fight and chase his enimies: The Lorde John Chandos, who was with him of all that daye and neuer left him, nor neuer tooke heede of taking anye prisoner, at the ende of the battayle sayde to the

the Prince, Sir, it were good that you rested here, and set your Banner a high in this Bushe, that your people maye draw hether, for they be sore scattered abrode, neyther can I see any mo Banners or Pennons on the French partie: wherefore syr, rest and refreshe you, for ye are sore chafed.

Then the princes Banner was set vp high on a Bushe, and Trumpets and Clarions beganne to sounde, and then the Prince did of his Basenet, and the knightes for his body, and they of his Chamber were readie about him, and pight a Read paulion presently, and then drinke was brought vnto hym and to suche Lordes as were about him, who still encreased as they came from the chase, and their prisoners with them.

And when the two Marshalles were come to the Prince, he demaunded of them, and if they heard any tydings of the French king: and they answered and sayde, Sir we heare none of certaintie, but we thinke verily that he is eyther dead or taken, for he is not gone out of the battayles. Then the prince sayde to the Erle of Warwike, and to Sir Reignold of Cobham: Sirs I requyre you to go forth and hearken and inquire a truth, & returne agayne so soone as you can. These two Lordes tooke their horses and departed from the Prince, and roade vp a little hill to looke about them. And they perceaued a flocke of men of armes comming together right werily: There was the French king on foote in great perill, for Englishmen and Gascons were his masters, they had taken him from Sir Denyse Morbeck perforce, and such as were the strongest sayde, I haue taken him, nay quoth another I haue taken him, so they straue who should haue him: Then the French king, to eschewe that perill, spake vnto them and sayde, Sirs, striue not, leade me and my sonne curteously to my Cosyn the prince, and fall not out for my taking, for I am so great a Lorde as maye make you all riche: the which wordes did somewhat pacefie them: howbeit, still as they went, they made ryot and brawled for the taking of the king.

Sir Dionise Morbecke tooke the French king.

When the aforesayde Lordes sawe and heard the noyes and strife amongest them, they came vnto them and sayde, Sirs, what is the matter that ye striue for? Sir sayde one of them, it is for the French king, who is here taken prisoner, and there are mo then .x. knights and squires that challenge the taking of him and of his sonne: Then the two Lordes entered into the prease and caused euery man to drawe a back, and commaunded them in the Princes name vpon paine of their heades to make no moze noyes, nor to approche to the king any neerer, without they were commaunded. Then euery man gaue rome to the Lordes, and they alighted, and did their reuerence vnto the king, and so brought him and his sonne quietly vnto the Prince of Wales.

Assone as the two Marshalles were departed from the Prince, as before you haue heard: Then the Prince demaunded of the knights that were about him, whether any of them could tell him of the Lord James Audeley: and answere was made, that he was sore hurt, and lay in a Litter, not farre off. Nowe truely sayde the Prince, I am sory for his hurtes: But go knowe if he may be brought hether, or else I will go see him where he is. Then two knights came to the Lord Audley, and sayd, sir, the Prince hath earnestly asked for you, and is very desyrous to see you, and sayth that if you cannot come to him, he will come to you. A syr quoth the knight, I thanke the prince that

that will thinke on so poore a knight as I am. And then he called. viij. of his seruauntes to beare him in his Litter to the place where the Prince was. Then the Prince tooke him in his armes and kissed him, and made to him most louyng countenaunce, and great cheere (and sayd) sir James I ought greatly to honour you, for by your valyantnes ye haue this day obteyned the commendation and fame by all our iudgements to be the most valiant knight of all other that fought at this battaile. O Sir, sayde the knight, ye say your pleasure, I would it were so, but if I haue this day put forth my selfe in your seruice (and for the accomplishement of the vowe that before I had made) it ought not to be reputed to my prowes or force, but to dutie. Sir James, sayd the Prince, I and all ours repute and declare you in this battaile to be the best doer in Armes: And to the entent to furnishe you the better in the warres, and to encourage you to follow the same, I retaine you for euer to be my knight with fiue hundreth markes of yerely reuenewes, the which I will assigne you out of myne inheritance in England. Sir sayde the knight God make me able to deserue the great goodnesse that ye shew me, and so he tooke his leaue of the Prince, for he was very weake.

A gentle gracious Prince.

The bountifull reward of a Prince.

So soone as sir James Lorde Audeley was brought to his lodging, he sent for sir Peter Audeley his brother, and for the Lorde Bartholomewe of Burnes, the Lorde Stephen of Gouseton, the Lord of Wylly, and the Lord Rauke Ferrers: All these were of his Linage. And he called before them his foure Esquiers that had serued him that day so well and truly: And then he sayde to the Lordes: Where it hath pleased my Lorde the Prince to geue me this day .v. C Markes of yerely reuenewes, for the which gift I haue done him small seruice with my body: Sirs, sayde he to the Lordes, beholde here these foure Esquiers, who haue alwayes serued me truly, and specially thys day, for the honour that I haue, is by their valiantnesse, and therefore I am bound to reward them. Wherefore, here before you all, I geue and resigne into their handes the gift that my Lorde Prince hath geuen me of fiue hundreth markes of yerely reuenewes, to them and to their heyres for euer, in likemaner as it was geuen me, and I cleerely disenherite my selfe thereof, and enherite them to hold the same, without any variaunce or contradiction.

A noble & liberal knight.

The Lordes and other that were present, euery of them beheld other, and sayde among themselues, this commeth of a noble and valiant courage, thus to depart with so great a gift: and they answered him with one voyce, Sir, be it as God will, we will beare witnesse in this behalfe, when & wheresoeuer we become, and so they tooke their leaue and departed.

The next day as the king departed and was going in his iourney, it was tolde the king howe the Lorde Audeley had geuen to his foure Esquiers the gift of the fiue hundreth Markes that he had geuen vnto him. Then the Prince sent for him, and he was brought vnto the Prince in his Litter, who receyued him right curteously (and sayde) Sir James, we haue knowledge that the reuenewes that we gaue you, assoone as ye came to your lodging, ye gaue the same to foure Esquiers: We would knowe why ye did so, and whether ye thought the gift sufficient and worthie for you or not? Sir sayde the knight, it is of truth that I haue geuen it to them, and I will vtter vnto vnto you the cause why I did so: Those foure Esquiers haue of long tyme serued me well and truely in many great daungers: And Sir at this tyme,

they serued me in such wise, that if they had neuer done any thing else, I was and am bound towardes them, and before this day they neuer had any thing of me in rewarde. And Sir, as ye know, I was and am but a man alone, but by the courage, ayde, and comfort of them, I tooke on me to accomplishe my bowe to you before rehersed, and certeinely I had bene deade in the battayle if they had not beene. Wherefore sir, when as nature and duetye dyd binde me to consider the loue that they bare vnto me, I should haue shewed my selfe to muche vnthankefull if I had not rewarded them: And God I thanke him, I haue and shall haue inough to mainteine my poore estate, as long as I liue, and I feare nothing lesse then lacke of substance. And forasmuch as I haue done this without your licence and knowledge, I humbly beseech you to pardon me, and Sir be you well assured, that both I and my Esquiers, will serue you as well and as truely as euer we did.

A noble and gracious prince.

Then the Prince sayd, Sir James, I must needes commend you very much in all your doings, chiefely for your valiantnes shewed in this battaile: and for the good seruice of these Esquiers, whome ye haue so much praysed, I agree and allowe to them your gift, and I will render againe to you sixe C. markes in the lyke maner as ye had the other graunted vnto you before.

Thus this battaile ended as you haue heard, which was fought the .xxij. day of September two leagues from Poytiers. And it beganne in the morning, and ended at noone: But as then the Englishmen were not returned from the chase of their enimies. Therefore, as ye haue heard, the Princes Banner stood in a bushe to drawe all his men together, but it was night before all came from the chace. And as it was reported, there were slaine al the Flowre and chiualrie of Fraunce. And there was taken wyth the king and the Lord Philip his sonne .xviij. Erles, beside Barons, knights, and squiers, and there were slaine .v. or .vj. thousand one and other.

When euery man was come from the chace, they had as many prisoners as the whole armie of the Englishmen were twise in number. Wherefore it was agreed and concluded among them, because of the great charge and doubt to keepe so many prisoners, that they should put many of them to raunsome incontinent in the fielde, and so they did. And the prisoners founde the Englishmen and Gascons right curteous and gentle vnto them. And all that night the prince with his armie and prisoners laye in the fielde, and euery manne made good cheere vnto his prisoner, for that day whosoeuer tooke any prisoner, he was cleere his, and might quyte and raunsome him at his pleasure.

A notable victorie.

All suche as were at this battayle, were all made riche with honour and goodes, as well by raunsoming of prisoners, as by wynning of Golde, Siluer, plate, and Jewels, that was there found in the spoyle. There was no man that did set anye thing by riche harneys, whereof there was great plentye, for the Frenchmen came thether very richly beseene, wenyng to haue obteyned the glorie of that iourney.

The honorable behauiour of the prince, to ỹ French king.

When night came, the prince made to the French king and his sonne, and to the other Lordes that were taken prisoners, a supper. And first the Prince placed the French king and his sonne, the Lorde James of Burbone, the Lorde John de Arthoys, the Erle of Tankeruyll, the Erle of Stampes, the Erle of Dampmartyn, the Erle of Grauyll, and the Lorde of

of Partenay to sit all at one borde, and other Lordes knightes and squires at other Tables. And the prince himselfe serued all that supper time, neyther would he sit downe for no request that the French king coulde make vnto him: For he sayde, he was not meete to sit at that table with so great and high a prince as the French king was. And then he sayde to the king, Sir for Gods sake be not sad nor shewe not anye heauie countenaunce, for though God thys daye hath not consented to folow your will: yet Sir surely the king my father I dare boldely say will beare you so much honor and amitie as he maye doe, and I doubt nothing but that ye shall so reasonably accorde and agree, that ye shall be friendes for euer together. And syr mee thinketh ye ought to reioyce, though the iourney be not as ye would haue had it, for this daye ye haue wonne the high renowne of Prowes, and haue this daye in valyauntnesse exceeded all other of your partie. Sir, I speake not this to mock you, for all that be on oure partie and sawe euery mannes deedes, doe plainely agree and conclude in one sentence to geue you the Chapelet. Therewith the French men beganne to mutter, and sayde among themselues, the prince had spoken nobly, and by all coniectures he was lyke to proue a noble and worthie prince, if God did sende him lyfe.

When supper was done, euery man went to his lodging with their prisoners, the next daye in the morning when euery thing was readie trussed by, then they tooke their horses and roade towardes Poytiers. The same night there was come to Poytiers the Lord of Roy with an hundred speares he was not at the battail, but he met the Duke of Normandy nere to Chauuigny, and the Duke sent him to Poytiers to keepe the towne, vntill they heard other tydinges.

When the Lorde of Roye knewe that the English men were comming so nere the Citie: he caused euerie man to be armed, and euery man to go to his defence to the walles, Towres and gates: and the Englishmen passed by without anye approchyng, for they were so laden with Golde, Siluer, plate, Jewels and prisoners that in their returning they assauted no forces.

They thought it much if they coulde bring the French king and other prisoners with all their spoyle in safetie to Burdeaux. And they roade but small iourneyes because of their prisoners and carpages, so that they roade in a whole daye not past foure or fiue leagues at the most, and lodged euer betimes, and roade close together in good aray, sauyng the Marchalles battayles, who roade euer before with fiue hundred men of armes to open the passages as the Prince should passe. But they met with no encounteters, for euery man was so afrayde that they were fled to the Fortresses.

Thus the Prince and his company did so muche, that they passed thorough Poyteau and Taynton without dammage, and came to Blay, and there passed the ryuer of Geron, & arryued in the good City of Bourdeaux.

It cannot be expressed what great feastyng and cheere they of the Citie and the Clergie made to the Prince, and how honorably they were there receaued. The prince brought the French king into the Abbey of Saint Andrews, and there they lodged both, the king in the one parte and the prince in the other.

And here were many chaloners of the French king to be their prisoner: But in the ende, partly by the confession of the French king, and partly

by right of armes and tokens shewed by Sir Denyse Morbeck, it was thought his right: but notwithstandyng for the appeasing of all thinges the prince differred the iudgement of the matter to his father the king, when they shoulde come into Englande. And yet in the meane season, the prince secretly caused two thousande Nobles to be delyuered to Syr Denyse Morbeck to maintaine his estate.

Great ioy made in England for the taking of the French king.

1356

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In England when newes came of the victorie of the battalle of Poyters, and of the taking of the French king, there was great ioy and gladnesse, and great solemnities were made in all churches, Cities, and Townes, throughout all the Realme.

The Prince of Wales returneth into England with the French king and his other prisoners.

Nowe approched the tyme that the Prince of Wales had made prouision of Ships and furniture to the same, for the conueyaunce and bringing ouer of the French king, and his other Prisoners into England. And when he had all thynges in a redinesse, he called vnto him the Lorde Dalbert, the Lorde Mulident, the Lorde Laspare, the Lorde of Punyers, and the Lorde of Rosen, and gaue them commaundement to kepe the Countrie there vntill his returne againe.

The French king landeth at Sandwich

Then he tooke the Sea, and certaine Lordes of Gascoyne with him. The Frenche king was in a vessell by himselfe to be the more at his ease, and was accompanyed with two hundreth men of armes, and two thousand Archers. For it was shewed the Prince that the three Estates, by whome the Realme of Fraunce was gouerned, had layde in Normandye, and Crotoye two great armyes, to the entent to meete with him, and to get the French king out of his handes if they might. But there appered no such matter, and yet they were on the sea. xj. dayes, and on the .xij. day they arryued at Sandwich. Then they issued out of their Ship, and landed and lay there all that night, and taryed there two dayes after to refreshe them: And on the thirde day they roade to Cauntorbury.

When the king of England knewe of their comming, he commaunded the Citezens of London to prepare themselues and their Citie, and to make the same seemely and meete to receyue such a man as the French king was, which the Citezens of London did accordyngly.

The French king is honorably receyued into London.

And from Cauntorbury they came to Rochester, and there taryed a day, and from Rochester to Dartford, and there taryed a day, and from thence the next day to London, where they were honourably receyued, and so they were in euery good towne as they passed.

The French king roade through London on a white Courser well apparelled: and the Prince on a little blacke Hobby by him. Thus the French king was conueyed along the Citie vntill he came to the Sauoy, the which house appertayned to the heritage of the Duke of Lancaster. And there the French king kept his house a long season, and often tymes the king and Queene came thether to see him, and made him great feastyng and cheere.

An Ambassade sent from the Pope to intreate a peace.

Soone after by the commaundement of Pope Innocent the first, there came into Englande the Lorde Taylleran, Cardinall of Piergort, and the Lorde Nicholas, Cardinall of Dargell. They treated for a peace betweene the two kinges, but nothing came to effect: But yet at the last a truce betweene the two kinges & all their assistentes was concluded for to endure vnto the feast of Saint John baptist. 1359. that is to say, for three yeres. And out

out of this truce was excepted the Lorde Philip of Nauerre and his alyes, the Countesse of Mountford, and the Duchie of Britaine.

Anone after, the French king was remoued from the Sauoy vnto the Castell of Windsore, and all his householde, and went on huntyng and hawking there at his pleasure, and the Lorde Philip his sonne with him: but all the other prisoners abode stil at London, and yet went to see the king at their pleasure, and were receyued onely vpon their faythes.

A Iustes holden in Smithfield.

In the latter ende of this yere, sayth Fabian, the king did holde a royall Iustes in Smithfielde in London, and many a noble feate of Armes was there done to the great honour of the king and of all the realme of England. At the which disport were present, the king of England, and the French king and the king of Scottes his prisoners, with many noble Estates of all the three prouinces or kingdomes: whereof the greater number of the straungers were then prisoners.

1357

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A truce or peace concluded betweene the French king and the king of Englande.

Ye haue heard before of the taking of the king of Scottes prisoner, by the Queene in the tyme that king Edward was occupied about the siege of Calice, which now was. xj. yeres past and more. And so soone as the aforesayde Cardinalles had concluded a truce betweene the king of England and the French king, they also accompanied with the bishop of Saint Andrewes in Scotland, fell to a treatie with the king of England, for the deliuerance of the king of Scottes. And the same was concluded in this maner.

That the king of Scottes should neuer after arme him selfe against the king of England in his realme, nor counsayle, nor consent to any of his subiectes to arme them, nor to grieue nor make warre against England.

Also the king of Scottes after his returne into his realme, should endeuour himselfe with all diligence that his people should agree, that the realme of Scotland should holde in fee, and do homage to the king of England. And if the realme would not agree thereunto: Yet the king of Scottes to swere solemply to keepe good peace with the king of Englande, and to binde himselfe and his Realme to paye within. x. yeres after, fiue hundreth thousande Nobles as Froissart sayth: But Fabian sayth one hundreth thousand Marckes. And at the sommoning of the king of England, to sende good pledges and hostages for the same: as the Erle of Douglas, the Erle of Morey, the Erle of Mare, the Erle of Surlant, the Erle of Fife, the Baron of Uersey, and Sir William of Caumoyse. And all these to abide in England as prisoners and hostages for the king their Lorde, vnto the tyme that the seuerall paymentes of the money aforesayd were fully contented and payde.

The Scottishe kinges raunsome.

Of these ordinaunces and bondes, were made instrumentes publiques, and letters patentes, sealed by both the kinges.

The Scottish king and his wife departeth into Scotland.

When all these thinges were ordered and done, then the Scottish king departed and went into his realme, & his wife Queene Isabell sister to king Edward, with him. And when he came within his realme, he was honorably receyued, and he lay at Saint Johns towne vpon the ryuer of Trye, while his Castell of Edenbourgh was newly reedified.

1358

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Now before the day of the truce last concluded with Fraunce, were fully expired, the warre was newely begon. But anone after that, a peace was made betweene the king of Nauarre, and the Duke of Normandy.

And in this tyme the king of Englande and the Prince his sonne, the

French king, and the Lord Jaques of Burbon met at London, & they foure beyng alone together in counsaile, agreed vpon a peace vpon certein articles written in a letter, and sent the same into Fraunce to the Duke of Normandie. When the Duke had receyued these letters, he demaunded counsaile of the king of Nauerre who then was present with him, and he counsayled him that the Prelates and Nobles of Fraunce, and the good townes should assemble themselues, and to say their mindes therein: the which thing was done. And it seemed to the king of Nauarre, and to the Duke, and to his, and to all the counsayle of the Realme, that the sayde treatie was to grieuous to be borne: Wherefore they answered all with one voyce, that the peace and conditions coteyned in that letter, was so preiudicial to them & to the realme, that they yet would endure greater mischiefe then they had done, rather then in such wise to minish and abace the state of Fraunce: and sayd also that they would rather suffer their king to lie still in England.

A peace commoned of and agreed vpon, betweene the French king and the king of England.

And when the French king vnderstood howe the Realme of Fraunce would not agree to his appointment he sayd. A sonne Charles: ye be counsayled by the king of Nauarre, who deceaueth you, and will deceaue suche rl. as you be.

And when the King of Englande knew what answere was brought, he sayde: Before Winter be past I will enter into Fraunce, in puyssaunt and valyaunt maner, and there will abyde so long tyll I haue an ende of thys warre, or else peace at my pleasure and to myne honour, and then he made the greatest prouision for warre, that euer he made.

A noble and courageous Prince.

The same season, about the middes of August, the Lorde John of Craon Archebishop of Reynes, and they of the Citie of Paris, and of the Countrie thereabout, with certaine knightes and squires of the Countrie of Rochell and Laon, went and layde siege to the Castell of Roucy, and there laye fyue weekes. And then they within yeelded vp their lyues and goodes saued, and to go whether they list.

And of this they had letters patents sealed by the Archbishop, by the Erle Porcien and the Erle of Bayne: But for all that, when they departed, the commons that were there, rose against them and slue the most parte of them, for all the Lordes, and they had much paine to saue the Capitaine called Hankyn Francoys. And thus the Erle of Roucy had agayne his owne Castell.

And in this time (sayth Fabian) Sir Robert Knolles and Sir James Pipe Englishmen warred in Britayne, and with the helpe of one Thomlyn Fowlke, they came earely in a morning vnto a towne that was nere vnto Ancore called Regennez, which then was in the rule of the Englishmen and out of that towne they tooke more strength and went streight to Ancore being within two English myles, and scaled the walles with ladders, and quit them so manfully that they had the rule of the towne before the Sunne rysing. And in that Castell was taken prisoner Sir Guyllam de Chalyn the sonne of the Erle of Ancerre, his wyfe and many other.

Sir Robert Knolles. Sir James Pipo. Thomlyn Foulke.

Ancore taken

In taking of which towne and Castell, few were slayne, howbeit there came of armed men aboue to thousand to defend the towne, but it was taken before they came. Then the Englishmen searched so neere, that as the common report went, they founde Jewels as though they had bene priuie to the hyding

hyding of them, and they were of great value: Among the which they found certaine skinnes of Furres which were valued at v.M. Mottons of Golde.

Mottons of Golde.

*The Motton of Golde was a coyne vsed in Fraunce and Bziteyn, and is of the value of fiue shyllings sterlyng.

When the Englishmen had pilled and spoyled the towne by the space of viij. dayes, and raunsomed such as were of substaunce: Then they shewed vnto the rulers of the towne, that they would set it on fyre, except they would geue vnto them a certayne some of money. For the which the rulers, after conference had among themselues, agreed to geue the English Capitaines, rl. thousand Mottons and.lx. pearles valued at ten thousande Mottons, the which fiftie thousand Mottons amounted neere vnto.xij. thousand and fiue hundred pounde sterling.

The king of Englande in all this time made his prouision for his voyage into Fraunce, suche and so great as had not beene sene before: For he had sent into Almain to al the Lordes of the Empire that serued him before, and they came at their daye appointed vnto Calice, and there came a great number mo then were required, for they came of themselues, vpon hope and gayne of the spoyle of Fraunce, and they taried for the king, from the beginning of August vntill October followyng. And to saye truth, they taried so long, that by reason victuals waxed skant and dere there were many of them that were fayne to sell the best Jewels they had. 1359 34

Then the king of Englande sent ouer before the Duke of Lancaster with foure hundred speares and two thousande Archers. And when the Duke came to Calice, the Lordes that were straungers made great ioy and were glad of him, and demaunded tydinges of the Kinges comming. The Duke excused the king and sayde that all his prouision was not full readye: and he sayde vnto them, gentle lordes to tarie here is to no purpose, I will ryde forth into Fraunce and see what we can finde there, and I pray you to ryde forth with me, and I will delyuer you a certaine some of money to pay your costes in your lodgings, and ye shall haue furniture of victuall to carie with you. And the Lordes graunted the Duke, and so roade foorth and passed by Saint Omers, they were a two thousande speares, beside Archers and other footemen, and at the last came to Mount Eloy a good Abbey and a riche neere to Arras, and there taried foure dayes to refreshe them and their horses. From thence they went to Cambrey and there made a great assault, but they within defended themselues valiauntly by the ayde and comfort of the Erle of Saint Paule. And when the Englishmen sawe that nothing was there to be had, they departed and went ouer the ryuer of Some, and came to a Towne called Chereley, where they founde great plentie of Bread and Wyne. And here the Duke had knowledge that the king was arryued at Calice, who had sent him worde that he and all his companie should come back agayne to him. And then the Duke and his companie returned toward Calice & met with the king by the way, within foure leagues of Calice. And with the king were a great company of Lordes both straungers and other, whose names I ouerpasse. And when the king and the Duke and all their companie were met, the company was so great, that all the Countrie was couered with them. And there the Almaynes, Mercenaries, Brabanters, Behennoys, they altogether shewed vnto the King how they

The Duke of Lancaster with certaine straungers entereth into Fraunce.

The Duke of Lancaster returneth to come to king Edwarde, who was nowe comming with a power from Calice.

they had ſpent all their goodes, horſes and harneſſes ſolde. So that little or nothing was left them to doe him ſeruice, for which purpoſe they came: neyther had they wherwith to beare their charges home againe into their countries, wherefore they deſyred his nobleneſſe to haue ſome conſideration of them. The king aunſwered and ſayd, how he was not as then readie to geue them a playne aunſwere: But ſayde, Sirs, I thinke ye be ſore trauayled, wherefore go your wayes and refreſhe you two or three dayes in Calice, and this night or to morow I will take counſayle and ſend you ſuch an aunſwere that of reaſon ye will be content withall.

King Edwarde diſchargeth ſome of thoſe that came vnſent for.

Then theſe ſtraungers departed from the king and from the Duke, and roade towarde Calice, and they had not ryd halfe a league, but they met a great multitude of cariages. And after them came the Prince of Wales, nobly and richely beſene and all his company: whereof there were ſuch a number, that all the Countrey was couered with them. And the Prince roade a ſoft pace readie raunged in battaile, as though they ſhould incontinent haue fought. Thus the prince roade euer a league or two after the kinges hoſte, and euer the cariages went betweene both the hoſtes, the which order the ſtraungers lyked meruelouſly well.

When theſe ſtraungers had well beheld this company, and had reuerently ſaluted the prince and ſuche Lordes as were with him, and the prince louingly receaued them, as he could doe it right well. Then in taking their leaue of him, they ſhewed him their neceſſitie, deſyring him to conſyder of them, and he promiſed them ſo to doe.

So the ſtraungers roade on vntill they came to Calice, and the ſecond day after the king ſent them their aunſwere by three worthy knights, which was that the king had not brought ſufficient treaſure with him to pay all that they deſyred, and alſo to performe the enterpryce that he hath taken in hand: But if they would go forth with him, and to take ſuch fortune as ſhall happen, good or euill, they to haue their parte: So that they demaunded no wages, neyther allowaunce for horſe nor expence, nor any dammage that they may happen to haue: For ſayd they, the king hath brought men enough out of his realme to furniſhe his enterpryce.

This aunſwere pleaſed not greatly the ſtraunge Lordes, and the compayne that were about them: Howbeit, they could haue none other, but yet the king of his goodneſſe gaue them a ſomme of money to bring them home. Howbeit, ſome of them went againe to the king & ſerued at their aduenture.

The order that the king toke in England before his departure

And before the king departed Englande, he tooke this order: Firſt he cauſed all the Lordes of Fraunce that were Priſoners, to be put into diuers Caſtelles, and other ſure places. And the French king was committed to the Tower of London, and his yong ſonne with him, and kept cloſe: And then placed certeine Lordes for the ſafe keping & good gouernment of the realme.

The maner and order of the kinges battaile.

But to returne, the kyng paſſed forward, hauing his Conſtable the Erle of Marche before him, which had in his battaile fiue hundreth Knightes, and a thouſand Archers.

Then folowed the king, who had in his battaile three thouſand men of armes, and fiue thouſand Archers, well trimmed, and in good order.

Then came all the cariages, the which conteyned two leagues in length, and they caryed with them, hande Milles, Ouens to bake in, and forges

forges for Iron, and other neceſſaryes.

Then folowed the Princes battaile and of his brethren, wherein were a thouſand ſpeares nobly horſſed, and richely beſene in order, ready to fight,

And in the end of the kinges battaile, there were. v.C. Uerlettes wyth Mattockes and Axes, to make euen the wayes for the caryages to paſſe.

Reynes beſieged.

The king thus paſſed forward into Fraunce with his armie, and at the laſt came to Reynes, where he layde ſiege ſeuen weekes, but could not preuaile, and ſo paſſed to Paris, and from thence to Charters, fore ſpoyling, brennyng, and deſtroiyng the Countrie as he went, & likewiſe did the prince his ſonne with his battaile. So that the Countrie of Fraunce was ſo greatly waſted, ſpoyled and decayed, that they were glad to ſeeke for peace. And at the laſt by the ſpeciall labour of a Frier called Symond of Langres, and was alſo a Legate from the Pope, a day of entreatie was appoynted, and a place of metyng for the ſame.

Symond of Langres a Fryer.

And at the ſayde day and place, there came for the king of England, the Duke of Lancaſter, the Erles of Warwike, and of Northhampton, with ſir John Chandos, ſir Gualter of Manny, and ſir William Cheyney knightes.

An intreatie and communication for a peace, but it tooke none effect.

And for the Regent of Fraunce appeared there, the Lorde Fewe Conſtable of Fraunce, the Lord Boriquant then Marſhall of Fraunce, the Lord of Saraucters, the Lord Vigney of the Countrie of Vienne, ſir Symond Bucy, ſir Guichard of Anglie knightes, the which treatie came to none effect.

And there came vnto the king to a place called Dones, the Biſhop of Beauuays then Chauncelor of Normandy, with other, and ſo behaued themſelues vnto the king, that a newe day of treatie was appoynted to be holden at Bretyngny within a Myle of Charters, vpon the firſt day of May then next enſuyng.

At which day of appoyntment, the aforeſayde Duke of Lancaſter, with the ſayd Erles of Warwike, and Northhampton, and other, appeared at the the ſame place for king Edward.

And for the Regent there appered the aforenamed Biſhop with many other Lordes and Knightes, and Spirituall men, to the number of. xxij. perſonnes, whoſe names I ouerpaſſe for length of tyme.

A peace concluded.

These perſonnes applied them ſo diligently, that within the ſpace of. viij dayes they agreed vpon an vnitie and peace, the which was compriſed in. xlij. articles, the effect whereof hereafter follow.

The ſome and effect of the articles conteyned in the peace.

1 Firſt the king of England and his heyres kings, with all the landes that he then had in Gaſcoyne, and Guyan, ſhould haue to him and to his heyres for euer, the Citie and Caſtell of Poytiers with all the appurtenaunces to that Lordſhip belongyng. Alſo the Citie of Limoges, with all the landes of Limoſyn, and all other their appurtenaunces. The Citie and Caſtell of Perigort, with all the landes and reuenewes to the ſame Lordeſhip belongyng. The Erledome of Bygort, with all that thereunto belongeth, the Erledome of Poytiau, with all the appurtenaunces: the Seigniory of Beluple, the Lordeſhip of Eranctes, Erauchour and Erancon, the Cities of Agen, Agenoys, and of Caours, and Lordeſhippe of Caourſyn. The Cities of Tharbe, of Gaure, Angoleſme, of Rodes, and of Rauerne. The Lordſhip of Mounſtrell, with all the reuenewes thereunto belongyng. The ſeigniory of Calice, Marguiſe, of Sandgate & Coligne. The Lordſhip of Hammes, of

of Wales and of Ouy. The Erledome of Guynes, with all the profites therunto belongyng. All which Lordshippes, honoures, Castelles, Towres, Cities, and Townes, king Edward the thirde and his heyres should haue and holde for euermore, in as royall wyse and like maner as haue done the kings of Fraunce, without doyng for them any homage, fealtie, or other duetie.

The king here agreeth to refuse the name of the French king and no more to call himselfe by that name.

2 And the sayd king Edward after that day, for him and his heyres kinges of England, should cleerely renounce and geue ouer all his title, right, and interest that he had vnto the Crowne of Fraunce, and specially the name of the king of Fraunce.

3 Also all his right that he had to the Duchie of Normandie, of Thoraine, of Aniow, of Britaine, and of the souereintie of the Erledome of Flaundyrs, and of all other Lordships, Cities, Castels, honours, Townes or Towres, that anye king of Englande before that day had any right vnto within the realme of Fraunce: and to holde him content with the abouenamed Lordeshippes, without any further claime.

The raisome whiche the French king payde was .v. hundreth thousande pounde.

4 Furthermore it was agreed that the Frenche king shoulde pay for hys raunsome three Millions of Scutes of Golde, whereof two should alwaye make a noble Englishe, the which do come vnto sterlyng money, fyue hundreth thousand pound.

Of the which three Millions of Scutes, ten hundreth thousand, which is one Million, to be payed at Calice the first day of June next folowing the sayde treatie. And another Million to be payde at the sayd towne of Calice within .viij. Monethes after the French king was come to Calice. And the thirde Million, to be payde at London in two yeres and a halfe, that is to say, at Myghelmas come a yere after the agreement, foure hundreth thousande Scutes: And at Myghelmasse next after ensuyng, foure hundreth thousand Scutes: And at Easter folowyng two hundreth thousande Scutes, in full payment of the three Millions, or .xxx.C. thousand Scutes.

5 And further it was agreed that after the French king was come to Calice, he should rest him there foure Monethes: whereof the first Moneth should be at the charge of king Edward, and the other three Monethes to be at the cost and charge of the sayd French king, and to pay for euery of the sayd three Monethes, ten thousand Royalles of Fraunce, which at that tyme were in value euery Royall .xxj. pence, and so a Monethes charge after the accoumpt of our money was .viij. C. lxxb. pound.

The charge of the French kinges diet for a moneth.

And it was also agreed, that John the French king for the tyme, nor any king of Fraunce after him should ayde or assist the Scottes against king Edward, nor against his heyres kinges of England. Neyther shall king Edward nor his heyres kinges, allie them with the Fleminges, nor ayde nor assist them agaynst the sayd king John, nor his heyres kinges of Fraunce.

6 And for the title and right of the Duchy of Bryteyn, which was in question betweene the Erles of Bloys and of Mountfort, it was agreed that both the Kinges beyng at Calice, the sayde parties should be called before them. And if a peace betweene them by the two kings might not be set, then the sayde kinges to assigne certaine indifferent persons to agree the sayde Erles, and they to haue halfe a yere of respite for to quiet the matter. And if the sayde persons so by the two kinges assigned, could not agree the sayde Erles by the time aforesayde: That then eyther of the sayde Erles to make the

the best prouision for himselfe with the helpe of his friendes or otherwise, whereby they might attayne to their right and clayme of the sayde Duchy.

7 Prouyded alwayes, that neyther of the sayd kinges, nor anye of their sonnes shall ayde or assist any of the sayde Erles, by reason whereof the peace betwene them agreed might be losed or broken. And it is also further prouided, that vnto whether of the sayd two Erles the sayd Duchy shall fall by sentence of man or otherwise, that the homage of it shall alwayes be done to the Frenche king.

All which ordynances and agreements, with many mo that would aske long leasure to write, were ratefied and confirmed by the instruments and seales of the prince of Wales, vpon the party of king Edward for Englands partie, and by Charles Regent of Fraunce for that partie, as by their letters patents and their seales then sealed appered, bearyng date that one at Louuers in Normandye the .xvj. day of May, and that other at Paris the tenth daye of the sayde Moneth and yere.

And moreouer, eyther of the sayd two princes, that is to saye Edward prince of Wales was swoorne in the presence of .vj. French knightes vpon the Sacrament of the Aultar after the thirde Agnus was sayde in time of a low Masse, at the foresayde Louuers, song or sayde, that he to the vttermost of hys power shoulde vpholde and keepe the aforesayde peace in euery point, as farre as in him was. And in lyke maner was Charles then Regent of Fraunce swoorne in the presence of .vj. English knights to performe the same.

After which treatie thus finished and ended, king Edward with hys sonnes and Nobles of Englande tooke shypping at Homflet in Normandy the twentie day of Maye, and sayled into Englande, leauyng behinde hym the Erle of Warwike for to guyde the Englishmen that remayned in Guyan and other places, & to see that peace which was then proclaymed thorough France were kept & not broken by them, which for al that endured not long.

Peace proclaymed.

And in thys time of king Edwards being in Fraunce, John the French king and his sonne, who were in the Tower of London, did at the returne of king Edward feast him and all his Lords in the sayd Towre of London, and then peace was proclaymed, and the French king set at his libertie.

The French king goeth to Calice.

The eyght day of the Moneth of Julie next ensuyng, the French king landed at Calice and was lodged in the Castell, and there taried the comming of king Edwarde.

King Edward arryueth at Calice.

The .ix. day of October king Edward arryued at Calice, and went streight vnto the Castell to visite king John, which welcommed him with a louing and friendly countenaunce, and when the king should departe to his lodging into the towne, the French king required him, that he with hys sonnes would dyne with him the morow folowyng, which the king graunted. At which dynner the king was first set and kept the estate, and then secondarily the French king sate: Thirdely the prince of Wales, and fourthly the Duke of Lancaster, and no mo at that table. In the time of which dynner came to the Castle the Erle of Flaundyrs, whome the French king welcomed in most louing maner.

And when the sayde dyner with all honor was ended, two of the kings sonnes of England, and two of the French kinges sonnes, tooke leaue of their fathers, and roade toward Boleyne, where at that time the Regent of

Fraunce

Fraunce was. The which met them in the mid waye betweene Calice and Boleyne, and so conueyghed them vnto Boleyn, and rested there with them that night. And vpon the morow the Regent himselfe came to Calice to hys father, and after his father and he came both to the kinges palace to dyner, whome king Edward receaued with much ioye and honour, and made vnto them a sumptuous feast.

And after two dayes, the Regent departed from Calice, and returned vnto Boleyne, and the two sonnes of king Edward returned from Boleyne to Calice.

The. xxiiij. day of October next followyng, both the kinges beyng in two trauerses, and in one Chapel at Calice, a Masse was sayde before them, to the offering of which Masse neither of them came. But when the Paxe was borne first to the French king, and then to king Edward, and eyther of them refused to kisse it first: The French king roase vp and came toward king Edward: wherof he beyng aware, roase vp and met with him, and refused the Paxe, and eyther kissed other. At the which masse, eyther of them was solemply swoorne to maintaine the articles of the sayde peace. And for more assuraunce of the same, many Lordes vpon both parties were also swoorne, to maintaine the same to their powers.

The cause that the French king thus soiourned at Calice, as before it was agreed, was for the discharge of the first payment of his raunsome, and also for the deliuerie of certaine townes which yet the Englishmen had not in possession.

The next day after the takyng of the aforesayd othe by the two kinges, that was the. xxv. day of October, the French king was freely deliuered, and then he departed from Calice, and roade toward Boleyn: Whome king Edward conueyed a myle vpon his way, at which myles ende they departed with killing, and other louing maner: And Prince Edward kept on his way with the French king, and so conueyed him to Boleyn, where he taryed that night. And vpon the morow the sayde Prince Edward, and Charles Duke of Normandie, with the Erle of Estampes and other noble men there then beyng present, were againe swoorne to mainteyne and holde the sayde peace, without fraud, colour, or decept. And that done, the sayde Prince takyng his leaue, returned that night to Calice. And so it may appeare vnto you that king John stood as prisoner by the space of foure yeres, and more. And after king Edwarde had dispatched all his businesse at Calice, he returned into England. But before the king came from Calice, he sent into England such hostages as the French king had left for the performance of ꝑ Articles conteined in the last peace, and the names of the hostages were these, as followe.

Philip Duke of Orleaunce sometyme son to king Philip of Fraunce, and also his two Nephewes.
The Duke of Aniowe.
The Duke of Berry.
The Duke of Burbon.
The Erle of Alanson.
The Lorde John of Stampes.
Guy of Bloys Erle of that Countie.
Lewes of Bloys his brother.
The Erle of Saint Paule.
The Erle of Harecourt.
The Erle Daulphyn of Auuergne.
Sir Ingram Lorde Cowcy.
The Erle of Porceu.
The Erle of Breme.
The Lorde Momorency.
The Lorde Roye.

The

The Lorde of Peaur.
The Lorde of Stoutuyle.
The Lorde of Clerettes.
The Lorde of Swenaunt.
The Lorde of Towre.
The Lorde of Auergne, and diuers other Lordes and Knightes: Besydes these there were two or three of the best Citizens of euery of the best Cities of Fraunce.

And all these the king sent ouer, and commissions also that they should be well vsed and intreated, the which was well obserued: for they passed their tyme in the Citie of London, and about where they woulde, euen as they would themselus. And shortly after king Edward returned into Englande.

And in this yere the Lady Elizabeth daughter to the Erle of Glouceſter reedefied Vniuersitie Hall in Cambridge, which had beene consumed wyth fyre, and named it Clare hall. Clare hall in Cambridge.

Sone after the returne of the Frenche king into Fraunce, there were generally throughout all Fraunce, sundrie companies went together robbyng and spoylyng the Countrie, and they were called the Companions. And the number of them so encreased, that they could be none otherwise subdued, but by a strong army: But they so preuayled against the french kings power and did so much mischiefe in Fraunce, that it was sayde and affirmed, that they did more harme then all the warres that Englande had with Fraunce. And truely before they were suppressed, it cost many a man his life. The number of them as sayth Froyssart, at the first were foure thousand, and after increased to ten thousand, and so to. xx. thousande, and. xxx. thousande and mo. The occasion of their beginnyng, as is alleged in the French Chronicle, was the warres of England, who made such a spoyle and destruction in Fraunce, by brennyng of Villages and otherwise, that the husbandmen and their seruauntes, and other labouryng men entered into an yolenesse, and so flocked in companies: whereof sprang these Companions.

This company were named by the Frenchmen Companions

The cause of stealyng and pyllring is idlenesse.

And in this yere (as sayth Fabian) was a great dearth in England, both of men and beastes, duryng the which tyme the noble Duke Henry of Lancaster dyed. And after his death Sir John of Gaunt Erle of Richemond the kinges third sonne, which had maryed the sayd Dukes daughter, was made Duke of that Duchie. And in this tyme John Wiclife did read the diuinitie Lecture in Oxforde.

1361
36
Henry Duke of Lancaster dyed.

This yere the Frenche king, bearyng great loue and fauor to king Edward and to the Queene his wife, and to their children, came into England to visite them, and to make mery with them, and the. xxiiij. day of January, he came to Eltham, where then the king and Queene was, and there dined, and after dinner the king conueyed him most honourably through the Citie of London vnto the Sauoye: where he lay vntill the begynnyng of Marche next folowyng, and then a grieuous sicknesse tooke him, of the which he dyed the. viij. day of Aprill next folowyng. 1363. and after was caryed into Fraūce, and was buryed at Saint Dionise beside Paris.

1362
37
The death of John the French king.

And this yere king Edward created Lionell his sonne Duke of Clarence, and sir Edmond his other sonne, Erle of Cambridge.

Lionell the kings second sonne made Duke of Clarence.

And in this yere there were three kinges that came to visite and see king Edward. First the king of Fraunce, the king of Cipres, & the king of Scots.

About this time king Edward helde a great counsayle in Englande for the better ordering of the realme, and specially for the kinges children.

1363
38

For it was considered, that the prince of Wales helde a great and a noble estate (as it was right meete for him to doe) for he was valiaunt, puissaunt and riche, and had great possessions & heritage in Aquytayne, where was aboundance of al riches welth and prosperity. Wherfore it was thought most meteſt ỹ the prince did remayne in those parts, for ỹ he had sufficient in that Duchy to maintaine his estate. And also al the Barons and knights of Aquitayne did earnestly desyre to haue him among them, for the which they had made their earnest request to the king. For although Sir John Chandos was to them right curteous and friendly: yet they rather coueted to haue their awne naturall Lorde and Souereigne.

Edward the prince did homage to his father for the Duchye of Guyan.

The prince was very wylling to agree vnto this deuise, and so was the good Ladye his Wyfe, and they prepared themselues with all speede accordyng to their estates. And when euery thing was readie, they tooke their leaue of the King, and of the Quene, and of their brethren, and departed out of England, and with a prosperous winde came to Burdeaux, and shortly after tooke possession of his Duchy of Guyan, and afterward did homage to his father for the same.

Isabell daughter vnto the french king and wife vnto king Edwarde the seconde buried in the Church that now is called Christes Church with in Newgate in London.

About this time also dyed the Lady Isabell the kinges mother, which was wyfe to king Edward the second, and daughter vnto Philip le Beau, sometime French king. And she was buried in London, at the Frier Minors, commonly called the Gray Fryers (which nowe is a parishe Church and is called Christes Church) right nobly and honourably, with all the prelates and Barons of Englande, and all the Lordes of Fraunce that then lay here as hostages.

A complaint made of the Lawyers for pleadyng in french.

In this time, or a little before, a great and greuous complaynt was made by the Lordes and commons of Englande to the king, that the realme sustayned many mischiefes and inconueniences, for that the Lawyers pleaded all their plees in lawe in French, and not in English: wherefore it was ordeyned and enacted by parliament that from thencefoorth all plees, which are to be pleded in any of the kinges Courtes, before any of his iustices, or in any other his Courts, or before any his other ministers, or in the Courts and places of any other Lordes within the Realme, shalbe pleaded, sued, and defended, aunswered, debated and iudged in the Englishe tongue, and that the same be entred and enrolled in Latyn.

It were a good order, that all the Lawe were in Latyne.

Charles the french kings sonne crowned king of Fraunce.

1364

39

This yere on Trinitie Sunday Charles sonne and heyre to John the French king, was crowned king of Fraunce in the Citie of Reyns, with great pompe and solempnitie, and so was the Queene his wyfe daughter to Peter Duke of Burbone.

Saint Stephens Chappell at westminster begonne.

1365

40

And as Fabian sayth, in this yere, because vpon S. Stephyns day the king finished and ended all his warres with Fraunce, he therefore in the worship of S. Stephyn began the foundation of S. Stephyns Chapell at Westminyster, and Richard the second sonne of Prince Edwarde, called the black prince, fynished the same.

Edward the first sonne of Prince Edward.

In this yere was borne Edward, the first sonne of Prince Edward, the which died when he was about eyght yeres of age.

And about this time one Barthram de Claicon a Norman with an army of Frenchmen entered the lande of Castile, and warred vpon Peter, then king of that lande, and so behaued him, that in lesse then foure Moneths, he chased

chased the sayde Peter out of his awne lande, and crowned his brother named Henrye king of Castile, at a Towne called Burges vpon Easter daye: wherefore the sayde Peter constreyned by necessitie, was compelled to come to Burdeaux to craue ayde of Prince Edward.

This Peter was rightfull heyre vnto the Crowne of Castile, and Henry his brother (as most writers affirme) was a bastard. But this Peter was of so vile conditions, that his subiectes fauoured him not. And so thys warre continued a season betweene his brother and him, in the which the Prince with his Archers tooke partie with this Peter, and the French king with speares tooke party with Henry.

The king for bidderth Peter pence to be gathered.

1366

41

And in this time king Edwarde forbade that any money, commonly called Peter pence, should eyther be gathered or payde to Rome.

Richard the second sonne of prince Edward borne at Burdeaux

In this yere also prince Edward had his second sonne borne at Burdeaux, whose name was Richard, and was afterwarde king, by the name of Richarde the second.

Prince Edward goeth into Spaine and restoreth king Peter to his former estate.

This yere at the importunitie, suite and great entreatie of Done Peter king of Spaine, Edwarde prince of Wales went with him into Spayne with a strong power, and the Prince ouercame the Spaniards and Frenchmen in a strong battayle, where the number of them were foure to one of the princes power, and the prince restored king Peter to his former estate as king of Spaine. But not long after the princes returnyng home agayne to Burdeaux, the aforesayde Henry so repayred his army and gaue a new onset, that in the ende he vtterly vanquished Peter and put him to death, and then reigned himselfe quietly. I am the shorter herein because this properly doth not touch the warres and affayres of Englande, which is the chiefe thing that I purpose in this Collection.

1367

42

The reysing of a taxe or masse of money was the losse of all Aquitaine.

Prince Edward after his comming out of Spayne where he had spent a great some of money, and yet a number of the Souldyours that went out with him, whome king Peter promised to pay, came home agayne vnpayde and lyngered and still hanged vpon the prince, wherefore he to rayse a masse or great some of money, deuysed to set great taxes and impositions vpon the people of Aquitayne: which thing the Erle of Armiack, of Bret, of Berygorte, and other noble men would not in any wise consent vnto, but appealed to the French king for remedy, and in such wise perswaded him, that he contrary to the league and peace lately made, sommoned the prince to appeare at Paris: By meane whereof the peace was broken, and open warre agayne proclaymed betweene both princes to the great mortalitie and desolation of people on both parties, but the most losse and dammage fell alwayes to the king of England. In so much that in the ende, he lost the more parte of the lands which were graunted him by the composition and agreement of peace. And nowe fortune, which pleasauntly had smiled vpon king Edwarde the space of .xl. yeres, in hys latter dayes frowardlye frowned and chaunged her Copie.

warre againe proclaymed by Fraunce.

1368

43

This yere in the moneth of May the Frenche king in his high court of parliament holden at Paris proceeded in iudgement vpon the appellations before made by the Erle of Armiack, the Lorde of Bret, and Erle of Berygort, agaynst prince Edward: wherevpon discord and variaunce began to take place betwene the two kings, insomuch, that by meane of the sayd three

Lordes (notwithstanding that they were before sworne to be to the king of Englande true liege men) diuers townes of the Countrie of Poyteau yelded them to the frenche king, as Aubeuyle, Rue and the more parte of the townes of the sayde Countrie.

Whereupon Ambassadours were sent vppon both partes, and diuers meanes of intreatie were commoned of, but in the ende, it came all to none effect. Thus the peace which before was so substancially made & with great solempnity and circumstaunces established, was now vtterly violate and broken, and eyther king for his parte made prouision for warre.

Charles the French king went to Roan in Normandie and there in the moneth of July rigged his ships, & set them forward to war vpon England.

The Duke of Lancaster landeth in Normandy.

And while king Charles was occupied in Normandie, the Duke of Lancaster landed at Calice with a strong companie of Archers, and other warriours, and from thence passed to Thorouenne, and so to Ayze, in wasting and spoylyng the Countrie with yron and fyre as he went. Wherefore the French king in the defence of those partes sent foorth the Duke of Burgoyn with a puyssant armie to withstand the sayd Duke of Lancaster. The which Duke of Burgoyn sped him in such wise, that aboute the. xxiiij. day of August he lodged his host vpon the Hill of Turneham, nere vnto Arde. And the Englishe hoste was lodged betwene Gygowne, and Arde, so that the fronts of both the hostes were within a myle: Betwene whome were dayly skirmishes and small bickeryngs: And when the sayd Duke of Burgoyn had kept the foresayde hill, from the. xxiiij. day of August, vnto the. xij. day of September folowyng, he remoued his host, and went to Hesden: For the which deede, he was after blamed of his brother.

After which departure of the Frenchmen, the Duke of Lancaster with his host tooke the way towarde Caux, and passed the ryuer of Some, and so roade toward Harflew, entendyng to haue fyred the French kinges naupe: But at their commyng thether, the towne was so strongly manned, that they did but little hurt. Wherefore the sayde Duke departed shortly thence, and sped him into the Country of Poiteau, & so came vnto the towne of Aubeuile. Where the frenche men encountered him and gaue him battaile. In the which was taken Sir Hugh Chatellon knight, with other knightes, Esquiers, and Burgesses of the towne, and there were slaine of the Frenchmen mo then three hundreth, and they had taken prisoners to the number of. xlv. which they sent to Calice. And then the Duke with his companie went to Burdeaux, and brent and spoyled the Countrey as he went.

1369
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And in this time dyed at Calice the Erle of Warwike, after that he was returned from the Duke of Lancaster, which was a noble and valiant man.

The death of the Noble Quene Philip daughter of the Erle of Heynault, and wife vnto king Edwarde the thirde.

And in the moneth of August folowyng, dyed that noble woman Quene Philip, wife of king Edward the thirde, the which was a great benefactor vnto the Chanons of Saint Stephens at Westmynster. And sone after died Dame Blaunche, sometime the wife of Henry Duke of Lancaster, and was buried at Paules vpon the Northside of the high Aultare by her husbande. Where she ordeyned for him and her (as sayth Fabian) foure Chauntreyes for euer, and an Anniuersary yerely to be kept: At the which beside other great thinges appointed to the Deane and Chanons of the Church: Shee ordeyned that the Maior of London beyng present at the Masse, should offer a penny,

a penny, and take vp. xx. shillynges. The Shirifes eyther of them a penny, and to receyue eyther of them a Marke. The Chamberleyn of the Citie ten shillinges, the Sworde bearer, vj. shillinges. viij. pence, and euery officer of the Maiors beyng there present. xvij. pence, and to. viij. officers of the Shirifes eyther of them. viij. pence: But this obite is not nowe kept, for the landes are gone, as I thinke.

A parliamke holden at Westminster.

This yere also the King helde his Parliament at Westminster. In the which was graunted vnto him three fiftenes to be payed in three yeres folowyng. And by the Clergie was graunted vnto him three Dismes to be payd in lyke maner.

A third mortalitie of men and beastes.

And in this yere was a thirde mortalitie or death of men: and likewise a marueylous moreyn vpon Cattell, so that the like had not bene sene in many yeres before. And then fell merueylous aboundaunce of raine, so that the corne was drowned in ỹ earth, by reason whereof, the next yere after wheate was solde for three shillinges foure pence the Bushell.

Sir Robert Knolles with a great power taketh his iourney into Fraunce

And in the ende of the Moneth of July, Sir Robert Knolles beyng accompanied with diuers noble men and souldiours, entered Saint Omers. And when they had done their pleasures there, and in the Countrie rounde about, then they road vnto Arras, in washyng and spoylyng all the Countrie as they went. And when they had brent the Bulwarkes of the sayde towne of Arras, they passed by Noyen, and Uermendoys, and brent the houses of all suche as would not to them geue due raunsome. And thus holdyng their way, they passed the ryuers of Oyse, and of Syze, and so came vnto the Citie of Reynes, and passed there the ryuer, and road toward Troys, and passed the riuers of Aube, and of Seyne, and so helde their way toward Saint Florentyne, and there passed the ryuer of Jon, in holdyng their course towarde Joigny, and so to Corbeuile, and Esson. And the. xvij. of September they lodged themselues vpon the Mount Saint Albon, and in the Countrie there about. And within two dayes folowyng, they embattayled themselues in a fielde, betwene the townes of Juny, and Paris. In all which tyme, they passed without battaile through all the Countries afforesayde, in spoylyng and brennyng the townes, and in raunsomyng of the Inhabitantes thereof, without resistence or impediment. And albeit that in the Citie of Paris at that day were two hundreth men of armes waged by the French king, beside the Souldiours and strength of the Citizens of that Citie: Yet the sayd hoste of Englishemen lay, as before is sayde, embattelled vntill it was past noone of the aforesayd day. At which tyme, forsomuch as they were credibly enformed, that they should there haue no battaile, they brake vp their fielde, and went to a place or towne called Antopgnye, and there lodged that night, and vpon the next day, they tooke their iourney toward Normandie. But after foure dayes labour, they turned to Escamps, in pillyng and dammagyng the Countrie as before they had done, and so went forth vntill they came to the Erledome of Angeou, where they wanne by strength the townes of Uaas, and Rupply, with other strong holdes thereaboutes.

Variance betweene the Lord Grauison and Sir Robert Knolles.

But then it came infortunately to passe, for it so chaunced that the Lorde Fitzwater, and the Lorde Grauntson fell at a variaunce with Sir Robert Knolles and his companie, which encreased to such hatred and displeasure, that Sir Robert Knolles with the flower of the Archers and Souldiours

departed from the sayde two Lordes, leauyng them in the aforesayd townes of Uaas and Ruyllye, and then he went into Britayn.

When the French king heard the certentie hereof, anone he commaunded sir Barthram de Glaycon, who was newly made Marchall of Fraunce, with a strong armie to enter the sayde Countrie of Angeou, and to make sharpe warre vpon the sayde Englishmen. The which vpon the. xij. day of October folowing, layd siege to the sayd towne of Uaas, and out of the same issued the sayd lordes of Fitzwater and Grauntson, and gaue vnto the Marchall battaile: But in the ende the Englishe men were discomfited, so that of them were slaine. vj. hundreth, and the rest put to flight. And there was taken the Lorde Grauntson with other.

The Lorde Grauntson taken.

And after this victory the French men went vnto the towne of Uaas, and wanne it by assault, where also were slaine three hundreth English men, and many taken prisoners, and the other put to flight.

Losse vpon losse.

And after this Sir Barthram pursued the Englishmen that were fled to a towne called Uersure: where in the assaultyng of the sayde Towne he slue and toke prisoners foure hundreth Englishmen. And thus by strife and dissension among themselues, those that before by amitie & good accord were victors, now by hatred and discord, were slayne and taken prisoners.

1370
45

Now the king of Englande considering with himselfe of the great and daylie losses that he susteyned, and howe the Frenchmen continually gate and wanne from him in all partes in Fraunce, but chiefely the Countie of Poyteau, wherevpon he had spent a maruellous treasure in the fortefyeng and strengthning of the same, ouer and aboue the yerely reuenues thereof, and also did now well perceaue that he should haue warre on all parties, and also at this time it was shewed him that he should haue war wyth Scotland

The Scots rebell.

because the Scottes were newly allyed with the French king. Wherefore he was sore vexed and troubled, for he feared more the warre of the Scoties then the warre of the Frenchmen: And therefore with all speede he sent men of warre to the Frontiers of Scotlande, as to Barwike, Rokesborough, Aelwe Castell, Dureham, and into other places about the Frontiers. Also he sent a great Naue to the Sea, about Hampton, Gernesey and the Isle of Wight, for it was shewed him howe that the French king had furnished and set foorth a great Naue to go to the Sea, and to lande in Englande, so that he wist not well on which parte he should first take heede.

At thys time the Archebishop of Winchester (as Fabian calleth him) then being Cardinall, and was present at Auignion with Pope Gregory the xi. of that name, was put in commission with the Archbishop of Beauuays, to make or treate a peace and vnitie betweene the two Realmes of Englande and Fraunce. Which sayde Cardinall of Winchester, after his departure from the Pope, came downe toward Melune, where by the Cardynall of Beauuays he was honourably met and conueyed into the Citie of Melune. And when he had arested him there foure dayes, the two Cardinalles meetyng together went to Parys, where they had communication with the French king touching the peace. And after that they had vnderstande hys pleasure, the Cardinall of England tooke his leaue and departed to Calice, where he tooke shippyng, and so came into Englande, and shewed vnto the king of Englande the Popes pleasure, and the French kinges aunswere.

And

And in this time was sore warre in Guyan, and many townes gotten and yeelded to the Frenchemen, and still the Englishmen had the worsse, and many of them slayne and taken prisoners, for in a verie shorte time the Citie of Lymoges, and all the countrie of Lymosyn was vnder the obeysaunce of the French king. And the occasion of this losse as sayth sundrie authoures, was for that prince Edward a little before had reysed a great taxe vpon the inhabitauntes of that Countrie, whereby he lost all their hearts.

The reysing of taskes remoueth the hartes of the people from the prince.

When the french king had thus obteyned the rule of the Countrie of Lymosyn, he immediatly after sent syr Berthram de Glaicon into the Erledome of Poyteau, and wanne there many townes and Castelles, and lastly layde his siege to Rochell.

1371
46

In this yere king Edward kept his high Court of parliament at Westmynster, in the which toward the furniture and ayde of his warres he demaunded of the spiritualtie fiftie thousand pounde, and as much of the laye Fee. The which by the Temporaltie was graunted, but the Clergie kept them of with pleasaunt aunswers: So that the king and his counsayle was with them discontented, in so much that to their displeasures, dyuerse officers, as the Chauncelour, the priuie seale, the Treasorer and other officers who then were possessed by spirituall men, were taken from them, and temporall Lordes set in their places.

The clergie refuse to ayde the king.

And shortly after, the aforesayde Cardynall of Beauuays came into Englande, to treate of the peace betweene the two realmes, but all his labour tooke none effect.

In the Monyth of Julie, the french king sent into the Country of Poyteau the aforenamed Sir Barthram de Claycon with a strong army, where he wanne dyuers holdes and fortresses from the Englishmen.

In the which time king Edward for strengthening of the countrie, and specially to defende the towne of Rochell, which as aboue in the other yere is shewed, was this yere besieged by the sayd Sir Barthram, sent the Erle of Pembrooke, with other noble men to fortefie the sayde towne, and to remoue the siege. But before he could come at that towne, he was encountred on the sea with a Flete of Spanyards, the which king Henry of Castile had sent into Fraunce, to strength the french kings partie. By the which Fleete after long and cruell fight, the sayde Erle was taken, with syr Guychard de Angle and other to the number of. Cix. prisoners and the more parte of hys men slayne and drowned, with the losse of many good shippes.

The Erle of Pembrooke sent into Fraunce with a great power.

The Erle of Pembrooke taken by the Spanyards.

Also in the begynning of September next folowyng a Gascoyne borne, a man of good fame, whom the king of England had admytted for his Lieutenaunt and Gouernour of the countrie of Poyteau, named le Captall de Rueff, fought with an army of Frenchmen before a towne named Sonbise, where in conclusion his men were slaine and chased, and he with lxx. of his parte taken prisoners.

Then the Dukes of Berrey and Burgoyne vpon the. vj. daye of September came before Rochell, and had certaine communications with the rulers of the sayde towne for the deliuerie thereof.

King Edward nowe herying of the taking of the Erle of Pembrooke, and of the losse that he daylie had of his men in dyuers partes of Fraunce, with also the leopardie that the towne of Rochell and other stoode in, made

hastie

haſtie prouiſion and entended to haue paſſed the ſea: But the winde was ſo contrarious that he could haue no paſſage, wherfore ſaith Reynulph Monke of Cheſter, he returned agayne into Englande.

Rochell is yelden to the Frenſh men.

The. viij. daye of September folowyng the Captaine of Rochell hauing no comfort to haue any quick reſkues, yeelded vpon certaine appoyntments the ſayd towne vnto the aforenamed Dukes, to the vſe of the French King. And ſhortly after were alſo yeelden vnto them the Townes of Angoleſme, of Exantes, of Saint John the Angely with dyuers other.

1372 47

This yere alſo Sir John of Gaunt Duke of Lancaſter, and Sir Edmond his brother Erle of Cambridge, wedded the two daughters of Peter which was late king of Caſtile, who was put to death by Henry his baſtard brother, as before is ſhewed in the. xlj. yere of this kinges reigne. Of the which two daughters, Sir John of Gaunt maryed the eldeſt, named Conſtance, and his brother, the ponger named Iſabell, ſo that by theſe mariages, theſe two brethren claymed to be enheritours of the kingdome of Caſtyle, or Spayne.

Alſo this yere, After the Duke of Britteyne had receyued many exhortations and requeſtes from the French king, to haue him vpon his partie: he ſent for certeyne Souldiours of Engliſh men, and fortefied with them ſome of his Caſtels and holdes. Of the which when king Charles heard, he ſent thether with a ſtrong power the aforenamed Sir Berthram de Clayton, warning them to make war vpon them as enemies to the houſe of Fraunce. The which accordyng to their commiſſion entered the lande of Britteyne, in waſtyng the ſame with yron and fyre, and in a little time there was yelden to him the moſt part of the chiefe townes, except Breſt, Aulroy, and Daruall.

Brest in Britteyn beſieged.

And in the ende of June, the ſayd Barthram layde ſiege vnto Breſt, and the Lorde of Craon with other, lay before Daruall. And in all this tyme the Duke of Britein was in England: for ſo ſoone as he had beſtowed the aforeſaid Engliſh ſouldiors, he ſailed into England to ſpeake with king Edward.

The Duke of Lancaſter with a great power landeth at Calice.

And in the moneth of July, the Duke of Lancaſter with Sir John de Mountford Duke of Britteyne and other, with a great power landed at Calice. And after they had reſted them there a fewe dayes, they road vnto Heſden, and lodged them within the Parke another ſeaſon. And after paſſed by Dourlons, by Benqueſne, and ſo vnto Corby, where they paſſed the Ryuer of Some, and road vnto Roye in Vermendoys, where they abode the ſpace of. viij. dayes. And then they ſet the towne on fyre, and tooke their way toward Lamoys, and burned and ſpoyled the Countrie as they went. And in proceſſe of tyme, paſſed the ryuers of Oiſne, Marne, and of Aube, and roade through Champaigne, and by the Erledome of Brame, ſtreight vnto Guy, and paſſed the ryuer of Seyn, and ſo toward the riuer of Leyr, & vnto Marcigny the Nonnery. And when they were paſſed the ſayde Nonnery, they kept their way toward the ryuer of Ancherre, and ſo vnto Burdeaux. In all which iourney they paſſed without battaile.

Roye brent.

1373 48

In this tyme dyed at Burdeaux Edward the eldeſt ſonne of Prince Edward, to the great griefe and ſorowe both of the Prince his father, and of the good Ladie his mother. And ſoone after the death of his ſonne, he himſelfe beyng very ſickly, was aduiſed and counſayled, that he ſhould returne into England, and the rather that he might obteyne his health. The Prince did agree

agree therevnto right gladly, and therevpon made his prouiſion. And when the Prince ſhould depart from Acquitaine, he firſt cauſed a ſpeciall ſummons to be made at Burdeaux, of all Barons and knightes of Gaſcoyn, and Poyteau, and in all other places where he was Lorde, and they vnder his obeyſaunce. And when they were all come together in a Chamber before the prince: Then he ſpake vnto them and ſayd, it is well knowen to you all, that I am your true and the right Lorde and inheritour of your countrie, and how that I haue gouerned, and kept you in peace aſmuch as in my power hath lyen. I haue bene ſo faythful a Protector ouer you, that I haue not ſpared neither the aduenture of my life againſt your enemyes and mine, neyther the expences of my treaſure, for your defence: and God be prayſed, though now ye are a little afflicted, yet hetherto ye haue bene maintayned in great wealth and puyſſaunce agaynſt your enemies. And nowe at this tyme, I beyng vexed with a great and grieuous ſickneſſe, am counſayled by my Phiſitions and other, that for the better recouery of my health, I ſhould returne into England to my naturall Countrie, which God willyng I purpoſe ſhortly to do. And therefore I moſt hartely beſech you, euen as earneſtly as a Prince may requyre his ſubiectes, that ye will yeelde in mine abſence, to my dere and naturall brother here preſent, the Duke of Lancaſter, whome I leaue here as my Lieutenant to gouerne you, the ſame honour, reuerence, and obeyſaunce, and faythfulneſſe of heart, that ye beare or ſhould beare vnto me: and doubt you nothing but that ye ſhall finde him a right good Lorde, valiaunt and curteous, and therefore I beſeeche you to ayde and aſſiſt him in all his aſſayres and attemptes, with your good aduice and counſaile.

And foorthwith the Barons of Aquitaine, Gaſcoyne, Poyteau, and of Paynton promiſed, and ſware on their faythes, that there ſhould neuer be default found in any of them. And therevpon immediately they did their fealtie and homage to the Duke of Lancaſter, and promyſed him their loues, ſeruices and obeyſaunce, and in the preſence of the Prince they ſware to vphoide and keepe the ſame, and therevpon kiſſed his mouth.

The Prince returneth with his wife into England to king Edward his father.

And when this was ended, within ſhort tyme after, the Prince and princes his wife, with their yong ſonne Richard, accompanied with the Erle of Cambridge, and the Erle of Pembroke, and with them. v. C. fightyng men beſyde Archers entered into their Shippes, and ſo long ſayled with a good and proſperous winde, that at the laſt they came vnto Southhampton, and there they tooke lande and refreſhed them two dayes, and then they toke their horſes, and the Prince went in a horſe Litter, and at the laſt came to Windeſore, where then the king was, who receyued right ſweetly his children, & ſo there the king was enformed by the prince of all the ſtate of Guien.

After the departure of the Prince from Burdeaux, the Duke of Lancaſter kept the obſequy of his Coſyn Edward ſonne to the Prince his brother, the which was honourably done in the Citie of Burdeaux.

An Embaſſade ſent frō the Pope to king Edward.

This yere (as ſayth Froyſſart) came into England ſent from the Pope, who then was Gregorie the. xj. the Archebiſhop of Rauenne, and the Biſhop of Carentes, for to treate of a peace betweene the two kinges of Englande and of Fraunce, the which met together at Bruges in Flaundrys. And thether came certeine Lordes, aſwell from the king of Englande, as alſo from the French king. And the Commiſſioners of the Frenche partie, after they had

had spent a tyme in disputations, they then prayed licence of the Legate, that they might go to Paris, and shewe vnto the king the offers of the Englishe partie, and so to returne with his pleasure, wherevpon it was agreed, that a certeine should ryde vnto the French king. And the Englishmen abode stiffely vpon the souereintie, that was that the king of Englande, and hys heyres kinges, shall enioy all the former landes, comprised in the peace lately made with John king of Fraunce, without homage, or other duetie for the same doyng. And for this the Frenche king assembled a counsaile at Paris, and there it was fully concluded, that the Frenche king might not geue ouer the souereintie.

When this report was brought to Bruges, the treatie was dissolued without any conclusion of any thing, sauyng that a peace was continued vntill the feast of all Saintes next folowyng.

This yere John Erle of Pembrooke, who before, as we haue shewed, was taken by the Spanyardes vpon the sea, and now was raunsomed with the payment of a great somme and masse of money, returning into England, dyed by the way. And the Countesse his wife, who was discended of the noble house of the Erles of saint Paule in Fraunce, a woman of great vertue, and a louer of learning and learned men, founded in Cambridge a house for scholers, which at this day is called Pembrooke Hall.

Pembrooke hall in Cambridge.

1374
49

Yet once againe a newe assemblie was made for the treatie of a peace, to be kept at Saint Omers, but after it was kept at Bruges. Where, for king Edward appered the Duke of Lancaster, and Sir Edmond his brother, the Erle of Cambridge, with diuers other of the kinges Counsayle: where the sayde Lordes with the other helde their assemblies, and Courtes, vntill it was nere Easter, to the great cost and charge of both parties: But in the ende they departed againe without effect, sauyng onely that the peace was prolonged vntill the first day of Aprill next folowyng. And yet againe by labour of the sayd Legates the sayde peace was further prolonged vntill Midsomer next folowyng. And in this meane tyme great labours and paynes were taken to haue a peace concluded, but in the ende it would not be, some imputing the fault to the French and some to the Englishe. But in whome so euer the fault was, the French king in the tyme of these intreaties, wanne many townes and Castelles, aswell in Guyan as in Britteyne, and in other places to his great aduauntage.

An assembly at S. Omers and after at Bruges for a peace.

1375
50

At this time there arose a great murmure among the people of Englande agaynst certaine persons that bare authoritie about the king, as the Lorde Latymer then the kinges Chamberleyne and other: By whose sinister counsayle as they sayde, the king in his age was misled, and hys treasure mispended, to the great dishonor of the king, and to the great losse, hurt, and dammage of all the kinges subiects.

The commons of Englande murmour agaynst the rulers.

A parliament.

The king being thus troubled on all sydes with warres, called his high Court of parliament, in the which he required a subsidie for the defense of his enemies. Whervnto it was aunswered by the common house, that they could no lenger beare suche charges, consideryng the manifold and most grieuous burdens that they had from time to time borne before. And further they sayd, that they knew full well that the king was riche enough to defende him and his lande, if the land and his treasure were well guyded and gouerned: But it

The parliament denieth the king any further ayde.

it had beene long euill ruled by euill officiers, so that the lande could not be plenteous, neyther with Chaffe, marchandise, nor riches. By reason wherof, & by their importune charges the commonaltie was greatly empouerished.

Moreouer, the sayde commons complayned them vpon diuers officers, that were the causers of this misorder, whereof the Lorde Latymer was noted for principall, with also dame Alice Piers, the which the king had long time kept for his Concubyne, and also one named Sir Richard Scurry knight, by whose counsayles and sinister meanes, the king was misguyded and the gouernement of the lande disordered.

Lord Latymer is complayned vpon

Wherefore the sayde commons prayed by the mouth of their speaker, which was then Sir Piers de la mere, that the sayde persons with other might be remoued from the king, and other to be set in auctoritie about his person, as should serue for his honour and for the weale of his realme.

Which request of the commons, by the meanes of the Noble Prince Edward, was accepted, so that the sayde persons were remoued from the king, and other Lordes of the realme were put in their places.

A gift made to the king of euery poll foure pence.

And shortly after, the commons graunted the king his pleasure, so that he had of euery man and womā that were aboue the age of. xiiij. yeres, foure pence, Beggers onely except.

And by the Clergie was graunted that the king should haue of euerye beneficed man. xij. pence, and of Priestes not beneficed, foure pence, the foure orders of Fryers onely excepted.

But before this money was gathered, the king was fayne to borowe sundrie summes of money in diuers places: Among the which the Citie of London was sent vnto for foure thousande pounde: And for that the Maior then beyng, was not quick in the furthering of that matter, he was by the kings commaundement discharged, and another put in his place.

1376
51

And vpon the eyght day of June, dyed that noble and famous prince the Flowre of Chiualrie, Edwarde the kinges eldest sonne, within the kinges palace of Westminster, beyng of the age of. xlvij. yeres, and after with great solempnitie was conueyed to Cauntorbury, and there honorably buryed.

The death of Prince Edwarde.

After the death of the prince, the king contrarie to his promise before made, called to him agayne all suche persons as he before for his awne honour and the profite of the realme aduoyded out of his Court, and admytted them agayne to the same offices that they before occupied. By meanes of which alteration the aforesayde speaker of the parliament Sir Piers Delamere was in such wise complayned vpon to the king, that he was committed to prison, where he laye many yeres after. Fabian.

Richard the son of Prince Edwarde created prince of wales.

Then king Edward created Richard the sonne to prince Edward, prince of Wales, and gaue vnto him the Erledomes of Chester and Cornewall.

And because the king waxed now sickly and feeble, he therefore betoke the rule of the realme vnto his sonne Sir John of Gaunt Duke of Lancaster, and made him Gouernour of the lande, and so he continued duryng hys fathers lyfe.

Sir John Wynsterwoorth executed for treason.

And this yere Sir John Wynsterwoorth knight, beyng arrayned of high treason at the Guyldhall in London, before the Lorde Maiour and other the Queenes Justices, for that he was charged to haue receaued great sommes of money of the king, to haue payd his souldyours withal, and he did not

not onely kepe the sayde summes of money to his awne vse, but also fled vnto the French king, and conspired with hym agaynst his naturall prince and soueregne Lorde, of the which treason he was founde guiltie, and therefore had iudgement to be hanged, drawen, and quartered, which was executed accordyngly.

A schisme for election of two Popes.

This yere beganne a wonderfull Schisme in the Church of Rome, about the election of the Pope, for after the death of Gregory the.xj.there were chosen two Popes, the first was named Urban the.vj. and the other, Clement the.vij. The first an Italian, and the other a Frenchman. Of the which election ensued suche discorde for the terme and space of. xxxix. yeres, that much christian bloud was spent by eyther of them in the defense of their papacy, as after shall appere.

The death of king Edwarde the thirde.

Now approched the ende of king Edward the thirde, who in the beginning of his reigne was courageous but not constãt, and in the middle of his age a valiaunt and Noble Conquerour, and towarde the latter ende of hys dayes, lost that which before with great charge and trauayle he had gayned: and now yeelded himselfe to pay nature her debt, and dyed the.xxij. daye of June at his manor of Shene, now called Richemount, when he had reigned full fiftie yeres and fiue moneths, lacking foure dayes, and was of the age of.lxv. yeres: leauing behinde him foure sonnes, that is to say, Lyonell Duke of Clarence, John of Gaunt Duke of Lancaster, Edmond of Langley Duke of Yorke, and Thomas of Woodstocke Erle of Cambridge. By the which sonnes and other Lordes of this realme he was most honorably conueyed from his Manour of Shene vnto the Monastery of Westmynster, and there solemply enterred within the Chapel of Saint Edward vpon the Southside.

The aforesayde noble and valiaunt king Edward in the *tyme of his life had.xij.children, that is to say.*

Sonnes.

1. Edward Prince of Wales. { who had issue Edward that dyed without issue, & Richard that after was king Richard ỹ secõd.
2. William of Hatfielde. { who dyed without issue.
3. Lyonell Duke of Clarence { had issue, Philip maryed to Edmonde Mortimer, Erle of March.
4. John of Gaunt Duke of Lancaster { had issue Henry the fourth.
5. Edmond of Langlay Duke of Yorke { had issue Edward Duke of Yorke, that died without issue, and Richarde Erle of Cambridge, father to Richard Plantagenet, duke of Yorke, which Richard was father to king Edward the fourth.

6 Thomas

6. Thomas of Woodstock Duke of Gloucester { had issue, Anne first maryed to Homfrey Erle of Stafford, who had issue Homfrey Erle of Stafford, and after she was maryed to the Lorde Bowcer.
7. William of Windsore { dyed without issue.
8. Daughters { Isabell Countesse of Bedforde. 1
9. { Jone Queene of Spaine. 2
10. Blaunche. 3
11. { Mary Duches of Briteine. 4
12. { Margaret Countes of Pembroke. 5

The issue of Iohn of Gaunt Duke of Lancaster, who had three wiues.

1. Blaunche his first wife by whom he had six Childzen. { 1 John, 2 Edward, 3 Henry which was king Henry ỹ fourth, 4 John, 5 Philip Queene of Portingale, 6 Elizabeth Countes of Huntingdon.
2. Constance his second wife, by whom he had issue { Katheryn Queene of Spaine.
3. Katheryn the thirde wife, by whome he had issue { 1 John Erle of Somerset, 2 Henry that was Cardinall, 3 Thomas Duke of Exceter, 4 Jone Countesse of Westmerland.

The aboueSayd John Erle of Somerset had issue.vj.childzẽ. { 1 Henry Erle of Somerset, 2 Margaret Countesse of Deuonshire, 3 Thomas, 4 Jone Queene of Scottes, 5 Edmond Duke of Somerset, 6 John Duke of Somerset.

The sayde John Duke of Somerset had a daughter which was called Margaret Coũtesse of Richmond, which was mother to king Henry the.vij.



Richard the ſeconde of that name, borne in Burdeaux, ſonne of Edward prince of Wales, who was called the blacke Prince, which was the eldeſt ſonne of king Edward the thirde, of the age of.xj. yeres, began hys reigne ouer the realme of England the.xxij. day of June.1377. and was crowned at Weſtminſter the.xv. day of July next folowyng. In bountie and liberalitie he farre paſſed all his progenitors: But he was ouermuch geuen to reſt and quietneſſe, and loued litle dedes of armes and Martiall prowes: And for that he was yong, he was moſt ruled by yong counſayle, and regarded nothing the aduertiſement of the ſage and wiſe men of his realme. For the chiefe about him was of no wiſedome nor eſtimation, which turned his lande to great trouble, and himſelfe in the ende to extreme miſerye.

Ye haue heard before in the tyme of king Edwarde, that the peace was continued betweene Fraunce and Englande vntill Midſommer folowyng, which tyme was now expired. And the French king in the tyme of peace had made great prouiſion for warre, aſwell of Shippes and Galeys, as of men and munition, inſomuch that the king of Spaine had ſent him his admirall, called ſir Ferrand Sawſe, who with ſir John of Vien Admirall of Fraunce, ſo ſoone as the truce or peace was expired, went and brent the towne of Rye in Kent, the.xxviij. day, or.xxix. day of June, which was within fiue dayes after the death of king Edwarde.

The French men brenne the towne of Rye.

The French men landed in diuers places in Englande, and brent diuers townes.

And ſhortly after newes hereof came to London: Then the Erle of Cambridge and of Buckyngham went to Douer with a great power. And the Erle of Salſburie and the Lorde Mountague went to Southampton: But in the meane time, the Frenchmen had landed in the Iſle of Wight, and had brent therein diuers townes: And alſo they landed in the Weſt partes of Englande, and brent Dartmouth, Plymmouth, Portesmouth and diuers other townes. And then they came to Southampton, and there would haue landed, but there they founde Sir John of Arondell with a great number of men of warre, and Archers, who defended the towne right baliauntly, or elſe it had beene ſpoyled and taken. Then the frenchmen departed, and went toward Douer, and one daye they landed beſide a little Abbey, called Lyons. There were manye men of the Countrie aſſembled, and they had made the Priour of the place, and Syr Thomas Cheyny, and John Fuſell their chiefe Captaines, and had put themſelues in good araye to defende the paſſage: So that the Frenchmen had but ſmall aduauntage there, for they loſt many of their people before they could lande: notwithſtandyng, at the laſt, by force they did lande, and there was a ſore ſkirmiſhe, and the Engliſhmen were put back, and two hundred of them ſlaine, and the two knights and the Priour were taken priſoners. Then the Frenchmen entred agayne into

into their ſhippes, and lay ſtill all that night at Anker before the Abbey. And here the frenchmen knewe firſt of the death of king Edward the thirde, by the priſoners that they had taken, and of the coronation of King Richarde, and of the order that was taken for the gouernement of the realme. Then Sir John of Vyen cauſed a Barke to departe and to cary thoſe newes with other of his awne enterpriſes, vnto the french king.

After the Barke was ſent awaye, the frenchmen and the Spanyards hoyſſed vp their Sayles, and had winde at will, and came with the ſame tyde to Douer, about three of the clock in the after noone.

And there was readie to receyue them, Sir Edmonde Erle of Cambridge, and Syr Thomas his brother Erle of Buckyngham, with ten thouſand, with Banners diſplayed, and the frenchmen were fiue ſcore Veſſelles ſhippes and Galeys. The Frenchmen came heard by the towne, but taried not, but ſtreight paſſed by and tooke the deepe of the Sea. For then the Sea began to ebbe: Howbeit the Engliſhmen taried there ſtill all that day and the next night, and the Frenchmen by the nexte tyde, came before the Hauen of Calice, and there entred.

The French king ſendeth to the Scots to ſtir them againſt the Engliſh men.

At this time alſo the French king ſent vnto Robert King of Scotland, prayeng him to make earneſt and effectuall warre vpon the Engliſhmen and to folow them ſo hard that they ſhould haue no puiſſaunce to paſſe the Sea. Wherevpon king Robert aſſembled hys counſayle at Edenborough, where as were the moſt parte of all the knightes and Barons in Scotlande, and other ſuche as he thought were hable to doe him ſeruice. And when they were thus aſſembled together, King Robert ſayde vnto them, ye know how that the Engliſhmen in time paſt haue done vnto vs many great hurtes and harmes in ſpoylyng and brennyng of our Countrie, beating downe of oure Caſtelles, and in ſleyng and raunſomyng of our men. And Sirs, nowe is the time come, that we maye be well reuenged of them: For now is there but a yong king in Englande, for king Edward is dead, who was wont to haue ſo good fortune. And when the Barons and yong knights that were there heard this, and they alſo being deſyrous to be reuenged, aunſwered and ſayd, all with one voyce, that they were readie and full appointed and furniſhed to ryde into England, and it were the ſame day or the next folowyng, or when it pleaſed him. This aunſwere pleaſed greatlye the king of Scottes, and he thanked them all. And at the ſame time the king appointed foure Erles to be the chiefe Captaines of all the armie, that is to ſaye, the Erle of Douglas, the Erle Mozet, the Erle of Maure, and the Erle of Surlant. And he appointed Sir Archibald Douglas for Coneſtable of Scotlande, and Syr Robert Uerſey to be Marſhall of the hoſt, and ſo they made their ſommons to be at a certaine day at Myzlane.

The Scots with a great power determine to enter vpon England.

And in the time of the making of thys aſſembly, there departed from them a baliant Eſquier of Scotland called Alexander Ramſey, who thought to enterprize and to atchieue a great feate of armes: and he tooke with him xl. that were well horſed, and roade by night priuely, ſo long vntill that by daye breakyng he came to Berwike, which towne was then Engliſhe, and the Capitayne of the towne was one of the Erle of Northumberlands Eſquiers, and was called John Biſet. And in the Caſtell was Captaine a baliaunt knight called Syr Robert Alenton.

The enterprize of Alexander Ramſey a Scot, who tooke the Caſtell of Berwike.

When the Scottes were come to Berwike, they kept themſelues cloſe, and ſent a ſpie to the towne and to the Caſtell, to ſee in what condition it was. The ſpie entred downe the diches, wherein there was no water, nor none could abide there, for it was all a quick ſande. And ſo the ſpie looked and hearkened all about, but he could neyther here nor ſee anye creature, and ſo he returned and ſhewed his maſter.

Then Alexander Ramſey auaunced forth and brought all his company priuely vnto the diches, and they brought with them ladders, and ſo dreſſed them vp to the walles. And Alexander was one of the firſt that went vp the ladder with his ſworde in his hande, and entered into the Caſtell, and all his companie folowed him, for there was none that withſtood them. And when they were all within, then they went to the chiefe Towre, where the Captaine lay a ſleepe. And there ſodainely with great Ires they brake open the doore. The Captaine ſodainely awooke, and had ſlept all night, for he had kept but ſmall watch, the which he deerely bought, and ſo opened his chamber doore, wenyng to him the noyſe had beene made by ſome of his awne Souldiours that would haue robbed or murdered him in his bed, becauſe he had diſpleaſed them the weke before, and ſo lept out at a wyndow into the great diches in great feare, and there brake his neck.

Berwike Caſtell is taken by the Scottes.

The watchmen were halfe a ſleepe, and heard the noyes, and awooke, and perceyued well howe that the Caſtell was ſcaled and betrayed, and ſo ſowned in a Trumpet Trahey, Trahey.

John Biſet Captaine of the Towne hearing the voyce of a Trompet, armed himſelfe immediatly, & cauſed all the towne to arme themſelues, and foorthwith they drewe together all before the Caſtell, and heard well the noyes that the Scottes made within: But they could not enter into them, for the gate was ſhut and the bridge drawen. Then John Biſet remembred him ſelfe of a good deuiſe, and ſayde to them of the towne that were about him. Let vs breake downe the ſtayes of the bridge on this ſide, and then they that are within cannot iſſue out wythout oure daunger. And incontinent wyth Ires they bet downe the ſteyes of the bridge. And then John Biſet ſent a meſſenger to Anwike a. xij. myles of to the Lorde Percy, certefying him of all the matter, deſyryng him without delay to come to the reſcue of ȳ Caſtell.

Alexander Ramſey and his company, when they had ſlayne in the Caſtell whome it pleaſed them, and had taken the reſt priſoners, and ſhut them vp into a towre, then ſayde Alexander, now let vs go downe to the towne, for it is oures, and let vs take all the goods that are therein, and let vs bring all the riche men into thys Caſtell, and then ſet fyre on the Towne, for it is not to be kept by vs. And within three or foure dayes we ſhall haue reſcue out of Scotlande, ſo that we ſhall ſaue all oure pillage: and at our departyng let vs ſet fyre in the Caſtell, and ſo pay our hoſte. To the which purpoſe they all agreed, for they all deſyred pillage.

And then they toke eche of them a glayue in their handes, for they found enough in the Caſtell, and ſo opened the gate and let downe the bridge: And when the bridge was downe, the ropes that helde it brake, for the reſtyng place of the bridge was broken awaye as afore ſayde.

And when John Biſet ſawe the maner of them, he and all his company beganne to ſhoote and crye, and ſayde: A Sirs, keepe you there, ye ſhall not

not departe thence without our leaue.

And when Alexander Ramſey ſawe the maner of them without, he knewe well that they were ware of his being in the Caſtell: and ſo with much a do cloſed in agayne the gate for feare of ſhot: and then they fortefyed the Caſtel thinking to haue kept it. And they caſt out into the diches all the deade men that they had ſlaine, and locked the reſt that were priſoners into a Towre. They thought that the place was ſtrong enough to be kept for a long tyme, or at the leaſt vntill ſome reſkewe came to them out of Scotland, which they thought woulde not be long.

So ſoone as the Meſſenger had declared the whole matter vnto the Lorde Percy, he imediatly ſent knowledge into the whole countrie, & made haſt himſelfe to come to the reſkewe, and the Barons, knightes and Eſquiers of the countrie and good men of warre came vnto him from all places. And the firſt that came thether was the Erle of Northumberland, and then dailye came great companyes, ſo that at the laſt they muſtered themſelues, and they were aboue ten thouſand men.

Then they beſieged the Caſtell ſo nere that a Birde could not come out without knowledge. And after they beganne to mine vnder the Caſtell, the ſooner to meete wyth the Scottes that were wythin, and ſo to recouer agayne the Caſtell.

Then tydinges came to the Barons of Scotland, howe the Erle, Barons, knightes, and Eſquiers of Northumberland had beſieged their compañie in the Caſtell of Barwike. And they were all determined to go and raiſe vp the ſiege, and to vitaile the Caſtell, for they ſayde that Alexander Ramſeys enterpriſe was valiaunt. And to confirme the ſame, Sir Archibald Dowglas Conſtable of Scotlande ſayde: Alexander is my Coſyn, and it commeth of a noble courage, and valiaunt heart, to enterpriſe ſuche a feate, and we ought to comfort and helpe him in his deede: wherefore, if we may, let vs go raiſe the ſiege, it will redounde to our great noblenelle, and therefore let vs go thether. And then they tooke order who ſhoulde go with him, and who ſhould abyde, and ſo he toke with him fiue hundreth Speares, the beſt of all the hoſte, and ſo roade on towards Barwike.

Tidynges came to the Engliſhe Lordes, that the Scottes were comyng to raiſe the ſiege, and to victuall the Caſtell. Then they went to counſaile, and ſo determined to take a place, & to abyde their enemies and to fight with them. And the Lorde Percye cauſed all his companie to be readie armed and furniſhed to fight, and to make their Muſters, and they found themſelues to be the number of three thouſand men of armes, and. viij. thouſande Archers. And when the Erle ſawe that he had ſo great a number, he ſayde: Let vs kepe our place, we are men enowe to fight with all the puiſſaunce of Scotland, and ſo they reſted in a fayre playne without Barwike in two battayles in good order.

And they had not beene there the ſpace of an houre, but they ſawe certein Currours of the Scottes well horſſed, which came to viewe the Engliſhe hoſte. And when theſe Currours had well aduiſed the number of the Engliſh men, then they returned to their maiſters, and ſhewed them all that they had ſeene, and ſayde: Sirs we haue ridden ſo nere to the Engliſh men, that we haue well aduiſed and conſidered all their doyng: And we ſaye vnto

yon, they are ready abidyng for you in two fayre battailes, in a goodly plaine, and in euery battaile a fiue thouſande men. Therefore nowe take good aduice, for we approched ſo nere them, that they perceyued well that we were Currours of Scotland, but they would not ſtirre nor ſende out one man to runne at vs.

When ſir Archibalde Douglas and his Captaines heard theſe tidynges, they were penſife, and ſayde: we cannot ſee that it ſhould be for our profite to ryde as nowe againſt the Engliſhe men, for they are tenne againſt one of vs, wherfore we may loſe more than we can winne, and of a fooliſhe enterpice commeth no good, as we maye nowe ſee by Alexander Ramſey: and there was preſent an vncle of Alexanders, called Sir William Lindſey, who tooke great paine to come to comfort his Nephewe. And he ſayde vnto the companie: Sirs, on the truſt of you, my nephew hath made this enterpice, and taken the Caſtell of Barwike: It will turne you all to great blame if ye loſe him thus, and peraduenture hereafter, there will be none ſo haſtie to ſhewe ſomuch good will to our Countrie. And they aunſwered and ſayde, they could not amend it, neither was it mete that ſo many noble men as were there, ſhould put themſelues in aduenture of life or vndoyng, for the ſauyng of one Eſquier. Wherefore they determined to returne againe to their awne Countrie, and ſo withdrewe themſelues.

The Scots flie.

Nowe when the Erle of Northhumberland, and the Erle of Nottyngham, and the other Barons of England perceiued that the Scottes came not forwarde, they ſente foorth their Currours, to knowe where they were become, and they brought worde how they were gone toward Morlan beyond the Caſtell of Roſbourgh.

Againſt night, the Engliſhe men drewe againe to their lodgynges, and made good watch that night, and in the morning euery man was readie to go and aſſaile the Caſtell, and there was a fierce aſſault, and endured almoſt a whole day. There hath not beene ſeene more hardier men of ſo fewe, then thoſe Scottes were, nor that better defended a place then they did. For the Engliſh men had ladders, which they rered vp to the Walles, and they went vp vpon them with Targettes ouer their heades, and before them, and ſo came and fought with the Scottes hande to hande, and ſome of them came downe againe into the Ditches: But the thing that troubled the Scottes moſt, was the Archers, who ſhot ſo wholy together, that they durſt not come to the defenſe of the wall. So long this aſſault continued, that at the laſt the Engliſhe men entered by force, and there ſlue as many as they found, not one of them that were within that ſcaped, but were ſlaine, except Alexander Ramſey, whome they tooke priſoner. And thus the Caſtell of Barwike was againe recouered from the Scottes, and the Erle of Northumberland made John Biſet Capitaine there, and he newly repayred the Caſtel & the bridge.

Barwike Caſtell recouered by the Engliſhe men.

1378
2

In the ſecond yere of this kinges reigne (as ſayth Reynulph:) By reaſon of a variaunce that chaunced betwene the Lord Latymer, and ſir Raufe Ferrers on the one partie, and ſir Robert Hall, and Shakerley Eſquier on the other part, for a priſoner that was taken beyond the Sea in Spaine, called the Erle of Dean, whome the ſayde Eſquier kept in his poſſeſſion, contrary to the mindes and willes of the aforeſayd knightes. And herebyon the ſayde knightes beyng in Choler, entered into the Church of Saint Peters at

at Weſtminſter, and there findyng the ſayde Sir Robert Hall kneelyng at Maſſe before the high Aultar, drewe out their ſwordes, and ſlue him: And afterward by their meanes and labour, cauſed the ſayde Shakerley to be arreſted, and committed to the Towre of London, where he was kept as priſoner a great while after, for he would not deliuer the Erle of Deane his priſoner vnto thoſe two knightes: But Carton calleth them Lordes.

Sir Robert Hall ſlaine in Weſtminſter Church.

About this tyme the French king ſent a great number of Shippes and Galeyes into England, and they landed in dyuers places, as at Rye, at Winchelſey, at Haſtinges, at Portſmouth, and in dyuers other places, and did great harme, but chiefely at Graues ende, where they landed, and ſpoyled the towne, & brent a great part thereof, and ſo returned againe into Fraunce with much ſpoyle.

1379
3

Graues ende brent and ſpoyled by the Frenchmen.

And in this yere a Parliament was called, and therein was graunted to the king foure pence of euery man and woman beyng of the age of. xiiij. yeres and vpward, that were within the realme, at the which Subſidy the people did greatly murmure, and much miſchiefe came thereof, as in the yere folowyng ſhall appere. But yet with that money, an armie was prepared and ſent ouer, whereof Sir Thomas of Woodſtock Erle of Cambridge, and Uncle to the King was chiefe Capitaine: The which beyng accompanied with. viij. or. viij. thouſand men, paſſed the water of Some, and came vnto Soyſones, and paſſed alſo the Ryuers of Oyſe, and Marne, and other, and came before Troys, and wanne it, and after lodged them betwene the newe Towne and Sens.

The people greatly murmured for the payment of foure pence the polle.

And euer as they paſſed the Countries they tooke great raunſomes of the people, or elſe ſet fyre on their townes. And although ꝑ the french King had ſent an armie of frenchmen to reſiſt them, yet they hindered them nothing at all of their purpoſe. For euer, if they chaunced to ſkirmiſhe, the Frenchmen were put vnto the worſe. And thus they continued foorth their iourney, and paſſed by the Countrie of Gaſtynoyes, and ſo into Bziteyne, where they were ioyouſly receyued of hyr John de Mountfort, Duke of that Pzouynce, who then was but newlye come thether.

1380
4

To the entent to haue a ſtay and quyetneſſe with Scotland there was ſent vnto them in Ambaſſade John of Gaunt Duke of Lancaſter, and he came to the Towne of Berwike. And from thence, he ſent an Herault of Armes into Scotlande to the king and Barons there, ſhewyng them that he was come to ſpeake with them. And if they would, he would come and treate with them, and thereof he wylled them to ſend him worde, or elſe he knewe right well what he had to doe. The Herauld departed and roade to Edenborough, where king Robert of Scotlande, the Erle Douglas, the Erle de la Mare, the Erle Mozet, and other the Lordes of Scotland were aſſembled together. For they had knowledge how that the Duke of Lancaſter was comming thether to treate with them. Wherfore they were aſſembled in the chiefe towne of Scotland that ioyneth vpon the borders of England. And there the Herault did his meſſage, and was well heard at length, and he had aunſwere that they were well content to here the Duke ſpeake. And ſo the Herault brought a ſafeconduyt for the Duke and his company, to endure as long as he was in the Marches & that they commoned together.

Thus the Herault returned to Barwike, and ſhewed how he had ſped.

And

And so the Duke departed from Barwike and left all his prouision in the towne behinde him, and so came to Rosebourgh and there lodged. And the nert daye he lodged at the Abbey of Maros which is on the ryuer, that departeth Englande and Scotlande a sunder. There the Duke and his companie taried, vntill the Scots were come to Monbanne, thre mile thence, & when they were come thether, they sent word to the Duke. Thus the treaty began betweene the Scots and the Englishmen, and it endured fiftene daies.

The cõmons of England rebelled.

And in this meane whyle ỳ commons of England rebelled, by the which the whole state of the realme was in great perill to be vtterly destroyed and lost: and because ye shall vnderstande the truth thereof, & that the rulers of the realme may preuent and foresee suche lyke mischiefes as maye hereafter ensue, therefore I haue purposed fully to set foorth at length, the truth and whole discourse thereof vnto you, as Frotssart doth at large write the same.

Of small occasions great mischiefes growe and encrease.

And first, consider how straũge a thing it is, that of so poore and simple a foundatiõ, so great a mischiefe should grow and insurge, as this ỳ foloweth. There was and is an vsage in England in many places, that the noble men and Lords of Manoures hauing Fraunchises ought to haue seruices of the commons, that is to say, that their tenaunts ought by custome to plow their landes, to gather and bring home their corne, and some to thresshe and fanne, and to carie wood, and water, and dyuers suche other things, which they ought to doe by their tenure and seruice that they owe to their Lordes. And lykewise there are another sort that holde their lands by villenage, and those are commonly called bondmen, of the which kinde of people there were then many in England, and specially in the County of Kent, Sussex and Bedford.

At this time there were a certaine of suche kinde of people as is aforesayde, that beganne to stirre in England and namely in Kent, and sayde they were in great seruitude and bondage: But sayd they, in the beginning of the worlde, there were no bond men: neyther ought there to be any nowe, except it were such a one as had committed treason agaynst his Lorde, as Lucifer did to God. But sayde they we can haue no suche battayle, for we are neyther Angelles nor spirites, but men framed and formed to the similitude of our Lordes, and therefore sayde they, why should we then be so kept vnder lyke beastes and slaues? And they playnely sayde they would no lenger suffer it, for they would be all one with their Lordes, and if they labored or did anye thing for their Lordes, they woulde haue wages for the same as well as other.

Iohn wall a preest the setter forth, and the very aucthour of rebellion.

And of this imagination was a foolishe preest in the Countie of Kent called Iohn Wall, for the which lyke foolishe words he had bene three times in the Bishop of Cauntorburies prison. This preest vsed oftentimes on the Sundayes, when the people were going out of the Church after seruice, to call them back into the Cloyster or Churchyard, and to talke to them as foloweth: A good people, matters go not wel to passe in England in these dayes, nor shall not do vntill euery thing be common, and that there be no Villeynes nor gentlemen, but that we be all as one, and that the Lordes be no greater then we be. What haue we deserued, or why should we be thus kept in seruitude and bondage? We be all come from one father and one mother, Adam and Eue. Wherefore can they saye or shewe that they are greater Lordes then we be? sauyng in that which we get and labour for, that doe they spend.

They

They are clothed in Veluet and Chamlet furred richly, and we be clad with the poorest sorte of cloth. They haue their Wines, Spices, and fyne bread: and we haue the drawyng out of the Chaffe, and drinke water. They dwell in fayre houses, and we in homely cotages, and lye in the fieldes in winde and rayne. And with that which they haue by oure labours, they keepe and maintaine their estates. We be called their bondmen, and without we doe them readie seruice, we must be beaten, punished or put out of our lyuings. And we haue no souereigne to whome we maye complayne, nor none that will here vs, nor doe vs right. Let vs go to the king, he is young, and shew him in what daunger we be in: and let vs shewe him plainely that we wyll haue it otherwise, or else we wyll prouyde a remedy for our selues. And if we set forward, all maner of people that are now in bondage will folow vs, to the entent they may be made free. And when the king seeth vs, he will prouyde some remedy for vs, eyther by fayrenesse or otherwise.

Thus Iohn Wall vsed to talke on Sundayes, when the people went out of the Churches to go into the Villages, wherefore, many of the meane people loued him: and those that meant no goodnesse, sayde he sayde truth: and so they muttered together one with another in the Fieldes and wayes as they went.

The Archebishop of Cauntorbury, who was agayne informed of thys Iohn Wall, caused him to be taken and committed to prison, where he remained two or thre moneths, as a matter somewhat to correct his folye: howbeit, it had beene much better in the beginning that he had bene condempned to perpetuall prison, or else to haue dyed, rather then to haue suffered him agayne to be deliuered out of prison, for the great mischiefe that did ensue: But the Bishop had conscience to put him to death.

And when this Iohn Wall was againe come out of Prison, he returned againe to his olde trade. Of his wordes and deedes there were many people in London enformed, namely suche as had great enuy at them that were riche. And at the last they began to speake among themselues, and sayd: that the realme of England was euill gouerned, and how that Golde and Siluer was taken from them, by such as were named noble men. And thus a sort of vnhappy people gathered together about London, began to rebell, and sent worde into dyuerse Countries to such as they knewe, that they should come to London, and bring their people with them, promising that they shoulde finde London open to receyue them, and the Commons of the Citie to be of the same mynde, and sayde, that they would worke so much with the king, that there should not be one bond man in all England.

This promise so moued them of Kent, Essex, Sussex, Bedford, and other Countries about, that they arose and came towardes London in great numbers. And they had made to themselues certeine Capitaines, named Watte Tyler, Jacke Strawe, and Iohn Wall and other, of the which companye, Watte * Tyler was the chiefe, and he was a Tyler in deede, and an vngracious Patrone.

* Fabian sayeth Jacke straw was chiefe.

When these vnhappie men began thus to stirre, they of London, namely the honest Citizens were greatly afrayed. Then the Maior of London, and the substanciall of the Citie toke counsaile together: and when they saw the people come in on euery syde, they caused the Gates of the Citie to bee

closed,

cloſed, and would ſuffer no man to enter into the Citie: But when they had better aduiſed themſelues, they thought it not beſt ſo to do, leaſt they might chaunce thereby to geue an occaſion that their Suburbes might be brent. And ſo they opened againe the Gates of the Citie. And there entered in by xx. and. xxx. together, in ſome places an hundreth, and in other places two hundreth, and tooke their lodging within the Citie, but to ſay truely, the third parte of theſe people coulde not tell what to aſke or demaunde, or wherefore they came, but that one folowed another for company, as brute Beaſtes.

The kinges mother the Princeſſe of Wales, was in great feare of the Kentiſhe rebels.

The ſame day that theſe vnhappie people of Kent were comming to London, there returned from Cauntorbury the kinges mother Princeſſe of Wales, comming from her pilgrimage. She was in great ieopardy to haue beene loſt: For theſe people came to her Chayre, and dealt rudely with her, whereof the good Lady was in great doubt, leaſt they would haue done ſome vilany to hir, or her Damoſelles: howbeit God kept her, and ſhe roade in one day from Cauntorbury to London, for ſhee neuer durſt tary by the way. And the ſame tyme king Richard her ſonne, was at the Tower of London, and there his mother found him, and with him there was the Erle of Sariſbury, the Archebiſhop of Cauntorbury, Sir Robert of Namure, the Lorde of Gomegines, and dyuers other, who were in doubt of this people that thus were gathered together, and wiſt not what they demaunded.

This rebellion was well knowen in the kinges Court, before anye of theſe people began to ſkyrre out of any of their houſes: But the king nor hys counſayle prouided not remedie therefore in due tyme.

The firſt entrie of the rebels was at Cauntorbury.

But here to begin and ſhew foorth the ſtory in order. Firſt on the Monday in the yere of our Lorde. 1381. certeine of the aforeſayd people iſſued out of London, and came firſt to Cauntorbury, and there John Ball or John Wall had thought to haue found the Biſhop, but he was at London with the king. When Watte Tyler, and Jacke Strawe entered into Cauntorbury, all the Common people made great ioy, for all the towne was of their mind. And there they tooke counſaile to go to London to the king, and to ſend ſome of their companie ouer the Thames into Eſſex, and likewiſe to ſend another company into Suſſex, and into the Counties of Stafford, and Bedford, to ſpeake to the people, that they ſhould all come to the farther ſyde of London, and thereby to cloſe London rounde about, ſo that the king ſhould not ſtop their paſſages, and that they ſhould all mete together on Corpus Chriſti day.

They that were at Cauntorbury did much harme, for they entered into Saint Thomas Church, and robbed, and brake vp the Biſhops Chamber. And in robbyng and bearyng out their pillage, ſayde, A, this Chaunceloz of England hath had a good Market to bring together all this riches: he ſhall geue vs nowe an accompt of the reuenues of England, and of the great profites that he hath gathered ſithen the Coronation.

The rebels were enimies to all men of lawe, whether they were ſpirituall or temporall.

Then this Monday they came from Cauntorbury, and tooke their way to Rocheſter. And in their paſſage they ſpoyled the houſes of all men of lawe that ſtood in their way, whether they were Spirituall or Temporall. And when they were come to Rocheſter, there they had good cheere, for the people of that towne were of that minde. And then they went to the Caſtel there, and tooke the knight that had the rule thereof, who was called Sir John Motton: and they ſayde vnto him, Sir John, you muſt go with vs, and ye ſhalbe

ſhalbe our ſouereigne Capteyne, and doe that we will haue you doe. The knight made many excuſes very honeſtly and diſcretely, but it auayled him nothing, for they ſayde vnto him, Sir John, if ye do not as we will haue you do, ye are but dead. The knight perceyuyng thoſe people in that furye, and readie to ſlay him: He then fearyng death, agreed vnto them, and ſo he went with them, though againſt his will. And in like maner did they in other countries in England, as Eſſex, Suſſex, Staffoꝛd, Bedfoꝛd, and Warwike, euen to Lincolne. For they brought the knightes and Gentlemen into ſuch a feare, that they cauſed them to go with thē whether ſoeuer they would haue them, as the Lorde Molin a great Baron, ſir Stephen of Hales, and ſir Thomas of Giſlighen, and other.

Then on the Tueſday theſe people lodged at Rocheſter, and from thence departed and came ouer the ryuer there, and ſo kept on their way towarde London, vntill they came to Datford, ſpoylyng and brennyng as they went, all the houſes that belonged to any man of lawe, what ſoeuer they were, and they ſtroke of the heades of dyuers perſonnes: And ſo long they came forwarde, that at the laſt they came to Blackheth, which is within foure myle of London, and euer as they went, they ſayde they were the kings men, and the ſeruauntes of the noble Commons of England.

But when they of the Citie of London knewe that they were ſo neere vnto them: The Maior cloſed the Gates, and ſtopped the paſſages.

And whyle the lewde company lay on Blackheth, they agreed the next day, which was Wedneſday, to ſende Syr John Motton (whome they called their knight) to the king, to ſhewe him that all that they had done and doe, is for him and his honour: and howe the realme of Englande hath not bene well gouerned of a great ſpace, neyther for the honour nor common profite of the ſame, by his Uncles, nor yet by the Clergie, and ſpecially by the Archbiſhop of Cauntorburie his Chaunceloꝛ, of whome they woulde haue accompt: But when they had well bethought themſelues, they wylled Syr John Motton to let theſe things alone, and to ſay to the king that they deſyred to ſpeake with him, becauſe that to him, and to none other they woulde open their griefes. The aforeſayde knight durſt doe none other, but paſſed ouer the Thames and came to the Towre, prayyng to ſpeake with the king. The king and they that were with him in the towre, deſirous to here newes, wylled that the knight ſhould come vnto them. And at that tyme there were preſent with the king, firſt the princeſſe his mother, and hys two brethren, the Erle of Kent, and the Lorde John Holland, the Erle of Salſburie, the Erle of Warwike, the Erle of Oxford, the Archebiſhop of Cauntorbury, the Lord of Saint Johns, Sir Robert of Namure, the Lord of Uertaigne, the Lorde of Gomegines, the Maiour of London, and dyuers other notable Citizens.

Thys Knight Syr John Motton, who was well knowen among them, for he was one of the kinges officers. He kneeled downe before the king, and ſayde. My redoubted Lorde, let it not diſpleaſe your grace, the meſſage that I muſt ſhew vnto you, for deare Syr, it is by force and againſt my will, Sir John, ſayde the king, ſaye what ye will, I holde you excuſed, Sir, the commons of your realme hath ſent me vnto you, for to deſyre you to come and ſpeake with them on Blackheth, for they deſyre to ſpeake with you and none

none other. And ſyr ye neede not to haue any doubt of your perſon, for they will doe you no hurte, for they holde and will holde you for their king: But Sir, they ſay they will ſhewe you diuers things the which ſhall be right neceſſary for you to take heede of, when they ſpeake with you, of the which thinges I haue no charge to ſhewe you: But I humbly beſeeche you, to geue me your aunſwere, ſuche as may appeaſe them, and that they maye knowe for truth that I haue ſpoken with you, for they haue my children in hoſtage vntill I returne agayne vnto them: and if I returne not agayne, they will ſley my children incontynent. Then ſayde the king, ye ſhall haue aunſwere foorthwith.

Then the king toke counſayle what was beſt for him to doe, and it was anone determined that the nexte morning the king would go downe by water, and without fayle ſpeake with them, by the Thames ſide, whether he wylled that a certaine of them ſhould come vnto him.

And when ſyr John Motton had that aunſwer, he deſyred nothing elſe, and ſo he tooke his leaue of the king and of his Lords, and returned agayne to Blackheth, where he had left mo then. lx. thouſande men: And there he declared his aunſwere, which was, that the next morning they ſhould ſende ſome of their counſayle vnto the Thames, and the king would come and ſpeake with them. This aunſwere greatly pleaſed them, and ſo paſſed away that night, and the fourth parte of them faſted for lack of victuall, which greued them muche.

In the morning being thurſday, the king being accompanied wyth the Erle of Salſburie, the Erle of Warwike, the Erle of Suffolk and certaine knightes, tooke his Barge and rowed downe along the Thames to Detforde, and there were come downe the hill aboue ten thouſand of the afore ſayde perſons, to ſee and ſpeake with the king.

And when they ſawe the kings Barge comming, they began to ſhowte, and made ſuche a crie as if all the Deuills in hell had bene among them. And they had brought with them Sir John Motton, to the entent that if the king had not come, they would haue hewen hym all to pieces, and ſo they promyſed hym.

And when the king and his Lords ſawe the demeanour of the people, the ſtowteſt hearted of them that were with the king were afrayed. And the Lordes counſayled the king not to take any landyng there, but to rowe vp and downe the ryuer. And the king demaunded of them what they would, for ſayde he, I am come hether to ſpeake with you. And they all with one voyce ſayde: we would that ye ſhould come a lande, and then we will ſhewe you what we lack. Then the Erle of Salſbury aunſwered for the king, and ſayde, Sirs, ye be not in ſuche good order nor araye that the king ought to ſpeake with you. And with thoſe wordes, they were ſomewhat ſtayed. Then the king was counſayled to returne agayne to the Towre of London, and ſo he did. And when they ſawe that, they were enflamed with wrath and returned to the hill where the great bande was. And there they ſhewed them what aunſwere they had, and howe the king was returned to the Towre of London. Then they cryed all wyth one voyce, let vs go to London, and ſo they tooke their waye thether, and in their goyng they bet downe the Lawyers houſes without all mercie, and many other houſes of ſuche as had offices

offices vnder the king. And ſpecially they brake vp the Kinges priſons, as the Marchalſey, and kinges Benche, and delyuered freely all the priſoners that were within. And at the bridge foote, becauſe the Gates were cloſed, they threatened ſore the Citezens of London, ſayeng how they would brenne all the ſuburbes, and alſo ſley all the commons of the Citie, and ſet the Citie on fyre. And within the Citie were a great number of their affinitie, and they ſayde: why doe not we let theſe good felowes into the Citie? they are oure felowes, and that that they doe, is for vs: And ſhortly after the gates were opened, and they entred into the Citie, and went into houſes, and ſate downe to eate and drinke. And they could call for nothing but it was brought vnto them, for euery man was readie to make them good cheere, and to pleaſe them with meate and drinke.

Then their Capteynes Watte Tyler, Jacke Straw, Jacke Shepard, and other, to the number of. xx. thouſand, went through London, and came to the Sauoy, which then was a goodly place, and perteyned to the Duke of Lancaſter. And when they were entered therein, they firſt ſlue the kepers thereof, and then ſpoyled and robbed the houſe. And when they had ſo done, they ſet fyre on it, and cleane conſumed and deſtroyed it: And then came vnto the Temple and other Innes of Court, and ſpoyled the Bookes of law, and the recordes of the Counter, and ſet all the priſoners of Newegate and the Counters at large. And when they had this done, then they went ſtreight to the goodly Hoſpitall of the Rhodes, called Saint Johns beyond Smithfielde, and ſpoyled that likewyſe, and then conſumed it with fyre. Then they went from ſtreete to ſtreete in London, and ſlue all the Flemynges that they could meete withall, eyther in Church or in any other place, and they brake vp diuers houſes of the Lombardes, and robbed them, and toke their goodes at their pleaſure. And the ſame tyme they ſlue in the Citie a riche Citizen called Richard Lion, for that Watte Tyler once dwelled with him, and on a tyme did beate him, wherefore he was nowe reuenged vpon him, and cauſed his head to be ſtriken off, and put vpon the poynt of a Speare, and made it to be borne before him throughout London. Thus theſe vngracious people demeaned themſelues, like mad and outrageous beaſtes. And toward night they went to Saint Katherines before the Tower of London: ſaiyng howe they would neuer departe thence vntill they had the king at their pleaſure, and vntill that he had graunted vnto them all that they would aſke, and haue ſpeciall accomptes of the Chauncelor of England to know where all the treaſure was become that he had leuyed through the realme: & without he made a good accompt thereof, it ſhould not be for his profite. And ſo after they had ſpent all this day, beyng Thurſday, and then called Corpus Chriſti day, and was then a highe and feſtiuall daye, in doyng of miſchiefes and murders, they reſted at night before the Towre, as afore ſayde.

Watte Tyler
Jack Straw
Jack Shepheard, John wall.

Sauoy burnt

Richard Lion murthered

But here may ye well thinke, that this was a heauy and troublous night vnto the king, and thoſe that were with him in the Tower, for ſuch was the behauiour of theſe vilaynes, that dyuerſe and ſondry tymes in the night they ſhowted and cryed as all the deuilles in hell had roared.

And in this Euenyng the King was counſayled by his brethren and Lordes, and by ſir Nicholas Walworth Maior of London, and diuers other worſhipfull Citizens, that in the night tyme they ſhould haue iſſued out of the

Tower,and haue entred into the Citie,& there to haue had ayde,& ſo to haue ſlaine al thoſe vnhappy people that then were at their reſt, for it was thought that many of them were dronken, by reaſon whereof they might haue beene ſlaine like flees,and among. xx. of them there was ſcant one in harneſſe. And ſurely the good men of London might haue done this at their eaſe, for they had ſecretly in their houſes a great number of theyr friendes,and ſeruauntes readie harneſſed.

And alſo ſir Robert Canolle was in his lodgyng, keepyng the kinges treaſure, with ſixe ſcore readie at his commaundement. And in lyke maner was ſir Perducas Dalbert, who was as then at London. In ſomuche as there might haue bene aſſembled.viij.thouſand men well harneſſed and appoynted: Howbeit, there was nothing done, for they were in feare of the reſt of the Commons of the Citie, and againe the number of the Commons of the Countrie were.lx.thouſand and mo.

Then the Erle of Sariſbury, and the wyſe men about the king ſayd, ſir if ye can appeaſe them with faire wordes, it were beſt and moſt profitable ſo to do, and to graunt them euery thing that they deſyre. So this counſaile was accepted and folowed,and the Maior countermaunded not to ſtirre that night. And in the Citie with the Maior, there were. xii. Aldermen, wherof ix. of them helde with the king, & the other three toke part with the vngracious people, as it was after well knowen, the which they ful derely bought.

On the Friday in the morwyng the people that were lodged at Saint Katheryns,began to apparell themſelues,and to cry and ſhowte, and ſayde: Without the king would come out and ſpeake with them, they would aſſault the Tower,and take it perforce, and ſley all them that were therein.

Then the king doubted thoſe wordes, and he was counſayled to go out and ſpeake with them. And then the king ſent vnto them that they ſhould all draw to a fayre plaine place called Myle ende, where as the people of the Citie did vſe to ſhote,and thether the king promiſed to come to them,and to graunt them whatſoeuer they deſyred.

Then the people began to depart, ſpecially the Commons of the Villages,and went to the ſame place,but all went not thether, for they were not all of one condicion,nor of one minde. For there were ſome that deſyred nothing but ſpoyle,and the vtter deſtruction of noble men, and to rob and ſacke London: And that was the principall matter of their beginnyng, the which they well ſhewed.For aſſone as the Tower Gate opened, and that the king iſſued out with his two brethren,and the Erle of Sariſbury,the Erle of Warwike, the Erle of Oxford,Sir Robert of Namure,the Lord of Briteyne,the Lord Gomegines,and dyuerſe other. Then Watte Tyler, Jacke Strawe, and John Bal, alias Wall,and mo then foure hundreth entered into the Tower, and brake vp Chamber after Chamber, and at the laſt found the Archbiſhop of Cauntorbury called Simon,a valiaunt man & a wiſe,and high Chaunceler of England,and him they brought out, and ſtroke off his heade, and alſo beheaded the Lorde of Saint Johns, and a gray Frier, which was a Phiſition belongyng to the Duke of Lancaſter, for hatred that they had to hys mayſter, and a Sergeaunt at armes called John Laige. And theſe foure heades they put vpon the endes of foure long Speares,and they made them to be borne before them through the ſtreetes of the Citie. And at the laſt ſet them

them on high at London bridge, as though they had beene Traytors to the king and to the realme.Alſo theſe wretches entred into the Princeſſe Chamber,and brake her head,with the which ſhe was ſo ſore afrayde,that ſhe ſowned,and ſo was taken vp and borne to the water ſyde, and put in a Barge, & couered, and ſo conueyed to a place called the Royall, which then was the Queenes Wardrobe, and there ſhe was all that day and night, as a woman halfe deade, vntill ſhee was comforted with the king her ſonne, as ye ſhall after here.

Now when the king was come to Myle ende without London, he put out of his company his two brethren the Erle of Kent, and ſyr John Holande and the Lorde of Gomegines,for they durſt not appere before the people. And when the king and his other Lords were there, he founde there a lx. thouſand men of dyuers Villages and of ſundrie Countries in Englande.

And the king entered in among them, and ſpake vnto them gently and ſayde. A good people, I am your king, what lacke ye? what doe ye ſaye? Then ſuch as heard him ſayd, that ye will make vs free for euer, our ſelues, our heyres, and oure landes, and that we be called no more bondmen, nor from hencefoorth ſo to be reputed or taken. Sirs,ſayde the king, I doe gladly graunt your requeſt: withdrawe you home to your owne houſes, and into ſuche Villages as ye came from,and leaue behind you of euery Village two or three, and I wyll cauſe writinges to be made and ſeale them wyth my ſeale,the which they ſhall haue with them,conteining euery thing that ye demaund. And to the entent that ye ſhall be the better aſſured, I will cauſe my Banners to be delyuered vnto euery Baylywike, Shire and Countie.

Theſe wordes quieted well the common people, and ſuche as were ſimple and good plaine men that were come thether,and wiſt not wel wherfore: They anſwered the king, it was well ſayde, they deſyred no better. And ſo they beganne to withdrawe themſelues, and came into the Citie of London. And the king ſayde alſo one worde, the which greatly contented them, and that was: Syrs,among you good men of Kent,ye ſhall haue one of my banners, and ye of Eſſex another, of Bedford, of Cambridge, of Stafford, of Lyncolne, and of Lyn, eche of you ſhall haue one. And alſo I pardon euery thing that ye haue done hetherto, ſo that ye folowe my Banners, and returne home to your houſes. They all anſwered they would ſo doe. Thus theſe people departed and went to London.

Then the king appointed mo then.xxx. Clerkes the ſame Fridaye to write with all diligence letters patents, to be ſealed with the kinges ſeale, and to be delyuered to theſe people: and as they receaued their writings, ſo they departed into their Countries.

But yet the great venome remayned behinde, for Watte Tyler, Jack Strawe, and other of their Captaines ſayde, they would not ſo depart, and there agreed vnto them mo then.xxx.thouſand: And thus they abode ſtil,and made no haſte, neyther to haue the Kings writing nor Seale, for their ententes was to haue ſpoyled the Citie. The which thing all the honeſt Citezens of London greatly feared, and therefore had priuely in their houſes their friends in a readyneſſe.

When it drewe ſomewhat toward night, the king came to the Towre in the Royall, where the Princeſſe his mother beyng in great feare had remayned

mayned all that daye, to comfort her and taried there with her all that night.

And here (ſayth Froiſſart) I will tell you what happened among theſe vnhappie people before the Citie of Norwiche by a Capitaine among them named Wylliam Lyſter of Staffordſhire. The aforenamed daye of Corpus Chriſti that the aforeſayde lewde people entered into London, the verye ſame tyme they aſſembled together of Staffordſhire, of Lynne, of Cambridge, of Bedford. And as they were comming towardes London they had a Captaine among them called Lyſter, and as they came they ſtayed before Norwiche, and all the waye as they paſſed, they cauſed euery man to ariſe with them, ſo that they left fewe lewde people behinde them. And the cauſe why they ſtayed before Norwich was this. There was a knight, and a Captaine of the Towne called Sir Robert Sale, he was no gentleman borne, but he was ſage and valiaunt in armes, and for his valiauntneſſe king Edwarde made him knight, & he was of his body one of the mightieſt men in Englād.

William Liſter Capteyn of the rebels.

Sir Robert Sale a valyaunt Knight.

Lyſter the lewde Captayne of this route, thought that this man was meete to be a Captaine among them, to the entent they might be the more dradde and feared of the people: wherfore they ſent vnto him that he ſhoulde come and ſpeake with them in the fielde. The knight conſidered that it were better for him to go and ſpeake with them, rather then by his not goyng he ſhould prouoke them to doe any outrage to the towne, and therefore he toke his horſe, and rid vnto them all alone, hauyng no company with him. And when they ſawe him, they ſhewed him moſt ioyfull and louing countenaunce and honored him very much, and prayed him to alight of his horſe, for they were deſyrous to common with him, and he ſo did, wherin he did very fondly. And aſſone as he was alighted, they came rounde about him, and began to ſpeake very fayre vnto him, and ſayde. Sir Robert, ye are a knight and a man greatly beloued in thys Countrie, and counted for a valiaunt man. And though you be ſo, yet we knowe you well, ye are no gentleman borne, but ſonne to a Villeyne, ſuche as we be: Therfore we will that ye ſhall go with vs, and we will make you ſo great a Lorde that one quarter of Englande ſhall be vnder your obeyſaunce.

When the knight had heard them thus ſpeake, it offended him not a little, wherefore beholding them with a cruell looke, he ſayde vnto them: Auoyde ye falſe trayterous and vngracious people: wene you that I will forſake the obedience and duety that I owe vnto my ſouereigne Lorde for ſuch a company of knaues as ye be, which ſhould be to my diſhonour for euer? I had rather ye were all hanged, as I doubt not but ye ſhall be, for that wyll be your ende. And with thoſe wordes he had thought to haue lept againe to his horſe, but he fayled of the Stirop, and the horſe ſterted awaye.

Then they cryed all with one voyce, at him, and ſley him without mercy. And when he heard thoſe wordes he let his horſe go, and drewe out his ſwoorde, and beganne to ſkirmiſhe with them, and he made ſuche rome about him that it was pleaſure to beholde him, for there was none that durſt come nere him. Howbeit, ſome there were that did approche neere vnto him, but at euery ſtroke that he gaue, he cut of eyther legge, head, or arme, and there was none ſo hardie but that they feared him. He did there ſuche deedes of armes, that it was marueil to beholde, but the number of theſe lewde people were no then, xl. thouſande, and they ſhot fore at him and wounded him to

to death. But yet before he dyed he ſlue. xij. of them out of hande, beſide many other that he hurte: and finally he was ſtryken to the earth, and they cut of his armes and legges, and then hewed his body all to peeces. And thys was the end of Syr Robert Sale, which did not a little offend all the knights and ſquires of Englande: But now to returne where we left.

Sir Robert Sale ſlayne.

On Saturday, the next day in the forenoone, the king had bene at Weſtminſter, and came from thence on the backſyde thorough Holborne into London, and thought to haue ridden to the Tower, and as he came ouer Smithfielde, he ſawe there Watte Tyler, Jacke Strawe, and their companie aſſembled together, which cauſed him a little to ſtay, and conſidering them wel, they ſemed to be nere vnto the number of. xx. thouſand, and all this company had the kings Bauners, for they were delyuered vnto them the day before. And theſe vileynes ſayde among themſelues, let vs ouerrunne and ſpoyle this Citie wherein we may haue great rycheſſe, before that they of Eſſex, Suſſex, Cambridge, Bedford, Arundell, Warwike, Redyng, Oxenford, Guylford, Lynne, Staffordſhire, Lyncolne, Yorke, and Durain do come hether, For Wallior and Liſter will bring them hether, and they will be Lordes of London if we be not, and therefore nowe ſeeyng we be firſt here, why ſhould we not geue the attempt: and to this they were all agreed, and euen therewithall the king came.

Wallior. Lyſter.

And when Watte Tyler ſawe the king, he ſayd to his company, yonder is the king, I will go ſpeake with him, ſtirre not you quoth he to his people, from hence, except I make you a ſigne, and when I make you a ſigne, come on together, and ſlay them all (except the king.) But do the king no hurt, for he is yong, and we ſhall rule him as we liſt, and leade him with vs round about England, and ſo without doubt we may be Lordes of the realme. And therewith he ſpurred his horſe, and came to the king, ſo nere him that hys horſe touched the kinges horſes heade as they rode, and the firſt worde that he ſayde vnto the king was this, Sir king, ſeeſt thou all yonder people? ye truely ſayd the king, wherefore askeſt thou that? Becauſe ſayde he, they be all at my commaundement, and haue ſworne to me fayth and trouth, to do all that I will haue them. In a good tyme ſayde the king, be it ſo. Then ſayde Watte Tyler, as he that ſought nothyng but ryot. What, beleueſt thou king, that theſe people and as many mo that are in London, which are at my commaundement, that they will depart from thee thus, without hauyng thy letters? No ſayd the King, ye ſhall haue them, they are appoynted for you, and ſhall be deliuered eche of you one after another: Wherefore good felowes withdrawe your ſelues to your people, and cauſe them to depart out of London, for it is our entent that eche of you by Villages and Townechips ſhall haue letters Patentz as I haue promiſed you. With thoſe wordes Watte Tyler caſt his eyen on a Squier that was ther with the king, and bare the kinges ſworde. And Watte Tyler hated greatly the ſame Squier, for wordes that had paſſed the day before betwene them, and ſayde vnto him, what, ſayth he, art thou there? Geue me thy dagger. Nay ſayd the Squier, that will I not do, wherefore ſhould I geue it thee? The king beholde the ſquier and ſayd, geue it him, let him haue it, and he gaue it him. And when Watte Tyler had it, he began to play wyth it in his hand, turning of it: And then he ſayde againe to the Squier, geue me that ſworde, nay ſayd he, it is the kings

In arrogant and prowde billeyn.

ſwoꝛde, thou art not woꝛthie to haue it, foꝛ thou art but a knaue. And there were no mo here but thou and I, thou durſt not demaund any ſuch things of me, neyther to ſpeake as thou haſt ſpoken, foꝛ as much Golde as would lye in yonder Abbey: By my fayth ſayd Watte Tyler, I will neuer eate meate vntill I haue thy head.

And with thoſe woꝛdes the Maioꝛ of London came to the king, with xij. hoꝛſes well armed vnder their coates, and ſo he bꝛake the pꝛeaſe, and ſaw and heard the demeanoꝛ of Watte Tyler in the pꝛeſence of the king, and he ſayde vnto him, Ha thou knaue, howe dareſt thou be ſo bolde in the kinges pꝛeſence to ſpeake ſuche woꝛdes, it is to much to ſuffer thee ſo to do. Then the king began to chafe, and ſayde to the Maioꝛ, ſet handes on him. And when the king had ſayd ſo, Watte Tyler ſayde to the Maioꝛ, a Gods name, what haue I ſayde to diſpleaſe thee? Yes truely quoth the Maioꝛ, thou falſe ſtinking knaue, ſhalt thou ſpeake thus in the pꝛeſence of the king my naturall Loꝛde? I wiſhe neuer to liue, except thou dearely by it. And with thoſe woꝛdes the Maioꝛ dꝛewe out his ſwoꝛde, and ſtroke Watte Tyler ſuche a ſtroke on the heade, that he fell downe at the feete of his hoꝛſe. And aſſoone as he was fallen, he was compaſſed round about, ſo that he was not ſeene of his company. Then a Squier alighted, called John Standiſhe, and thꝛuſt his ſwoꝛde into Watte Tylers belly, and ſo he dyed.

And foꝛ this the Citie geueth a ſwoꝛde in their armes.

Then the vnhappy people there aſſembled, pꝛeceyuyng their Capteyne ſlaine, began to murmure among themſelues, and ſayd: A, our Capteine is ſlaine, let vs go and ſlay them all. And therewith they ꝛaunged themſelues in the place in maner of battaile, and their Bowes bent befoꝛe them.

Thus the king began a great outrage, howbeit all happened to the beſt: foꝛ as ſoone as Watte Tyler was on the earth, the king departed from all his company, and all alone he roade to the naughtie companie, but befoꝛe his goyng, he ſayde to his awne people, ſirs, folowe not me, let me alone. And when he came to the vngracious people, who had put themſelues in oꝛder of warre, to be reuenged of the death of their Captaine: The king ſayde vnto them, Sirs what ayleth you, ye ſhall haue no Capteine but me, I am and will be your king and Captaine, be you therefoꝛe quiet. And a great number that heard him ſpeake, and ſeeyng him in pꝛeſence, quieted themſelues, and departed. But ſuch as were wicked and malicioully mynded, would not depart, but made a ſhewe as though they would do ſomewhat.

Then the king returned to his awne company, and demaunded of them what was beſt to doe. Then he was counſayled to dꝛawe into the field, foꝛ to flie away was no boote. Then ſayde the Maioꝛ, it is good that we do ſo, foꝛ I thinke ſurely we ſhall haue ſome comfoꝛt of them of London, and of ſuche good men as be of our parte, who are pꝛouided and haue their friends and men armed in their houſes.

And in this meane time, a cꝛye and noyes went thꝛough the Citie, how the king and the Maioꝛ were lyke to be ſlayne by theſe naughtie people: By reaſon of which noyes, a great number of good men iſſued out of their houſes, and came into Smithfield where the king was. And they were anone to the number of ſeauen oꝛ eyght thouſand men well armed.

Sir Robert Canoll. Sir Perdu-ras Dalbꝛet.

And firſt, thether came Sir Robert Canol and Sir Perducas Dalbꝛet well accompanied, and dyuers of the Aldermen of London, and with them ſixe

ſixe hundꝛeth men in harneys. And a woꝛthie and puiſſaunt man of the City which was the kinges Dꝛaper, called Nicholas Bꝛembꝛe, and he bꝛought wyth him a great companie, and euer as they came, they ꝛaunged themſelues on foote in oꝛder of battayle.

And on the other part theſe vnhappie people were readie ꝛaunged, makyng countenaunce as though they would pꝛeſently fight: and they had with them dyuers of the kings Banners.

There the king made foure Knightes. The one the Maiour of London, Syꝛ Nycholas Walwoꝛth, Sir John Standiſhe and Syꝛ Nycholas Bꝛembꝛe. Then the Loꝛds ſayde among themſelues, what ſhall we doe? we ſee our enimies who would gladly ſley vs, if they might haue the better hande of vs. Syꝛ Robert Canoll counſayled to go and fight with them and ſley them all. But the king would not conſent therevnto, but ſayde: Naye, I will not ſo, I will ſende to them commanndyng them to ſende me agayne my Baners, and thereby we ſhall ſee what they wyll doe: Howbeit, eyther by fayꝛe meanes oꝛ otherwiſe, I wyll haue them: That is well ſayde, quoth the Erle of Salſbury. Then theſe newe knightes were ſent to them, and theſe knightes made token to them that they ſhould not ſhoote at them. And when they came ſo nere them that their ſpeeche might be heard, they ſayde: Sirs, the king commaundeth you to ſende him agayne his Banners. And incontinent they delyuered the Banners, & ſent them to the king, and then they were commaunded vpon payne of their heads, that all ſuche as had letters of the king, to bꝛing them foꝛth, and to ſende them agayne to the king, and many of them delyuered their letters, but not all. Then the king commaunded them to be all toꝛne in their pꝛeſence. And aſſoone as the kinges Banners were taken from them, they kept none array, but the moſt parte of them thꝛewe downe their bowes, and ſo bꝛake their array, and returned into London. Sir Robert Canoll was ſoꝛe diſpleaſed that he might not ſet on them, but the king would not, but ſayde he would be reuenged on them well enough, and ſo he was after.

Thus theſe beaſtly people departed, ſome one waye and ſome another. And the king and his Loꝛdes, and all his company right comely and oꝛderly entred into London with great ioye, and foꝛthwith his grace went to the Lady Pꝛinceſſe his mother, being in the Tower of the Roiall, where ſhe had taried two dayes, and two nightes, in great feare (as ſhe had good cauſe) And when ſhe ſawe the king her ſonne, ſhe greatly reioyced and ſayde: A fayꝛe ſonne, what paine and ſoꝛow haue I ſuffred foꝛ you this daye. Then the king ſpake and ſayde, Madame, I know it right well, but now I pꝛay you reioyce and thanke God, foꝛ it his high time. I haue thys daye recouered mine heritage and the realme of England, which I had almoſt loſt. And thus the king taried that day with his mother, and euery Loꝛd went peaceably to their awne lodgings. And foꝛthwith a pꝛoclamation was made in euery ſtreete in the kings name, that all maner of men, not being of the Citie of London, neyther hath dwelt there the ſpace of one yere, to departe. And if any ſuche be founde there, the next day, which was Sunday, by the Sunne ryſing, that they ſhould be taken as Tꝛaytoꝛs to the king, and to loſe their heades. Aſſoone as this pꝛoclamation was made, they ſparkled abꝛoade, euery man to their awne homes.

And

And here is to be noted that in the tellyng of all this ſtorye, Sir John Froyſſart nameth one John Ball to be a chiefe Captaine, and I finde none other Aucthour that nameth any ſuch, but Jack ſtraw, and Jack Shepard. But I thinke it is ſome fault in the print, and that it ſhoulde be John Wall, for in the beginning of the ſtorie is ſet forth that a ſimple prieſt called John Wall was the firſt mouer, and ſpeciall authour, and ſetter forth of this rebellion, and therefore lyke enough that he was one of their Captaines. And it ſhould the rather appere ſo to be, for that in the beginning of theyr enterprices, they went firſt to the Byſhop of Cauntorburie, and ſpoyled hys houſe, and bare ſuche malice vnto him that after they ſlue him in the tower of London. And the ſame Byſhop of Cauntorbury had three or foure times empriſoned the ſayde John Wall for his lewde communication that tended to rebellion, & therfore moſt lyke it ſhould be John Wall, ỳ ſought to be reuenged.

In like maner the aforeſayde author Sir John Froyſſart doth in this ſtory acompt Watte Tyler to be the chiefe of this rowte, whom he ſaith was a Tyler in dede, and an vngracious patrone. But Fabian, Caxton, Raſtell, Cowper, Polidore and many other Aucthours doe impute Jack Straw to be chiefe, and more Froyſſart ſayeth it was Watte Tyler that bragged with the king, and toke vp the Maior of London in the kinges preſence, and alſo that it was Watte Tyler whome the Maior of London did ouerthrow: But all other ſay it was Jack Strawe, and it ſhould ſeeme rather Watte Tyler, for that in all this diſcourſe he was the buſieſt bragger of all the Captaines. But which of them ſo euer it was, they were naught all.

John Ball and Jacke Strawe were founde hidden in an olde houſe.

But nowe ſayth Froyſſart, John Ball, and Jack Strawe were founde hidden in an olde houſe, where they had thought to haue ſtollen awaye, but they could not, for they were accuſed by their awne company. Of the taking of them, the king and his Lordes were glad, he cauſed their heades to be ſtriken of, and Watte Tylers alſo, and commaunded them to be ſet vpon Lõdon bridge, and thoſe valiaunt mens heades to be taken downe, which they had ſet on before. Theſe tydings ſpreade abroad ſo, that the people of ſtraũge Countries which were comming towardes London, returned back agayne to their houſes, and durſt come no further.

The end of the hiſtorie of the rebels of Kent.

And here we muſt returne to the Duke of Lancaſter, who all the time of this rebelliõ was in Scotland in ỳ treatie of a peace as ye haue heard before. And ſo long they continued this treatie, that at the laſt a truce was concluded to remain for thre yeres, & when this truce was cõcluded then the Lordes of eche part made good chere to other. Then ſayd the Erle of Douglas to the Duke of Lancaſter: ſir we know right well of the rebellion of the common people in England, & the peril that the realme is in at this preſent, and ſir we take you for a right ſage & valiaunt man, that in all the tyme of this communication of the treatie ye would not ſeme to vnderſtand any thing therof: but ſyr, we ſay now vnto you, & we offer our ſelues to be redy to aide you with .b. or .bj. C. ſpeares, and to do you ſeruice. By my fayth ſaide the Duke, gentle Lords I thanke you, I will not refuſe your friendly offer: howbeit I thinke verily that the king my lord hath ſo good counſail, ỳ it ſhall be pacefied right well: howbeit, I deſyre you to haue a ſauke conduyt for me & mine to returne into your Coũtrie if nede be, vntill the matter be appeaſed. The Erle Douglas, and the Erle Mozet who had the kinges aucthorite, graunted him hys deſyre,

deſyre, and ſo they departed, the Scottes went to Edenbourgh.

The Duke of Lancaſter and his people wente to Barwike, wenyng to the Duke to haue entered into the towne, for when he paſſed that way, he left all his prouiſion behinde him: But the Capteyne of the towne called Sir Mathew Redmayn denyed him to enter, and cloſed in the gates againſt him and his, ſaiyng he was ſo commaunded by the Erle of Northumberland. And when the Duke heard theſe wordes, he was ſore diſpleaſed and ſayde: Howe commeth this to paſſe, Mathew Redmayn? is there in Northumberlande a greater ſouereigne then I am, which ſhould let me to paſſe this way where all my prouiſion is with you? what meaneth theſe newes? By my fayth ſir, ſayde the knight, this is true that I ſay, and by the commaundement of the king: and ſir, this that I do to you is right ſore againſt my will, but I muſt nedes do it, and therefore for Goddes ſake holde me excuſed, for I am thus commaunded vpon paine of my life, that I ſhall not ſuffer you, nor none of yours to enter into the towne.

Sir Mathew Redmayn Captaine of Berwicke denied the Duke of Lancaſter to enter into the towne.

Then the Duke not ſaiyng all that he thought, brake out of this matter, and ſayde, Sir Redmayn, what tydynges out of England? and he ſayde, he knewe none, but that the Countries were ſore moued, and the king had ſent to all this Country to be in a redineſſe whenſoeuer he ſhould ſend. Then the Duke muſed a little, and ſodeinly turned his horſe, and bid the knight farewell, and ſo went to the Caſtell of Roſebourgh, and the Conſtable receyued him. Then the Duke of Lancaſter was counſayled, that becauſe he was not ſure howe the matters went in Englande, neyther knewe not of whome he was beloued, or hated, that therfore he ſhould ſend vnto the Lordes of Scotland, deſiryng them to ſende a quantitie of men of warre to conuey him into Scotland: And then he ſent to the Erle Douglas, who was as then at Alqueſt. And when the Erle ſawe the letter, he was right glad thereof, and made the Meſſenger great cheere, and ſent worde thereof to the Erle Moret, and to the Erle de la Mare his brother, praiyng them incontinent without any delay to meete with him at Morlaine the thirde day after, with a certeine number well horſed and appoynted. Aſſoone as theſe Lordes knewe this, they ſent for men and friendes, and ſo came to Morlaine, and there they found the Erle Douglas, and ſo they roade altogether, to the number of fiue hundreth Speares, and came to the Abbey of Mauros, which was .ix. little myle frome Roſebourgh. And on the way they met the Duke, and there the one embraced the other right louingly, and then kept forth their iourney vntill they came to Edenbourgh, where the king of Scottes of late had beene, but as then he was in the wilde Scottiſhe. There the Duke of Lancaſter was greatly honoured of the Erle Douglas, and of the Barons of Scotland and the Caſtell was deliuered to the Duke to lie in, and there he lay vntill other newes came out of England, which was not ſo ſoone as the Duke had wiſhed. And in the mean ſeaſon, many naughtie reportes and rumors were rayſed and bruted by the rebellious people, of the Duke of Lancaſter, affirmyng that he was become Scottiſh, and a traytour to England: and Lyſter, Watte Tyler, Jacke Strawe, John Ball, and other Capteynes of the rebelles affirmed at the preſent houres of their death, the ſame to be true. The which cauſed many ſhamefull and ſlanderous tales to be reported of the Duke in euery parte of England. And no doubt theſe billeynes bare great hatred

Slanderous and lewde reports made of the Duke of Lancaſter.

hatred to the Duke of Lancaſter, as appered by the brennyng of his houſe, and ſpoylyng of the ſame, and by the murderyng of his Phiſition.

And ſoone after the death of theſe lewde Capteynes, the king viſited his realme and ſate in ſundrie places, and made inquirie of the aforeſayde rebels, and he perſecuted them in very quiet maner, from one village to another, and from one towne and Countie to another, ſo long vntill at the laſt, he had executed aboue. xv. hundreth of them, and the reſt he pardoned, and ſo all the realme was quieted.

The Duke of Lancaſter returneth home out of Scotland.

Then the king ſent for his vncle the Duke of Lancaſter out of Scotland, whereof he was glad, and at his departing he thanked the Lordes of Scotland of their great friendſhip. And the Erle Douglas, the Erle Moret, and other Lordes of Scotland would nedes bring him as farre as Maurog and there eche toke leaue of other. And thus the Duke came to Roſebourgh, to Newcaſtel vpon Tyne, and ſo to Durham, & Yorke, & at the laſt to London.

And when he had ſhewed to the king and his Counſaile how he had done with the Scottes: Then he forgate not to ſhewe howe Sir Mathew Redmayn ſhutte him out of Barwike. And the Duke inquired of the king if he would allow that deede, and it ſeemed that the king did but faintly allowe it. So the Duke ſayde no more at that tyme.

And ſhortly after on the day of the Aſſumption of our Ladie in Auguſt, the king helde a ſolempne feaſt at Weſtminſter, vnto the which came many Nobles and Lordes of England, and there was the Erle of Northumberland, and the Erle of Nottyngham, and diuers other Lordes of the North. And the king made knightes the ſame day the young Erle of Pembrooke, Sir Robert Waubze, ſir Nicholas Twyford, and ſir Adam Fraunces.

Hotte and great wordes betweene the Duke of Lancaſter, and the Erle of Northumberland.

And at this feaſt there were great wordes betweene the Duke of Lancaſter, and the Erle of Northumberland. The Duke ſayd vnto him, Henrie Percye, I knewe not that ye were ſo great a man in England, as to cloſe the Gates of any towne, Citie, or Caſtell, againſt the Duke of Lancaſter. The Erle vnderſtood whereof the Duke meant, and he tempered his ſpeech, and ſayde, Sir I denie not that the knight did, for I can not. For the king here preſent commaunded me ſtreyghtly, that on mine honour, and on my lyfe, I ſhould not ſuffer any maner of perſon, Lord, or other, to enter into any Citie, towne, or Caſtell in Northumberland, without he were heyre of the place. And ſir the king and his Counſaile may well excuſe me, for they knewe that ye were in Scotland, and therefore they ſhould haue excepted you. What quoth the Duke, ſay you that there ought a exceptation to haue beene made for me, who am vncle to the king, and haue kept mine heritage as well or better then any other haue done, next to the king, and knowing that I was gone for the buſineſſe of the realme into Scotlande? This excuſe can not excuſe you, but that you haue done euill, and greatly againſt mine honour: and you haue geuen therby an occaſion to bring me in ſuſpition that I had done ſome treaſon in Scotland, when at my returning the kinges townes are cloſed againſt me, and ſpecially there where my prouiſion was: Wherefore I ſay, ye haue acquited your ſelfe right euill. And for the blame and ſlaunder that ye haue brought me into, I nowe to purge my ſelfe, here in the preſence of the king do caſt you here my gage: reyſe it and ye dare.

Then the king ſtepped foorth and ſayde: Right louyng Uncle, all that was

was done, I muſt take it vpon me. And I muſt excuſe the Erle of Northumberland, and ſpeake for him. For we commaunded him on paine of his life that he ſhould kepe cloſe all the townes of the Marches, and ye knowe well howe our realme was then in great trouble and perill. The fault was in the Clerke that wrote the letters, and in the negligence of our Counſaile: For of truth we ſhould haue excepted you: Wherefore I will and alſo deſyre you, to put apart this euill opinion that ye haue of the Erle of Northumberland, and I take the charge on me, and diſcharge the Erle in that behalfe. Then kneled downe before the Duke, the Erle of Arondell, the Erle of Sarisbury, the Erle of Suffolke, the Erle of Stafford, and the Erle of Leyceſter, and ſayde vnto him: Sir you here howe louingly and how truely the king ſpeaketh, wherefore we beſech you to agree to his pleaſure. Wel quoth the Duke, who was inflamed with yre, I will hold my peace, and as it pleaſeth the king to haue it, it is reaſon that I be content therwith, & ſo departed.

The firſt inuention of Gonnes.

In this time as ſayth Polidore in his boke De Inuentoribus rerum, Gonnes were firſt in vſe, which were inuented by one of Germany. But ſayth he, leaſt he ſhould be curſſed for euer that was the Authour of thys inuention, therefore his name is hidden, & not knowne. But dyuers ſay that a Monke was the inuenter, though they name him not.

1381

5

Anne the daughter of Charles the fourth late Emperour.

In the Moneth of Aprill next followyng, there landed in Kent Dame Anne the daughter of Charles the fourth, late Emperour deceaſſed, and ſhe was Siſter vnto Wenceſlaus who then was Emperour, the which of the Maior, and Citizens of London was honorably met vpon Blackheth, and conueyed with great triumph vnto Weſtmynſter the eyght day of the month of Maye, and ſhortly after was there ſolemply maried vnto king Richard.

A terrible earth quake.

And the ſayde yere was a terrible, and a horrible earthquake throughout the vniuerſall worlde as many Authours write, but namely in England, that threwe downe Caſtelles, Churches, Steples, houſes, and Trees, and whole Villages, that ỹ lyke was neuer ſene nor heard of before, to the great terrour and feare of all ſuche as then lyued, and were preſent.

1382

6

This yere by the commaundement of Pope Urbane, Henry Spencer Biſhop of Norwiche, with a great number of Spirituall men and other, went to warre vpon the King of Spaine. And for the maintenance of thys warre, the Pope, as ſayth Froiſſart, had ſent vnto the ſaid Biſhop more then xxx. Bulles, and alſo graunted to the king and to his Uncles, to further this enterpriſe, a Diſme of the Clergie. And then the preachers aduaunced and ſet foorth this voyage to be ſo acceptable before God, and that the benefite of the Popes Bulles, were of ſuch value for the remiſſion of ſinne, that the people of Englande, who ſoone gaue credite therevnto, beleued verily that if they dyed that yere, they could not come into heauen, except they had geuen ſomewhat in almoſe toward this warre. And at Londō (ſayth Froiſſart) and in the Dioceſſe thereof there was gathered a Tonne full of Gold and ſiluer, and according to the Popes Bulles, he that moſt gaue, obteyned moſt pardon. And whoſoeuer dyed in that time, and gaue his goodes to further that voyage, he was cleane abſolued from paine and from ſinne, and he accompted himſelfe moſt happie that dyed in that ſeaſon to obtaine ſo noble an abſolution. And thus was gathered a great maſſe of money.

Bulles are of great force.

This Pope (as Fabian writeth) gaue authoritie to the ſayde Biſhop to

to make warre vpon the king of Spaine, for that he contrarie to the Popes commaundement withholde certaine poſſeſſions, belonging of right vnto syr John of Gaunt Duke of Lancaſter, in the right of his wife dame Conſtance.

But to ſay more truely, as diuers Authours ſaye, it was for the malice that this Pope Urbane bare vnto Pope Clement, to whome the Duches of Aniow had geuen the kingdomes of Naples, Cicilia, Apulia, and Calabria, of the which ſhe wrote her ſelfe Queene.

In perfourmance of which act, the ſayde Bychop entring into the countrie of Flaundyrs, founde there the Flemynge with diuers miſcreaunts, ſuch as the king of Spaine had ſent thether, makyng reſiſtence againſt hym: wherefore he made vpon them ſharp warre, and wanne from them certaine townes, as Grauelyng, Burbourgh, and Dunkirke, and wanne great and riche pillage, ſo that he and his Souldiours ſtuffed and freight with it (as ſayth Reynulph) xlj. ſhippes. But ſhortly after the Flemynges aſſembled with ſuch power and ſtrength, and gaue vnto the Engliſhmen ſuche an aſſault about Dunkirke, that they were conſtreyned to geue back. And becauſe the ſayde ſhippes and goodes ſhould not come againe into the poſſeſſion of his enimies, therfore he the ſayde Biſhop cauſed them to be ſet on fyre within the Hauen, and ſo were ſpoyled both ſhippes and goodes. And although that after this miſchap he recouered his ſtrength, and layde ſiege vnto the towne of Ipre, and wrought the Flemynges much care and trouble, yet ſhortly after, ſuch ſickneſſes fell among his people, as the Flux and other, that his ſouldiours dyed in great number: For the which he was compelled to leaue his iourney, and to returne againe into England.

A warlike Bychop.

In thys yere alſo was a battaile or Combate done and holden in the Kings Palayce at Weſtminſter, betwene one called Garcon Appellaunt, and Sir John Anſlye Knight Defendaunt, of the which fight the knight was at length the Victour and forced his enemie to yeelde vnto him. For the which the ſayde Garcon was immediatly from that place drawen to Tiborne, and there hanged for his falſe accuſation.

A Combate.

1383 7

And at this time, being the .viij. yere of the reigne of King Richarde, a truce or peace was concluded betwene him the french king, and the king of Scottes for one whole yere next enſuyng, ſo that the french men ſhould geue knowledge thereof vnto the Scottes.

1384 8

After the concluſion of the aforeſayde peace, certaine Lordes of Englande returning out of Fraunce, and vnderſtandyng that the Frenche king had not yet geuen knowledge vnto the king of Scotlande of the truce, they now thinking to do a feate, aſſembled themſelues with their powers, namely the Erle of Northumberland, the Erle of Nottingham, and the Barones of the borders and Marches of Scotland, and made a road into Scotland, and beganne to brenne the countrie and lande of the Erle of Douglas, and of the Lorde Lyndſey, and left nothing vnbrent to Edenbourgh.

But ſhortly after that the Engliſhmen had done this feate, and were returned againe into Englande, the Scottes, although then they had knowledge of the peace, that was concluded in Fraunce, yet they would not take knowledge thereof: But the Erle Douglas to be reuenged, entered into Northumberland, and ſo into the lande of the Lorde Percye, and there beganne to brenne, robbe, ſpoyle and deſtroy, and then returned by the lande of the

the Erle of Nottyngham and the Lord Mowbray, and there did much hurt: and ſo paſſed by Roſebourgh, but they taried not there, becauſe they were ſo laden with pillage, priſoners and Cattell, and ſo returned into their Countrie againe without any daunger. And thus one miſchiefe was requyted with another lyke miſchiefe.

One miſchiefe aſketh another.

Alſo, thys yere there came vnto king Richarde the king of Ermony, which was driuen out of his lande by the Infidelles and Turkes, and he prayed aide of the king to be reſtored to his dominion. The king feaſted and comforted him according to his honour, and after counſayle taken with hys Lords concerning that matter, he gaue vnto him great ſomes of money, and other riche giftes: with the which (after he had taried in Englande about two Moneths) he departed with glad countenaunce.

The king of Ermony.

And in this time a variaunce chaunced betweene John Holland brother to the Erle of Kent, and the Erles ſonne of Stafford: By reaſon of which variaunce in concluſion the ſonne of the Erle was ſlayne by the hande of Sir John Holland: For the which dede the king was greuouſly amoued.

A variaunce betweene John Holland, and the Erles ſonne of Stafford.

This yere the king aſſembled his high Court of parliament at Weſtminſter, during the which he created two Dukes, a Marques & fiue Erles, The firſt was ſyr Edmond of Langley the kinges Uncle, and Erle of Cambridge, who was created Duke of Yorke, ſyr Thomas of Woodſtock Erle of Buckyngham was created Duke of Glouceſter, Sir Robert Vere, who before was created Erle of Oxford, was nowe made Marques of Dublyn, Sir Henry Bolyngbrook ſonne and heyre of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaſter, was nowe made Erle of Darby, Sir Edward ſonne and heyre to the Duke of Yorke was made Erle of Rutlande, Sir John of Holland brother to the Erle of Kent was made Erle of Huntyngdon, Sir Thomas Mowbray was made Erle of Nottyngham, and Marſhall of Englande, and ſyr Mighell de la Poole was made Erle of Suffolk, and Chaunceloz of Englande, who was hated and iudged to be an euill man, both of the Lords and commons of this realme, as in the yere folowyng ſhall be ſhewed. And by auctoritie of the ſame Parliament, Sir Roger Mortimer Erle of March, and ſonne and heyre vnto Sir Edmond Mortimer, and of Dame Philip eldeſt daughter and heyre vnto Sir Lyonell the ſecond ſonne of Edward the thirde, was ſone after proclaymed heyre apparaunt to the Crowne of Englande. The which Sir Roger ſhortly after ſayled into Ireland, to ſuppreſſe the rebellion & vnquietneſſe of the people of his Lordſhip of Wolſter, which he was Lorde of by his aforeſayd mother. But whyle he was there occupied about the ſame, the wylde Iriſhe came vpon him in great number, and ſlue him and many of his company.

1385 9

Creation of Dukes and Erles.

This Henry was afterwarde king Henry the fourth.

Mighel de la Poole Chaunceloz of England.

Sir Roger Mortymer proclaymed heyre apparaunt.

This Sir Roger had iſſue, Edmond, and Roger, Anne, Alice, and Alianor that was made a Nonne. The two aforeſayde ſonnes dyed without iſſue, and Anne the eldeſt daughter was maryed to Richarde Erle of Cambridge, which Richard had iſſue by the ſayde Anne, Iſabell Ladie Bourcher, and Richard that was after Duke of Yorke, and father to King Edward the fourth, which ſayde Richard Erle of Cambridge was put to death by Henrie the fift at Southhampton, as after ſhall appere.

The iſſue of Sir Roger Mortimer

Alſo this yere Sir Henry Bolyngbrooke Erle of Darbye, maryed the Counteſſe daughter of Harford, by whome he was Lorde of that Countrie.

Henry Bolyngbrooke Erle of Darby.

And by her he had iſſue, Henry that after him was King, Blaunche Duches of Barre, and Philip that was wedded to the King of Denmark: Alſo Thomas Duke of Clarence, John Duke of Bedford, and Humfrey Duke of Gloucester.

Robert Vere created duke of Ireland.

And where a litle before mencion is made, that ſir Robert Vere was made Marques of Dublyn, ye ſhall underſtand, that now the ſame man was created Duke of Ireland, & that the King purpoſed to haue made him king of Ireland if he might, ſuch an affection the King had vnto him, albeit that all the Noble men diſdeyned his high and ſodeyne exaltyng, ſeeyng that many of as good qualities and condicions as he was, and of as good blood, remayned ſtill in their olde eſtate. This Robert was maryed to a fayre yong Ladie of King Edwardes blood, which he forſooke and put from him, and toke vnto him one of a bace blood, a Sadlers daughter, which was borne in the realme of Beame, named Lancicron, which came ouer with King Rychardes wife. The puttyng away of the former Lady, was the occaſion of many great murmures and diſpleaſures againſt this Robert Vere, ſpecially by the Duke of Gloucester Uncle vnto her, which determined vtterly when he ſawe tyme, to reuenge the iniuryes done vnto his Neece. This grudge borne by the Duke of Gloucester, was not vnknowen to the Duke of Irelande, which caſt in his minde by what meanes he might deſtroy the ſayde Duke, and all thoſe which toke his part. The tyme of Eaſter came, at which ſeaſon it was before appoynted, that the Duke of Ireland ſhould haue taken his voyage into Ireland: But ſmall preparation was made for his goyng ouer: But yet becauſe it ſhould be thought none otherwiſe but ỹ the purpoſe ſhould hold, the King tooke his iourney into Wales, vnder pretence to bring him to Ship: and yet meant nothing leſſe, for his ſpeciall purpoſe was to deuyſe howe he might bring to paſſe to ſet holde vpon the Duke of Gloucester, the Erles of Arondell, Warwike, and Darbie, with many other noble men: And to this vngracious purpoſe was of counſaile Myghell de la Poole Chauncelor of Englande, Sir Robert Treſilian one of the Kinges chiefe Juſtices, and Alexander Neuell Archebiſhop of Yorke, with dyuerſe other, as after in this ſtory ſhall more at large appere. And after that the king had continued a certeine of tyme in Wales, he put off the iourney of the Duke into Ireland, and the King and the Duke returned to London, and thether had ſommoned a Parliament to be holden at Weſtminſter. And theſe thinges thus wrought betwene the king and the other perſons aforenamed, were not kept ſo ſecrete, but that the Duke of Gloucester, and the other Lordes had thereof knowledge. Wherefore when the tyme of the Parliament came, they came by euery of them with great power and ſtrength.

And ſoone after the beginnyng of the ſayde Parliament, the aforeſayde Myghell de la Poole Chauncelor (as I finde written in an olde Chronicle, which beareth the name of the Chronicle of Leyceſter) demaunded of the Commons in the Kinges name, foure fiftenes, for with leſſe he ſayd that the king could not mainteine his eſtate, and his outward warres. The whole body of the Parliament made aunſwere againe, that without the king were preſent, they would make therin none aunſwere. And they ſaid further that if the king did not remoue this Myghel de la Poole from his office of Chaunceloꝛſhip, they would no further meddle with any acte in thys Parliament, were

were it neuer ſo ſmall.

A diſſention betwene the King and the Parliament.

This meſſage beyng done to the King, the king ſent agayne to the Commons that they ſhould ſende to Eltham (for there he lay then) xl. of the wiſeſt and beſt learned of the common houſe, the which in the name of the whole houſe ſhould declare vnto him their minde. And then the houſe were in more feare then they were in before, for a talke there went that the King entended to betrappe dyuerſe of them which folowed not his mynde, eyther by that way or elſe at a banquet, which was appoynted to be made purpoſely at London, if Nicholas Exton then Maior of London would haue conſented therevnto, at which tyme the Duke of Gloucester ſhould haue beene taken. Wherefore the Lordes of the vpper houſe, and the common houſe aſſembled together, and agreed with one aſſent, that Thomas of Woodſtocke Duke of Gloucester, and Thomas Arondell Biſhop of Ely, ſhould in the name of the whole Parliament be ſent vnto the king to Eltham, which was done, and the king well pleaſed that they ſhould come.

Lordes ſent by the parliament to the king.

The ſaing of the Lordes vnto the king.

And firſt when they came into his preſence, they moſt humbly ſaluted him, and ſayd: Moſt high and our redoubted ſouereigne Lorde, the Lordes and Commons at this your Parliament aſſembled, with moſt humble ſubiection vnto your moſt royall Maieſty, in likewiſe deſyre your moſt gracious fauor: So that they may liue in tranquillity and peace vnder you, to the pleaſure of God, and wealth of your realme: On whoſe behalfe we alſo ſhewe vnto you, that one olde ſtatute and laudable cuſtome is approued, which no man can denie, that the king our ſouereigne Lorde may once in the yere lawfully ſummon his high Court of Parliament, and call the Lords & commens therevnto, as to that which is the higheſt Courte of his Realme. In which Court all equitie and iuſtice muſt ſhine, euen as the Sunne when he is at the higheſt, whereof poore and riche maye take refreſhyng: Whereas alſo muſt be reformed all the oppreſſions, wronges, extorcions, and enormityes within the realme, and there to counſaile with the wiſe men for the maintenaunce of the kinges eſtate, and conſeruation of the ſame. And if it might be knowen that any perſons within the realme or without entended the contrary, there muſt alſo be deuiſed howe ſuch euill wedes may be deſtroyed. There alſo muſt be ſtudied and foreſeene, that if any charge do come vpon the king and his realme, howe it may be well and honourably ſupported and ſuſteyned. Hetherto it is thought to the whole realme, that your ſubiectes haue louyngly demeaned themſelues vnto you, in ayding you with their ſubſtaunce to the beſt of their powers, and they deſyre to haue knowledge how and by whome theſe goodes be ſpent. One thing reſteth yet to declare on their behalfe vnto you, howe that by an olde ordenance, they haue an acte, if the king abſent himſelfe. xl. dayes, not beyng ſicke, but of his awne minde, (not heedyng the charges of the people, nor their great paynes) will not reſort to his Parliament, they then may lawfully returne home to their houſes. And nowe ſir, you haue bene abſent a lenger tyme, and yet refuſe to come amongeſt vs, which greatly is our diſcomfort.

Once in the [illegible] Parliament.

The king ſhould be preſent at the Parliament once in xl. dayes.

To this the king aunſwered by theſe wordes: Well, we do conſider that our people and Commons go about to riſe againſt vs: wherefore we thinke we can do no better then to aſke ayde of our Coſyn the French king, and rather ſubmit vs vnto him, then vnto our awne ſubiectes.

The kinges aunſwere to the Lordes.

The motions agayne of the Lords to the king.

The Lordes aunſwered, Sir that counſaile is not beſt, but a way rather to bring you into daunger: For it is well knowen that the Frenche king is your auncient enemie, and your greateſt aduerſarie. And if he ſet foote once within your realme, he will rather diſpoyle you, and inuade you, and depoſe you from your eſtate royall, then put any hande to helpe you. You may call to your remembrance, how your noble progenitors Edward the thirde, and Edward the Prince your father, toke great labours vpon them, in heat and colde with great anguiſhe and troubles, and laboured without reſt, to conquere the realme of Fraunce, the which rightfully did apperteyne vnto them, and nowe vnto you. Pleaſeth you alſo to remember how many Lords noble men, & good commons of both realmes died in thoſe warres, and what great goodes the realmes expoſed & conſumed in ſuſteynyng of the warres. And nowe great pitie it is to here, that more burthens be dayly layde vpon your ſubiectes neckes, for mainteynyng of your charges, who are brought vnto ſuch incredible pouertie, that they haue not to pay their houſe rents, nor to ayde theyr Prince, nor yet to haue ſufficient for their neceſſarie ſuſtenance: For ſo is your power depouerished, and Lordes and great men brought to infelicitie, and all your people to great debilitie. And as that king can not be poore that hath riche people: ſo can not he be riche that hath poore Cõmons. And as the king taketh hurt in this, ſo doth the Lordes and Noble men, euery one after his hauiour. And all theſe inconueniences be commonly by euill counſail which are about you. And if you put not the ſoner your helpyng hands for the redreſſe of ỹ premiſſes, this realme of England ſhalbe brought to naught and vtter ruyne, which cleerely ſhould be layde vnto your default, and in your euill counſail: Seyng that in the time of your father, this realme throughout all the worlde was highlye eſteemed, and nothing ordered after theſe wayes: Wherefore we be ſent vnto you, to exhort you, to ſequeſter all ſuch perſons as might be the occaſion of ruyne, eyther of you, or of your Realme.

The king is appeaſed, and promiſeth to come to the Parliament.

By theſe good perſwaſions the king was appeaſed, and promiſed within three dayes after, to come to the parliament, and to condiſcend to their petitions. And accordyng to his appointment he came. And ſone after his comming John Fortham Biſhop of Durham was diſcharged of the Treaſorerſhip, and in his place was ſet the Biſhop of Herdford. Alſo there was then diſcharged and put downe Mighell de la Poole Chauncelour of Englande to his great ſhame and rebuke: And in his rome was placed Thomas Arundell Biſhop of Elye, by the whole conſent of the parliament. After thys Mighell de la Poole was charged with manye and great enorme crymes, fraudes, falſities and treaſons by him done and committed, to the great preiudice of the king and of his realme, and therupon was committed to ward: Notwithſtandyng, they would not adiudge him to death, nor diſgrade him from the honor of knighthood: But as ſome write, they deemed him to pay a fyne of twentie thouſande Markes, for ſuche aduauntages as he had gotten, beyng Chauncelour, in putting the kings ſubiects from expedition of their cauſes, vntill ſuche tyme as they had rewarded him: All which fynes were adiudged to the king in releuyng of the commons. And alſo one thouſand pounds of yerely rents, which he had purchaſed. This done, the Lords and wiſe men of the realme, conſidering that by the couetouſneſſe of the officers

The Treaſorer and Chauncellor are depoſed.

The fyne of Mighell de la Poole late Chauncelour

ceres aforeſayd, the kings treaſure and goodes were purloyned and from the kinges profite clerely conſumed: The king and the realme thereby ſore decreaſed and empouerished: Tillage alſo layd downe in many quarters of the realme, and the kinges officers this notwithſtanding marueilouſly enriched: wherfore they did chooſe. xiij. Lordes which ſhould haue the ouerſight vnder the king of the whole realme. Of the which, three were the new officers, that is to ſaye, the Biſhop of Ely Chauncelour, the Biſhop of Herford Treaſorer, and Nicholas Abbot of Waltham keeper of the priuie ſeale, and ten other, which were Wylliam Archbiſhop of Cauntorbury, Alexander Archbiſhop of Yorke, Edmond Langley Duke of Yorke, Thomas Duke of Glouceſter, Wylliam Biſhop of Wincheſter, Thomas Biſhop of Exceſter, Richard Erle of Arundell, John Lorde Cobham, Richarde Lorde Scrope, John Lorde Deueror: All which had auctoritie to enquire, intreate, deſyne and determine of all maner of cauſes, querels, debtes and demaundes from the time of Edward the thirde vnto that preſent daye, as well within the realme as without, and alſo to enquire of the kings charges and of the order of his ſeruaunts. For the execution wherof well and truely to be done, they all tooke their othes, and the king in lykewiſe tooke his othe to abyde by their order, and them to mayntaine in all their actes, and not to reuoke any article of their commiſſion, but to holde firme and ſtable all that euer the ſayde counſaylors did order, duryng the time to them aſſigned. And if it happened that all the number could not come together to a determination of anye acte, that then if. vj. of them with the three principall officers aforenamed did agree, the act ſhould ſtande firme and ſtable, whether they were matters of this ſide the ſea or beyond the Sea. And if any manner of perſon attempted to moue the king to infringe any parte of thys ordynaunce, and that being knowne, for the firſt time, he ſhould be depriued of his goodes and poſſeſſions, and for the ſecond time, to be drawen thorough the Citie, and ſo put to execution as an arrant traytor. And for that the king ſhould the rather ſhew his benevolent fauour in confirming theſe actes deuyſed by the parliament. There was graunted vnto him halfe a deeme of the Spiritualtie, and halfe a deeme of the Temporaltie, to be payde at the feaſt of Saint Mighell then next, if it ſeemed to the Lordes and counſaylours that it was neede.

Thirteene Lordes choſen by ỹ parliament, by the kings aſſent to gouerne the realme.

The commiſſion appereth in the ſtatute of the x yere of king Richard the ſecond.

The othes of the Lordes and of the king for due execution of the cõmiſſi.

A gift geuen to the king condicionally

Mighel de la Poole priſoner at Windſore is releaſed by the king.

These determinations notwithſtanding, the king ſuffred Mighell de la Poole Erle of Suffolke which was priſoner at Wyndſore, to go at large, and not long after came Robert Treſilian, chiefe Juſtice of the common benche to Couentrie, and endited there two thouſand perſons. And the king and the Queene came vnto Grobye, and thether came vnto him by his commaundement the Juſtices of the Realme, and there were preſent all theſe euill Counſaylors, that is to ſay, Alexander Archebiſhop of Yorke, Robert Ueere Duke of Irelande, Mighell de la Poole, Robert Treſilian and their felowes. Of whome it was demaunded if it might ſtande with the lawes of the Realme, that the king might reuoke the ordynaunces by hym and hys realme made in his laſt parliament, which he accorded vnto in maner by conſtreynt. And they made aunſwere that the king might well reuoke and make fruſtrate all their actes at his pleaſure, for they were actes aboue the lawes.

Robert Treſilian chiefe Juſtice.

The Juſtices anſwere.

The counſayle at Nottyngham.

Then were theſe Juſtices commaunded to come agayne to Nottyngham, where the king appointed to meete them. And thether came the king

out of the Northparties, and helde a ſolempne counſayle in the Caſtell of Nottyngham the morowe after Saint Bartholomewes day. In the which counſayle was ſyr Alexander Archebiſhop of Yorke, Robert Veer Duke of Irelande, Myghell de la Poole Erle of Suffolk, Robert Treſilian Juſtice, Robert Bramble Juſtice and ſundry other. And al theſe Juſtices were commaunded to ſet to their handes to the queſtions vnder written, that by the meanes thereof, theſe ſeducers, which were about the king, thought they might haue good occaſion to put the Duke of Gloucester and all the other Lords to death, which were the laſt Parliament, as aforeſayde, ordeyned to haue the gouernaunce of the realme, and all other that were conſenting to the ſame. Dyuers there were of the Juſtices which refuſed to ſet to their hands, but they were conſtreyned thereto, among the which was John Belknap, who vtterly refuſed it, vntill ſuch time as the Duke of Ireland and the Erle of Suffolk compelled him therevnto, which if he had ſtill refuſed, he had not eſcaped their hands. And when he had ſet to his ſeale: Nowe ſayth he, here lacketh nothing but a rope, that I maye receyue the worthy death for my reward, and I knowe that if I had not done thys, I could not haue eſcaped your handes, and nowe it is done for the kings pleaſure and yours, I haue deſerued death of the Lordes, which shortly folowed, for in the next parliament he was condempned and put to execution. And for that thys ſhould be in remembrance, an act of counſaile was made therof, in maner as foloweth.

An act of counſayle an. Ric. 9. xi.

Memorandum that the .xxb. daye of Auguſt in the .xi. yere of the reigne of King Richarde the ſecond, at the Caſtell of Nottyngham afore the ſayde King, Robert Treſilian chiefe Juſtice of England, Robert Belknap chiefe Juſtice of the common benche, John Holte, Roger Fulthorp, and Wylliam Brough knightes, and felowes of the ſayde Robert Belknap, and John Lockton, one of the kings Sergeaunts at the law, being perſonally required in the preſence of the Lordes, and other witneſſes vnder written, by our ſayde ſouereigne Lorde the king, in the fayth and allegeaunce, by the which they are firmely bounden to the ſayde king, that they ſhould truely anſwer to certayne queſtions vnder written, and before them recited, and vpon the ſame by their diſcretions to ſaye the lawe.

A company of cruil Juſtices and Counſaylours.

Articles propoſed and anſwers made vnto them.

1 Firſt, it was aſked of them whether the newe ſtatute and ordynaunce and commiſſion made in the laſt parliament holden at Weſtminſter, be hurtfull to the kings royall prerogatiue?

Wherevnto all of one minde anſwered, that they be hurtfull, and ſpecially becauſe they were againſt the kings will.

2 Item it was inquired of them, howe they ought to be puniſhed which procured the ſayde ſtatute, ordynaunce and commiſſion to be made?

Wherevnto of one aſſent they anſwered, that they deſerued to be puniſhed by the Capitall payne, that is to ſay of death, onleſſe the king of his grace will pardon them.

3 Item, it was inquired how they ought to be puniſhed which excited the king to conſent to the making of the ſayde ſtatute, ordynance and commiſſio?

Wherevnto of one minde they ſayde, that onleſſe the king would geue them his pardon, they ought to be puniſhed by the Capitall paine.

4 Item, it was enquired of them, what paine they deſerued that cõpelled the king to conſent to the making of the ſaid ſtatute, ordinance & commiſſion?

Where-

Wherevnto of one aſſent they gaue anſwere, that as Traytors they ought to be puniſhed.

5 Item, how they ought to be puniſhed that interrupted the king, ſo that he might not exerciſe thoſe thinges that appertayned to hys regality and prerogatiue?

Wherevnto of one aſſent it was anſwered, that they ought to be puniſhed as Traytors.

6 Item, it was enquired of them, whether that after the buſineſſe of the realme, and the cauſe of that aſſembly of the parliament were by the kinges commaundement diſcloſed and declared in the parliament, and other articles lympted by the king, vpon which the Lordes and commons of the Realme ought to proceede in the ſame parliament: If the Lords and commons would in any wiſe proceede vpon other articles, and in no wiſe vpon the articles lympted by the king, till the king had anſwered the Articles expreſſed by them, notwithſtandyng that they were by the king enioyned to the contrary: whether the king in this caſe ought to haue the rule of the Parlyament, and in deede to rule, to the intent that vpon the articles lympted by the king, they ought firſt to proceede or not, before they proceeded any further?

To which queſtion, of one mynde they anſwered, that the king in this parte ſhould haue the rule in order one after another, in all other articles touching, vntill the ende of the parliament. And if any doe contrarie to thys rule of the king, he ought to be puniſhed as a Traytor.

7 Whether the king whenſoeuer it pleaſed hym, myght not diſſolue the Parliament, and commaunde hys Lordes and Commons to departe from thence or not?

Wherevnto it was of one mind anſwered, ꝑ he may. And if any would proceede in the parliament againſt ꝑ kings wil, he is to be puniſhed as a traytor.

8 Item, it was inquired that for as much as it is in the king to remooue ſuche of the Juſtices and officers as doe offende, and to iuſtefie and puniſhe them for their offenſes, whether the Lordes and commons might without the kings will empeche the ſame officers and iuſtices vpon their offenſes in the parliament or not?

To thys anſwere was made, that they might not: And he that did contrarie, was to be puniſhed as a Traytor.

9 Item, it was inquired, howe he is to be puniſhed that mooued in the Parliament that the ſtatute whereby Edward, the ſonne of king Edward, great Graundfather to the king that nowe is, was indited in the parliament might be ſent for, by the inſpection of which ſtatute, the ſayde newe ſtatute or ordynaunce and commiſſion were conceaued in the parliament.

To the which queſtion of one accorde they anſwered, that as well he that ſo ſomoned, as the other which by force of the ſame motion brought the ſayde ſtatute into the parliament houſe, be as crymynous and Traytours to be puniſhed.

10 Item, it was enquyred of them, whether the iudgement geuen in our parliament, holden at Weſtminſter againſt Myghell de la Poole, late Erle of Suffolk, were erronyous and reuocable or not?

To the which queſtion, of one aſſent, they ſayde, that if the ſame iudgement were now to be geuen, the ſame Juſtices and Sergeaunt aforeſayde would

would not geue the ſame, becauſe it ſeemed to them that the ſame iudgement is reuocable and is erronyous in euery parte. In witneſſe whereof the Iuſtices & Sergeaunt aforeſayde to theſe preſents haue ſet to their ſeales, theſe men being wytneſſes. Alexander Archebiſhop of Yorke, Robert Archebiſhop of Dowblynd, John Biſhop of Durham, Thomas Biſhop of Cheſter, John Biſhop of Bangor, Robert Duke of Ireland, Mighell Erle of Suffolke, John Rypon Clarke, and John Blake.

But here a little to returne backe: Ye heard before in the. viij. yere of the reigne of this king, that a peace was concluded with Englande, Fraunce and Scotland for one yere next to come. And that the Frenche men ſhoulde geue knowledge thereof to the Scottiſh king, and ſo it was that the French king ſent his Ambaſſadors into Scotland, and they paſſed through England to geue the Scottiſhe king knowledge of the peace. In the meane time that the French Ambaſſadors lay in Scotlande, among other thinges, the Erle Douglas ſayd vnto them, ye ſee our Coũtry, but ye conſider not the ſtrength thereof, for we are ſo lodged vpon England, that we may at our pleaſure enter which way we luſt, and brenne and ſpoyle foure dayes iourney into the realme, and returne againe at our pleaſure, we lacke nothing but men, had we a thouſand Speare men of Fraunce to ioyne with the power that we can make, we might geue England ſuch an ouerthrow as England neuer had, and this my Lordes were good for you to kepe in remembrance, and to ſhew the Lordes of Fraunce at your returne, that the next and redyeſt way to perſecute and conquere England, is to enter with vs into their land. The aforeſayde Ambaſſadors did lightly credit this tale, and at their returne forgat not to make report thereof vnto the counſaile of Fraunce, of the which diuers of them alſo thought it a right good way: Wherefore againſt the ſayde peace ſhould expire, they made prouiſion toward Scotland, mindyng to enter that way vpon England.

The French king purpoſed to enter & vexe England three maner of wayes.

And at this time, there were bruted abroad in England diuers thinges, namely that the French king entended to aſſaile England with a mighty puiſſaunce, and that three maner of wayes. The one out of Britayn, for that the Duke of Britayne was become Frenche. The other by Normandie, for the which as it was ſayd, the Conſtable of Fraunce made his prouiſion at Harflew, and Deepe. And the thirde by Scotland.

The French king ſent a power into Scotland, purpoſing that way to ouerthrowe England.

In the beginnyng of May, Sir John de Vien Admirall of Fraunce, accompanied with a thouſande Speares of choſen knightes and Eſquiers, and fiue hundreth Croſbowes, with harneſſe to arme a thouſande Scottes, landed in Scotland, & at the laſt arriued at Edenbourgh, which is the cheefe towne in Scotland. And aſſone as the Erle Douglas, and the Erle Mozet knewe of their comming, they went to the Hauen and met them, and receyued them right louingly: ſaiyng that they were right welcom into that Coũtrie. And at that time the king of Scottes was in the wilde Scottiſhe. But it was ſhewed theſe knightes, that the king would be there ſhortly, wherewith they were content, and ſo they were lodged thereaboutes in the Villages. For Edenbourgh though the king kept therein his chiefe reſidence, yet it is not like Paris, nor yet like Turney, nor Valenciens. For in al the towne there is not foure thouſand houſes. Therefore theſe Lordes and Knightes were lodged in Villages about, as well as they might be in that Countrie.

Paris. Tourney. Valenciens.

When

when knowledge came into the Realme of Scotlande, that a greate number of men of armes of Fraunce were come into their Countrie: ſome thereat did murmure and grudge, and ſayde: who the deuill hath ſente for them? what do they here? Cannot we maintene our warre with England without their helpe? we ſhall do no good as long as they be with vs, and ſo let them be tolde, that they may returne againe. And ſay vnto them, that we be ſtrong inough in Scotlande to maintene our warre without them, and therefore we will none of their companie, they vnderſtand not vs, nor we them: They will quickly riffle and eate vp all that euer we haue in this Coũtrie: They will do vs more deſpight and dammage, then though the Engliſhemen fought with vs. For if the Engliſhemen brenne our houſes, we care little therefore, for we may ſoone make them againe cheape inough, for in three dayes we will make them againe, if we may get foure or fiue ſtakes, and a fewe Bowes to couer them.

The French men are euill welcomed to Scotland.

This was the communication of the Scottes at the commyng of the Frenche men, for they ſet nothing by them, but hated and ſpake ſhamefully, and vilanouſly of them, like to rude people without all humanitie. And all thinges conſidered (ſayth Froiſſart) it was to great an armie of ſo many noble men to come into Scotland. For. xx. or. xxx. Knightes of Fraunce had bene better then all that number of a thouſand, and the cauſe is, that in Scotland ye ſhall find lightly no man of honour or nobilitie, neyther that knoweth what belongeth to a Gentleman. They are like wilde and ſauage people, they couet to be acquainted with no ſtraunger, and they are full of enuy at the proſperous eſtate of others, and they are euer in feare to loſe that they haue, for it is a poore Countrie. And when the Engliſhe men make any roade or voyage into the land, they are euer compelled to haue their victualles folowe them: for in Scotland they ſhall finde nothing. Neyther is there in Scotland yron to ſhoe their horſes, nor leather to make harneſſe for their horſe, as Saddels, Bridels. &c. But they haue all theſe thinges readie made out of Flaundres. And when that prouiſion fayleth, then is there none to get in that Countrie.

A deſcription of Scotland and their maners.

When the Barons and Knightes of Fraunce, who were wont to finde fayre hoſteryes, Halles hanged, and goodly Caſtelles, and ſoft beddes to reſt in, ſawe themſelues in that neceſſitie: They began to ſmile, and ſayde to the Lorde Admirall, Sir this is a pleaſaunt iourney, we neuer knewe what beggery was vntill now, and now we finde it true, that our old fathers were wont to ſay: go your way, and ye liue long ye ſhall finde hard beddes.

The Admirall pacifyed them as well as he might, and ſayde: It behoueth vs to ſuffer a little, and to ſpeake fayre, for we be here in daunger, we haue a great long way to go, and by England we can not returne, therefore let vs quietly take in good worth that we finde.

Yet there was another thing that was greatly grieuous to the Frenche men: For when they were in Scotland, and would ryde, they found horſes vnreaſonably deare, for that which was not worth. x. Florens, they would not ſell vnder an hundreth, and muche paine to haue them for their money. And when they had a horſe, then had they neyther Bridle nor Saddell, except they brought them with them. In this trouble and daunger were the French men: Yea, and moreouer, when their Merlets went forth a forraging,

The miſerie of Scotland.

and

and had laden their horſes with ſuch as they could get for money, in theyr returne home, the Scottes themſelues which had taken their money for the forage, did lie in wayte of them, and tooke all that they had from them, and ſlue them, ſo that there was none that durſt go a foragyng, for in a moneth the French men loſt of their varlettes mo then an hundreth, for if they went foorth three or foure together, they neuer returned againe, and thus the Frenche men were handeled in Scotland.

The deceipt & cruelltie of the Scottes.

Alſo now the French men deſired that the king of Scottes would come forward, and likewiſe the Lordes and Knightes of Scotland, for the tyme paſſed away. And they aunſwered and ſayd, that they would make no warre on England at that tyme: and this they ſayde, becauſe they would make the French men pay well for their commyng: For before the king would come out of the wilde Scottiſh to Edenbourgh, he demaunded of the Admirall of Fraunce to haue a great ſomme of money, for him and his people. And the Admirall of Fraunce was faine to promiſe, and to ſeale that the king ſhould haue a certeine ſome of money before that he and his company departed his Realme. And if he had not done this, he ſhoulde haue had none ayde of the Scottes. And yet when he had made the beſt agreement with them that he could, he gate but little by them, as in the ende will appere.

A deſcription of Robert King of Scottes.

At the laſt, King Robert of Scotland came to Edenbourgh, with a paire of blered eyen, and it ſemed they were lyned with ſcarlet. And it appered by him, that he was no valiaunt man of armes, but that he loued rather to lye ſtill, then to ryde: He had.ix. ſonnes, and they loued well armes. So when the king was come, the Lorde and knightes of Fraunce drewe vnto him and did their duetie. And there was preſent with the king the Erle Douglas, the Erle Moret, the Erle de la Mare, the Erle of Surlant, and dyuerſe other. There the Admirall required the king that the cauſe of their commyng might be accompliſhed, which was to make a iourney into England.

The Barons, knightes, and Eſquiers of Scotland aunſwered and ſaid, that if God pleaſed, they would make ſuch a voyage that ſhould be to theyr honour and profite.

The king then ſent out his commaundement to aſſemble his power, & at a day appoynted, there were redy.xxx.thouſand men all on horſebacke.

Sir John Vien Admirall of Fraunce thought the tyme long, and faine would haue bene doyng of ſome great feate in Englande: when he ſawe the Scottes were come together, he made haſte and ſayde, Sirs, it is now time to ride, we haue lyen ſtill a great while. So then they ſet forwarde to Roſebourgh.

The king himſelfe went not in this iourney, for he abode ſtill in Edenbourgh, but all his ſonnes were in the armie. The thouſand complete harneſſe which the Frenche men brought with them, were deliuered to the knightes of Scotland, who were before but euill harneſſed, and had neede of that harneſſe.

Then they rode toward Northumberland, and ſo long they roade, that they came to the Abbey of Mannes, and there they lodged all about the riuer of Tyne, and the next day they came to Morlan, and ſo before Roſebourgh.

The keper of the Caſtell of Roſebourgh vnder the Lord Mountagew, was a knight called Sir Edward Clifford. The Admirall of Fraunce, and the

the Scottes taryed and behelde well the Caſtell. And when they had well conſidered it, they thought to aſſail it ſhould not be profitable for them, wherfore they paſſed by, and drewe along the ryuer ſyde approchyng to Barwike, and ſo long they road, that they came to two towers right ſtrong, the which were kept by two knightes, the father and the ſonne, both were called Syr John Strand. About theſe Towers were faire Laundes, and a faire place, the which incontinent were brent, and the two Towers aſſayled, and there were many feates of armes ſhewed, and diuerſe Scottes hurt with ſhot and throwyng of ſtones: But finally the Towers were wonne by plaine aſſault, and the knightes taken, the which manfully defended the ſame as long as they might.

Uerley Caſtel is aſſaulted by the Scottes.

And after the conqueſt of theſe two Towers, they went to another Caſtell called Uerley, belongyng to Sir John Mountagew, and vnder him was Capteine thereof Sir John of Luchborne, who had there with him, his wife, and his children, and all his goodes. And he knewe well before that the Scottes would come thether: and therefore he had furniſhed this Caſtel to the beſt of his power to abide the aſſault. So about this Caſtell taryed all the armie. This Caſtell ſtoode in a fayre Countrie, by a fayre Ryuer that commeth out of Tymbre, and rommeth into the ſea. And one day there was a great aſſault geuen to the ſayd Caſtell, and the Frenche men bare themſelues right well that day, much better then did the Scottes, for they entered into the ditches, and paſſed through with muche paine: There were manye feates of armes done, what by them aboue and them beneath. The Frenche men mounted vp by Ladders, and fought hande to hande with Daggers on the Walles.

Sir John Luchborne did quite himſelfe as a valiaunt knight, & fought with the French men hande to hande on the Ladders. At this aſſault, there was ſlaine a knight of Almaine called ſir Bleres Caſtelain, which was great pitie. There were many hurt that day: But at the laſt the number of Scots and French men were ſo great, that the Caſtell was wonne, and the knight and his wife, and children taken, and.xl. other priſoners. And then the Caſtell was brent, and raſed downe, for they ſaw well that it was not to be kept, ſeeyng it ſtood ſo farre within England as it did.

Uerley Caſtel taken and raſed downe.

Then the Admirall and the Scottes roade towarde Anwike, and there they had knowledge that the Duke of Lancaſter, the Erle of Northumberland, the Erle of Nottyngham, with a great number mo, were commyng vpon them with a great power.

When the Admirall of Fraunce heard theſe tydinges, he ſeemed to be very ioyfull, and in like maner were all the Barons of Fraunce, and all the Scottes: But they were counſailed to returne againe toward Barwike, becauſe of their prouiſion that folowed them, and to be nere to their awne Countrie, and there to abyde their enemies. And ſo they returned towarde Barwike, and ſo to their awne Countrie.

Tydings was brought into England how the Frenchmen and Scottes were in Northumberland, and had deſtroyed and brent the Countrey. The king of England knowyng before of the comming of the Frenchmen, made great prouiſion for Scotland, both by ſea and lande. And by ſea, the king had.xxbj. chippes laden with victuall and prouiſion coaſtyng the Frontiers of

of Englande, and readie to enter into euery hauen of Scotland.

The king of England entreth Scotland with a great power.

The king himſelfe came accompanied with his Uncles, the Erle of Cambridge, and ſyr Thomas Holland, the Erle of Salſburie, the Erle of Arondell, the Erle of Pembrook, the Erle of Stafford, the Erle of Huzien, the Lord Spencer, and ſo many other Barons and knightes, that they were foure thouſand ſpeares, beſide them that went before with the Duke of Lancaſter, the Erle of Northumberland, &c. Which were two thouſand ſpeares, and. xv. hundred Archers, beſide verlets.

And it was tolde the king that the Scottes and Frenchmen were lyke to fight with the Engliſhmen that went before, and therefore the king made ſuche haſte, that he came to the Marches of Dureſme, and there he heard that the Scottes were returned into Scotland.

The Abbey of Maros in Scotlande ſpoyled and brent.

The king paſſed ſtill forwarde, beyng accompanyed with eyght thouſand men of armes, and. lx. thouſand Archers, and paſſed Berwike, and ſo into Scotland to the Abbey of Maros. The which Abbey, in all the warres that had bene betweene Englande and Scotlande, was neuer hurte, vntill this time, and nowe was it vtterly ſpoyled and brent, for it was the entent of the king neuer to returne into Englande, vntill he had deſtroyed a great peece of Scotlande, becauſe they brought in Frenchmen to the deſtruction of Englande.

When the Admirall of Fraunce knewe that the king of Englande was paſſed the ryuer of Twede, and was entred into Mozland in Scotlande, Then he ſayde to the Barons of Scotland, Sirs, why doe we lye here ſtill? Let vs go forth and looke on our enimies, and fight with them.

It was ſhewed vs before we came hether, that if ye had out of Fraunce but one thouſand of good men of armes, ye ſhould be ſtrong enough to fight with all the Engliſhmen, and I aſſure you, ye haue mo here then. xv. C. of good knights and ſquiers, and ſuche as will ſtande by it, and take that fortune that God doth ſende.

The Scottes aunſwered and ſayde, Sir we beleue well that ye and your company are choſen men and valiaunt: But ſyr we haue knowledge that al the power of England is here at this preſent, and there were neuer ſo many Engliſhmen aſſembled together in theſe partes as are nowe, and if ye will, we will bring you into place where ye ſhal wel ſee and aduiſe them. And then if ye thinke them meete to be foughten withall, we wyll not refuſe it. Then ſayde the Admirall, I pray you let me ſee them. And they brought him to a Mountaine, where vnder the hill was a paſſage that the Engliſhmen muſt nedes paſſe, and they ſawe them and viewed them to be to the number of fiue thouſand men of armes, and. lx. thouſand Archers and other.

Then ſayde the Admyrall to the Erle Douglas, and the Erle Mozet, in dede here is no egall number to fight with them, for ye are not aboue. xxx. thouſand, and yet many euill armed. But now aduiſe your ſelues beſt what is to be done, they are now entred into your Country, and they are enough to ouerrunne al your Country, and to deſtroy it: & ye are not minded to encounter with them, what will ye then do? ye ſayd ye could enter out of your countrie dyuers wayes into dyuers places of England: And I thinke it beſt that we make them ſome warre there as they doe vs here. And herevnto all the Barones of Scotlande agreed and ſayde, we are well contented ſo to doe, and

and we knowe dyuers wayes. And they agreed to go into Wales, which is otherwiſe called Winſland, and ſo to go to the Citie of Carliſle, and there to be reuenged. And ſo they left the Engliſhmen in Scotlande, and they went vp the Foreſtes and Mountaynes. And the Scottiſhe king was gone to the wylde Scottiſhe, and there remayned.

Scotland is ſore ſpoyled and plagued.

The king of Englande, with his Uncles, Barons, Knights and army went to Edenborough, the chiefeſt towne in all Scotland, and there laye. v. dayes, and at his departing ſet fyre on it, and brent it downe to the ground. And lykewiſe he brent Eſtreuelyn and the Abbay therevnto adioynyng. Alſo they brent Saint Johns towne, and the towne of Streuelyn, the towne of Dondee, and to be ſhort, they ſpared nothing that ſtood in their waye, neyther Towne, Village, Abbey, nor Church, for they might doe in Scotland what they would, for there was no people left to reſiſt them. For all the people were gone with the Frenchmen & Scots toward Carliſle, as afore ſayd.

The king returneth agayne into England, not meeting with any Scotte that durſt encounter him.

Now when the king had thus ſpoyled, deſtroyed, and brent Scotland, the Duke of Lancaſter aduiſed hym to folow the Scottes and Frenchmen to Carliſle. And there were other conſidered that Winter approched, and that the paſſage ouer the Mountaynes and foreſts would be long and daungerous, and that it would be no ſmall thing to victuall ſtill that great army. Wherefore at the laſt, by the meane of the Erle of Oxford, the king was fully perſwaded to returne into Englande as he came, and ſo he did.

The French men returne into Scotlād as men weary of that iourney.

The French Lordes and the Scottes lykewiſe, as afore ſayd, made a roade into Northumberlande betweene the Mountaynes, brennyng Manoures and Townes, and all that ſtood in their waye, and did much hurte, and beſieged the Citie of Carleiſle, but they gaue it ouer, & returned againe into Scotland the ſame waye they went, but the Frenchmen ſayde, they neuer entended to go that way any more.

Howe the Frenchmen opened their griefes one to another.

When the Admyrall of Fraunce and hys companye, were returned to Edenborough, then they taſted of ſome paine, for they founde the Towne cleane brent, and deſtroyed, ſo that there was nothing to be had for money, Wynes there were none, ſo that for drinke, they had none but ſmall Ale or Beere, and their Bread was made of Barley and of Otes. Alſo their horſes were dead for hunger, and foundred for pouertie. And when they woulde haue ſoulde them, they wiſt not to whome, nor there was none that woulde geue them one penny, neyther for horſe, nor for harneys. The Souldyours tolde their Capitaines how they were delt withall, and they knewe it to be true by their awne experience, and their ſeruaunts ſayde that they could not endure with that miſerie: They ſayde that the Realme of Scotlande was ſuch a coūtrie as no hoſt were hable to endure there a Wynter, for if they did they ſhould eyther dye for cold, or ſtarue for hunger, or both. And alſo if they ſhould departe aſunder, and ſerche for their lyuyng abroad in the Countrie, they doubted that the Scottes would ſlay them in their beddes. The Admyrall conſidered wel all theſe things, and ſaw all was lyke to be true that they ſayde: Howbeit he was in purpoſe to haue bidden there all the Wynter, and to haue ſent vnto the French king, and to the Duke of Burgoyne, and to haue had newe prouiſion of money and victualles, and to haue made a new freſhe warre agayne the next Sommer. Howbeit he ſawe well the euill nature and maner of the Scottes, and conſydered well the perill of his people,

and therfore he gaue leaue vnto all ſuche as would, to departe. But at their departing, then was the miſchiefe: For the Lordes coulde finde no paſſage for themſelues, nor yet for their men. The Scottes would that ſuch knights and ſquiers as were but poore, ſhould departe, to the entent that they might rule the remnaunt at more eaſe. And they ſayde to the Admyrall, Sir, let your men departe when you will: But as for your ſelfe, ye ſhall not departe out of this Countrey, vntill we be fully ſatiſfied of all ſuch charges and dammages as we haue borne and ſuſteyned all this ſeaſon with your army. This communication ſeemed harde to the Admirall and to the other Barons of Fraunce. And the Admyrall ſhewed all this matter to the Erle Douglas, and to the Erle Mozet, who ſeemed to be ſore diſpleaſed, that they were ſo hardly delt withall. And ſo theſe two Erles ſpake to the other Erles, and Barons of Scotlande, who ſayde howe they had loſt as well as they. But they aunſwered, ſayeng, although you diſſemble with them, we will be recompenſed. Then theſe two Erles ſayde to the Admyrall and to the other Lordes of Fraunce, that they could not rule the other Lords nor commens: wherefore it behoued them, if they purpoſed to go out of the realme, to ſatiſfie the commons, and to reſtore vnto them all their dammages.

Howe the Scots handled the frenchmen.

The Admirall of fraūce is driuen to a ſtreight.

And when the Admyrall ſawe that it woulde be none otherwiſe, he thought he would not leeſe the more for the leſſe, and he conſidered well how that he was without comfort, & cloſed in with the Sea, and ſaw how that the Scottes were of a wylde oppinion, and therefore agreed to the Scottes requeſt, and cauſed a proclamation to be made, that all maner of perſons that could proue that anye of his people had done them any dammage, let them come to the Admyrall, and he would recompenſe them the value thereof, the which proclamation appeaſed the Scottes. And ſo the Admyrall became debter to them all, and ſayd how he would not depart out of Scotland vntill all the complayntes were fully ſatiſfied and payde. Then dyuers Knightes and Squyres had paſſage, and ſo returned wythout eyther horſe or harneis, curſſing the day that euer they came into Scotlande, ſaiyng that there were neuer men that had ſo harde a voyage, wyſhing that the French king had peace wyth Englande one yere or two, and ſo both kings together to go into Scotlande, vtterly to deſtroy that Realme for euer, for they ſayde they neuer ſawe ſo euyll people, nor ſo falſe, nor more fooliſhe people in feates of warre. The Admyrall of Fraunce by them that firſt departed, wrote his letters to the French king, and to the Duke of Burgoyn, certefying them what caſe he was in, and howe the Scots dealt with hym, and that if they would haue hym to come home, they muſt ſend thether ſuche ſummes of money as he was become debtor for, to be payde to the knightes, Squires and commons of Scotland. For the Scottes ſayd playnely that the warre that they made into England, at that tyme, was for Fraunce, and not for themſelues. And therefore all ſuche dammages as they had taken by that iourney, they would be fully recompenſed agayne before he went out of Scotland, to the which he had ſworne and agreed.

The reporte of the frenchmen howe they lyked Scotlande.

The departure of the Admirall of Fraunce out of Scotland.

The French king and his counſayle were bounde to redeeme agayne the Admiral, for they ſent him thether. Then the ſommes of money were ordeyned for, and payde by exchaunge in the Towne of Bridges, and ſo the Scottes were ſatiſfied, and the Admyrall tooke his leaue in Scotland and departed

departed into Fraunce.

Nowe when the Admirall was returned into Fraunce to the yong king Charles, and to the Duke of Burgoyn, and they demaunded of him the condition of the king and the Lordes of Scotland: He anſwered, that the Scottes ſomwhat reſembled the Engliſh men, becauſe they are enuious to ſtraungers. And moreouer he ſayd, that he had rather be Erle of Sauoy, or Erle of Arthoys, then to be king of Scottes, and ſayd alſo that he had ſeene all the power of the Scottes in one day together, as the Scottes ſayd themſelues, and yet he neuer ſawe together, not paſt. v.C. Speares, and.xxx. thouſande men of warre, the which number againſt the Engliſhe Archers, or againſt a thouſand of other good men of armes, could not long endure.

The report made by the Admyrall vnto the frenchy of the eſtate and maners of Scotland.

Then the Admyrall was demaunded if he had ſeene the puyſſaunce of England: He aunſwered, yea, for on a day quoth he, when I ſaw the Scots flie away for feare of the Engliſhemen, I deſyred them to bring me where as I might ſee and aduiſe the Engliſhe hoſte, and ſo they did. I was ſet at a ſtreight paſſage, where as they muſt nedes paſſe, and to my iudgement, they were. ix. thouſand Archers, and fiue or ſeuen thouſand men of armes. And the Scottes ſayde, that it was all the power of England, and that there were none abydyng behynde.

Then the king and his Counſaile ſtudied a little, and at the laſt ſayd, it is a great thing of. ix. thouſand Archers, and. vj. or. vij. thouſande men of armes. It may well be, quoth the Conſtable, that they may make that number: But I had rather fight with them at home in their awne Marches with that number, then here with halfe the number: And ſo I haue heard my father ſay often tymes when I was yong. By my fayth, ſir quoth the Admirall, if ye had bene there with a great number of men of Armes, as I ſuppoſed ye ſhould haue bene, I thinke we had famiſhed all in Scotland. And thus an ende of the French mens voyage into Scotland.

Nowe ye haue heard of the iourney that the Frenche men made into Scotland againſt England, and ye haue alſo heard before, that the Frenche king entended to enter into England, and made prouiſion for the ſame three maner of wayes. Firſt by Scotland, as ye haue alreadie heard, the ſecond by Bziteyn, becauſe the Duke of Bziteyn was nowe reconciled to the Frenche king, and thirdely by Normandie, in the which two places he made prouiſion of a huge armie, and nauie, as after ſhall appere.

A great prouiſion made by the frenchy againſt England.

And while the aforeſayd French men were buſie in Scotland againſt the Engliſhe men, as aboueſayde, the yong French king Charles, and his Uncle the Duke of Burgoyn and Conſtable of Fraunce, had great deſyre and affection to go with an army into England, and all knightes and ſquires of Fraunce did very well agree therevnto, ſaiyng why ſhould not we once go into Englande to ſee the Countrie, and to learne the pathes of the ſame, as they haue done in Fraunce. So that forthwith great prouiſion and furniture for that voyage was made in Fraunce on all ſydes, and tares and tallages ſet and aſſeſſed vpon the Cities, townes, and Burgeſſes of the ſame, and in the plaine Countrie, that in an hundreth yere before there had beene none ſuch ſeene nor heard of. And alſo great prouiſion made by ſea all the Sommer tyme vntill the moneth of September, they did nothing elſe, but grinde Corne, and bake Biſket. And at Tornay, Liſle, Doway, Arras, Amiens,

Bethune, ſaint Omers, and in all the Townes about Scluſe, they were occupied to lyke purpoſe. For the Frenche king by the aduiſe of his counſaile purpoſed to take the Sea at Scluce, and ſo to enter England, and to deſtroy the ſame. They that were riche men in the Realme of Fraunce to the ayde and furniture of this voyage, were taxed and ſeaſſed at the thirde penny, and fourth part of their goodes, & many payd more then they were worth beſides.

And from Spaine, and from the Porte of Cinile to Pruce there was no great ſhip on the Sea that the French men could lay theyr handes vpon, neyther any ſhip that was vnder their obeyſance, but they were reteyned for the French king. And his men, and his other prouiſion came from all partes, and arryued in Flaundyrs, both wyne, ſalt, fleſhe, fiſhe, otes, hay, Onyons, Biſket, flower, egges in Pipes, and all maner of thinges that could be deuyſed, ſo that the prouiſion was ſo great as it could not be beleued of any, but of ſuch as ſawe it. Beſydes this, Lordes, Knightes, Eſquiers, and men of warre were written vnto and deſyred to come and ſerue the Frenche king in this iourney, out of Sauoy, Almaine, and from the Sonne goyng downe, to the lande of the Erle of Arminack. And ſo theſe Lordes of farre Countries, as the Erle of Sauoye was reteyned with fiue hundreth ſpeares. Alſo the Erle of Arminack, & the Dolphyn of Annerency, though they were of farre Countries, yet they made their prouiſions ſo great and coſtly, that it was a great marueyle to thinke thereof: And it was a wonder to conſider from whence ſuch prouiſion came, what by land, and what by ſea into Flaundyrs, as to Bruges, to Dan, and to Scluſe. Alſo there was ſent for into Holland, Zeland, Middlebourgh, Zirickzee, Dordright, Stonehoue, and to all other townes on the ſea coaſt, and to the riuers enteryng into the ſea, for all maner of ſhippes that could do any ſeruice, and all were brought to Scluce. But the Hollanders, and Zelanders ſayd to them that reteyned them, if ye will haue our ſeruice, pay vs our wages cleerely, or elſe we will not go to any Porte, and ſo they were payde, wherein they did wiſely. And (ſayth Froyſſart) I thinke that ſithen the creation of the worlde, there was neuer ſene together ſo many great ſhips as were at ỳ tyme at Scluſe, and at Blanquerge: For in the moneth of September in the ſayde yere, they were numbred to be .xij. hundreth, lxxvij. ſhippes at Scluſe: And their Maſtes ſeemed in the ſea lyke a great Wood or Foreſt. And the Conſtable of Fraunce his ſhip, was apparayled and furniſhed at Lenterginer in Bruteyn. Alſo the Conſtable of Fraunce cauſed to be made in Bruteyn of Tymber, a Cloſure for a Towne, made like a Parke, that when they had taken lande in Englande, to cloſe in their fielde to lodge therein with more eaſe and ſafetie. And whenſoeuer they ſhould remoue their fielde, the Cloſure was ſo made, that they might take it a ſunder in pieces, and a great number of Carpenters and other were retayned in wages to attend therupon. And whoſoeuer at that tyme had beene at Bruges, at Dan, or at Scluſe, and had ſeene the buſineſſe that there was in chargyng and ladyng of ſhippes with haye, ſackyng of Biſket, and ladyng of Onyons, Peaſon, Beanes, Barley, Candelles, hoſen, ſhoes, ſpurres, knyues, daggers, ſwordes, Targettes, Ares, Mattockes, Nayles of all ſortes, Wymbles, Hammers, Beddes, Cowches, Horſe ſhoes, Pottes, Pannes, Candleſtickes, Candles, Torches, Piche, Tarre, Roſen, Ropes, Gables, Ankers, ſhot Powder, Ordinaunce, Armor, and of all other thinges neceſſarye

A great Nauy of ſhippes.

A Cloſure made of tymber like a cloſure of a parke for the encloſyng of the french army when they ſhould lie in the fielde.

Great and wonderfull prouiſion.

ſarye that might be thought vpon, as Bootes, Clokes, Saddelles, Bryddles, Bittes, Stirops, and Stirop leathers, ſcalyng Ladders, and a number of thinges mo that I can not reherce. Whoſoeuer (ſayth Froiſſart) that had bene there and had ſeene it, although he had bene right ſore ſicke, yet it woulde haue made him to haue forgotten both hys diſeaſe and paine. The luſtie ponkers of Fraunce talkyng among themſelues, had almoſt none other talke, nor made none other accompt, but that the Realme of England ſhould haue beene vtterly ſpoyled and deſtroyed for euer and euer, without all mercie and recouerie.

Of this great preparation and prouiſion the king of England and his counſayle were well informed, and the king was certainely aſſured that the French king would come into England, for ſo had he & his Nobles ſworne. And although at the firſt heryng of thys wonderfull great prouiſion, it dyd somewhat abaſhe the Engliſhmen, which was no great maruayle. For as the matter of it ſelf was very great, ſo the ſame was reported to be ten times much more then it was. And agayne, although the Engliſhmen vnderſtood of this great prouiſion, yet were they not in certaintie, whether the ſame was wholy purpoſed to lande in England, or elſe to laye ſiege to Calice both by land and ſea. For the Engliſhmen knewe well that of all the Townes of the worlde, the French men moſt coueted to haue Calice: Wherefore the king of England ſent to Calice great prouiſion of Wheat and other grayne, Salt, Fleſhe, Fiſhe, Wyne, Beere, and other thinges. And thether was ſent Sir Thomas Holland Erle of Kent, Sir Hugh Caurell, Sir Wylliam Helman, Sir Dangoſes, ſyr Walter of Uznes, Sir Water Paulle, ſyr Wylliam Toncet, ſyr Lewes of Mountalbon, ſyr Colers of Dambriche-court, and fiue hundred men of armes, and fiue hundred Archers, and the Erle Richard of Arondell, and ſyr Henry Spencer were ordeyned to keepe the Sea, with .xl. great ſhippes well furniſhed and trimmed with the number of three hundred men of armes, and ſixe hundred Archers.

The king of England was certified of the prouiſion that ỳ French king made to enter the realme of Englande.

Agayne an other report was bruted abroad that this army of the French being ſo furniſhed and appoynted, was not meant to go neyther to Calice, neyther yet into Englande, but rather was altogether purpoſed againſt the towne of Gaunt. And (ſayth Froiſſart) as I was informed, the towne of Gaunt the ſame ſeaſon doubted greatlye that all that prouiſion was to come vpon them: But they were in a wrong beliefe, for the Duke of Burgoyne their Lorde meant towards them nothing but reſt and quiet, although that Frauncis Atreman were ſhortly after the making of the peace at Torney ſlayne, which happened rather by his awne folye, then by anye diſpleaſure that the Duke ought vnto him: but becauſe that matter doth not properly touche this our diſcourſe for Englande, I therefore paſſe it ouer.

Sundrye bruites and reports were made of the intention of this great Hoaſt and armie of Fraunce.

Frances Atreman ſlaine.

And now agayne to returne to the prouiſions that were made at thys ſeaſon at Dan, and at Sluce, it is not had in remembrance of man, neyther in wryting was euer the lyke ſeene or read of the charges of thys prouiſion, for, ſayth Froiſſart, Gold and ſilner was as faſt ſpent by the French king, as though it had reigned out of the Clowds, or that it had come out of the ſome and ſkomme of the ſea.

The yong French king was courageous.

The French king himſelfe, as yong as he was, had more minde and deſyre to this iourney into England, then any other, and ſo he ſhewed himſelfe

alwayes to the ende thereof. And nowe to go forward, euery man helped to make prouiſion for other, and to garniſhe and bewtifie their ſhippes, and to paynt them with their armes, and to aduaunce and make them a glorious ſhewe to the whole worlde. Painters at that time were well ſet on worke, and the time was to them very profitable, for they had whatſoeuer they deſyred, and yet there could not enow of them be gotten for money. They made Banners, Penons, Standards of ſilke, ſo ſumptuous and comely that it was a maruell to beholde.

Great coſt bauiſh ſpent.

Alſo they peynted the Maſtes of their ſhippes from the one ende to the other, glittering with Golde, and deuiſes and armes that was maruelous ryche: and ſpecially (ſayth Froiſſart) as it was tolde me, the Lorde Guy of Tremoyll ſo decked, garniſhed, and bewtified his ſhip with peynting and colours, that it coſt him two thouſande Frankes of french money, that is more then. CCxxij. pound of the currant money of Englande. And in lyke maner did euery Lorde of Fraunce ſet forth his deuiſe and ſhew.

And as it is before ſayde, all that hath beene reherſed, and whatſoeuer elſe was done in Fraunce concernyng the aduauncement of this iorney, was well knowen in Englande, which brought ſome feare among them, and therefore they cauſed dyuers generall proceſſions to be made in euery good Towne and Citie three tymes in the weeke, wherin prayer was made with feruent ſpirite and deuocion vnto almightie God to be their Protectour and ſhield agaynſt their enimies, and the perill that the realme was then in. And yet notwythſtanding, there were in Englande at that tyme more then a hundreth thouſand that hartely wiſhed and deſyred that the Frenchmen myght arryue in Englande. And thoſe luſtie young laddes, as triumphyng among themſelues and their companions would ſay, let theſe frenchmen come, there ſhall not one tayle of them returne agayne into Fraunce. And ſuche as were in debt and cared not for the payment thereof, they reioyſing greatly at the comming of the frenchmen would ſaye to their creditors when they demaunded their debt of them, Sirs, be you patient a little and beare wyth vs, for they forge in Fraunce newe Floreyns wherewith ye ſhall be payde. And in truſt thereof they lyued and ſpent very largely. And when they coulde not be credited, they woulde ſaye, what woulde ye haue of vs, it were better for you that we ſhoulde ſpend freely the goodes of this Realme, rather then the Frenchmen comming hether ſhould finde and conſume the ſame.

At thys time the king of Englande was in the Marches of Wales, and wyth him the Erle of Oxford, by whoſe aduiſe the greateſt thinges in Englād were gouerned, & without whoſe aduiſe nothing in effect was done. Alſo there was with the king as chiefe of hys Counſayle, ſyr Symond Burle, ſyr Nicholas Braule, ſyr Robert Tauilion, ſyr Robert Beauchamp, ſyr John Saluen, and ſyr Myghell de la Poole. Alſo there was named Syr Wylliam Neuell, brother to the Lorde Neuell. All theſe as the talke went, did wyth the king what they would. And as for the kings Uncles, the Erle of Cambridge, and the Erle of Buckyngham could doe nothing wythout it were agreable to the other aforeſayd. And this trouble and difference among themſelues was well knowne in Fraunce, which greatly aduaunced the enterpryce of the French king.

Now when the king and the Lordes of Englande were truelye informed

med that the French king was ready with his power to enter into England and to deſtroy it, then they drewe together in counſayle. And the king at that tyme beyng in Wales, as aforeſayde, was written vnto by his Uncles and other of the counſayle, that it was meete and neceſſary for hym to come to London where his Lords, and he might beſt conſult for the weale and defence of his realme.

The king of Englād with his counſaile taketh aduice for the defece of England.

The king forthwith returned towarde London with the Queene hys wyfe, and came to Wynſore, but ſhortly after, he came to Weſtmynſter, and thether came vnto him all the Lordes of his counſayle, and there tooke aduice what things were to be done agaynſt this iorney, and enterpryce of the frenche king.

The worthy and godlye counſayle geuen by ỹ Erle of Salſbury.

Then ỹ Erle of Sarliſbury, who was a right valiant and prudent knight ſayde before the king and hys Uncles, and before all the Lords and prelates of England that were there preſent. Sir, my ſouereigne Lord, and all ye my Lords and other, it ought not to be marueyled at if our aduerſary the french king doe come and runne vpon vs, for ſithen the death of our late ſouereigne Lorde and noble king Edward, one of the puyſſaunteſt Princes that euer reigned, this noble realme of Englande hath beene in great hazard and aduenture to haue beene loſt and deſtroyed euen with the lewde and naughtie people brought vp and nouriſhed in the ſame, which thing is not hidden from Fraunce, and that which is worſe, it is well knowne that we among oure ſelues are not in perfite loue and vnitie, and that maketh our enimy ſo bolde. And herevnto I wyll ſpecyally direct my ſpeeche, to moue and exhort that peace, vnitie, and loue may be had amongeſt our ſelues, and that beyng firſt had, and faythfully and louyngly graunted of euery of vs, we ſhall the better deuyſe the reſiſtaunce and withſtandyng of our forreyn enimies. And nowe to beginne with that matter. Firſt it is meete that we ordeyne a ſufficient power for the defence of all oure enimies at euery Porte, Hauen and Creke, within this realme, that our Country receaue no diſhonour blame nor dammage. And then let vs with all diligence ſee well to the defence of all oure good Fortes, holdes, Cities and good townes, and endeuour our ſelues to the good conſideration and defence of the ſame.

The order of defence made for ỹ realme of England to withſtand the power of Fraunce.

Nowe when the Erle of Sarliſbury had ended his tale, his wordes and ſayeng was very well noted, as the wordes of a ſage and valeant knight, and there was no replie made, but with one voice they conſented to enter into deuiſes for defence. And firſt they thought it moſt meeteſt to prouide for the defence of thoſe Hauens where they thought the Frenche king was moſt lykeſt to lande. And for that the Erle of Sarliſburies poſſeſſion in parte marched nere vnto the Iſle of Wight, which is right ouer agaynſt Normandie, and the Countrie of Caulx, therefore he with his Archers and power was there placed for the defence of that frontire. The Erle of Deuonſhire was appointed to be at Hampton, with two hundreth men of Armes, and. vj. hundreth Archers, to defende the Hauen and towne. The Erle of Northumberland was placed at Rye, with two hundreth men of Armes, and. vj. hundreth Archers. The Erle of Cambridge was aſſigned to Douer, with. v. hundreth mē of Armes, and. xij. hundreth Archers. And his brother the Erle of Buckingham, at Sandwich with. vj. hundreth men of Armes, and. xij. hundreth Archers. The Erle of Stafford and the Erle of Pembrooke were aſſigned to

Orwell

Oꝛwell hauen, with.v.hundꝛeth men of armes, and. xij. hundꝛeth Archers. And ſir Henry Percey, & Foulk Percey, were appoynted to Yarmouth, with thꝛee hundꝛeth men of armes, and. vi. hundꝛeth Archers. And ſir Symond Burle was appoynted Capteyne of Douer Caſtell. All the Hauens and Poꝛtes betwene the riuer of Humbꝛe, and Cornewall, were relieued with men of armes and archers.

And on the Mounteines and hilles all along the ſea coaſt, vpon the fꝛontiers, lying agaynſt Flaundyꝛs and Fꝛaunce, were placed certeine numbers of watchmen, but in ſuch maner (ſayth Froiſſart) as I can not well deſcribe: But as I heard, they had empty Pypes filled with ſande, one ſet vpon another, and on the height of them was place made where the watch men might both ſtand and ſit, and there they continued their watche both night and daye, hauyng alwayes ſpeciall eye and regarde towarde the ſea, hauyng in ſpeciall charge that when they eſpyed any naupe of Frenchmen dꝛawyng towardes them, that then they ſhould cauſe certeine Beacons beyng nere vnto them, to be ſet on fyꝛe, that by reaſon thereof the people might be dꝛawen the ſooner to that place, to awayte foꝛ the enemie. It was alſo oꝛdered, that if it foꝛtuned that the French nauie came, that they ſhould ſuffer the French king peaceably to take lande, and all his, and to enter into the land thꝛee oꝛ foure dayes iourney, and that then they ſhoulde firſt go betweene the ſea and them, and to fight with his ſhippes if they could, and to deſtroy them, and to take theyꝛ pꝛouiſion from them, and then to followe the Frenche men, but not immediately to fight with them, and to harry them and keepe them wakyng, and to kepe them from goyng a foꝛagyng, and from the deſtruction of the Country, and ſo alſo by diligent folowing of them, they ſhould be bꝛought to great lack and ſcarcetie. This was the opinion and oꝛder of this counſaile of England. And at that time alſo it was agreed, that Rocheſter bꝛidge ſhould be bꝛoken downe, where there is a great Ryuer ronnyng from Arondell, in the County of Suſſex, and entereth into the Thames, and ſo into the ſea agaynſt the Ile of Tenet: and this bꝛidge they of Londō, to be the moꝛe ſure, did beat downe.

Great taxes ſet vpon the people both in Fraunce and in England.

And where as the taxes and tallages were great in Fraunce: In likewiſe at that tyme they were great in England, ſo that the realme felt great griefe thereof. There were at that tyme ready in England foꝛ defenſe, of good fighting men, a hundꝛeth thouſand Archers, and. x. M. men of armes.

Here the French men couragiouſly make a ſhow to ſet foꝛward againſt England.

Nowe the time appꝛoched, that euery man beganne in Fraunce to ſet foꝛwarde, cꝛiyng, and ſaiyng, Now let vs go on theſe curſſed Engliſhe men, who haue done ſo many miſchiefes and wickedneſſe in Fraunce, the tyme is at hande, that we ſhall be reuenged vpon them foꝛ the death of our fathers, bꝛethꝛen, and kinſmen, whome they haue cruelly ſlaine and diſcomfited. Then the French king tooke his leaue of the Queene his wife, and of the Queene his mother, and of the Duches of Oꝛleaunce, and of all the other Ladies of Fraunce, and the ſame daye heaꝛde a moſt ſolempne Maſſe in our Ladie Churche in Paris, and he ſayde that he purpoſed neuer to returne againe to Paris, vntill he had bene firſt in England. And the nexte day early he road to Senliſe: But all this while the Duke of Berry was ſtill in his Countrie of Berrye, although great pꝛouiſion were made foꝛ him, both in Flaundyꝛs and at Scluſe. And likewiſe the Duke of Burgoyne was then in his Countrie, but he foꝛthwith toke his leaue of the Ducheſſe, and of his childꝛen, and determined

termined to take his leaue of his great aunt the Ducheſſe of Bꝛabant, and ſo he departed out of Burgoyne, and roade in great eſtate, and the Admyꝛall of Fraunce in his company, and ſir Guy of Tremoyll, & ſo they came to Bꝛuxelles, and there found the Duches of Bꝛabant and other Ladyes, who receyued him with great honour. And two dayes he taryed there with them, and then tooke his leaue, and from thence he road to Mouns in Henault, and there he found his daughter the Ladie of Oſtreuant, and Duke Aubert, and his ſonne, ſir William of Henault Erle of Oſtreuant, who receyued the Duke with great ioy, and ſo bꝛought him to Valenciens. And the Duke was lodged in the Erles Palace, and Duke Albert in the lodgyng of Vicongnet, and the Ladie of Oſtreuant. And from thence the Duke roade to Doway, and ſo to Arras, and there he founde the Ducheſſe his wife tarying foꝛ him. Then the Frenche king came to Compaigne, and ſo to Noyon, and from thence to Peron, and ſo to Bapalmes, and ſo to Arras, and dayly there came downe people from all partes, in ſuch great numbers that the Countrie was almoſt eaten vp. And to ſay truth, nothing remayned in the Countrie, but it was taken from them, without making any payment foꝛ the ſame. So that the pooꝛe Commons that had gathered together theiꝛ coꝛnes, had nothing left them but ſtrawe, and that alſo was taken from them, and if they made any complaint thereof, they were eyther beaten oꝛ ſlaine. There Pondes were fiſhed, there houſes beaten downe foꝛ fyꝛe wood: So that if the Engliſhe men had arriued in that Countrie, they could haue done them no moꝛe hurt, neyther was it likely that they would haue done ſo much hurt vnto them as the Frenche men did. And when the pooꝛe pitifully called vpon them foꝛ ſome amendes, they aunſwered, as nowe we haue no ſiluer to pay, but when we returne we will bꝛing inough, and then euery thing ſhall be fully aunſwered and payde. But when the pooꝛe people ſawe theiꝛ goodes thus taken away and ſpent, and that they durſt not complaine thereof, they curſſed them betwene theiꝛ teeth, ſaiyng: Get ye into England, oꝛ to the deuill, and God graunt that ye neuer returne againe.

The French king came nowe to Liſle in Flaundyꝛs, and his two Uncles with him, the Duke of Burgoyn, and the Duke of Burbon, foꝛ as yet the Duke of Berrey was behinde in his owne Country, and made pꝛouiſion foꝛ his iourney. And with the King at Liſle was the Duke of Barre, the Duke of Lozeyn, the Erle of Arminack, the Erle of Sauoy, the Erle Dalphyn of Anneringe, the Erle of Geneue, the Erle of Saint Paule, the Erle of Ewe, the Erle of Longuenile, and other great Lozdes of Fraunce, in ſuch number as I am not able (ſayth Froiſſart) to name them. The repoꝛt was, that there ſhould paſſe into England, xx. thouſand knights, and ſquiers, which certeinly were a goodly company, alſo. xx. thouſand Croſbowes, and xx. thouſand of other men of warre, which were perſons that ſhould enter into England, & remaine in the fielde, beſyde all the full furniture of the whole nauie vpon the ſea. And at this tyme ſir Oliuer Cliſſon was in Bꝛiteyn, and pꝛouided there foꝛ his buſineſſe and nauie, and was appoynted to bꝛing with him the Cloſure of the fielde made of Tymber, whereof mencion is made beꝛe. And with the ſayde ſir Oliuer Cliſſon Counſtable of Fraunce, ſhoulde come out of Bꝛiteyn the beſt knightes and Eſquiers therein, as the Vicount of Rhoan, the Lozde of Rays, the Lozd of Beawmanour, the Lozde of de la

Vale,

Vale, the Lorde of Rocheſort, the Lorde of Maleſtroyt, ſir John of Maleſtroyt, and fiue hundreth Speares Britons choſen men of warre. For it was the Conſtables purpoſe and entent, that no man ſhould enter into England, without he were a man of armes choſen. And he gaue charge to the Admirall, ſaiyng: take hede that ye charge not our Shippes with Uerlettes and boies, for they ſhall do more hurt then profite. So that two or three knightes, without they were great maiſters & Capitaynes, although they hyred ſhips for their money, yet ſhould they haue but one horſe ouer, & one Uerlet. And to ſay the truth, they ordeyned all theyr buſineſſe in ſo good order, that dyuerſe were of that opinion, that if they might arriue altogether in England, where as they entended to lande (and that was at Orwell Hauen) howe that they ſhould haue put the Countrie in great feare, and ſo they ſhould haue done without all doubt. For the great Lordes both ſpirituall and temporall, & the people of the good townes of England were in great doubt: But the Commons and poore people made ſmall accompt thereof, no more did the poore Gentlemen, for they deſyred the warre, eyther to leaſe, or to winne all. And they ſayde one to another, I truſt God hath ſent vs a good tyme, for that the Frenche king will come into this Countrie, he cheweth himſelfe to be of a valiaunt courage, and we haue not heard of three hundreth yeres paſt, of a French king of like courage, but he doth it to make his ſouldiours good men of warre: And we thanke him that he will thus viſite vs, for nowe we ſhall attaine to ſome riches, or elſe ſhortly make an ende of our lyues.

Nowe the Frenche king came downe to Liſle, to chewe that the iorney pleaſed him, and to come the neerer to his paſſage. And it was commonly ſpoken in Flaundyrs, and Arthoys, that the french king and his armie taketh Sea on Saturday, on Mondaye, one Tewesday, ſo that euery daye in the weeke it was ſayde, he departeth to morowe. And the kinges brother, the Duke of Thourayn, and the Biſhop of Beauoys Chauncelour of Fraunce, and dyuers other great Lordes tooke their leaue of the king at Liſle, and they returned to Paris, and it was ſayde, how that the king had geuen and committed the gouernaunce of the Realme of Fraunce to his ſayde brother the Duke of Thorayne, and to dyuers other Lordes, as the Erle of Bloys and other. And yet all this time the Duke of Berry was behinde, and came fayre and ſoftly, for he had no great appetite to this iourney of going into England: But his long tarying was very diſpleaſaunt vnto the king, and to the Duke of Burgoyn and to the other Lords, for they would fayne haue bene gone. Still great prouiſion was made, which was very coſtly and dere vnto them, for that which was not worth two ſhyllings, they payde .x. ſhyllings, and yet they would nedes haue it, for euery man deſired to be well furniſhed, in maner of an enuie that euerie man deſyred to be better appointed then other. And though the great Lordes were well payde their wages, other poore felowes bought the bargayne full dere, for ſome had owyng vnto them for a Moneths wages, and yet could get nothing. The Treaſorer of the warres and Clerkes of the Chamber of accompts ſayde. Sirs, content you vntill the next weeke, and then ye ſhall be payde, and ſo they were anſwered weekely. And if any payment were made vnto them, it was but for eyght dayes, when they were owyng eyght weekes. So that ſome of the wiſer ſorte, when they ſawe thys maner of dealyng, and howe they were ſo euill

euill payde, they were much offended and ſayde, this voyage will be of ſmall effect: For it is moſt lykely, or at the leaſt to be greatly ſuſpected, that ſo ſone as the money is collected and gathered of ſuche taxes as were ſet, that then they will breake this iorney and returne home agayne into their awne countreyes, and thoſe which caſt theſe doubts, and prouided for themſelues, were wiſe. But the poore Gentlemen and common ſouldyours, who had ſpent all that euer they had, and euery thing was ſo deere in Flaundyrs, that hard it was to get eyther bread or drinke, and ſpecially if any were in ſuche neede (as there were a great number) to ſell his armour to make money of, there was no perſon to buy it, neyther was there anye money to geue him for it. There was ſuche and ſo great a number of people about Dan, Bruges, and Ardenburgh, and ſpecially at Scluſe, that when the king came thether, they wiſt not where to lodge him. The Erle of ſaint Paule, the Lorde of Cowey, the Lorde of Auuergne, the Lorde de Antoigne, and dyuers other Lordes of Fraunce: and to lye the more at their eaſe, they were lodged at Bruges, and dyuers times they reſorted to the king at Scluſe, to knowe when they ſhould departe. And euer it was ſayde vnto them that within three or foure dayes, or when the Duke of Berry doth come, and alſo that we haue winde to ſerue vs. And thus euer the time paſſed, and the dayes ſhortened, and the yere begame to ware foule, and colde, and the nightes long, the which expence and loſſe of time muche greeued and offended the Lordes, not onely for that their charges were great, but alſo moſt chiefly for that by their long tarryaunce, their victualles much diminiſhed.

And in this meane time Lyon king of Armony: who being in Fraunce, and had aſſigned vnto him by the French king fyre thouſande Frankes by the yere, which is one thouſand Marke of the currannt money of England, toward the maintenaunce of hys eſtate. And at this time he tooke on him for a good entent to go into England to ſpeake wyth the king there, and his counſayle, to ſee if he might perſwade anye maner of peace to be had betweene the two realmes of Englande and Fraunce. And ſo he departed from his lodging of Saint Aulbyn beſide ſaint Dioniſe, onely with his awne company and without any great furniture: and ſo he roade to Bolleigne, and there he tooke ſhypping, and landed at Douer, where he founde the Erle of Cambridge, and the Erle of Buckyngham, and mo then an. C. men of armes, and two thouſand Archers, who laye there to keepe that paſſage. For the bruite went that the French king would lande there, or elſe at Sandwich. And at this time the king of Englande laye at London, and parte of his counſayle with him, and daylie heard tydinges from all the portes of England.

The arriuall of Lyon king of Armony at Douer.

When the king of Armony was arryued at Douer, he had there good cheere, becauſe he was a ſtraunger, and ſo he came to the kinges Uncles, who receaued him right honorably. And at tyme conuenient they demaunded of him from whence he came, and whether he would. The ſayde King of Armony ſayde, that in truſt of goodneſſe he was come thether to ſee the king of Englande and his counſayle, to treate for peace betwene Englande and Fraunce, for he ſayde he thought that the warre was not meete, for he ſayde by reaſon of the warre betwene theſe two Realmes, which hath endured ſo long: The Sarazens, Jewes and Turckes are waxen proude, for there is none that maketh them any warre, by reaſo wherof I (ſaith he) haue loſt

loſt my lande and realme, and am not lyke to recouer it agayne without there were firme peace in all chriſtendome. And I would gladly ſhew this matter which in effect toucheth all chriſtendome, vnto the king of Englande and to his counſayle, as I haue done vnto the French king. Then the kings Uncles demaunded of him if the french king had ſent him hether or no? he anſwered and ſayde, nay there is no man that ſent me, but I am come hether by mine awne motion, to ſee if the king of England and his counſayle would any thing bende to the intreatie of peace. Then it was demaunded of hym where the french king was? he anſwered I beleue he be at Scluſe. I ſaw him not ſince I toke my leaue of him at Scluſe. Thē he was demaūded how he could make anye entreatie of peace, hauing no power ſo to do? And they ſayde moreouer vnto him, if ye be conueyed to the king our Nephew, and to his counſayle, and the French king in the meane ſeaſon ſhould fortune wyth hys puyſſaunce to enter into England, ye may hap thereby to receaue great blame, and your perſon to be in great ieopardie with them of the Countrie. Then the king anſwered, I am in ſuretie of the french king, for I haue ſent vnto hym, deſyring that vntill I returne agayne, not to remoue from Scluſe. And I repute him ſo noble, and ſo well aduiſed, that he wyll graunt my deſyre, and that he will not enter into the Sea vntill I returne agayne vnto him. Wherefore, right honorable and valiant gentlemen, I pray you in the inſtance of loue and peace, to conuey me to ſpeake with the king, for I deſyre greatly to ſee him: Or elſe ye that be his Uncles, if ye haue auctority to geue me anſwere to all my demaundes. Then the Erle of Buckyngham ſayde, Syr king of Armony, we be here ordeyned to keepe and defend thys paſſage and Frontier of Englande, and we haue no charge to meddle anye further with the buſineſſe of the realme, without we be otherwiſe commaunded by the king: But ſyr ye be come for a good entent into this countrie, and ye are right hartely welcome. But ſyr, for any certaintie of anſwere ye can haue none of vs, for as now we be not of the counſayle. But we will cauſe you to be conueyed to the king without perill or dammage. The king thanked them and ſayd, I deſire nothing elſe but to ſe the king & ſpeake with him.

The nert day the king of Armony was conueyed with a good conduct that the Lordes appointed vnto him for feare of any reencountries. And at the laſt he came to London, and ryding thorough London, he was well receaued because he was a ſtraunger. And when time was conuenient, he was brought to ỹ king, who lay then at the Royall, which was then the Quenes Wardrobe, neere vnto Watlyngſtreete in London.

When the comming of the king of Armony was knowne, the kinges counſayle drewe to the king, to here what tydings the king brought in that troubleous ſeaſon. When the king of Armony was come into the kings preſence, he made his due ſalutations, and then began to ſhew the preſent eſtate of Fraunce, and how he was come from thence, ſpecially to ſee the king of Englande, whome he had neuer ſene before, and ſayde, howe that he was right ioyous to be in his preſence, truſting that ſome goodneſſe ſhould grow thereby. And then he vttered with many wordes, that to withſtand the great daunger of the preſent miſchiefe that was lykely to happen to England, therfore he was come of his awne good will to do ſome good therin if he might: not ſent from the french king, but wylling to ſet ſome accorde and peace betwene

twene the two realmes of Englande and Fraunce, if he might.

And the Lorde Chauncelour ſhortly aunſwered him and ſayde, Syr king ye are welcome into this realme, for the king our ſouereigne Lorde and all we are glad to ſee you here: But ſyr, we ſaye that the king hath not here all his counſayle, but ſhortly they ſhall be here, and then ye ſhall be aunſwered, and ſo for that time the king of Armony departed. And within foure dayes after the king remoued to his Palayce of Weſtmynſter, and thether came to him all his counſayle, and alſo the king of Armony.

And when he was come into the preſence of the king of Englande, and his counſayle, the king cauſed the king of Armony to ſit by him. And there the king of Armony reherſed agayne the requeſtes that he made, and alſo ſhewed wiſely howe that all Chriſtendome was decayed and weakened by occaſion of the warres betweene Englande and Fraunce, and how that all the knightes and ſquiers of both the realmes entended and prepared themſelues to nothing, but alwayes to be of the one parte or the other, whereby the Empire of Conſtantinople ſeeſeth, and daylie is lyke more to leeſe. And then he ſhewed, ỹ by reaſon of thys warre he hymſelfe had loſt all his realme of Armonye, and therefore deſyred for Gods ſake that there might be ſome treatie of peace had betwene the two realmes of Englande and Fraunce.

The Archebiſhop of Cauntorbury, who was appoynted to aunſwere him, ſaid: ſir king of Armonie, it is not the maner nor neuer was ſeene, betwene two ſuch enemies as the king of England, and the Frenche king are, that the king our ſouereigne Lord ſhould be requyred of peace with his enemie, and he haūyng in readineſſe an huge armie to enter his land. Wherefore ſir, for aunſwere vnto you, if it will pleaſe you to returne to the Frenche king, and to cauſe him and all his puyſſaunce to withdraw themſelues backe againe into their awne Countryes, and when euerye man is at home, if it pleaſe you to returne againe hether, then we will gladly entend to your treatie. And this was the aunſwere that the king of Armonie had, and ſo he dyned with the king of England, and had as great honour done vnto him as could be deuiſed. And the king offered him many riche giftes of Golde, and ſiluer, but he would take none, although he had neede thereof, but onelye a Ryng to the value of a. C. Frankes, which was in Engliſh money .xl. pound or thereaboutes.

The anſwere made to the king of Armonie.

And after dinner he departed, and toke his way to Douer, and there toke leaue of ſuch Lordes as were there, and ſo toke his paſſage and came to the french king, and ſhewed him how he had bene in England, and what anſwer he had there. But the french king & his Uncles toke no regard to any thing that he ſayde, and therefore ſent him back againe immediately into Fraunce.

The departure of the king of Armonie.

Shortly after, the Duke of Berry toke his leaue at Paris, & ſayd that he would neuer enter there again vntill he had bene in England, although it appered that he thought nothing leſſe. And all the way as he came, he had letters from the king, & from the Duke of Burgoyn to haſt him away: But yet notwithſtāding he haſted fayre & eaſely, and came by ſmall iourneyes. And in this tyme the Conſtable of Fraunce departed from Lentringer, ſtandyng on the ſea ſide in Britaine, with a great number of men of armes and prouiſion. He had .lxxij. great Shippes, and he had with him the Cloſure of the fielde made of Tymber. And the Conſtable and his companie had good winde at

the begynnyng: But when they approched neere to England, the winde roſe ſo fiercely and was ſo tempeſtuous about the entrie of Wergate, & the Thamys mouth, that whether they would or not, their chippes were ſcattered, ſo that .xx. kept not together, and ſome were driuen perforce into Thamys, and there were taken by the Engliſhe men, and ſpecially there was taken two or three chippes laden with part of the Cloſure of Tymber that was ordeyned to cloſe in the fielde, and certeine maiſter Carpenters and Artificers with them, & ſo they were brought to London, wherat the king had great ioy, & ſo had all the Londoners. But the Conſtable and other Lords with much paine came to Scluſe to the french king. Of the Conſtables commyng & his companie, the french king was right ioyfull, and the king ſayd vnto him: ſir Conſtable, when ſhall we depart, certeinly I haue great deſyre to ſee England, & therfore I pray you ſet forth all things with ſpede, for mine Uncle the Duke of Berry will be here within theſe two dayes. Sir, quoth the Conſtable, we cannot depart vntil the wind ſerue vs, & againe the tempeſt is ſore and great: Then ſaid the king, I haue bene in my veſſell vpon the ſea, & the ayre therof pleaſeth me right wel, & I beleue I ſhal be a good mariner, for the ſea did me no hurt. In the name of God, quoth the Conſtable, it hath done hurt to me, for ſir we were in great perill cõming from Briteyn hether. The king demaũded how ſo? Then the Conſtable ſayd, by fortune of the ſea, and great windes that roſe againſt vs vpon ỹ frontiers of England. And ſir, we haue loſt both of our chips & men, for the which I am right ſory, but now there is no remedy. Thus the king and the Conſtable deuiſed in words: But ſtill the tyme paſſed away and Winter approched, and the Lords lay there in great cold and perill. The Flemyngs alſo were very loth that they ſhould returne againe through their Countrie, and ſaid among themſelues: why the deuill doth not the french king paſſe into England? what meaneth he to tary ſo long in this country? Are we not pore enough, though the French king make vs no porer? And to be ſhort, all the whole Country of Flaundyrs began to mutter and cry out vpon them,

The courage of the French king.

The cõmyng of the Duke of Berrye.

At the laſt the Duke of Berry came to Scluſe to the king, and the king ſayd vnto him. A good Uncle, I haue bene greatly deſyrous to ſee you, why haue you taried ſo long? We had bene as nowe in England, and had fought with our enemyes if ye had bene come. The Duke began to ſmile and excuſe himſelfe, but did not vtter what was in his minde. But there they reſted .viij. dayes, and euery day it was ſayde, that they ſhould depart to morowe. Howbeit, truely the wind was ſo contrary, that they could not ſayle into England. And winter was farre on, for it was paſt Saint Andrewes tyde: and it was no good ſeaſon for the Noble men to take the Sea, although diuerſe of their Shippes were redy croſſed to depart. But then the kinges counſaile drewe together, and the Duke of Berry brake all this purpoſe, and ſayde flatly that it was not meete to counſaile the French king beyng but a childe, to take the ſea at that ſeaſon of the yere, and alſo that the voyage was hindered of much of their prouiſion that was taken into England, that went with the Conſtable of Fraunce. And moreouer he ſayde, call all the Mariners together, and looke if all they will not ſay that my counſaile is good. For though we be now xv. C. good ſaile of Shippes, yet before we come there, we ſhall not be three hundreth in companie, and therfore conſider what perill we ſhall put our ſelues in, and namely in a ſtraunge Countrie, wherein before we haue not trauayled.

trauayled. And in the ende they concluded to differre that voyage vntill Aprill, or May next folowyng, and their prouiſions of Biſquet, Salt, Befe, & Wine ſhould be ſafely kept vntill then. And ſo brake vp this moſt wonderfull voyage for this tyme, which coſt the realme of Fraunce a hundreth thouſande Frankes, thirtie tymes tolde (ſayth Froiſſart) which of Engliſh money was CCC. xxxiij. thouſand. CCC. xxxiij. pounde. vj. ſhillinges. viij. pence, after xx. Frankes to the pound.

The breaking vp of thys great enterpriſe.

And in this yere, as ſayth Fabian, the Erle of Arondell was ſent into the Duchy of Guyan, for to ſtrength ſuch fouldours as the king at that tyme had in thoſe partes, or as ſome wrote, to kepe the Seas from Rouers, & enemies. The which Erle in keepyng his courſe and paſſage, met with a great fleete of Flemyngs, laden with Rochell wine, and ſet vpon them, and diſtreſſed them and their chippes, and ſo brought them into diuerſe Portes of England. By reaſon whereof, the ſayde Wine was ſo plentifull in England, that a Tonne thereof was ſolde for .xiij. ſhillinges, foure pence, and for .xx. ſhillinges to take the choyſe. And in that fleete was taken the Admirall of Flaũdyrs, which remayned here long after as priſoner.

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Ye haue heard before in the beginning of the .x. yere of this kings reigne that a great counſayle was holden at Nottyngham, and vnto the ſame were called the chiefe Juſtices and Sergeaunts at lawe, and that there was propoſed certaine articles againſt the Lordes of the realme that were admitted by Parliament to haue the examination of ſuche as had beene lewde rulers, and ſuch as had the gouernment of the kings treaſure, and that the ſame articles, as before may at large appere, did ſpecially touch the lyues of the ſayd honorable perſonages, & that by the ſentence and iudgement of the lawyers they were all condemned as Traytors. The which when the ſayde Lordes vnderſtood, they aſſembled themſelues together and agreed for the ſafetie of themſelues, and for the better gouernement of the realme to gather ſuche power as they might, and to reſort vnto the king, and to admoniſhe hym to remoue and aduoyde from him al ſuch lewde counſaylors as before had bene complayned vpon in Parliament, as aforeſayde, and alſo in all humble maner to beſeech his highneſſe to hearken to their complaynts againſt the ſayd euill counſaylors, which not onely ſought the vtter deſtruction of the realme, but alſo of his royall perſon.

Nottingham counſayle.

The king hering of thys aſſembly, came to London in Nouember, being accompanyed with all the aforeſayde lewde counſaylors, and there purpoſed to haue holden a parliament, and to haue attaynted the aforeſayde Lordes, which in the laſt parliament were appointed and authoriſed to haue the examination of ſuche as had conſumed and made awaye the kings treaſure, as aforeſayde: But the king hering of the Lords approching with a great puyſſance, ſteyed in ſuch ſorte as that parliament went no farther. Notwithſtandyng the king cauſed to be made, that no Citezene of London ſhould be ſo hardie to ſell to the Duke of Glouceſter, the Erle of Arondell, or anye other the Lords, any harneſſe, Bowes, Arrowes, nor any other munition or matter that ſhould tende to the furniture of the warre, vpon a great paine.

The cõming of the king and his Lordes to London.

A proclamation made by the king againſt hys Lordes.

But this notwithſtanding, the Lords with a goodly company well furniſhed, came to London: and before they approched neere to the Citie, they ſent vnto the king the Archbiſhop of Cauntorbury, the Lord John Louell,

The cõming of the Lordes toward Lond̃.

the Lord Cobham, and the Lorde John Eueroz requiring to haue deliue-
red vnto them ſuch as were about him, Traytoꝛs and ſeducers both of him
and the realme, and troublers both of poꝛe men and riche, and ſuch as ſowed
A meſſage ſent by the Lords to the king. diſcoꝛdes and variaunces betwene the king and his nobles: And they far-
ther declared that their comming was foꝛ the honour and wealth both of the
king and the realme. But the king ruled by his fiue euill counſayloꝛs, was
Euill counſailoꝛs giue lewde counſaile. perſwaded that the Loꝛdes intended to bꝛing him vnder: Therefoꝛe they
gaue him coũſayle to make the king of Fraunce ſure friend vnto him in theſe
great neceſſities, and foꝛ to be moꝛe in quiet, to giue him the Towne and
Marches of Calice, and whatſoeuer he had elſe beyond the Seas, and ſo to
call in the french king to chaſtiſe his enimies, and thoſe Loꝛdes that neuer
would be tamed. And immediatly the king ſent foꝛ the Maioꝛ of London, and
demaunded of him how many hable men he ſuppoſed that the Citie coulde
An vnadui-ſed anſwere. make? And he aunſwered that he thought ſurely within an howꝛe to haue
fiftie thouſand, well then ſayd the king, go and pꝛoue what will be done. And
after the Maioꝛ beganne to attempt the matter, the Citezens aunſwered
with one voyce, that they would neuer fight agaynſt the kings friendes and
defenders of the realme: But agaynſt the kings enemies, and the enemies
of the realme they would alway be readie, which anſwere the Maioꝛ repoꝛ-
The ſaiyng of the Lorde Baſſet. ted to the king. At this time alſo was about the king the Lord Rauſe Baſſet,
which ſayde franckly to the king, ſyꝛ I haue bene and ſhall be your true liege
man, and my bodye and goods ſhall alway be yours in all iuſtice and truth:
But of thys I aſſure you, if it foꝛtune me to come into the field, vndoubtedly
I will alway folow the true part, and it is not I that intend to aduenture the
bꝛeaking of my head foꝛ the Duke of Ireland. Alſo at the ſame tyme was the
The ſaiyng and counſaile of the Erle of Noꝛthumberlande. Erle of Noꝛthumberland with the king, which ſayd vnto him, ſyꝛ no doubts
therof, but theſe Loꝛds which now be in the field, alway haue bene your true
and faithfull ſubiects and yet be, and entend not to do oꝛ attempt any thing a-
gainſt your eſtate, wealth and honoꝛ: But they feele themſelues ſoꝛowfully
greeued by the wicked imagination and falſe oppꝛeſſion of certayne perſons
which are about you. And ſyꝛ, without fayle all your realme is ſoꝛe moued
therewith, and that both great and ſmall, as well your nobles as your com-
mons. And I ſee none other but they entend to aduenture their lyues with
the Loꝛds, ſpecially in this caſe, which they doe recon yours & your realmes.
And ſyꝛ, now ye be in the chiefe place of your realme, and in the place of your
coꝛonation, nowe oꝛder your ſelfe wiſely and like a king, and ſend vnto them
to come into your pꝛeſence in ſome open place, and there will them to declare
vnto you the entent of their comming with ſo great a number to theſe parts,
and I doubt not, but they will ſhewe ſuche reaſons, that you ſhall haue
them excuſed.

The Archebiſhop of Cauntoꝛbury and Biſhop of Ely Chauncelloꝛ, and
other Biſhops there pꝛeſent, affirmed the Erles aduiſe to be good, and the
king conſidering wiſely the caſe as it ſtoode, appeaſed himſelfe, and accoꝛded
The kings anſwere ſent vnto the Loꝛdes. to their aduiſe, and deſyꝛed the Archbiſhop of Cauntoꝛbury and the Biſhop
of Ely to aduertiſe them of his pleaſure, which was: that he willed them to
come vnto him to Weſtmynſter the Sunday folowyng, and ſo they tooke
their leaue of him and returned vnto the Loꝛdes, and made vnto them rela-
cion of all the kings minde. The Duke of Glouceſter and the other Loꝛdes
were

were ſo ſtiffe in their matter that they ſwoꝛe all wholy that they woulde ne-
The great courage of the Lordes. uer leaue of as long as they had one penny to maintaine their cauſe. And if
any of them happened to die, the ouer lyuers ſhould doe the ſame vntill the
time that this matter were bꝛought to good effect: And becauſe they were in
The Lordes certefie the Citie of London of the cauſe of their aſſemblie. doubt that the king by his ſiniſter counſayle ſhould ſtirre the City of London
agaynſt them, they firſt determyned to certefie the Maioꝛ and the Citie that
their comming was foꝛ reformations of great and enoꝛme cauſes, which
they declared vnto the ſayd Maioꝛ and Citezens in wꝛiting, and deſired their
fauours and counſayle therein. And this done, they farther determyned to
kepe their daye on the Sundaye followyng to come to the kinges pꝛeſence.
And accoꝛding to the ſame appointment the ſayde Loꝛdes came into the Hall
at Weſtmynſter. But befoꝛe their comming thether, they ſent certaine per-
wiſedome pꝛeuenteth perilles. ſons to ſeꝛche both the Hewes, and alſo the Archebiſhop of Yoꝛkes place,
if peꝛcaſe any man had bene layde there to betꝛap them. Foꝛ it was ſhewed
vnto them that in thoſe places there ſhould be ſome treaſon wꝛought againſt
them. And when they peꝛceyued that all was cleere, they went foꝛth on their
way. And when they entred into Weſtminſter hall, and had ſight of the king,
The behauioꝛ of ỹ lordes when they came into the kings preſence they made vnto him humble obeyſaunce, and ſo went they foꝛth vntill they
came to the nether ſtep going vp to the kings ſeat of eſtate, where they made
their ſecond obeyſaunce, and then the king made them a countenaunce to
come nere vnto him, and they ſo did, kneeling downe befoꝛe hym. And he
foꝛthwith aroſe from his place, and louingly welcommed them, and tooke
The cauſe of the Loꝛdes aſſemblie. eche of them by the hand, and that done ſet him downe againe. There they de-
clared vnto him that their comming was foꝛ noue euil to his perſon that euer
they imagined oꝛ thought: But the cauſe of their griefe was againſt the fiue
Traytoꝛs which were about his perſon, and ſuche matters as they had to
charge them was there ready in wꝛiting, which they deliuered vnto the king.
The kinges aunſwere to the Lordes. There the king openly pꝛomiſed them that they ſhould appere perſonally at
the parliament, and that none of them ſhoulde haue of him pardon without
the aſſent of the Loꝛdes, if they had offended accoꝛding to their accuſations,
And then foꝛthwith the king aroſe from his place, and led them to his cham-
The depar-tyng of the Lordes. ber, and after that he had dꝛonken with them, they departed. And foꝛ as much
as it ſhould be well knowne thꝛoughout all the Citie that theſe Loꝛdes had
nothing offended him with their comming, the king cauſed a pꝛoclamation
to be made, the effect wheꝛof was as foloweth.

A pꝛoclama-tion in the fauour of the Lordes. RIchard by the grace of God, &c. We will that it be knowen to all our liege
people thꝛoughout our Realme of England: That where as Thomas
Duke of Glouceſter, Richard Erle of Arondell, and Thomas Erle of War-
wike haue bene deſamed of Treaſon by certeyne of our counſayloꝛs: We, as
it apperteineth, diligently ſeaꝛching the cauſe and ground of this defamation,
finde no ſuch thing in them, noꝛ any ſuſpicion thereof. Wherefoꝛe we declare
the ſame defamation to be falſe and vntrue, and do receyue the ſame Duke
and Erles into our ſpeciall pꝛotection. And becauſe their accuſers ſhall be no-
The names of the lordes accuſers. toꝛiouſly knowen, their names are Alexãder Archbiſhop of Yoꝛke, ſir Lionel
Vere (but in the boke of ſtatutes he is called ſir Robert Vere) Duke of Ire-
land, Mighell de la Poole Erle of Suffolke, Robert Treſilian chiefe Iu-
ſtice of Englande, and Nicholas Bꝛimbꝛe of London knight: Who in like-
wiſe ſhall remaine vnto the nexte Parliament, and there ſhall ſtande to their

aunſwere, but in the meane time we take them into our protection, ſtreightly charging and commaũdyng that no maner of perſon charge any of the aforenamed, eyther openly or priuily, neyther in worde nor deede to hurt them, or cauſe any hurt to be done vnto them, but all querels and demaundes againſt them to be remitted vnto the next Parliament prefixed.

The accuſers are in great feare.

Then came the wicked counſaylours to the king, ſhewyng to him that they were dayly in daunger of their lyues by the great Lordes of the realme, and ſaw none other but dayly they ſhould be in more, for ỹ the king had promiſed that they ſhould apere at the next Parliament, which was at hand, and ſayde alſo that all the diſpleaſure that they had, was onelye for the Kinges ſake, and not for any matter of their owne, and that it was not his honour to ſee them ſo entreated: And further, they ſayde, that they neyther durſt nor would put their bodies to ſo manifeſt a daunger as to appere in Parliament.

The euill Counſaylors ſpe.

The king conſideryng this, withdrew himſelfe from the counſaile of hys Lordes, which then were aſſigned to ſit at London for matters of the Parliament: So that Counſaile which was ordeyned for the purpoſe to haue the Parliament, was delayed and layd aſyde. And theſe falſe counſaylours fled from the king into dyuers partes. And among other, Mighell de la Poole Erle of Suffolke fled into Calice, and as it was then ſayde, he had ſhauen off the heare of his heade, and came in lyke a Poulter to the Gates of the Caſtell of Calice to ſell his Capons, where as his brother was Capitain: and anone he was knowne, and taken, and brought to William Beauchampe his brother Capiteyne of Calice, who foorthwith brought him into England to the King. But the King was not a little diſpleaſed with his brother for taking and bringyng of him, and therefore committed him to warde. But afterward he ſet him againe at libertie, for that it ſhould not appere that he puniſhed him for that cauſe, and ſo he returned to Calice, & kept his place. Yet Mighell de la Poole, fearing ſtill the diſpleaſure of the great Lordes would not tary, but toke his leaue of the king and departed from hũ. And the king beyng now deſtitute of the ſayde Chauncelor, and alſo of the Duke of Ireland, was nothing contented in his mynde: But foorthwith ſent for the ſayde Duke of Ireland to come to him. And alſo he ſent one Thomas Molyners, which was a man of great power in the Counties of Lancaſhire and Cheſſhire, and by him the king ſent to the Shirife of Cheſter a Commiſſion vnder a ſecrete ſeale, commaundyng him that he ſhoulde arreyſe a great power, and that they ſhould ſee the Kinges kinſman and eſpeciall friend the Duke of Ireland conueyed in ſafetie to his preſence, not lettyng for any labour or expenſes. Then this Molyners reyſed a great power, and ſuche as for the loue they bare vnto the Duke of Glouceſter, and to the other Lordes, would not go with him, he did empriſon them in dyuerſe priſons, commaundyng the Jaylours to kepe them ſtrept in Irons, and to geue them bread and water, and ſome day water onely, vntill his returne againe. The king alſo commaunded Sir Raufe Vernon, and ſir Raufe Ratcliffe to aſſiſt them: And ſo they ſet foorth toward the king, and they were in number aboue fiue thouſand men. Wherof when the Duke of Glouceſter had knowledge, he and the Erle of Darbie, the Erle of Arondell, the Erle of Warwike, and the Erle of Nottyngham aſſembled their powers out of all quarters, to ayde and aſſiſt them with all ſpeede againſt theſe oppreſſors of the Commons, and of the Realme,

Mighel de la Poole taken at Calice and brought into England.

Molyners raiſeth an armye to helpe the Duke of Ireland.

Realme, for feare leaſt the honour of the Realme of Englande ſhould be by them troden vnder foote.

Radcock Bridge.

The Duke of Irelande hauyng in his company Molyners, Vernon, and Ratcliffe, with a power of fiue thouſand men, as aforeſayde, came ſtill forward vntill he came to Radcocke Bridge, not paſſyng foure myles from Chepyng Norton: and if he had paſſed the ſame bridge, he had bene ſure out of the daunger of his enemyes. But when he came thether, he founde it kept by the Erle of Darbyes folkes, which had broken the bridge, and ſo ſtopt his paſſage: And within a little way therof lay the Erle of Darby himſelfe with a great company. But after the Duke of Irelande had knowledge of the Erles beyng there, he ſtayed and cauſed the Kinges Banner to be diſplayed, and with a mery countenaunce he exhorted his company to quite themſelues valiauntly, and he cauſed his Trompettes to ſound: howbeit, there apeared vnto him, that as ſome were willyng to fight on his part, ſo there were other that clerely forſooke him, and ſayde they would not fight againſt ſo manye Noble men, nor in ſo vniuſt a cauſe. The Duke of Irelande eſpiyng this, gaue his horſe the ſpurres, and roade forwarde, thinking to haue paſſed the Bridge: But when he came thether and ſawe the Bridge broken, he ſayde with open voyce, we are decepued, and turned his horſe and alighted, and gate him vpon an other Courſer, myndyng to haue fled ouer the Thamys: But there met him the Duke of Glouceſter, with his companie. And when he ſawe that he was encloſed amongeſt his enemies on the one ſyde, and the Riuer of Thamys on the other ſyde, and alſo the Erle of Darby to preaſe on him ſo faſt for to haue taken him, he thought to put all to hazard, and caſt away his Gauntlets, and his ſworde to make him the lighter, and gaue hys horſe the ſpurres, and tooke the riuer, and ſo eſcaped all his enemyes. And the nert newes that was heard of him, was, that he was ſlaine in Louaine in huntyng of a wilde Boare, in the yere of our Lorde. 1393. and in the .xvj. yere of the reigne of king Richarde the ſeconde. But when king Richarde heard of his death, he tooke it merueylous heauily, and to ſhew the great affection that he bare vnto him, he commaunded that his dead carkaſſe ſhould be brought from Louayn into England, and to be conueied with all ſolempne funerall pompe to the Priorie of Colney in Eſſex, and cauſed him to be layde in a Coffin of Cypreſſe, and to be adourned with princely garmentes, and his face vncouered, and garniſhed with a Chaine of Golde, and riche ringes put on his fingers. And the king himſelfe was at his buryall accompanied with the Dukes mother, and with one Archebiſhop, and ſundrie other Biſhops: But of Noble men, there were verye fewe, for they had conceyued ſuche hatred againſt him, that they vtterly contemned him. But to returne where we left: After the Duke was fled, as aforeſayde, Thomas Molyners would haue folowed him alſo, but the Lorde Mortimer drewe him backe and there killed him. Then the Lordes armye ſet vpon the people that came with the Duke out of Cheſſhire, Lancaſhire, and Wales, and toke them as enemies, and ſpoyled them of their horſe, harneſſe, Bowe, and Arrowes, and ſo ſent them home without doyng of them any more harme.

The Duke of Irelande ſpeth.

The Duke of Irelande eſcapeth hardly.

The Lordes counſaile at Oxenforde.

After this the Duke of Glouceſter, and the other Lordes went to Oxenforde, beyng ſory that their fortune was not to haue taken the Duke of Ireland. And there they tooke their counſaile what was beſt for them further

ther to do, to bring their purpoſe to good ende. And from thence they remoued to Saint Albons, and came thether on Chriſtmas Euen, and there tarried that day and the next, and on Saint Stephens day they tooke their way to London, & there muſtered themſelues beſydes Clerkenwell, with a goodly army, which they diuided into three battayles, and their harneſſe was ſo cleane and bright, that it was a goodly ſight to beholde: And they ſent two Knightes, and two Eſquiers vnto the Maior of London, and Aldermen, and chiefe Citizens of the ſame, that they ſhould come and declare vnto the ſayde Lords, whether they were minded to take their partes, and the partes of the Commons, or elſe with the Duke of Ireland, and his Adherentes, Traytors vnto the King and the Realme. So came the Maior of London, whoſe name was Nicholas Exton, and certeine of the chiefe of the City with him, and brought the Keyes of the Citie with them, and ſubmitted themſelues to the Lordes, and offered them entrie into the Citie at their pleaſures with all their people. And then the Lordes ſent certeine perſonnes before, to ſearche if there were any buſhmentes, or perſonnes lye in wayte, for to trap or deſtroy them. And when they were well aſſured that all was cleere, they entred into the Citie, and there abode quietly. Sone after their commyng, meanes was made that there might be a meetyng betwixt the King and the Lords, & that they might come to common with him in the tower of London, which was agreed vpon. And the Fryday folowyng came vnto the King ſitting in a Pauilion ſtately apparelled, the Duke of Gloucester, the Erle of Nottyngham, and the Erle of Darby. But before theyr commyng into the Tower, they had the Keyes of the Gates ſent vnto them, and of all the ſtrong holdes within the Tower. And ſo ſoone as they came into the kinges preſence, after their humble ſalutations done, they requeſted the King, that all thoſe of his Court which were knowne or ſuſpected of treaſon to his perſon or realme, might be taken and committed to ſeueral holdes, the which the King graunted. And duryng the tyme of this communication, the Erle of Darby deſyred the king vpon the Wall of the Tower to beholde the people that were there aſſembled for the preſeruation of him and his realme, which he did, and marueyled much to ſee ſuch a goodly armie and ſtrength. Then ſayde the Duke of Gloucester vnto him, ſir this is not the tenth part of your willyng ſubiectes that would haue riſen to haue deſtroyed theſe falſe Traytors. And after they had ſuch cõmunication with the King, they would haue taken their leaue of him: But the king deſyred them to tary all night there with the Quene. The Duke thinkyng to make all ſure, made his excuſe that he durſt not be abſent from all thoſe folkes which they had brought with them, for feare that ſome buſineſſe might ariſe, eyther in the armie, or in the Citie. But at the kinges inſtance, the Erles of Nottyngham, and Darby taryed there all night.

The Lordes ſend to the Maior and Citezens of London.

The Lordes were circumſpect.

The commyng of the Lordes to the king.

And the nexte daye king Richard, at the inſtaunce of the Lordes, cauſed to be taken all ſuſpect folkes of his courte, and to be ſent into dyuers priſons to be kept againſt the parliament, and then to come to their aunſwere. The perſons that were apprehended, were theſe. Sir Symond Burley, Sir Wylliam Elman, Sir Nicholas Dagwoorth, ſyr John Golofor, Clifford and Slake prieſts, Sir John Beawchamp, ſyr Thomas Treuet, ſyr John Salſburie, and one called Lyncoln, and James Barners a prieſt. There ſhould

The names of the criminall perſons that were apprehended.

ſhould alſo haue bene apprehended Alexander Neuell Archbiſhop of Yorke, Wighell de la Poole Erle of Suffolk, and Robert Treſilien chiefe Juſtice of England, but theſe would not be found. And there was alſo taken Syr Robert Bzember of London knight, but he found ſuretie for his foorth coming. Other Lords and Ladies there were that were put out of the Court, as John Fortham Biſhop of Deuelyn, Lord Bewmond, Lorde Sowche, Lorde Louell, Lorde Thomas Canweyes, the Lord Cliffords ſonne, Lord Bawdewyn, the Biſhop of Chicheſter the kings Confeſſor, the Lady Moroy, the Lady Poynings, the Lady Molyners and dyuers other.

Certein perſons put out of the Court.

A parliamẽt.

Shortly after, that is to ſay the morow after Candlemas daye the parliament began, the which was named the parliament that wrought wonders. And the firſt daye of the parliament were areſted ſytting in their places all the Juſtices except Sir Wylliam Skipwoorth, that is to ſaye, Sir Roger Fulthorpe, ſyr Robert Belknap, Sir John Carey, ſyr John Holt, ſyr William Brooke, and John Mocton the kings Sergeaunt at lawe, all which were committed to the Towre, and there kept in ſeuerall places. The cauſe of their apprehenſion was, for that at the laſt parliament the Lordes and Nobles were made gouernors of the realme, by the aſſent of the ſayde parliament, and alſo by the aſſent and counſayle of all the Juſtices then beyng, and therefore Indentures tripartited were made, wherof the one part remayned with the king, and the ſecond parte with the Lords that were choſen to gouerne the realme, and the thirde parte with the Juſtices. And for as much as the ſayde Juſtices at a counſayle holden at Nottyngham, as aforeſayde, did afterward contrary to the ſayde agreement, it was determyned that they ſhould make aunſwer thervnto.

The Judges areſted and committed to the Tower.

In the beginning of the parliament was called Robert Veer Duke of Irelande, Alexander Neuell Archebiſhop of Yorke, Wighell de la Poole Erle of Suffolk, Sir Robert Treſilian chiefe Juſtice of Englande, to anſwere Thomas of Woodſtock Duke of Gloucester, Richard Erle of Arondell, Thomas Erle of Darby, and Thomas Erle of Nottyngham vpon certaine articles of high treaſon, which theſe Lordes did charge them with. And for as much as none of theſe appered, it was ordeyned by the whole aſſent of the parliament that they ſhoulde be baniſhed for euer: And their landes and goodes, moueable and vnmouable, to be forfeit and ſeaſed into the kinges hand, the landes entayled onely except.

Judgement geuen againſt the exiil traytours.

Shortly after this, was founde Robert Treſilian chiefe Juſtice lurkyng in a Poticaries houſe at Weſtmynſter, and there founde the meanes to haue ſpyes daylie vpon the Lordes what was done in the parliament: For all the dayes of his lyfe he was craftie, but at the laſt his craft turned to hys deſtruction: for he was diſcouered by his owne ſeruant, and ſo taken and brought to the Duke of Gloucester, and the ſame daye had to the Towre, and from thence drawen to Tyborne, and there hanged.

Robert Treſilian chiefe Juſtice of England executed.

The morow after, Syr Nicholas Brembre which afore had bene Maior of the Citie of London againſt the Citezens will, was brought forth. This man had done in the Citie many great oppreſſions, and in his Maiſtie had made great and monſtreous ſtockes to empriſon men in, and alſo he cauſed to be made a common Axe, to ſtryke of the heades of them which did reſiſt his will and pleaſure, for ſo highly was he in fauour with the king,

Sir Nicholas Brembis executed with his owne Axe

that

that he might do what he would. And the repoꝛt went that he had cauſed.biij thouſand and mo to be endited, which befoꝛe had taken part with ꝑ Loꝛdes, which he entended to haue put to execution, if God had not ſhoꝛtened hys dayes. And in the ende, being called to his aunſwer, he was found giltie, and had iudgement neyther to be hanged noꝛ dꝛawen, but to be hedded with his awne Axe, which befoꝛe he had deuiſed.

Dyuers condemned and executed.

The next day after, there were condempned theſe folowyng, Thomas Uſke, John Blagg, Sir Symon Burly, ſyꝛ John Beauchamp, Sir John Barners, John Erle of Salſburie, and euerie of them were executed.

Iuſtices condemned to perpetuall exile.

As touching the Juſtices, they were alſo condempned to death by the Parliament: But ſuche meanes was made foꝛ them vnto the Quene, that ſhe obteyned of the king pardon foꝛ their liues, but they foꝛfeyted their lands and goodes, and were iudged to perpetuall exile, and places appointed vnto them where they ſhould remayne.

1388
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And in the.xij. yere of the kings reigne, he kept a Marciall Juſtes in Smithfield in London, in the month of Nouember, where all ſuch perſons as came in on the kings partie, their Armour and apparell was garniſhed with whyte hartes, and crownes of Golde about their neckes.

The Badge of king Richard the ſecond were white hartes with chaynes of Golde about their neckes.

And of that ſoꝛte were.xxiiij. knightes, with.xxiiij. Ladyes alſo appareled, as aboueſayde, and their hoꝛſes were led with.xxiiij. Cheynes of Golde, and ſo conueyed from the Towꝛe thoꝛough the Citie of London vnto Smithfield, where the king, the Queene, and many other great eſtates beyng preſent (after pꝛoclamation by the Herault̃s made) many goodly and martiall feates of warre were pꝛactiſed, to the pleaſaunt recreation of the king and the Queene, and all other the beholders of the ſame.

To this diſpoꝛte came many ſtraungers, among the which the Erle of Saint Paule, the Loꝛde Oſtreuaunt, ſonne and heyꝛe vnto the Duke of Holland, and a yong ſonne of the Erle of Oſtrich, were greatly commended.

And when theſe Juſtes had cõtinued by ſundꝛy times the ſpace of.xxiij. dayes, to the great ioye and comfoꝛte of the young luſtie Bachelers, and to the kings great honoꝛ, who all that tyme kept open houſhold foꝛ all honeſt cõmers: I ſay, when the ſame was finiſhed, the ſtraungers returned to their Countries with many riche giftes. Fabian.

Battaile of Otterborne.

And this yere alſo the Scottes bꝛake into the Boꝛders of Englande, robbed Comberland and Noꝛthumberlande, beſieged new Caſtell, and diſcomfited and tooke pꝛiſoners the two ſonnes of the Loꝛde Percy of Noꝛthumberlande. Cooper.

1389
13

And at this time an Eſquire of the Pꝛouince of Nauarre, neere to Fraunce, accuſed an Engliſh Eſquier, called John Welſh, of certaine points of treaſon. Foꝛ triall whereof a daye was appointed foꝛ a fight to be taken betweene them, in the kings Palace at Weſtmynſter, where eyther of them kept his day, and fought there a ſtrong fight. But in the ende John Welſhe was Victour, and conſtrayned the other to yeelde him: and then he was diſpoyled of his armoꝛ, and dꝛawen to Tiboꝛne, & there hanged foꝛ his vntruth.

A Combat.

A truce take betweene England Scotland and Fraunce.

And thys yere a truce was taken betwene Englande and Fraunce, and Scotlande, foꝛ thꝛee yeres.

1390
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In the.xiiij. yere of this king, John of Gaunt Duke of Lancaſter, with a goodly company of men of armes, ſayled into Spayne, to clayme there ſuche

ſuche landes as he ought to haue, in the right of Dame Conſtance his wife, when the ſayde Duke was vpon the other ſide of the Sea, there came vnto him the king of Poꝛtingale with a ſtrong armie, and ſo entred the Territoꝛie of Spaine. And there chaunced much harme to be done to the Spaniardes in robbing and pylling their countrie, but whether by the Engliſhmen oꝛ the Poꝛtingales, it was not well knowen, but it cauſed grudge betwene the king of Poꝛtingale and the Duke, and alſo made many Spanyards that ought them good will to dꝛawe back, and departe from them. And foꝛ reforꝛmation of that euill, certaine perſons, as well Engliſh as Poꝛtingales that were founde giltie of ſuche robberie, were put to death: By meane wherof, the other feared ſo, that where by the foꝛmer lewdeneſſe the Duke and the king were put to after deale, by the reforꝛmation of that euill, they gate againe daylie vpon their enimies: So that in pꝛoceſſe of time the king of Spayne was dꝛiuen of neceſſitie to treat with the Duke of a peace and concoꝛd.

John Duke of Lancaſter ſayleth into Spaine.

Of the which peace, as ſayth Reynulph in his laſt boke, and.bij. Chapter, the conditions were theſe.

Conditions of peace made betweene the king of Spaine, and the Duke of Lancaſter.

Firſt, foꝛ a finall concoꝛd, the king of Spaine ſhould mary the Dukes eldeſt daughter, named Conſtance.

Alſo, that he ſhould geue vnto the Duke in recompenſe of coſtes ſo many wedges of Golde as ſhoulde lade eyght Charets. And that yerely during the lyues of the ſayde Duke and his wyfe, he ſhould at his pꝛoper coſte and charge, delyuer to the Dukes aſſignes ten thouſand Marke of Gold, within the towne of Bayon.

And after this peace was ſtabliſhed, and ſureties taken foꝛ the perforꝛmaunce of the ſame: The Duke departed with the king of Poꝛtingale, to whome ſhoꝛtly after he maried his ſecond daughter, named Anne.

And in this yere the Turks made cruell warre agaynſt the Genowayes oꝛ men of Geane, & they ſought ayde of the king of England, and of the king of Fraunce. And foꝛ their helpe there was ſent out of England a noble warꝛyour called the Erle of Alby, with two thouſande Archers. And out of Fraunce went the Duke of Burbon, and the Erle of Ewe, with.xv.hundꝛed ſpeares. The which kept their iourney vntill they came vnto a City in Barbary, named Thunys, ſometime belonging to the ſayde Genowayes, where the ſayde Engliſh and Frenchmen bare themſelues ſo manfully, with the ayde of the Genowayes, that in pꝛoceſſe they wanne the ſayde Citie from the Turkes, and put the Genowayes agayne in poſſeſſion thereof, and toke of them many pꝛiſoners, the which were exchaunged foꝛ chꝛiſten pꝛiſoners befoꝛe taken. And moꝛe, they foꝛced they ſayde Sarazens to paye vnto the Genowayes ten thouſande Ducates of Golde, foꝛ confirmation of a peace foꝛ a certaine time. But ſome other wꝛite, that this towne was not recouered, but only a truce taken foꝛ a time. And Froiſſart ſayth, that the Chꝛiſtians departed ſodainely from the Citie of Thunes, without any league oꝛ truce making, fearing dyuers perilles and incidents that might elſe haue chaunced vnto them.

An ayde ſent out of Englande and Fraunce againſt the Turkes.

And here Cooper (in his Chꝛonicle) ſayth: That in this time in Englande it was decreed that the auctholitie of the Biſhop of Rome ſhould be ended with the Occean Sea, and it ſhould be lawfull thenceforth to no man to appeale to the Biſhop of Rome, noꝛ make ſute that any Engliſhmã ſhould be

The determination of ꝑ iuriſdiction and auctholitie of the Biſhop of Rome

be curſſed by his auctho3ity, neyther ỹ any man ſhould execute ſuch commaũdement. though it were obteyned of the Biſhop, on payne to leeſe and fo3feyt all his goodes, and his body to perpetuall pꝛiſon.

The death of king Robert of Scotland.

And in this yere dyed king Robert of Scotland, and John Erle of Carreck his eldeſt ſonne ſucceded and reigned after him, whoome the Scottes called Robert after his father, becauſe they thought John an vnluckie name in a king. He was maymed with the ſtroke of an ho3ſe in his youth, and ſo made vnhable fo3 the gouernaunce of the Realme, and Duke Robert of Albanye continued as gouernoure all the tyme of hys reigne, and he reigned xbj. yeres.

1391
15

King Richard liyng at his Manoꝛ of Woodſtock, and keepyng there his Chꝛiſtmaſſe: The Erle of Pembꝛooke beyng yong of age, was deſyꝛous to learne to iuſt, and requyꝛed a Knight named Sir John Saint John to run with him certeine courſes. At whoſe requeſt the ſayd Knight ranne with him in Woodſtocke Parke certeine Courſes. In the which, were it with ſtroke o3 other miſhap, the ſayde Erle receyued there his deathes wound, and dyed ſhoꝛtly after.

The Erle of Pembꝛooke in running at this tylt, was wounded to death.

A fond Fray whereby the liberties of London were ſeazed into the Kinges hande.

And at this tyme chaunced in London a Bakers ſeruant to carie a Basket full of ho3ſebꝛead: And as he came befoꝛe the biſhop of Sariſburies place in Fleteſtꝛeet, one of the Biſhops ſeruauntes tooke out one of the Loues, and the Baker was earneſt to haue it againe, and the Biſhops ſeruaunt with his Dagger bꝛake the Bakers heade: then came the Citizens and woulde haue had the Yoman to Warde fo3 bꝛeaking of the peace, and he reſiſted and fled into the Biſhoppes houſe. Then roaſe the ſtreete, namely the youth, and they woulde haue had him out of the Biſhoppes houſe, and there was great heauing and ſhouyng, and many people vp. And at the laſt came the Maioꝛ of London, and the Shirifes, and they pacified this buſineſſe as ſoone and as well as they could, and ſhoꝛtly after all was in quiet.

Arundel Biſhop of Cantoꝛburie was Chaunceloꝛ of England.

In this meane tyme, the Biſhop of Sariſbury beyng at the Court with the King, and himſelfe alſo being then high treaſuꝛeꝛ of England, ſuch woꝛde was bꝛought him of this ryot, and the tale ſo euill tolde agaynſt the Citizens and rulers of the Citie, that the ſayd Biſhop infoꝛmed maiſter Arondell then Archebiſhop of Cauntoꝛbury, and Chaunceloꝛ of Englande thereof, and in fine they two made ſo gꝛieuous a tale and complaint to the king agaynſt the Rulers of the Citie, and Citizens, that the Maioꝛ and Shirifes were ſent foꝛ in all haſt: And when they came, they were ſhaken vp to gꝛieuouſly, and their honeſt and reaſonable excuſes could not be heard: But fooꝛthwith the liberties of the Citie were ſeazed into the Kinges handes, and the Maioꝛ and Shirifes diſcharged of their offices, and a knight named ſir Edwarde Dalingrige made Gouernour of the Citie.

And the king beyng thus in diſpleaſure with the Citie, cauſed Mighelmaſſe Terme to be kept at Yoꝛke, and ſo continued vntill Chꝛiſtmaſſe next folowyng.

Doctoꝛ Grauеſende Biſhop of London reſtoꝛed the liberties of London.

The Citizens pꝛeceyuyng the king to continue in diſpleaſure with them, made daily labour vnto ſuch friendes as they could make, to pacify the kings wꝛath agaynſt them, and to obteyne his moſt gracious pardon. The which at length, ſpecially by the meane of the Queene, and Doctoꝛ Grauеſende then Biſhop of London, they obteyned. But firſt the Citizens were tolde that the

the King entended to come from his Manoꝛ of Shene, to the Citie of London, and then it was lyke they ſhould obtain fauour: Wheꝛefoꝛe in all goodly haſt the Citizens tꝛymmed and bewtefyed their Citie moſt ſumptuouſly with Pageauntes and riche hangyngs, and at the day appoynted, foure hundꝛeth of them in one Liuery road and met the King on the Hethe on this ſide Shene, and in their moſt humble maner ſubmitting themſelues, and pꝛayyng his gꝛace to pardon their follyes paſt, beſought hun to take his way to hys Palayce of Weſtminſter thꝛough the Citie of London. The which the King tooke in good part, and gꝛaunted them ſo to do: And when he came at London Bꝛidge, they pꝛeſented vnto him two fayꝛe ſteedes, tꝛapped in riche cloth of Golde, parted of red and white. The which pꝛeſent he thankfully receiued. And ſo the King kept on his way vntill he came to the Standard in Cheepe, the Citizens of London in their Liueꝛeys ſtandyng vpon eyther ſyde of the ſtreet as the King went, cꝛiyng, King Richard, King Richard. And at the ſayde Standard in Cheepe was oꝛdeyned a ſumptuous ſtage, in the whiche were ſet dyuers perſonages in rich apparell. Among the which, one Angell was oꝛdeyned, which with a vice came dowue, and ſet a riche cꝛowne of gold garniſhed with ſtone and pearle vpon the Kinges heade as he paſſed by, and another on the Queenes, and ſo they roade fooꝛth vntill they came at Weſtminſter, where the Maioꝛ and his companie, takyng theyꝛ leaue of him, returned to London.

King Richard paſſeth thꝛough London.

The next day folowyng, the Maioꝛ and his bꝛethꝛen went to Weſtminſter, and pꝛeſented there vnto the King two Baſons of Siluer and gylt, and in them two thouſand nobles of Golde, beſechyng him in moſt humbly wiſe, to be good and gracious Loꝛd vnto the Citie. The which he accepted thankfully, and gaue vnto them very comfoꝛtable woꝛdes. And the thirde day folowyng they receyued a newe confirmation of all their olde franchiſes and liberties: Wheꝛefoꝛe by counſayle of their friendes, they oꝛdeyned a Superaltare of Siluer, and guilt, and therein the ſtoꝛye of Saint Edwarde was grauen moſt curiouſly, the which was valued at a thouſand marke, and that they alſo pꝛeſented as theyꝛ gift vnto the King, which was beꝛye well accepted and taken.

The liberties of London newly confiꝛmed and reſtoꝛed.

And here Fabian ſayth, that foꝛ the great zeale and loue that the afoꝛeſayde Biſhop of London bare vnto the Citie and Citizens in this their ſute to the King foꝛ their liberties, they of theyꝛ awne good willes to this day, yerely vpon the feaſtful dayes, as the day ỹ the Maioꝛ taketh his othe, which is the moꝛowe after Simon and Jude, and Allhalowen day, Chꝛiſtmaſſe day, the Twelfe day, and Candlemaſſe day, when they go to Paules in theyꝛ Liueꝛeys, they viſite the place of his buryall, beyng in the middle Jſle in the weſt ende of the Church, where the ſayde Biſhop is pictured and dꝛawen fooꝛth in Bꝛaſſe, holdyng the Charter of the Citie of London, and the great ſeale of England in his hand. But it ſeemeth to me that this is not true, foꝛ the place of buriall in Paules, to the which the Maioꝛ doth reſoꝛte, is the gꝛaue where William, ſometyme Biſhop of London is buryed, of whom we haue made mention in the firſt yere of William the Conqueꝛoꝛ, who firſt obteyned the pꝛiuileges foꝛ the Citie, and ſo it appereth by the inſcription vpon the ſame Gꝛaueſtone.

The cauſe why ỹ Maioꝛ and the Citizens of London do come diuerſe dayes in the yere ſolempnly to Paules Church.

And the next Terme folowyng, which was Hillary Terme, was holden

The terme againe remoued to Weſtmynſter.

den and kept at London as had bene accuſtomed.

1393 / 17

A chalenge made betwene ſ gentlemen of England and Scotland.

And in this time, ſaith Fabian, dyuerſe Gentlemen of Scotland chalenged ſundrie poyntes of Armes with certeine Gentlemen of England. As firſt the Lorde Mordiſe, chalenged the Erle of Nottyngham Marſhall of England. Sir William Darell knight, and Cockborne Eſquier, chalenged Sir Nicholas Haulbert knight. And the ſame feates of Armes were holden in Smithfielde in London. And Mars was ſo friendly to the Engliſhe men, that the honour of that iourney went with them: Inſomuche that the Erle Marſhall ouerthrew the Lorde Mordiſe his Appellant, and ſo bruſed him, that in his returne towarde Scotland, he dyed at Yorke. And Sir William Darell refuſed his Appellant before they had runne theyr full courſes. And the thirde of them, that is to wit Cockborne, was throwen at the ſeconde coppyng, to the ground, horſe and man.

Anne Queene of England, and wife to king Richard dead.

This yere and the. viij. day of June, dyed that gracious woman Queene Anne, and lyeth nowe buryed at Weſtminſter by her Lord king Richard, vpon the Southſyde of Saint Edwardes ſhrine.

And this yere was a Truce concluded betweene Fraunce and England for foure yeres.

1394 / 18

This yere king Richard made a voyage into Ireland, which was nothing profitable, nor honourable vnto him, and therefore the Writers ſeeme to thinke it ſcant worth the notyng.

A ſore and great tempeſt.

Alſo in this yere was a wonderfull tempeſt of wynde, which did muche hurte throughout the Realme of England. And in this yere alſo dyed Conſtance, the ſecond wife of John of Gaunt, and is buried at Leyceſter.

1395 / 19

This yere king Richard (as ſayth Reynulph) went ouer to Calice, and there met with the French king about the concluſion of a maryage, which was with the Ladie Iſabell daughter vnto the French king, whome the ſayd French king did offer to the king of England to take in mariage as his wife. At the meting of theſe two Princes, was great prouiſion made of both ſides, and many ſumptuous ſhewes and ſightes were there ſhewed and ſeene, and many riche and moſt coſtly bankets & feaſtes made by the one prince to the other, the reherſall wherof ſhould be tedious, wherfore I will be ſhort. At the laſt this mariage was agreed vpon, and the day of the ſolempnitie therof appoynted. And the. xviij. day of Nouember, the ſayde King Richard maryed the ſayd Lady Iſabell in Calice, beyng within the age of. viij. yeres, as ſaith Fabian. And Polidore alſo ſayth that ſhe was not of ripe and mete yeres to accompany with a man: But the Auchour of the Booke which is called the Chronicles of England, ſayth that ſhe was. xix. yeres of age.

A mariage concluded betwene king Richard & the french kings daughter the Lady Iſabel.

And here a little to note the giftes geuen of the Kinges one to another, whereof Froiſſart maketh a great & long diſcourſe. But to be ſhort, firſt king Richard gaue vnto the French king, a Baſon of Golde, with an Ewer. Then the French king gaue him three ſtanding Cups of Gold with Couers garniſhed with pearle and ſtone, and a ſhip of Gold richely garniſhed with perle and ſtone. At another metyng king Richard gaue him an Owche, ſet with ſo fine ſtones, that it was valued at fiue hundreth Marke. Then the Frenche king gaue him two Flagons of Golde, a Tablet of Golde, and therein an Image of Saint Mighell richely garniſhed. Alſo a Tablet of Golde wyth a Crucifix, richely appoynted. And a Tablet of Golde with the Image of the Trinitie,

Giftes geuen by the kinges of England and Fraunce.

Trinitie ſet with pearle and ſtone, and a Tablet of Golde with an Image of Saint George, richely ſet with pearle and ſtone, which all were valued at fyue hundreth Marke. Then king Richard ſeeyng the bountie of the French king, gaue to him a Bawderick or Collier of Gold, ſet with great Diamonds, Rubyes, and Baleſſes, beyng valued at fiue thouſand Marke, the which for the richeneſſe thereof, and for the excellency and fineneſſe of the workemanſhip, the Frenche king ware it aboute his necke, as often as the king and he met together. Then the Frenche king gaue to him an Owche and a ſpice plate of Golde of a great weight, valued at two thouſand Marke. Alſo many were the riche giftes that were geuen and receyued of Lordes and Ladies of both Princes. Among the which are ſpecially noted foure giftes, which king Richard gaue vnto the Duke of Orleaunce, for the which he receyued againe of the Duke treble the value. For where his were valued at a thouſand Marke: The Dukes were valued at three thouſand Marke.

Now after that theſe two Kinges had thus ſolaced themſelues, the one with the other, and all matters concerning the mariage fully concluded and ended. The French King, taking his leaue of King Richard, delyuered hys young daughter vnto him, and ſayde as followeth.

Right louyng ſonne, I delyuer here to you the creature that I moſt loue in this worlde next my wife and my ſonne, beſeeching the father of heauen, that it may be to his pleaſure, & to the weale of your realme, and that the amitie betweene theſe two realmes, in aduoydyng of the effuſion of chriſtian bloud, may be kept inuiolably for the terme betweene vs concluded, which terme was. xxx. yere, as ſayth Froiſſart. And ſhortly after theſe two princes tooke their leaue eche of other, and the French King went into Fraunce, and King Richard came into England. Where he and the Queene were by the Citezens of London moſt honorably conueyed thorough the ſayde Citie vnto the Palice of Weſtmynſter.

The latter ende of thys yere the King by ſiniſter counſaile delyuered vp by appoyntment the towne of Breſt in Britayne to the Duke, which was occaſion of diſpleaſure betwene the King and the Duke of Glouceſter his Uncle, as after ye ſhall here.

1396 / 20

A great feaſt made by king Richard in Weſtminſter Hall.

In Februarij next folowyng, the King holding a ſumptuous feaſt in Weſtminſter Hall, manye of the Souldious which were newly come from the towne of Breſt aforeſayde, preaſſed into the hall, and kept a rome together. Which companie the Duke of Glouceſter did earneſtly beholde, and aſked what men they were: and when he knew they came from Breſt, which towne was geuen vp without his knowledge, he was vered in his minde. Inſomuch as when the king was entred into his Chamber, and fewe were vnto him, he ſayde to the King: Sir, ſawe ye not the fellowes that ſate in ſo great a number to daye in your hall at ſuche a table? And the king anſwered yes, and aſked the Duke what companie it was? To whome the Duke anſwered and ſayde, ſyr theſe are the Souldiours come from Breſt, and as nowe haue nothing to take to, nor know not how to ſhift for their liuing, and the rather for that I am informed, they haue bene before time euil paid. Then ſayd the king, it is not my will, but that they ſhould be well payd: And if any haue cauſe to complayne, let them ſhewe it vnto oure Treaſorer, and they ſhall be reaſonably anſwered.

In reaſonyng of this matter further, the Duke ſayde to the king, ſyr you ought to put your bodye to paine for to wynne a ſtrong holde or towne by feate of warre, before ye take vpon you to ſell or delyuer any towne or ſtrong holde that is gotten with great difficulty, and by the manhood of your noble progenitors. To this the king with chaunged countenaunce aunſwered and ſayde: Uncle, how ſaye you thoſe wordes? Then the Duke boldly recited the aforeſayde wordes. Whereunto the king being then more diſcontented, ſayde: wene you that I am a Marchaunt, or a foole, to ſell my landes by ſaint John Baptiſt nay: But truth it is, that our Coſyn the Duke of Britayne hath rendred unto us all ſuche ſommes of money as our progenitors lent unto him or his auncestours, upon the ſayde towne of Breſt: for the which, reaſon & good conſcience will, ỹ he haue his towne reſtored unto him agayne. By meane of which words thus uttered by the Duke, ſuch rancour and malice kindled betweene the King and him, that it ceaſſed not untill the ſayde Duke was put to death by murder unlawfully, as ſhall appere in the next yere followyng.

This preſent yere the king bearing ſtill malice in his minde agaynſt the Duke of Gloucester, as aforeſayde, and chiefly for that he and the Erles of Arondell, and of Warwike and other had forced him to renounce his moſt truſtie friends and counſaylors, as he thought, as is before at large declared in the .xj. yere of this kings reigne, and nowe partly to be reuenged on their outrage, as he ſayde: And partly alſo for that all princes ſubiects ſhould take example, not to preſſe their ſouereigne Lorde after that maner, he ſommoned a parliament to be holden at Weſtminſter. And there, not regarding the othe that he had made before to the Lordes in open parliament, he called out of exile certaine of the Juſtices, which by the former ſentence giuen, ſhould neuer haue returned. And for that the Deuill is alway readie to haſten euill purpoſes: This yere came out of Almayne to the king the Prouoſt of Coleyn with other: And they perceauing that the King was light and Ambicious, thinking alſo to wynne largely thereby, informed him that eyther he was or ſhould be choſen Emperour, which pleaſed him highly, and he gaue good credite unto them, and very liberally rewarded them for their good tydings. And becauſe he would be certainely certefied, he ſent ouer his Ambaſſadors, which at their returne againe into Englande made reporte unto the King, that the moſt parte of the Electors had conſented to his election, onely two or three withſtood it, for this cauſe, as they ſayd, that he that could not keepe in due obeyſaunce his awne ſubiectes, in his awne realme, it was not lyke that he ſhould gouerne well other lyeng farre of and wide aſunder: Wherefore his Ambaſſadors aduiſed him to wynne the fauour of them that ſo did ſtick. Nowe whether the meſſengers did fayne this, to renewe the kings diſpleaſure againſt the Duke of Gloucester and the Erle of Arundell and other, for that perraſe they bare them no good will, or that they brought true reporte agayne, it is not knowen: But now when it was thought that this realme of England was moſt quiet, and that proſperitie was lyke daylie to encreaſe, what for that the king had maried the French kings daughter, and had by her great riches: And alſo for that truce was taken betwene both the princes for .xxx. yeres: And alſo conſidering the goodly garniſhment of this realme by the great and wiſe number of noble Lordes, and valiaunt knightes,

A parliament at Weſtminſter.

An Ambaſſade out of Almayn.

A malicious report made by the Ambaſſadours.

knightes, which were ſuche, as no chriſtian realme for the number of them couldе then ſhewe the lyke. All theſe things conſidered, euen contrary to all mens expectation, ſodainely the kinges maieſtie bearing in his heart great wrath and diſpleaſure againſt the true Lords of his counſayle as aforeſayd, whome he nowe purpoſed to be reuenged of, practiſed their deſtructions, which put the realme to great trouble, and in the ende it turned to the ouerthrowe and confuſion of the king himſelfe, as ye ſhall here. For the .vj. daye of Julij next after, the king appointed to keepe a great feaſt in London, where he purpoſed to haue had the Duke of Gloucester, the Erle of Arondell, the Erle of Warwike and dyuers other, which he hated deadly, purpoſing there to haue trapped and taken all thoſe noble men together without buſineſſe, or further reſiſtance. But the Duke of Glouceſter excuſed him by ſickneſſe: The Erle of Arondell fearing the kinges diſpleaſure kept him at home in his Caſtell, and ſo there came to this feaſt none but onely the Erle of Warwike. And at the comming of the Erle, the king receaued him with marueilous gentle and louing countenaunce, and gaue him very comfortable wordes ſayeng unto him, be of good cheere and take no thought, for loſing of Goers lande, ſwearing unto him that he woulde prouyde other for him, that ſhould amount to as good a valure. But neuertheleſſe, after that dynner was done, the king cauſed him to be arreſted of treaſon, and deliuered him to be kept in ſafe cuſtody untill the next parliament, which he had ordeyned to be kept for the deſtruction of him and manye other. The ſame night alſo the king ſpake unto the Archbiſhop of Cauntorbury, that he ſhould perſwade his brother the Erle of Arondell frankly to ſubmit himſelfe, ſwearing his olde othe by Saint Jhon Baptiſt, that hurte ſhould he haue none thereby, if he would ſo do. The Archbiſhop truſting the kings faire promiſe, moued this matter to the Erle his brother: But he knowing the kings great malice, and that he purpoſed nothing more then to apprehend and deſtroye him, would in no wiſe agree to his brothers counſaile: howbeit the Archebiſhop would not ſo leaue him, but daylie was importune on him to ſubmit himſelfe: Saiyng unto him that all which he miſtruſted ſhould paſſe awaye lyke a clowde. And if he would not ſubmit himſelfe when he might, it might fortune to turne to the diſheneritying both of him and his: For it was ſayde than, and the ſame was the opinion of manye, that for none other purpoſe would he keepe theſe Lordes under a reſt, but for to ſhewe the Lordes of Almayne that he coulde rule the greateſt of them. And after that he had ſo holden his Lordes a ſeaſon, that it was knowne in Almayne and in outward parties, that then his purpoſe was to reſtore them againe to their liberties and dignities. So at the laſt, by theſe perſwaſions & other vſed by the Archbiſhop of Cauntorburie, hys brother the Erle in an unhappy houre ſubmytted himſelfe to the king. And forthwith he was taken and ſent to be kept in the Iſle of Wyght. And the ſame night that he was taken, the king ſent ſecretly to the Maiour of London, commaundyng him that he ſhould make ready as many harneſſed men as he could, and that they ſhould be in a readineſſe within two or three houres to attend upon the king, whether his pleaſure was to go. The king alſo commaunded the Erles of Rutland, Kent, Huntyngdon and Nottyngham to arme themſelues, and to conduct the Londoners. And ſo they tooke waye to Plaſhy in Eſſex, where then was the

A daungerous feaſt for the Lordes.

The Erle of Warwike is arreſted of treaſon.

The Erle of Arondell taken and committed

Duke of Glouceſter in his Caſtell. Notwithſtandyng fewe there were that knew, when the king ſet foorth, whether he would go. And when they came nye the place, the king bewed his people folowyng him, which were numbred by the Heraultes to be. xv. thouſand. Then the king ſayde vnto them, whatſoeuer ye ſee me doe, lykewiſe ſtudie you to doe the ſame. If I prepare me to fight, doe ye lykewiſe. If ye ſee me in peace, reſt you alſo in quyet, doyng hurte to no man. The king ſent afore the Erle of Rutlande to the Dukes Caſtel, that they ſhould ſee what number of defenſible men the Duke had within the Caſtell: For he was afeard both of the valiauntneſſe and wiſedome of the Duke. But it happened at that time that the moſt parte of the Dukes houſhold ſeruaunts, by licence were departed to their friendes and wyfes. When the king was certefied that the Duke had ſo ſmall a number aboute him, he maruelled muche, for it had bene tolde him before by ſuch as bare the Duke no good will, that he had fortified and manned his Caſtell. So then the king approched therevnto, his men of armes goyng before him and behinde him: And albeit that the Duke was ſomewhat accraſed, yet he met him with a ſolempne proceſſion of the Colledge, and receaued him with all the reuerence and humilitie that he could doe, as it became him beſt to do, being his ſouereigne Lorde. And the king as he ſawe the Duke comming vnto him, and that he made him lowe curteſie: The king clapped his hande vpon his ſhoulder, and areſted him. To whom the Duke aunſwered, that he not onely was content to obey his areſt, but the areſt of the leaſt of his court. And the king ſayde vnto him, and will you ſo, good Uncle? And the Duke aunſwered, ye ſurely ſyr: then the king folowed the proceſſion, and the Duke folowed the king a farre of. And when the king was ſomewhat ſet foorth, he looked back, and called the Duke vnto him, and ſayde, By Saint John Baptiſt, good Uncle, this that is done, ſhall be for the beſt both for you and vs, and ſo entered into the Chapell, where were a great number of reliques and Jewels of great valure: which when the king ſawe, he ſayde vnto his Uncle, I ſee you are a good huſbande: But nowe go your waye, and take ſome ſuſtenaunce, and after you haue dyned, ye ſhall go to the place that I haue appointed, for here you may not tary. Then the Duke prayed the king to ſhewe him how many ſeruauntes he ſhould haue to wayte vpon him: The king aunſwered that he ſhould be aduertiſed thereof before he roſe from dyner. The Duke then went to his lodging, which was nigh vnto the Chapell. And the king went to his lodging, where was prepared for him and thoſe that came with him, great and honorable fare, both of Fiſhe and Fleſh, and it was no great maruaile, for the Duke was aduertiſed priuily of the kinges comming. After that the king was ſet at dyner, he ſent to the Duke his minde, what number of perſons ſhould wayte vpon him, and willed him to make ſhorte worke and come away.

The king areſteth the Duke of Glouceſter.

After dyner the king departed, and left to conuey the Duke the Erle of Kent, and the Lorde Thomas Percye Steward of his houſe. And when the Duke had dyned, he cauſed ſuche ſtuffe to be truſſed vp, and caryed with him, as was neceſſarie for him. And then bade his wyfe farewell, who was a Lady both honorable, wiſe and vertuous: and at his departing he deſyred her to make humble ſute to the king, to haue him his good and gracious Lorde, and that ſhe ſhould boldly offer to ſweare that he was neuer Traytor to

to his perſon, nor he that willed him any hurt. And when he was a horſback, with a mery cheere, he ſayde vnto the Lordes that abode for him. Nowe, whether ſhall we go? And who ſhall be our guide? I for one of you? They aunſwered with reuerence. Nay ſyr, it becommeth you to leade, and we to folow. Then ſayde he, let vs ſet forth a Gods name, whereſoeuer your pleaſure is that I ſhall go, and ſo was he conueyed to Calice, and thus taken and areſted at that time, when he thought that he was moſt in the kings fauour. For not long before the king had geuen him ſo great giftes, honours and Lordſhips, that euery man thought there was no man more acceptable in the kings fauour then he.

The Duke of Glouceſter is conueyed to Calice.

Now after the taking of theſe Lordes was blowen abroade, there was made great moane for them throughout all England, as though the Realme had bene deliuered into the enemies handes: ſo great hope had the Commõs vniuerſally in them, but moſt ſpecially in the Duke of Glouceſter, whome the Realme beleued, that by his proſperitie the ſame was ſafe from all inward and outward enemies.

The king perceiuing the great affection that the people bare to the duke and the ſayd Lordes, and fearyng inſurrection of the Commons, which were not all clere of their Melancholy, cauſed to be proclaymed, that this taking of the Lordes was not done for their offenſes committed of olde, but for new matters, wherin they had offended ſithens the obteynyng of their pardons, as they ſhould vnderſtand plainly at the next Parliament.

A falſe Proclaymation.

During the tyme (ſayth mine Auctheur) that theſe Lordes were in priſon, ſo ſory was the people for them, that prayers and Proceſſions were vſed throughout all the realme, that it might pleaſe God of his goodnes to inſpire into the kinges minde, to be good and mercifull vnto theſe Lordes, and to conuert his heart from hatred vnto loue. The king heeryng of theſe prayers, forbad ſtreyghtly all Biſhoppes and Prelates that ſuch Proceſſions ſhoulde be no more vſed.

And ſhortly after, the king helde a great counſaile at Nottyngham, and there he hauyng his Judges, and other of his learned Counſaile, cauſed indilementes to be drawen of the Duke of Glouceſter, and of the Erles afore ſayde. And he framed there alſo an Appellation, and there it was ordeyned that certeine Appellers ſhould lay vnto them highe treaſon in open Parliament, whoſe names were Edward Erle of Rutland, Thomas Lord Mowbrey Erle Marchall, Thomas Holland Erle of Kent, John Holland Erle of Huntyngdon, Lorde Benefordе Erle of Somerſet, Lorde John Mountagew Erle of Sariſburie, Thomas Lorde Spencer, William Lorde Strope, Chamberleyn to the king. The which matters beyng deuiſed, the king cauſed proclamation openly to be made, declaring vnto the people that theſe Lordes were areſted and impriſoned for high treaſon. And ſoone after he ſommoned a Parliament to be holden at London the. xv. day of September next folowyng. And thether were commaunded to come all ſuch as the king had beſt confidence in. And againſt the tyme of the ſayd Parliament, the king reteyned vnto him a gard of Archers of Cheſſhire, like as he ſhould haue gone in battaile againſt his enemyes. And thoſe Cheſſhire men were very rude and beaſtly people, and fell into ſuch great pryde of the Kinges fauour, that they accompted the king to be as their felowe, and they ſet the Lordes

A Counſaile holden at Nottyngham

The names of the Appellers.

A parliament holden at Weſtminſter.

A garde of Cheſſhire men to attend vpõ the king.

Lordes at naught, yet few or none of them were Gentlemen, but taken from the plough and cart, and other craftes. And after theſe ruſticall people had a while Courted, they entered into ſo great a boldeneſſe, that they would not let, neyther within the Court, nor without, to beate and ſlay the kinges good Subiectes, and to take from them their victuals, and to pay for them little or nothing at their pleaſure, and to raviſh their wiues and daughters. And if any man forturned to complaine vnto the king of them, he was ſoone ryd out of the way, no man knewe howe, nor by whome, ſo that in effect they dyd what them luſted.

A new houſe made for the Parliament.

Againſt this Parliament, the King had commaunded a great houſe to be made in the Palace at Weſtminſter, which was ſo great, that ſcarcely the roome of the Palace ſufficed to ſet it in. In this houſe was made a highe trone for the king, and a large place for all eſtates beſydes, to ſyt in. And alſo there were places made for certeine Appealers, which are mencioned before, and they to be on the one ſyde, and the aunſwerours on the other, and a lyke roome was made behynde for the knightes and Burgeſſes of the Parliament. And a place alſo made for the ſpeaker of the Parliament, who at that time was one named ſir John Buſhe, which was called a cruel, ambicious, and couetous man without all meaſure. And immediately after, all men in their degrees were placed, and the cauſe of the calling of that Parliament beyng declared, which was that the king had ordeyned it for reformation of dyuerſe tranſgreſſions and oppreſſions, done againſt the peace of our ſouereigne Lorde the kinges Maieſtie, by the Duke of Glouceſter, the Erles of Arondell, and of Warwike, and other. Then forthwith came Sir John Buſhe, and made requeſt on the behalfe of the Commonaltie, that it might pleaſe the kinges highneſſe and excellencie, that for the enormе actes done agaynſt hys lawes and Maieſtie, they might haue condigne puniſhement accordyng to theyr deſertes, and chiefely the Archebiſhop of Cauntorbury, which then ſate next vnto the king, whom he called the higheſt traytor, for where for many cauſes he ſhould haue bene to the king a moſt faythfull Counſaylor, he by his euill counſaile and prodigious ſuggeſtions, craftily circumuented the king, inducyng him to graunt his letters of pardon to a great traytour the Erle of Arondell his brother. To this when the Archebiſhop aroſe and would haue aunſwered, the king would geue him none audience, but commaunded him to ſytte downe againe in his place, and not to make any further aunſwere, for it ſhould be well inough if he helde his peace for that tyme. Then Sir John Buſhe requyred that the Archbiſhop ſhould not be taken to his aunſwere, for he ſayde that his wit was ſo great, and did ſo farre excell all other, and his craft ſo great, that I feare he ſhall circumuent vs: So at that tyme the Archebiſhop had no further heeryng. The ſaid Sir John Buſhe in all his prepoſitions to the king, did not onely attribute to him worldly honours, but diuyne names, inuentyng flatteryng wordes, and vnuſed termes, and to a mortall man not conuenient, for as oft as he ſpake vnto the king in his Throne, he caſt his handes abrode, as he had adoured and worſhipped God, beſechyng his exceſſe, high, and adorant Maieſtie, that he woulde witſafe to graunt him this or that. And the Prince beyng ambicious of honours, did not repreſſe this inſolencie, but tooke great pleaſure in his wordes, whereof came more inconuenience, as ſhall appere.

The Archebiſhop of Cauntorbury is accuſed of high treaſon.

Sir John Buſhe a flatterer.

Sir John Buſhe ſpeaker of the Parliament.

Thus

Thus after, as ye haue heard, that the king had excluded the Archebiſhop from his aunſwere: Sir John Buſhe, keping his olde flattering way, requyred on the behalfe of the Commons, that the Charters of pardon graunted vnto the traytors, as to the Duke of Glouceſter, the Erles of Arondell, and of Warwike, ſhoulde by the aſſent and conſent of all the whole Parliament be reuoked. The king alſo in his awne perſon proteſted, that thoſe pardons were extorted from him, and that he did not willyngly graunt them, and therefore he requyred that euery man would ſay his opinion, aſwell ſpirituall as temporall, what they thought therein. The ſpirituall men began firſt, being afrayde to diſpleaſe the king, and ſayd that ſuch pardons were reuocable, and at the kinges pleaſure, and ought not to be allowed: And lykewyſe ſayde euery of the ſpiritualtie, man by man, vntill it came to the Archebiſhop of Cauntorbury: For the cuſtome is, when ſuche queſtions be aſked, the yongeſt both of the ſpiritualtie and temporaltie ſay their opinions firſt, and ſo paſſe forth in order vntill it come to the higheſt. And when this queſtion was aſked of the Archbiſhop of Cauntorbury, he aunſwered that the kinges perſon is ſo high from whom the pardon came, that he durſt not ſay, that any ſuche Charters were reuocable: Howbeit, in the ende it was determined that ſuch pardons were to be reuoked, for they did empeche the honor of the kinges perſon.

The kinges pardon made voyde by parliament.

After that Sir John Buſhe had obteyned this reuocation, he declared further, that the Erle of Arondell had yet another ſpeciall Charter of pardon for his awne perſon, which he obteyned after the firſt, and in that alſo the ſaid Sir John Buſhe requyred importunately ayde, in the name of the Commonaltie, that the ſame alſo might be reuoked. Then this queſtion was alſo aſked of the Prelates, which were of lyke opinion as they were of the firſt, that is to ſay, that it was reuocable. At this tyme the Archebiſhop of Cauntorbury abſented himſelfe from the Parliament, truſtyng in the kinges promiſe, and lyke alſo as he had ſworne vnto him, that nothyng ſhould be attempted agaynſt him in his abſence, but the contrary folowed. For ſtill this ſir John Buſhe purſued him, and at his inſtant ſute, which ſeemed to be the Kinges will, he was condempned to perpetuall exile, and that he ſhould not make any further abydyng within this realme then fyre dayes. And after this Biſhop was thus condemned, he ſent to Rome, that Richard Walden his Treaſurer might haue the Archebiſhoprycke, whereunto at the kinges inſtaunce the Pope accorded, & within two yere after was by the ſame Pope depoſed.

The Archbiſhop of Cauntorbury condempned to perpetuall exile.

Shortly after this, was brought forth Richard Erle of Arondel, on the day of Saint Mathewe the Euangeliſt, to aunſwere before the King, and the whole Parliament, to ſuch thinges as ſhould be obiected and depoſed agaynſt him. And as he ſtood at the Barre, the Lorde Neuel was commaunded by the Duke of Lancaſter, which ſate that day as high ſteward of England, to take the Whoode from his necke, and to vngyrde him. Then the Duke of Lancaſter, to whom by his office it apperteyned, notefyed vnto him, that for his manifolde rebellions and treaſons agaynſt the kinges Maieſtie, he was areſted, and hetherto kept in Warde, and nowe at the petition of the Lordes and Commonaltie, he was called to aunſwere to ſuche crymes as ſhould be there obiected agaynſt him, and there eyther to purge him of them, or elſe to abyde condigne puniſhment. And firſt he did charge him that he

Richard erle of Arondell arreigned of treaſon.

The Duke of Lancaſter high ſteward of England.

rorde

roade trayterouſly in harneſſe agaynſt the king with the Duke of Glocester, and the Erle of Warwike, perturbyng of the peace and Realme.

To the which he aunſwered, that he neuer did that as a traytor, nor for any hurt meant or intended againſt the kinges perſon, but for the kinges profite, and the realme, if that act might be well interpreted as it ought.

Alſo it was demaunded of him, why that he procured letters of pardon of the king for himſelfe, if he knewe that he was not faultie therein? To this he aunſwered, that he did it not for any feare of any thyng that he had miſdone, but for ſtoppyng of euyll tongues, which neyther bare the king, nor him good wyll.

Alſo he was demaunded, whether he would denie that he made any ſuch roade with the perſonnes afore named, and that he entred not armed into the kinges preſence, agaynſt hys pleaſure and will? To this he aunſwered that he could not ſay nay.

Then Sir John Buche cryed importunately, and called for iudgement to be geuen againſt the traytor, & ſayd: your faythfull commons aſke, and requyre that it may ſo be. The Erle ſoberly turned his head, and ſayd mildely vnto him: Not the kinges faythfull Commons require this, but thou, and what thou art I knowe well inough. Then the. viij. Appealantes before named, ſtandyng on the other ſyde, caſt their gloues vnto him, and folowed their appeale which before was read, and offered to fight with him man for man, in iuſtefiyng of their appeale. Then ſaid the Erle, if I were at my libertie, & that it might pleaſe my ſouereigne Lord the king, I would not refuſe to proue you lyers in your appeale. And then ſpake the Duke of Lancaſter high Steward, and ſayde vnto him, what haue you further to ſay to the poynts before alleaged agaynſt you? He aunſwered that of the kinges grace he had his letters of generall pardon, which he requyred might be allowed. Then the Duke aunſwered that the Pardon was reuoked by the Prelates and Noble men in the Parliament, and therefore willed him to make ſome other aunſwere. The Erle ſayde againe, that he had another pardon vnder the kinges great ſeale, which was graunted him long after of the kinges awne mocion, which alſo he requyred to be allowed. The Duke ſayde againe, that that pardon was in likewyſe reuoked. And after this, when the Erle had nothing to ſaye for him ſelfe: Then the king with his Scepter made countenaunce to the Duke to geue iudgement. Then the Duke vſed theſe wordes vnto him: Foraſmuch as thou art conicted of high treaſon. &c. Thou ſhalt be drawen to the Galowes, and there hanged, and after taken downe, and thy Bowelles to be taken out of thy body, and burned, and after to be behedded, and quartered. And this iudgement geuen in this maner, the Duke pawſed a while, and then ſayd: The king our ſouereigne Lord of his grace, becauſe thou art of his blood, and one of the Peeres of the realme, hath remitted all the other paines vnto the laſt, ſo that onely thou ſhalt loſe thy head.

The Erle of Arondell condempned and iudged.

And anone he was taken from the place, and without delaye had to the Tower hill, and there went before him, and behinde him the aforeſayde furious Cheſſhire men, which onely in this Parliament had lycence to beare weapon. There went with him alſo to his death the Erle of Nottyngham, that had maried his daughter: The Erle of Kent his Nephewe, the Erle of Huntyngdon, John Holland, which were all vpon great horſſes, and had with

with them a great company of harneſſed men. And when he ſhould departe the Palaice, he deſyred his hands might be let looſe, and that he might geue ſuche money as he had in his Purſſe with his awne hands, betwixt that and Charing croſſe. And ſo he gaue his almoſe, but his armes were bound behinde him. The Londoners ſeyng him thus paſſe thorough the City, bewayled fore his fortune, who not long before, among all the noble men was moſt famous, for he was ſo noble and valyaunt, that all the worlde ſpake honor of him. And when he came to the Towre hill, the noble men that were about him, moued him verie earneſtly to acknowledge and confeſſe that he had offended the king in high treaſon: But he in no wiſe would agree ſo to do, but ſayd that he was neuer Traytor in worde nor deede. Then he turned to him that was the executioner and kyſſed him, and ſaid: do thy duetie, and as thou art commaunded, but torment me not, but with one ſtroke ſtrike of my head, and he aſſayed himſelfe with his fingers, whether the ſworde was ſharpe enough, and ſayde it is very well. Then ſayde he to his kinſmen that ſtood there, it had bene more meeter for you to haue bene awaye then at this acte. I haue bene he that hath brought you vp, and haue enriched you, & brought you to honor, and ye lyke vnkinde perſons rewarde me with this, to bring me to ſhame: But the time will come and that ſhortly, when there ſhall as many marueaile at your miſfortune, as doth now of my fall. And then kneeled he downe, and the Executioner with one ſtroke ſtrake off his head, and his bodye was honorably buried in the Auguſtine Fryers.

The Erle of Arondell is executed.

Then returned they that were at the execution, and ſhewed the king merily of the death of the Erle: But though the king was then mery and glad that the dede was done, yet after, as mine Author ſayth, he was exceedingly vexed in his dreames, imagening that the Erle appered vnto him. &c.

After the iudgement and death of the Erle of Arundell, as afore ſayde, then was Thomas Becham Erle of Warwik brought forth to abyde the iudgement of the Parliament. And when his accuſers charged hym, as a Traytor, with diuers articles of treaſon, ſuch as were before alleged againſt the Erle of Arundell, he aunſwered that his minde was neuer to be Traytor vnto the king, nor he thought neuer that thoſe rydinges and aſſemblyes that he made, could be accompted as treaſon. And when the Iudges had ſhewed vnto him that it was treaſon, he humbly aſked of the king mercy and grace. The king then aſked him, whether that he had ſo rydden with the Duke of Glouceſter, and the Erle of Arundell: he aunſwered that he could not denie it, and wiſhed that he had neuer ſene them: then ſayde the king, doe you not knowe that ye are giltie of treaſon? he aunſwered againe I knowledge it, and with great weeping and ſobbyng required al thoſe that were preſent, to make interceſſion to the kinges Maieſtie for pardon for him. Then the king and the Duke of Lancaſter commoned, & after the king had pawſed awhile, he ſayde to the Erle, by ſaint John Baptiſt Thomas of Warwike, this confeſſion that thou haſt made, is vnto me more acceptable then all the landes of the Duke of Glouceſter, and the Erle of Arundell. Then the Erle making ſtill interceſſion for pardon, the Lordes humbly beſought the king to graunt it him. The king then was contented to graunt hym his lyfe, but he baniſhed him into the Iſle of Man, which then was the Lorde Scropes, and he promiſed the Erle, that he and his wyfe and children ſhould haue honorable

The Erle of Warwike is arreigned of Treaſon.

The baniſhment of the Erle of Warwike.

notable enterteynment : But that promiſe was ſlenderly kept, for both the Erle and the Counteſſe led their lyues in great penurie.

The king not yet quieted, ſent one of his Juſtices called Wylliam Rykyll, borne in Ireland, to Calice, which was commaunded to enquire of the Duke of Glouceſter, whether he had committed any ſuch treaſons as before were alleged agaynſt the Erle of Arundell, and the Erle of Warwike, and that he ſhould write what he ſayde, and what the Duke did confeſſe : which after the ſayde Juſtice had ſpeedely done, he returned vnto the King, and ſhewed him ſuch things of his awne deuiſe, as he thought would beſt pleaſe the King, affirming that thoſe things the Duke had franckly confeſſed. The King after the ſight therof, purpoſed the death of the Duke, and yet not willing to haue him brought vnto open iudgement, for he feared the people, who bare him great loue and fauour, and therefore he ſent the Erle of Nottyngham vnto Thomas Mowbrey Erle Marſhall, which then had the keeping of the Duke in Calice, and commaunded him that priuily the Duke ſhould be killed. But he fearing to commit ſuch an enorme deede, deferred the matter, though the king would haue had it done with all ſpeede. For the which the King was ſore mooued agaynſt the Erle, and ſware that it ſhoulde coſte him his lyfe, if he obeyed not quickly his commaundement. And beyng thus conſtreyned, he called out the Duke at midnight, as though he ſhould haue taken ſhypping to go into Englande, and there in his lodgyng with his ſeruaunts, caſting on Fetherbeds vpon him, he was ſmowthered. And ſo was this honorable and good man miſerable put to death, which for the honor of the King and wealth of the realme had taken great trauayles.

The Duke of Glouceſter ſhamefully murthered.

After that the king in thys vnhappye Parliament had brought all theſe matters to paſſe : yet woulde he not diſſolue the ſame, but proroged it, becauſe it was nigh the feaſt of Chriſtmaſſe, and ordeyned that it ſhould begin againe immediatly after the feaſt at Shrewesbury. And after that the king & Lords were come together, the king obteyned that the whole power of both the houſes was graunted vnto fiue or eyght perſons which had auctoritie to determine ſuche cauſes as yet hanged in the parliament. By vertue of which graunt, the number aforeſayde did proceede in derogation of the ſtate of the houſe, and to the great diſaduauntage of the king, and perillous example in time to come. And for that the king had ſpent much money at theſe Parliaments, he required to haue one diſme and a halfe of the Clergie, and a fiftene of the temporaltie, and then he tooke vpon him the name of the Prince of Cheſter, for loue that he bare to the Cheſſhire men.

The parliament prorogued vnto Shrewesbury.

King Richard nameth himſelf prince of Cheſter.

Then was the Erle of Darbie made Duke of Hertforde : The Erle Marſhall Duke of Norffolk, the Erle of Rutland Duke of Aubemarle : the Erle of Kent Duke of Surrey, and the Erle of Huntyngdon Duke of Exceſter : The Counteſſe of Norffolk Duches of Norffolk, the Erle of Somerſet Marques of Dorſet : The Lorde Spencer Erle of Glouceſter, the Lorde Neuyll Erle of Weſtmerland, the Lorde Scrope the kings Chamberleyn, the Erle of Wiltſhire, the Lord Percy Steward of the kings houſe Erle of Worceſter.

Creation of Dukes and Erles.

The king after this triumphed not a little, as one that had conquered and ouerthrowne his enimies, and he wared ſo hawtie, that he had all eſtates in contempt, and thought himſelfe more noble then any prince lyuing. And then he

he chaunged his armes that his Graundfather had giuen, and ioyned Saint Edwardes armes and his together. And to rewarde the perſons aboue named, whome he had aduaunced to honor, he gaue vnto them a great parte of the Duke of Glouceſter, the Erle of Warwike, and the Erle of Arondels lands. And whatſoeuer the king did, no man durſt ſpeake a worde, or aduiſe hym in any thing, but muſt ſothe him in whatſoeuer he ſayd, or did. And ſuch as were then chiefe of hys Counſayle, the commons iudged to be the wooriſt of all other, the which were theſe. The Duke of Aumarle, the Duke of Norffolk, the Duke of Exceſter, the Duke of Wiltſhire, Sir John Buſhe, Sir Wylliam Bagot, ſyr Thomas Grene knight, to whom as is aforeſayd, the Commons bare great and priuie hatred.

King Richard altereth his armes.

Sone after this, the king cauſed to be arreigned and atteinted the Lord Cobham, vpon thoſe articles that the Duke of Glouceſter, the Erle of Arondell, and the Erle of Warwike were condempned for : But the Lorde Cobham was pardoned of his lyfe, and put to exile into the Iſle of Gerneſey, and there was aſſigned vnto him a ſmall and poore lyuing. And for an ende of thys parliament the king graunted a generall pardon to all perſons, and for all maner of offenſes, except onely fiftie perſons, whoſe names he would not declare, nor no man ſo prymy about hym that could vnderſtand them. And it was ſayde, that he kept that ſecret, that when any great man offended, he woulde then declare that he was one of the fiftie that was excepted, and by that meanes he had alwayes his ſubiectes in his daunger.

The Lorde Cobham is arreigned and atteinted.

A generall pardon.

Thys yere being the. xxij. yere of hys reigne, it chaunced Henry Erle of Darby a little before created Duke of Herford, a prudent and wyſe man, and welbeloued of all, calling to his minde, and well conſidering with himſelfe howe king Richarde his Coſſyn Germane was nowe come to that trade, that he little or nothyng regarded the counſayle of hys Uncles. nor other graue and ſad perſons, but did all thyng at his pleaſure, vſyng his wyll in ſtede of lawe and reaſon. Wherefore on a daye beyng in the company of Thomas Mowbray Duke of Norffolk, and Erle Marſhall, he beganne to breake his minde vnto him, rather for ſorrow and griefe, then for malice or diſpleaſure, reherſing how king Richard little eſteemed the Nobles of hys Realme, and as muche as laye in him, ſought daylie occaſions to deſtroy the more part of them, diſpatchyng ſome by death, and other by baniſhment. And this his cruell and ſeuere gouernement (ſayde he) is not onely greeuous to the Nobilitie, but to the Commons alſo, who greatly murmured thereat, therefore for as much as I knowe he loueth you, and, I am ſure, ſo do you him, when time opportune will ſerue, ye ſhall doe well to aduertiſe him therof, and to beſeche his grace to turne the leſe, and vſe a better way. When the Duke of Norffolk had heard fully his deuice, he tooke it not in good parte, but recoued that he had gotten a pray, by the whych he ſhould obteyn greater fauour of the king then euer he had, and for that time diſſembled the matter and ſo departed. And after, when he had opportunitie and ſawe his tyme, he declared to the king what he had heard : and to aggrauate, and to make the offenſe the greater, he added much therevnto, but left out nothing.

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When the king had heard him, and had pawſed a little with himſelfe, he beganne to be in a great chafe, but after a whyle he tempered his melancholy, and was content to here both parties together, and therefore called

vnto him the Duke of Lancaſter, who was chiefe of his counſayle, and both the Dukes of Herffoꝛd & Noꝛffolke, and cauſed the accuſer openly to declare what he had heard the Duke of Herffoꝛd ſpeake. The Duke of Noꝛffolke rehearſed agayne the tale that he had tolde to the king, but not in ſuch oꝛder as the Duke of Herffoꝛd had tolde it to him, but had added therevnto, and altered very much thereof. When the Duke of Herffoꝛd heard the tale ſo tolde, he was ſomewhat troubled therewith and pawſed awhyle, and after turning him to the Duke of Noꝛffolk, he declared woꝛde by woꝛde what he had ſayde, and ſhewed the cauſe why he ſo ſpake, denyeng all the other matters that the Duke of Noꝛffolk had added therevnto, and ſayde further vnto the king, that if it would pleaſe hys grace to ſuffer hym, he would pꝛoue his accuſer vntrue, and a falſe foꝛger of lyes by the ſtroke of a ſpeare and dent of a ſwoꝛde. The Duke of Noꝛffolk affirmed conſtantly hys tale to be true, and refuſed not the Combate. The king demaunded of them if they woulde not agree among themſelues? which they both denyed, and thꝛewe downe their gages. By ſaint John Baptiſt, quod the king, if you of your ſelues will not agree, I will not ſtudie how to agree you, and then he graunted them the battayle, and aſſigned the place to be at Couentrie, in the moneth of Auguſt next enſuyng.

A Combate betweene the duke of Herffoꝛd and the duke of Noꝛffolke.

Then was great pꝛeparation made, as to ſuch a matter apperteyned, and when all things were in readyneſſe, and the daye come, thether came the king being accompanied with all his nobles. And thether came alſo the two Dukes afoꝛeſayde, that is to ſay, the Duke of Herffoꝛd Appellant, & the duke of Noꝛffolk Defendãt, & they beyng armed, entred on hoꝛſback the one after the other into the Liſtes, & the people cryed vpon God to ſaue and pꝛoſper the Duke of Herffoꝛd, foꝛ they loued not the Duke of Noꝛffolke, becauſe it was ſaid that he murdered the Duke of Gloceſter at Calice, as afoꝛeſayd. Now the time beyng come, theſe two noble men, eche hauyng his Speare in reſt, and readie to ioyne the battaile, the king caſt downe his warder, and commaunded them to ſtay, and then the king and the Loꝛdes went to counſaile, and they toke vp the matter: And after great deliberation, the king by the mouth of the king of Heraults pꝛonounced ſentence in this ſoꝛt, firſt that Henry of Lancaſter Duke of Herffoꝛd Appellant, and Thomas Mowbray Duke of Noꝛffolke Defendant, haue honoꝛably and valiantly appered here within the liſtes this day, and haue bene redy to darreyne the battaile, lyke two valiant knightes, and hardie Champions: But becauſe the matter is great and weightie betweene theſe two great Pꝛinces, this is the oꝛder of the king and his counſaile. That Henry Duke of Herffoꝛd foꝛ dyuerſe conſiderations, and becauſe it hath pleaſed the king, ſhall within. xv. dayes depart out of the realme, foꝛ the terme of ten yeres, without returnyng, except by the king he be repealed againe, and that vpon paine of death.

The Duke of Herfoꝛde baniſhed foꝛ ten yeres.

The Herault cryed againe and ſayde, that Thomas Mowbray Duke of Noꝛthfolke, by the oꝛdenaunce of the King and his Counſaile, becauſe that he had ſowen ſedicion in the realme by his woꝛdes, whereof he can make no pꝛoofe, ſhall auoyde the realme of England, and dwell where he luſt out of the Kinges dominions, and neuer to returne againe into the ſame vpon paine of death, and that the king woulde ſtay the pꝛofites and reuenewes of hys landes vntill he had receyued ſuch ſommes of money as the Duke had taken vp

The Duke of Noꝛffolke baniſhed foꝛ euer.

vp of the kinges treaſurer, foꝛ the wages of the Garriſon of Calice, which were ſtill vnpayd. And then they called befoꝛe him the two baniſhed perſons, and made them ſwere, that ỹ one ſhould neuer come into the place where the other was (willyngly) noꝛ kepe compaune together in any other foꝛein region.

The Duke of Noꝛthfolke, which ſuppoſed to haue bene boꝛne out by the king, was ſoꝛe repentant of his enterpꝛiſe, and departed ſoꝛowfully out of the realme into Almain, & at the laſt came to Venice, where foꝛ thought he died.

The Duke of Herffoꝛd tooke his leaue of the king at Eltham, and there the king releaſed vnto him foure yeres of his baniſhment. And ſo he toke his iourney, and came to Calice, and ſo into Fraunce, where he cõtinued a while.

When he was arriued in Fraunce, king Charles heeryng the cauſe of his baniſhment, which he eſteemed very ſmall and light, receyued him gently and honoꝛably entertayned him: Inſomuch, ỹ he had by fauour obteined the mariage of the only daughter of John Duke of Berry, Uncle to the French king, if king Richard had not caſt a ſtop in his way: Foꝛ he well conſidered how the Commonaltie loued the Duke, and howe deſyꝛous they were of his returne into England: and then foꝛeſeeyng that if he ſhould be ioyned wyth ſo great an affinitie as the blood of the houſe of Berry was in Fraunce, and afterward ſodeinly to returne into Englande, it might foꝛtune to turne to hys moꝛe diſpleaſure then pleaſure, wherefoꝛe he letted that mariage.

Then Duke of Lancaſter dyeth.

Duryng the firſt yere of the exile of this Duke, his father John of Gaunt Duke of Lancaſter dyed, and is buryed on the Noꝛth ſyde of the Quier of the Church of Saint Paules in London. The death of this Duke ſhoꝛtened the life of king Rychard, foꝛ he notwithſtandyng, that the Duchie of Lancaſter was to this Duke Henrye lawfully diſcended, not onely ſeaſed without right oꝛ title all the goodes of the ſayde Duke John his parent, but alſo defrauded his heyꝛe of his laufull inheritaunce, receyuyng the rentes and reuenues of all his patrimonie, and geuyng to other that which was not his, and diſtributed the Dukes landes to his Paraſites, and flatteryng folowers. This act was iudged of all the nobilitie to be vnlawfull, vniuſt, and vngodly, to depꝛiue a man beyng baniſhed out of the realme without deſart, of his inheritaunce. But Edmond Duke of Yoꝛke, Uncle to Henrie nowe lawfully Duke of Lancaſter, was ſoꝛe moued with this chaunce, to ſee the king bꝛeake and violate all lawes: And after the murther of hys bꝛother the Duke of Glouceſter, to ſpoyle and robbe the ſonne of his other bꝛother. Foꝛ he beſoꝛe this tyme, as much as his pacience could beare, dyd tolerate and ſuffer the death of his bꝛother, the baniſhment of his Nephew, and many mo iniuryes, which foꝛ the lightneſſe and youth of the king he paſſed ouer: But nowe that he ſawe there was no hope of amendment of the kinges gouernement, and that he had no man nere him that durſt boldely admoniſhe him of his office, and dutie, he therefoꝛe as a wiſe man, thought it meete in tyme to get him to a reſtyng place, and to leaue the folowyng of ſo doubtfull and willfull a Captaine: Wherefoꝛe he with the Duke of Aumerle his ſonne, departed from the Court, and went to his houſe at Langley.

New exactions.

In this meane tyme, king Richard had made great pꝛeparation to go into Ireland, and gathered together great ſummes of money by ſundꝛie deuiſes and pꝛactiſes: as firſt, he cauſed an inquirie to be made in euery ſhyꝛe, of thoſe that had beene in armes with the Duke of Glouceſter, the Erle of

Arondell, and the Erle of Warwike, and cauſed dyuerſe Biſchoppes and men of honour in euery ſhyre, to aduiſe ſuch as had offended, to confeſſe their treaſons by writyng, and put them in the kinges mercie, promiſyng that they ſhould haue no hurt thereby. Wherefore many were conſtreyned, as well of the Clergie, as of the Commonaltie, to make great fynes. And alſo manye Noble men were compelled to pay vnto the king great ſommes of money, which was called Pleaſaunce, to pleaſe the king withall. Alſo at thys tyme the king cauſed many blacke Chartres to be made, and forced men to ſigne and ſeale the ſame, by the which he might whē he would vndo any of his ſubiectes. But ſome write that it was for that he purpoſed to deliuer Calice, and all his landes beyonde the Sea, to the French king, and to ſhewe that al his ſubiectes had aſſented therevnto.

Blanck Chartres.

When all theſe thinges were done, as is mencioned before, the king ſet forward with a great nauie & power of men towards Ireland, in the moneth of Aprill, to ſuppreſſe and tame the wilde heddes of the Iriſhe men, and he had with him his garde of Cheſſhire men, in whome hee put his ſpeciall truſt. Alſo he caried with him the greateſt of the noble mens ſonnes of England, as the Duke of Gloucesters ſonne and heyre, the Erle of Herford ſon and heire to Henry Duke of Herford and of Lancaſter. Alſo he was accompanied with the Duke of Aumerle, and the Duke of Exeter, and many other: And at his departure he left for his Lieutenant in England, Sir Edmond of Langley his Uncle, Duke of Yorke. And ſo the king entered into Ireland, and ſet fiercely vpon the Iriſhe men, and compelled them ſhortly to ſubmit them ſelues. The ſaiyng alſo was, that before his goyng into Ireland, he had let the realme to ferme to Sir William Scrope Erle of Wiltſhire, and then Treaſurer of England, to Sir John Buſhe, Sir John Bagot, and ſyr Henry Grene, knightes, for the terme of. xiiij. yeres: By reaſon whereof they procured many men to be accuſed, and ſuch as were accuſed, there was no remedye to deliuer him, or them, but were he poore or riche, he muſt compounde and make his fine with thoſe Tyrannes, at their will and pleaſure. Nowe the king beyng in Irelande, as aforeſayde, he ſo ſubdued the Iriſhemen, and that in ſhort ſpace, that he brought the greateſt part of that realme into very good order, and ſet them very quiet.

The king ſetteth forth to Ireland.

The king had let the Realme to Ferme.

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But while the king was thus occupyed in Irelande, the Duke of Herford by the prouocation of Thomas Arondell, Archebiſhop of Cauntorbury, who, as you before haue heard, was baniſhed by king Richard, and was in Fraunce with the ſaid Duke of Herford, returned nowe both into England, and landed at Rauenſpurre in the Northe Countrie, in the moneth of Auguſt, and by reaſon of his title to the Duchie of Lancaſter, he rayſed and aſſembled the people euer as he went, ſo that he had gathered together a great number of people. And, as ſayth Hall, there reſorted vnto him, the Erles of Northumberland, and Weſtmerland, and the Lordes Percey, Roſe, Willoughby, and other, and takyng an othe of him, that he ſhould not do to king Richard any bodily harme, they made to him homage, & became his liege men, and ſo tooke theyr iourney towardes London, where they were receyued with all ioy and gladneſſe. Then the Duke conſulted there dyuerſe dayes with his friendes. And thether came vnto him, Thomas Arondell, ſonne to Richard Erle of Arondell, by king Richard a little before put to death, which had

The landing of the Duke of Lancaſter and ỹ Archebiſhop of Cauntorbury.

late eſcaped out of priſon. When the Duke had well perceyued and conſidered the great loue and fauor that was borne him, as well of the nobilitie, as alſo of the commonaltie, and how they came dayly vnto his reliefe, he not onely yelded thankes vnto God therefore, but ſhewed himſelfe moſt thankefull vnto them for the ſame, and then ſet forwarde into the Weſt Countrie, and ſtill as he paſſed, his people encreaſed without number, and beyng nowe ſo well and ſtrongly accompanied, he then proclaymed open warre agaynſt king Richard, and all his partakers and friendes.

Kinge Richard returneth to England.

King Richard beyng in Ireland, and nowe heeryng of the Dukes arryuall in England, haſtened not a little to ſet all thinges there in order, and returned into England, and landed at Mylforde Hauen, in the beginnyng of September, and from thence paſſed vnto the Caſtell of Flynt in Wales ten Myles diſtant from Cheſter, and there reſted him and his people, entendyng there to haue gathered a great power, and to haue ſet vpon the Duke. But in this meane time, the aforeſaid Duke, who had proclaymed himſelfe Duke of Lancaſter, in the right of his father John of Gaunt, was come to Briſtow and there without reſiſtance tooke Sir William Scrope Erle of Wiltſhyre, and high Treaſurer of England, Sir John Buſhe, and Sir Henry Grene, who foorthwith were adiudged, and were beheaded. There was alſo taken Sir John Bagot, but he eſcaped, and fled into Ireland.

William Scrope Sir John Buſhe and Grene put to death.

Now king Richard was not ſo diligent to gather his power together, but they were as haſtie to flie from him, and to ayde the Duke, which amaſed the king much, and in the ende the king determined to kepe that Caſtell, and to abyde fortune. And this (ſayth Hall) is to be noted of all Princes, rulers, and perſons ſet in Auctoritie, that this Duke Henry of Lancaſter ſhould be thus called to the kingdome, and haue the helpe and aſſiſtaunce almoſt of all the whole realme (which perchaunce neuer thereof once thought or dreamed) and that king Richard ſhould thus be left deſolate, voyde, and deſperate of all hope and comfort, in whome if there were any offence, it ought rather to haue bene imputed to the frayltie of his youth, then to the malice of his hart.

A ſpeciall note.

When the Duke of Lancaſter knew that king Richard was come to the Caſtell of Flint, he came forward with ſpeede with a great armie, and drewe nere Cheſter: When Thomas Percey Erle of Worceſter, and Lord ſteward of the kinges houſhold, and brother to the Erle of Northumberland, heard tell of the Dukes approchyng, and bearyng diſpleaſure to the king, becauſe a little before he had proclaimed his brother a Traytor, he calling together the kinges houſholde, did before them all breake his white ſtaffe, and bid euery man go where he would, and ſhift for himſelfe. And when the kinges ſeruauntes ſawe this, they diſperſed themſelues, ſome one way, and ſome another, and left the king alone, ſauyng two or three Lordes, and a fewe men.

Thomas Percie Lord ſtuard breaketh his ſtaff.

The King is forſaken of all and left alone

The Duke approchyng very nere to the Caſtell of Flint, whereof king Richard beyng aduertiſed by John Ballet, and Richard Seymer (his aſſured ſeruauntes) departed out of the Caſtell, and fled to Conway, and there he ſent for the Duke of Exeter his brother, the Erle of Northumberland, and Thomas Archebiſhop of Cauntorbury, and deſyred them to come to the Caſtell vnto him, to whome he ſhewed his purpoſe, and that he was well content to geue vp the Crowne, and to be diſcharged of that great Burthen, and ſhortly after, he yelded himſelfe vnto the Duke, who ſecretly ſente him to the

The Kinge yeldeth himſelfe to the Duke of Lanca

Tower of London.

When the Duke had thus poſſeſſed his pray, he returned to London, and ſhortly after called a Parliament the. xiij. of September, in the kinges name, at the which many of the kinges friendes, but more of his, appeared. There was declared how vnprofitable king Richard had bene to the realme duryng his reigne, howe he ſubuerted the lawes, polled the people, miniſtred iuſtice to no man, but to ſuch as pleaſed him. And to the entent that the Commons might be perſwaded that he was an vniuſt and vnprofitable Prince, and a tyraunt ouer his ſubiectes, and therefore worthie to be depoſed, there were ſet foorth certeine articles very heynous to the eares of many, and to ſome incredible, the effect of which articles hereafter folowe.

Parliament at Weſtminſter.

1 Firſt that king Richard waſtefully ſpent the treaſure of the realme, and had geuen the poſſeſſions of the Crowne to men vnworthie, by reaſon wherof dayly newe charges more and more were layde in the neckes of the poore Commonaltie. And where diuers Lordes, aſwell ſpirituall as temporall, were appoynted by the high Court of Parliament, to common and treate of dyuerſe matters concernyng the common wealth of the ſame, which beyng buſy about thoſe commiſſions, he with other of his affinity went about to empeche them of treaſon, and by force and threatnyng, compelled the Juſtices of the realme at Shrewesbury to condiſcend to his opinion, for the deſtruction of the ſayd Lords: inſomuch that he began to rayſe warre againſt John Duke of Lancaſter, Thomas Erle of Arondell, Richard Erle of Warwike, and other Lordes, contrary to his honour and promiſe.

2 Item, that he cauſed his Uncle the Duke of Glouceſter to be arreſted without law, & ſent him to Calice, and there wout iudgement murdered him. And although the Erle of Arundell vpon his arreignment pleaded his Charter of pardon, he could not be heard, but was in moſt vile and ſhamefull maner ſodeinly put to death.

3 Item, he aſſembled certeine Lancaſhire and Cheſſhyre men, to the entent to make warre on the foreſayde Lordes, and ſuffered them to robbe and pill, without correction or reprofe.

4 Item, although the king flatterynglye, and with great diſſimulation made Proclamation throughout the realme, that the Lordes before named were not attached for any crymne of treaſon, but onely for extorcions and oppreſſions done in this realme, yet he layde to them in the Parliament, rebellion and manifeſt treaſon.

5 Item, he hath compelled diuerſe of the ſayde Lordes ſeruauntes and friendes, by menace and extreme paymentes, to make great fines to their byer bndoyng. And notwithſtandyng his pardon to them graunted, yet hee made them fine of newe.

6 Item, where diuers were appointed to cõmon of the eſtate of the realme, and the common welth of the ſame. The ſame king cauſed all the rolles and recordes to be kept from them, contrary to his promiſe made in the Parliament, to his open diſhonour.

7 Item, that he vncharitably commaunded, that no man vpon paine of loſſe of lyfe and goodes, ſhould once entreate him for the returne of Henry, nowe Duke of Lancaſter.

8 Item, where this realme is holden of God, and not of the Pope or other

ther Prince, the ſayde king Richard, after he had obteyned diuerſe actes of Parliament for his awne peculiar profite and pleaſure, then he obteyned Bulles and extreme cenſures from Rome, to cõpel all men ſtreightly to kepe the ſame, contrary to the honor and auncient priuileges of this realme.

9 Item, although the Duke of Lancaſter had done his deuoyre againſt Thomas Duke of Norffolke, in proofe of his quarell, yet the ſayde King without reaſon or ground, baniſhed him the Realme for ten yeres, contrary to all equitie.

10 Item, before the Dukes departure, he vnder his broade ſeale licenced him to make attourney to proſecute and defende his cauſes: The ſayde king after his departure would ſuffer none attourney to appere for him, but dyd with his at his pleaſure.

11 Item, the ſame king put out diuerſe Shirifes lawfully elected, and put in their rowmes, diuerſe other of his awne minions, ſubuertyng the lawe, contrary to his othe and honour.

12 Item, he borowed great ſommes of money, and bound him vnder hys leiters patents for the repayment of the ſame, and yet not one penny payde.

13 Item, he tared men at the will of him and his vnhappy counſail, and the ſame treaſure ſpent in folie, not paiyng poore men for their vitail and biande.

14 Item, he ſayd that the lawes of the realme were in his head, and ſometyme in his breſt, by reaſon of which fantaſticall opinion, he deſtroyed Noble men, and impouerished the poore Commons.

15 Item, the Parliament ſittyng and enactyng diuerſe notable ſtatutes for the profite and aduaunſement of the common wealth, he by his priuye friendes and ſolicites, cauſed to be enacted, that no acte then enacted ſhould be more preiudiciall to him, then it was to any of his predeceſſors, thzough which prouiſo he did often as he liſt, and not as the lawe ment.

16 Item, for to ſerue his purpoſe, he would ſuffer the Shirifes of the ſhire to remaine aboue one yere or two.

17 Item, at the ſommons of the Parliament, when Knightes and Burgeſſes ſhould be elected, and that the election had full proceded, he put out diuers perſons elected, & put in other in their places, to ſerue his wil & appetite.

18 Item, he had priuie eſpials in euery ſhyre, to here who had of him any communication, and if he commoned of his laſciuious liuyng, or outragious doyng, he ſtreight wayes was apprehended, and made a grieuous fine.

19 Item, the Spiritualtie alleaged againſt him, that he at his goyng into Ireland exacted many notable ſummes of money, beſyde plate, and iewels, without lawe or cuſtome, contrary to his othe taken at his coronation.

20 Item, when diuerſe Lordes and Juſtices were ſworne to ſay the truth of diuerſe thinges to them committed in charge, both for the honour of the Realme, and profite of the king, the ſayde king ſo menaced them with ſore threatnynges, that no man would or durſt ſay the right.

21 Item, that without the aſſent of the Nobilitie, he caryed the Jewelles, and Plate, and Treaſure ouer the ſea into Ireland, to the great empouerifhyng of the realme. And all the good recordes for the common welth, and againſt his extortions, he cauſed priuely to be embeſiled, and conueyed away.

22 Item, in al leages & letters to be concluded or ſent to the See of Rome or other Regions: His writing was ſo ſubtill and ſo darke, that no other

prince

prince durſt once beleue him, nor yet his owne ſubiectes.

23 Item, he moſt tirannouſly and vnprincely ſayde, that the lyues and goodes of all hys ſubiectes were in the princes hands, and at his diſpoſitiõ.

24 Item, that he contrarie to the great Charter of England cauſed diuers luſtie men to appeale diuers olde men, vpon matters determinable at the common lawe, in the Court martiall, becauſe that in that court is no triall but onely by battayle: Wherevpon the ſayde aged perſons fearing the ſequele of the matter, ſubmitted themſelues to his mercy, whome he fined and raunſomed vnreaſonably at his pleaſure.

25 Item, he craftily deuiſed certaine priuie othes, contrarye to the lawe, and cauſed diuers of his ſubiectes, firſt to be ſworne to obſerue the ſame, and after bounde them in bondes for the former keping of the ſame, to the great vndoyng of many honeſt men.

26 Item, where the Chauncellour according to the lawe, woulde in no wiſe graunt a prohibicion to a certaine perſon: the king graunted it vnto the ſame perſon vnder his priuie ſeale, with great threatnings, if it ſhould be diſobeyed.

27 Item, he baniſhed the biſhop of Cauntorbury wythout cauſe or iudgement, and kept him in the parliament Chamber with men of Armes. Item, the Byſchoppes goodes he graunted to his ſucceſſour, vpon condition that he ſhould maintayne all his ſtatutes made at Shrewesburie. Anno. xxj. and the ſtatutes made. Anno. xxij. at Couentrie.

28 Item, vpon the accuſation of the Archbiſhop, the king craftily perſwaded the ſayde Biſhop to make no aunſwere, for he would be his warrant, and adviſed him not to come to the parliament. And ſo without anſwere he was condemned and exiled, and his goodes ſeaſed.

After that king Richarde was charged with the aforeſayde articles, there was an inſtrument made, declaryng his aunſwers, & how he conſented wyllingly to be depoſed, the tenor of which inſtrument was as followeth.

The copy of an Inſtrumente.

THis preſent inſtrument made the Monday the. xxix. daye of September 1389. and in the. xxiij. yere of king Richard the ſecond, witneſſeth: that where by the auctho̅itie of the Lordes ſpirituall and tempo̅rall of this preſent parliament, and commons of the ſame, the right honourable and diſcreete perſons, here vnder named, were by the ſayde auctho̅itie aſſigned to go vnto the tower of London, there to here and teſtifie ſuch queſtions and aunſwers as then and there ſhould be by the ſayde honourable and diſcreete perſons heard: know all men to whome theſe preſent letters ſhall come, that we Sir Richard Scrope Archebiſhop of Yorke, John biſhop of Hertford, Henry Erle of Northumberland, Raufe Erle of Weſtmerland, Thomas Lorde of Barkeley, William Abbot of Weſtmynſter, John Priour of Cauntorburie, Wylliam Thirnyng, and Hugh Burnell knights, and John Markam Juſtice, Thomas Stowe, and John Burbage Doctours of the lawe Ciuille: Thomas Fereby, and Dionyſe Lopham Notaries publique, the daye and yere aboueſayd, betwene the houres of eyght and nine of the clock in the fore noone, were preſent in the chiefe chamber of the kings lodging within the ſayde place of the towre, where was reherſed vnto the king, by the mouth of the foreſayde Erle of Northumberlande, that before tyme at Conwaye in Northwales, the king being there at his pleaſure and libertie promiſed

promiſed vnto the Archebiſhop of Cauntorbury, then Thomas Arundell, and vnto the ſayde Erle of Northumberlande, that he for the inſufficiency which he knewe himſelfe to be of, to occupy ſo great a charge as to gouerne this Realme of Englande, would gladly leaue of, and renounce the right and title, as well of that, as of the title of the crowne of Fraunce and his maieſtie, vnto Henry Duke of Herford, and that to doe in ſuch conuenient wiſe as by the learned men of this lande it ſhould moſt ſufficiently be by them deuiſed and ordeyned.

To the which reherſall, the king in our preſence aunſwered benyngly and ſayde, that ſuch promiſe he made, and ſo to the ſame he was at that houre in full purpoſe to perfourme and fulfill, ſauyng that he deſyred firſt to haue perſonall ſpeeche with the ſayde Duke, and with the Archebiſhop of Cauntorbury his Coſſyns. And furthermore, he deſyred to haue a bill drawen of the ſayde Reſignation, that he might be perfite in the reherſall thereof. After which Copie by me the ſayde Erle of Northumberlande delyuered, we the ſayde Lordes and other departed. And vpon the ſame after noone, the king deſyring much of the comming of the Duke of Lancaſter, at the laſt the ſayd Duke with the Archebiſhop of Cauntorbury entered the aforeſayde Chamber, bringing with them the Lorde Roos, the Lorde Burgeyny, and Lorde Willoughby with dyuerſe other.

Where after due obeyſaunce done by them vnto the king, he familierly and with a glad countenance (to vs apperyng) talked with the ſaide Archbiſchop & Duke a good ſeaſon. And that communication finiſhed, the King with a glad countenaunce, in preſence of vs and the other aboue reherſed, ſayde openly, that he was readie to renounce and reſigne all his kingly maieſtie in maner and forme as he before had promiſed. And although he had and might ſufficiently haue declared his renouncement by the reading of another meane perſon, yet he for the more ſuretie of the matter, and for that the ſayde reſignation ſhould haue his full force and ſtrength, he therefore red the ſcrole of reſignation himſelfe, in maner, and forme as followeth.

King Richard reſigneth & crowne and Kingdom of Englande.

¶ In the name of God, amen. I Richard by the grace of God, king of Englande and of Fraunce, and Lorde of Irelande, acquyte and allopie all Archebiſchops, Biſchops, and other prelates ſecular & religious, of what dignitie, ſtate or condition that they be of: And alſo all Dukes, Erles, Barons, Lords, and all mine other liege men, both ſpirituall and ſecular, of what maner of name or degree they be, from their othe of fealtie and homage, and all other deedes and priuileges made vnto me, and from all maner of bandes of allegeaunce and regalty and Lordſhip, in the which they were or be bound vnto me, or in any otherwiſe conſtreyned: And them their heyres and ſucceſſors for euermore from the ſayde bandes and othes I releaſe, delyuer, acquyte and ſet them for free, diſſolued and acquited, and to be harmeleſſe, for ſomuch as longeth to my perſon by any maner of waye, title or right, that to me might follow of the aforeſayde things, or of any of them. And alſo I reſigne all my kingly dignitie, maieſtie and crowne, with all the Lordſhips, power and priuileges to the aforeſayd kingly dignity and crowne belonging, and all other Lordſhips and poſſeſſions to me in any maner of wiſe apperteyning, what name and condition ſoeuer they be of, except thoſe lands and poſſeſſions for me & mine Obite purchaſed and bought. And I renounce all

right

right and all colour of right, and all maner of title of poſſeſſion, and Lord-ſhip, which I euer had or haue in the ſame Lordſhippes, and poſſeſſions, or any of them, or to them, with any maner of rights belonging or appertayning vnto any parte of them.

And alſo the rule and gouernaunce of the ſame kingdome and Lord-ſhips, with all miniſtrations of the ſame, and all things and euerye of them that to the whole Empire and iuriſdictions of the ſame belongeth of right, or in any wiſe may belong.

And alſo I renounce the name of worſhip & regaly and kingly highneſſe, cleerely, freely, ſingularly and wholy, in the moſt beſt maner and forme that I may, and with deede and word I leaue of and reſigne them, and go from them for euermore, ſauyng alwayes to my ſucceſſors kings of Englande, all the rightes, priuileges and appurtenaunces to the ſayde kingdome & Lord-ſhips aboue ſayd belonging and apperteyning: For well I wote and know-lege, and deme my ſelfe to be, and haue bene, inſufficient and vnhable and alſo vnprofitable, and for mine open deſertes not vnworthy to be put downe. And I ſweare vpon the holy Euangeliſtes, here preſently with my handes touched, that I ſhall neuer repugne to thys reſignation, dimiſſion, or decl-ding vp, nor neuer impugne them in any maner, by worde or by deede, by my ſelfe nor by none other: Nor I ſhall not ſuffer it to be impugned, in as much as in me is, priuily or aparte. But I ſhall haue holde and kepe thys pronoun-cyng, dimiſſion and leauyng vp for fyrme and ſtable for euermore, in all and in euery part thereof, ſo God help me and all Saints, and by thys holye Euangeliſt by me bodely touched and kyſſed. And for more record of the ſame, here openly I ſubſcribe and ſigne thys preſent reſignation with myne awne hande. And foorthwith in oure preſences and other he ſubſcribed the ſame, and after delyuered it vnto the Archebyſhop of Cauntorbury, ſaiyng that if it were in his power or at his aſſignement, he would that the Duke of Lan-caſter, there preſent, ſhould be his ſucceſſor and king after him. And in token thereof, he toke a ryng of Golde from his finger, being his ſignet, and put it vpon the ſaid dukes finger, deſyring & requiring the Archbiſhop of Yorke, to ſhewe and make reporte to the Lordes of the Parliament of his voluntarie reſignation, and alſo of his entent and good minde that he bare towarde his Coſſyn the Duke of Lancaſter, to haue him hys ſucceſſor & king after hym. And thys done, euery man toke their leaue and returned to their home.

On the morowe followyng, beyng on the Tewesday, and the laſt day of September, all the Lordes ſpirituall and temporall, with alſo the com-mons of the ſayde parliament, aſſembled at Weſtmynſter: where in the pre-ſence of them, the Archbiſhop of Yorke, according to the kings deſyre ſhewed vnto them ſeriouſly the voluntary renouncing of the king, with alſo the fa-uour that he ought vnto his Coſſyn the Duke of Lancaſter, for to haue him his ſucceſſor. And moreouer he ſhewed vnto them the Schedule or bill of re-nouncement, ſigned with King Richardes hand.

And when the things aforeſayde were by the ſayde Biſhop fynyſhed, the queſtion was aſked firſt of the Lordes, if they would admit and allow that renouncement: The which when it was of the Lordes graunted and con-firmed, the lyke queſtion was aſked of the Commons, and of them in lyke maner affirmed.

After

After which admiſſion, it was then declared, that notwithſtanding the foreſayde renouncing ſo by the Lords and commons admitted, it were need-full vnto the realme, in the auoyding of all ſuſpicions and ſurmiſes of euill diſpoſed perſons to haue in wryting and regeſtred the manifolde crymes and defautes before done by the ſayd Richard, late king of England, to the ende that they might firſt be openly ſhewed vnto the people, and after to remaine of record among the kings records. The which articles are before expreſſed.

Now when the Lordes of the parliament had conſydered this volun-tarie renouncement of King Richarde, and that it was behouefull and ne-ceſſary for the weale of the realme to proceede vnto the ſentence of his depo-ſall, they there appoynted by the auctorite of the ſtates of the ſayde parli-ament, that is to ſaye the Byſhop of Saint Aſſe, the Abbot of Glaſcenbury, the Erle of Glouceſter, the Lorde Barkeley, Wylliam Thyrning iuſtice, and Thomas Erpyngham, and Thomas Gray knightes, that they ſhould geue open ſentence to the kings depoſition. Wherevpon the ſayde commiſſioners layeng their heades together, by good counſayle and aduiſement and of one aſſent agreed among them, that the Biſhop of Saint Aſſe ſhould publiſhe the ſentence for them and in their names, as followeth.

The depoſi-tion of king Richard the ſeconde.

¶ In the name of God, amen. We Johñ Biſhop of Saint Aſſe or Aſſe-nence, Johñ Abbot of Glaſcenbury, Richard Erle of Glouceſter (and ſo the names of the other as they are aboue reherſed) choſen and deputed ſpeciall commiſſioners by the three eſtates of this preſent parliament, repreſenting the whole body of the realme, for all ſuch matters by the ſaid eſtates to vs cõ-mitted: we well vnderſtandyng & conſydering the manifolde crymes, hurtes and harmes done by Richarde King of Englande, and the miſgouernaunce of the ſame by a long time, to the great decay of the ſayd land, and vtter ruine of the ſame ſhortly to haue bene, ne had the ſpeciall grace of our Lorde God therevnto put the ſouer remedy: And alſo furthermore conſydering ẏ the ſayd king knowyng his awne inſufficiency, hath of his awne meere mocion and free will renounced and geuen vp the rule and gouernaunce of this lande, with all rightes and honours to the ſame belongyng, and vtterly for his me-rites hath iudged himſelfe not vnworthely to be depoſed of all kingly maieſty and eſtate royall. We the premiſſes well conſydering, by good and diligent deliberation, by the power, name and auctoritie to vs, as aboueſayde, com-mitted pronounce, decerne and declare the ſame king Richard, before thys to haue bene and to be vnprofitable, vnhable, vnſufficient, and vnworthy to the rule and gouernaunce of the aforeſayde realmes and Lordſhips, and all other the appurtenaunces to the ſame belongyng. And for the ſame cauſes we depryue him of all kingly dignitie and worſhip, and of any kingly wor-ſhip in himſelfe. And we depoſe him by our ſentence definitiue, forbydding expreſſly to all Archebiſhops, Biſhops, and all other Prelates, Dukes, Mar-queſſes, Erles, Barons and Knightes, and to all other men of the aforeſayd kingdome and Lordſhips, or of other places belonging to the ſame realmes and Lordſhips, ſubiectes and lieges whatſoeuer they be, that none of them from this time forward, to the aforeſayde Richard as king and Lorde of the aforeſayde Realmes and Lordſhips, be neyther obedient nor attendaunt.

And immediately after this ſentence, the duke of Lancaſter ryſyng from the place where he then ſate, and ſtanding where all might behold him, ſpake theſe wordes. I Henrie of Lancaſter clayme the realme of England, and

the

the crowne, with all the appurtenaunces, as I that am diſcended by ryght lyne of the blood comming from that good Lorde king Henry the thirde, and through the right that God of his grace hath ſent vnto me, with the helpe of my kinne, and of my friendes to recouer the ſame, which was in point to be vndone for default of good gouernaunce and due iuſtice.

Henry Duke of Lancaſter maketh clayme to the crowne and kingdome of Englande.

After which words, thus by him vttered, he returned & ſate him downe in the place where he before had ſitten. Then the Lordes hering this clayme, commoned ſecretly among themſelues, and then was it demaunded of them what they thought: and they all agreed to the ſayde clayme, and that he was worthie to reigne as king ouer them. Then the Archbiſchop of Cauntorbury hauyng knowledge of the Lordes mindes, ſtoode vp, and aſked the Cõmons if they would aſſent to the Lordes, to the which alſo they aſſented. After which aunſwere the Archbiſchop went to the Duke, and after low & ſolemne obeyſaunce, kneelyng vpon his knee, did afterwarde ariſe, and tooke the Duke by the right hande, and led him vnto the kinges ſeate, and there wyth great reuerence placed him.

Duke Henry placed in the regall ſeate.

After the Duke was thus placed as king, then he ſtood vp and ſayde to the Lordes and Commons preſent: I thanke you my Lordes ſpirituall and temporall, and all the ſtates of this lande, and I geue you to vnderſtand, that it is not my wil that any man thinke that by the way of Cõqueſt I would diſenherite any man of his heritage, franchiſe or other rightes, that of right to him belongeth, nor to put him out of that which he now enioyeth, & hath had before tyme by cuſtome of good lawe of this realme, except ſuch priuate perſons as haue bene againſt the good purpoſe & the cõmõ profit of the realme.

When the king had thus ſpoken, he ſate downe, and then it was agreed that the Procurator aforenamed ſhould go vnto the Tower, and reſigne vnto the late king Richard all their homages and fealties in the name of the whole realme, and to ſhewe vnto him, not onely the maner of his depoſition, but alſo howe Henry Duke of Lancaſter was placed in the kingdome, which was done accordyngly, and the next day after, the Duke was openly proclaymed kyng by the name of king Henry the fourth.

NOw after King Richard was depoſed, as you haue heard, then Henry Plantagenet, borne at Bolyngbrooke in the Coũtie of Lincolne, Duke of Lancaſter and Herford, Erle of Darbie, Leyceſter, and Lyncolne, ſonne to John of Gaunt Duke of Lancaſter, tooke vpon him the gouernment of this realme, and was by ſounde of Trompet proclaymed king of Englande, and of Fraunce, and Lorde of Irelande, the .xxix. day of September, in the yere of our Lorde 1399. by the name of King Henry the fourth, and was crowned at Weſtminſter the .xj. day of October then next folowing, which was the day of the Tranſlation of Edward the Confeſſor, with all tryumph and ſolemnitie. 1399

The Coronatiõ of king Henrie the fourth.

And at the day of his coronation (as ſayth Hall) becauſe he would not haue it thought that he tooke vpon him the Crowne without good title and right therevnto had, therefore he cauſed it to be proclaymed and publiſhed, that he chalenged the realme not only by cõqueſt, but alſo for that he was by king Richard adopted as heyre, and declared ſucceſſor of hym, and by reſignation, had accepted the Crowne and Scepter, & alſo that he was next heire Male of the blood royall to king Richarde.

Henry prince of Wales.

Shortly after his coronation, he created his eldeſt ſonne Henry, Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornewall, and Erle of Cheſter beyng then of the age of .xij. yeres, and cauſed him to be proclaymed heyre apparant to the Crowne of this realme. And ſoone after he called his high Court of Parliament, in the which was demaunded by king Henryes friendes, what ſhould be done with king Richard. And as the aforeſayde Hall ſayth, whome I chiefely folowe in this hiſtory, for that he hath diligently trauayled therein. The Biſchop of Carliſle which was a man well learned, and of a good courage, ſtood vp and ſayde: My Lordes, I require you to take hede what aunſwere you make vnto this queſtion: For I thinke there is none of you worthie or mete to geue iudgement on ſo noble a Prince as King Richard is, whom we haue taken and honoured for our ſouereigne and liege Lorde, by the ſpace of .xij. yeres, & I aſſure you, there is not ſo ranke a traytor, nor ſo arrant a theefe, nor yet ſo cruel a murderer, apprehended or deteyned in priſon for his offence, but he ſhall be brought before the Juſtice to heere his iudgement: And yet ye will proceede to the iudgement of an annoynted king, and here neyther hys aunſwere nor excuſe. And I ſay, that the Duke of Lancaſter, whom you call king, hath more offended and more treſpaſſed to king Richard & this realme, then the king hath eyther done to him or to vs. For it is manifeſt and well knowen, that the Duke was baniſhed the Realme by king Richard and hys counſaile, and by the iudgement of his awne father (for the ſpace of .x. yeres) for what cauſe all you knowe, and yet without licence of king Richarde he is returned againe into the realme, yea and that is worſſe, hath taken vpon him

The biſhop of Carliſle a ſtout biſhop.

the name, title, & preheminence of a king: And therfore I say, that you haue done manifest wrong, to proceede in any thing against king Richard, without callyng him openly to his aunswere and defence. Assoone as the Bishop had ended his tale, he was attached by the Erle Marchall, and committed to ward in the Abbey of Saint Albones.

A bishop committed to ward for talking to broad in the parliament house.

And in the sayde Parliament it was concluded, that King Richarde should continue in a large prison, and should haue all thinges honourably ministred vnto him, aswell for his dyet as also apparell. And that if any person or persons would presume to styre and rere warre on the behalfe of king Richard for his deliueraunce out of prison, that then King Richard himselfe should be the first that should die for that commotion.

In order také how king Richarde should be intreated.

A fore sentence.

In this Parliament, the Lorde Fitzwater appealed the Duke of Aumarle of high treason, and offered to fight with him in Listes royall: Likewyse the Lorde Morley appealed the Erle of Sarisbury, and there were mo then.xx. Appealants which waged battail in this Parliament: But the king pardoned all their offences, sauyng the faultes of the Lorde Morley, and the Erle of Sarisbury, whom he committed to ward, and after at the request of their friendes, they were againe set at libertie. The king also punished extremely all suche as were priuie and doers of the murder of Thomas hys Uncle, late Duke of Gloucester, which was shamefully murthered, as is before, in the Towne of Calice. Also he greatly aduaunced sundrie of hys friendes, and called out of banishment Richard Erle of Warwike, and restored the Erle of Arondelles sonne to his awne possession and dignitie, and manie other. He tooke into his speciall fauour John Holland Duke of Exeter, and Erle of Huntyngton, halfe brother vnto King Richard which had espoused the Ladie Elizabeth his awne sister: And he beyng before Captaine of Calice, was greatly moued and inwardly grieued, that King Richard his brother was remoued out of the seate royall, and therefore began to styre by newe motions and factions within the Realme: the which the king much feared, and therefore he reconciled him to his fauour, and made him as he supposed, his perfect friende, where in deede he was his deadly enemye.

Sundrie appeales.

A reuengement of the Duke of Gloucesters death.

John Holland Duke of Exceter.

Also in the ende of this Parliament were repealed all the statutes that were made in the.xxj. yere of the reigne of King Richard. And then King Henry supposyng that he had wonne the heartes and fauoures, aswell of the Nobilitie both spirituall and temporall, as of the Commons of his realme, prayed that for the auoydyng of all claymes, tytles and doubtes that might be made vnto the Crowne, that he might haue his dignitie, lyne and succession enacted, confirmed, and entayled, by the assent of the high Court of Parliament, the which was done in maner and forme folowyng.

An act entityng king Henrye the fourth to the Crowne of the realme.

AT the request and petition, aswell of the nobilitie, as of the Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, it is ordeyned and established, that the inheritaunce of the Crowne and Realmes of Englande, and of Fraunce, and of all other Lordships to ꝑ king our souereigne Lord, aswell on this side the seas, as beyond, apperteining, with their appurtenaunces, shall be vnited and remain in the person of our souereigne Lord the King, and in the heyres of his bodie lawfully begotten. And especially at the request and assent aforesayde it is ordeyned, established, pronounced, enacted, written and declared,

clared, that my Lorde Prince, Henry, eldest sonne to our souereigne Lorde the king, shall be heyre apparant, and successor to our souereigne Lorde in the sayde Crowne, Realmes, and Seigniories, to haue and enioy them with all their appurtenaunces, after the decease of our sayd souereigne, to him and the heyres of his bodie begotten. And if he die without heyres of his bodie begotten, that then the sayde Crownes, Realmes, and Seigniories, with their appurtenaunces shal remaine to the Lord Thomas, second sonne to our sayd souereigne Lorde, and to the heyres of his bodie begotten. And if he depart without issue of his body begotten, all the premisses to remain to Lord John his thirde sonne and to the heyres of his bodie begotten. And if he die without issue, then the Crownes, Realmes, and Seigniories aforesayd with their appurtenaunces shall remaine to the Lord Homfrey, the fourth sonne to our sayd souereigne Lord, and to the heyres of his bodie lawfully begotten.

Now when King Henry had thus mortised himselfe and his issue so sure and fast, as he thought, that the same was not possible to be remooued, then was he neerer an vtter ouerthrow and destruction then euer he was, for suche is the nature of dissimulation, that when fortune with her flattering seemeth most to ioy and laugh, then (so fickle is she of condition) is most perill and daunger at hand: For now dyuers of those Lords which were king Richardes friendes, outwardly dissimuled that which they inwardly conspired, which was the finall confusion and destruction of King Henry, and to restore agayne their olde Lorde and mayster king Richarde. And the better to bring thys matter about, they practised with the Abbot of Westminster that then was, who had no good opinion of king Henry, for that he heard him once saye, when he was Duke of Lancaster, that Princes had to little, and the religious had to much, and therefore he supposed that he would not be a friend vnto the Church, if he contynued long in that dignitie. Vnto the house of thys Abbot resorted one day as bidden gestes of the sayde Abbot, John Holland Duke of Exceter and Erle of Huntyngdon, Thomas Holland Duke of Surrey, and Erle of Kent, Edward Duke of Aumarle and Erle of Rutlande, sonne to the Duke of Yorke, John Mountagew Erle of Salsbury, Hugh Spencer Erle of Glouceſter, John the Bishop of Carleill, Sir Thomas Blunt, and one Magdalen, one of king Richards Chapell, a man as lyke vnto him in stature and proporcion, as vnlike in birth and dignitie. This Abbot highly feasted these great Lordes, and when dyner was done, they withdrew themselues into a secret Chamber, and when they were set, John Holland Duke of Exceter, who bare great grudge agaynst king Henry, declared to them their allegeaunce promised, and by othe confirmed to king Richarde his brother, forgetting not the highe promocions and dignities, which he and all they present had receyued of the liberalitie of his sayde brother, by the which they were not onely bound to take part with him and his friendes, but also to be reuenged for him and his cause on hys mortall enemies and deadly foes: In the doyng whereof he thought pollicy more meeter to be vsed then force. And the better to bring this matter about, he deuised a Justes to be kept betwene him and.xx. on his part, & the Erle of Salsbury &.xx. of his part, at Oxforde: To the which Justes King Henry should be desyred to be present, and when he were most earnestly beholdyng he pastyme, he should sodainely haue beene slayne and destroyed, and by this

A conspiracie against king Henry the fourth.

A Justes to be holden at Oxforde.

meanes king Richard, which was then alyue should be restored to his libertie and to his crowne and kingdome.

This deuise seemed to please well all that were present, wherfore they made an Indenture sertipartite sealed with their seales, & signed with their handes, in the which eche bounde himselfe to other to endeuour themselues for the destruction of king Henry, and the erection and restoring of king Richard, and sware on the Euangelistes the one to be true to the other, euen to the houre and poynt of death.

The king is requested by the Lords to come to the Iustes.

Nowe all things beyng thus appoynted and concluded, the Duke of Exceter came to the king to Wynsore, humbly beseeching him for the loue that he bare to the noble actes of Chiualrie, that he would vouchsafe not only to repaire to Oxford, to see and beholde their enterprises and attemptes, but also to be the discouerer and indifferent Iudge (if any ambiguitie should arise) of their courageous actes and royall triumph. The king seing himselfe so earnestly desyred, and that of his brother in lawe, and suspecting nothing lesse then that which was purposed, did gently graunt vnto his request. And so sone as the Duke had his aunswere, he returned home to his house and prepared all things necessarie for the exployt of his pretensed purpose. And when the time drue neere, he came to Oxforde with a great companye of Archers and horsemen, and when he came thether, he found there all his confederates well appointed for the purpose, except the Duke of Aumarle Erle of Rutlande, for whome they sent messengers in great haste. Thys Duke of Aumarle went before from Westminster to see his father the Duke of Yorke, and sittyng at dynner, he had his Counterpane of the indenture of confederacie (whereof is mencion made afore) in his bosome. The father espyed it, and demaunded what it was. His sonne lowely aunswered, that it

Treason will breake out.

touched not him: By Saint George, quod the father, but I will see it, and by force tooke it out of his bosome, and when he perceyued the content thereof, and the fire seales set and fixed to the same, whereof the seale of his sonne was one, he sodeynely roase from the Table, commaundyng his horses to be saddeled, and in a great fury sayd to his sonne: thou Traytor theefe, thou hast bene a Traytor to king Richard, and wilt thou nowe be false to thy Cosyn king Henry? Thou knowest well inough, that I am thy pledge, Borow, and Maine perne bodie for bodie, and for lande and goodes in open Parliament: and goest thou about to seeke my death and destruction? By the holy Roode I had rather see thee strangled on a Gybbet. And so the Duke of Yorke mounted on horsebacke, to ride to Windsore to the king, and to declare the whole matter vnto him. The Duke of Aumerle considery̆ng in what case he stoode in, tooke his horse and roade another way to Windsore, ridyng all the way in post (which his father beyng an olde man, could not do) and when he was alighted at the Castell gate, he caused the gates to be shut, saiyng that he must nedes deliuer the keyes to the king. And when he came before the kinges presence, he kneeled on his knees, beseechyng him of mercie and forgeuenesse. The king demaunded the cause, and he declared vnto him plainly the whole confederacie. Well sayd the king, if this be true, we pardon you: if it be feyned, at your extreme perill be it.

While the king and the Duke talked together, the Duke of Yorke knocked at the Castell Gate, whom the king caused to be let in, and there he deliuered

uered the Indenture which before he had taken from his sonne. Which wyty̆ng when the king had red and seene, perceiuyng the signes and seales of the Confederates, he chaunged his former purpose: For the day before he heard that the Chaloners and defenders were all in a redinesse, and thought the same day to haue gone thether, but now he stayed, and wrote his letters foorthwith vnto the Erle of Northumberland his high Constable, and to the Erle of Westmerland, his high Marshall, and to dyuers other his friendes, of his doubtfull daunger and perelous ieopardie.

The Confederators perceiuyng the lacke of the Duke of Aumerle, and also seyng no preparation made there for the kinges commyng, imagyned that their purpose was disclosed to the king, wherefore, that thing which they purposed prestly to haue done, they determined now openly with speare and shielde to set foorth and aduaunce. And so they adourned Magdalene a man resemblyng much king Richard, in royall and Princely vesture, calling him king Richard, and affirmyng that he by fauour of his kepers was deliuered out of Prison and set at libertie. Nowe while the Confederates with their newe deuised king, accompanied wyth a puyssaunt armie of men, toke the direct way to Windsore: king Henry beyng admonished of their commyng, with a fewe horse in the night went from Windsore, and came to the Tower of London aboute midnight, where he in the Mornyng caused the Maior of the Citie to bring vnto him three thousand Archers, and three thousand Billmen well armed and appoynted.

Magdalene a man that much resembleth king Richard the seconde.

The Lordes of the Confederacie came to Windsore, and entered the Castell, where they fyndyng not their pray, determined with all speede to passe foorth towardes London: But when they were well onwarde of their iourney, they then chaunged their purpose, and returned backe to Colbroke, and there stayed. These Lordes had many people folowyng them, what for feare, and what for entreaty, and specially for that they beleued certeinly king Richard was there present with them. When king Henrie heard of their commyng toward London, he issued out of the sayd Citie with twentie thousand men, and came to Hounslow hethe, and there pitched his campe, mynding there to abyde the commyng of his enemyes. But when the Lordes were aduertised of the kinges commyng, and of hys great puyssaunce, beyng eyther amased with feare, or else repentyng their enterpryce, or mistrustyng their owne companie, they departed from Colbroke to Barkhamsted, and so to Ancester, and there the Lordes tooke their lodgyng: The Duke of Surrey, Erle of Kent, and the Erle of Sarisbury in one Inne, and the Duke of Exeter, and the Erle of Glouceſter in another, and all the armie lay in the fieldes. In the night tyme the Baylife of the Towne with .lxxx. Archers set on the house where the Duke of Surrey and the other lay: The house was manfully assaulted, and strongly defended a great space. The Duke of Exeter beyng in another Inne, with the Erle of Glouceſter, set fyre on dyuerse houses in the towne, thynkyng that the assaylantes would leaue the assault and rescue their goodes, which they nothyng regarded. The army lyyng without, heryng noyse, and seeyng fyre in the towne, thinkyng that the king was come thether with his puyssaunce, fled without measure to saue themselues. The Duke of Exeter & his companie seeyng the force of the townes men more and more to encrease, fled out on the backe syde, entendyng to re-

The ouerthrow and discomfiture of the Lordes.

payze to the armie, which they found dispersed and retyred. Then the Duke seeyng no hope of comfort, fled into Esser: And the Erle of Glouceſter going towarde Wales, was taken and behedded at Bristowe: Magdalene fliyng into Scotland, was apprehended and brought to the Tower of London. And the Lordes which were still fighting in the towne of Cicester, were wounded to death and taken, and their heades stricken off and sent to London: And there were taken Sir Bennet Shelly, and Sir Barnard Brokas, and.xxix. other Lordes, Knightes, and Esquiers, and sent to Oxforde, where the king then soiourned, and where Sir Thomas Blunt and all the other prisoners were executed.

When the Duke of Exceter heard that his complices were taken, and his counsaylors apprehended, and his friendes put in execution, he lamented his owne chaunce, and bewayled the misfortune of his friends: But most of all he was troubled to thinke vpon the wretched ende that should happen to king Richarde hys brother, whose death he sawe as in a Glasse, to be at hand by reason of this his vnhappie enterprise, and thus beyng succourlesse, and wandering vp & downe, at the last he was taken in a towne called Plashey in Esser, and there made shorter by the head, and in that place specially (sayth Hall) for that he in the same Lordship, betrayed Thomas Duke of Glouceſter, and was the very cause of hys death and destruction, and so the common prouerbe was verified, as you haue done, so shall you feele.

After this, Magdalene that representeth the person of king Richarde amongest the rebels, and dyuers other were put to execution, and all the heads of the chiefe conspirators were set on poles ouer London bridge, to the feare of other which were disposed to commit lyke offense. The Abbot of Westminster in whose house this confederacy was conspired, heeryng that the Chiefetaynes of his Felowship were taken and executed, he goyng betweene the monasterie and his mansion house, for thought fell into a sodaine palsey, and shortly after without any speeche ended his lyfe: After whom the Bishop of Carliſle, more for feare then sickneſſe yeelded his spirite to God, as one desyring to die by deathes darte, rather then by the temporall swoorde.

But now drewe on the time, the Innocent must perishe with the Nocent, and the vngiltie with the giltie: For king Richard being ignorant of this conspiracie and kept in miserable captiuitie, was by king Henry adiudged to die, for ꝑ he would delyuer himself of al inward feare of his enemies, wherfore some write that he commaunded him to be slaine, & others say that he was agreeable therevnto, and some others affirme that he knewe not of it, vntill it was done: But howsoeuer it was, kyng Richard dyed of a violent death: And one writer sayth that king Henry sitting at hys table, and fore sighing sayde, haue I no saythfull friende that will delyuer me from him whose lyfe will be my death, and whose death will be the preseruation of my life? Thys saiyng was noted of them that were present, and specially of one called Sir Piers of Exton. This knight incontinently departed the Court wyth eyght talle persons with him, and came to Pomfret, commaundyng that the Esquire which was accustomed to serue, and take the assaye before king Richard, should no more vse that maner of seruice, saiyng: let him eate well nowe, for he shall not long eate. King Richard sate downe to dyner, and was serued without curtesie or assaye, he much marueylyng of the sodaine

The death of king Richard the second.

sodaine mutation of the thing, demaunded of the Esquyre why he did not his duetie? Sir sayde he, I am otherwise commaunded by sir Piers of Exton, which is newly come from King Henry. When he heard that word, he toke the carueng knyfe in his hande, and strake the Esquire on the head, saiyng, the Deuill take Henry of Lancaster and thee together: and with that word Sir Piers entered into the Chamber well armed, with eyght talle men in harneys, euery man hauing a byll in his hande. King Richarde perceyuing them armed, knew well that they came to his confusion, and putting the table from him, valiauntly tooke the byll out of the first mans hande, and manfully defended himselfe, and slewe foure of them in a short space. Sir Piers beyng some what dismayed with his resistyng, lept into the Chayre where king Richard was wont to sit, while the other foure persons chased him about the Chamber, which being vnarmed defended himselfe against his enemies that were armed (which was a valiaunt acte) but in conclusion he came by the Chayre where Sir Piers stoode, who with a stroke of his Pollax felled him to the ground, and soone after was rid out of his lyfe in this worlde. When this knight perceyued that he was dead, he lamented and sayde: O Lorde, what haue we done? we haue murdered him whome by the space of xxij. yeres we obeyed and honoured as our souereigne Lorde, nowe will all Noble men abhorre vs, and all good men hate vs, and poynt at vs as the murderers of a noble Prince. Thus haue you heard the death and ende of king Richard the second as the best authours report of it.

When King Richard had thus ended his lyfe, he was then embaulmed, and seared, and couered with lead, all saue his face (to the entent that all men might perceyue that he was departed out of this lyfe) and was conueyed to London, and so to the Tower, and from thence through London to the Cathedrall Church of Saint Paule, and there remayned three dayes, that all the people might see him, and from thence he was conueyed to Langley in Buckyngham shire, where he was buryed: And afterwarde by king Henry the fift, was remoued to Westminster, and there honourably entombed wyth Queene Anne his wyfe.

King Richard first buried at Langley, and after remoued to Westminster.

Now newes were first brought to the French King, how King Richard was deposed of his Kingdome, at the which the sayde French king wondered not a little, and cryed out of the shamefull doyng thereof, that an annointed king, and crowned Prince should be so vilye vsed: But the French king was not so much agreeued, but Walleram Erle of Saint Paule, which had maryed king Richardes halfe sister, was muche more grieued, who beyng moued with highe disdeine agaynst king Henrie, ceased not to prouoke the Frenche king and his counsaile, to make sharpe warre vpon England, to reuenge the iniury and dishonour committed and done to his sonne in law king Richard, and he himselfe sent letters of defiance into England: Which thing was soone agreed vnto, and an armie royall appoynted with all speede to inuade England. This armie was come downe into Picardie, readie to bee transported into Englande: But when it was certeinly certefyed that king Richard was dead, and that theyr enterprice for his deliuerance was vaine, the armie was discharged, and euery man returned to his home. But shortly after, the French king gathered another great power, & entred the Duchy of Aquitaine and Gascoyn, and thought there to haue greatly preuayled. But king

The French king sendeth his letters of defiance vnto the king.

king Henry beyng aduertised of all the Frenche attemptes, sent the Lorde Thomas Percey Erle of Worcester with a goodly crewe of Souldiours into Acquitaine to ayde and assist Sir Thomas Knolles his Lieutenant there, and to perswade and exhort the people to continue in their auncient libertie, and due obeysance. When the Erle was there arryued, he so wisely entreated the noble men, and perswaded the Magistrates of Cities and Townes, and so gently and familiarly vsed himselfe to the common people, that he not onely appeased theyr furie and malice, which they had conceyued agaynst king Henry, for the death & destruction of king Richard, but also he brought them to an vniforme obeysance, receiuyng of them othes of obedience, which done, he returned againe into England with great thankes.

When king Charles of Fraunce perceyued that his purpose and attempt came to no good conclusion in Acquitain, and that king Richard beyng dead, his enterprice into England would be to no purpose, he determined with him selfe howe to haue the Ladie Isabell his daughter, which was espoused to king Richard, to be restored home to him againe: And for that purpose he sent a solempne Ambassade into England to king Henry, which gently receyued them, and gaue aunswere that he would shortly send his Commissioners to Calice, which should further common and conclude with them, not onelye vpon that request, but also of dyuerse other matters of great importance.

An Ambassade sent from the French king to the king of England.

And shortly after their departyng, he sent Edward Duke of Yorke before called Duke of Aumerle, which succeded in the sayde Duchie his father Edmond Duke of Yorke, a little before deceassed, and Henry Erle of Northumberlande into the Countie of Guysnes, and there they mette with the Frenche Commissioners, who assembled together dyuerse tymes and in dyuerse places.

The Duke of Burbon aboue all thinges, required in the name of the French king his maister, to haue Queene Isabell to him deliuered: But the English men denyed that, and required to haue her to be maryed to Henrie Prince of Wales, a man both in blood and age to her in all thinges equall: But the French king vtterly refused that maryage, saiyng that he would neuer ioyne affinitie againe with the Englishe Nation, because that the allyaunce had such infortunate successe.

Then they beganne to entreate a continuall peace, which request the French men refused, and in conclusion they agreed that the truce which was taken betwene them and king Richard for the terme of.xxx.yeres, was renued and confirmed: But some write that a new league was then concluded to continue the lues of both the Princes, which should appere to be true. For the king of England sent shortly after the aforesayd Ladie Isabell (vnder the conduct of the Lorde Thomas Percey Erle of Worcester, beyng associate with many noble and honourable personages, aswell women, as men, hauyng wyth her all the Jewelles, Ornamentes, and Plate, with a great furplusage geuen to her by the king, which she brought into Englād) in solemne estate vnto Calice, and there shee was deliuered to Waleran Erle of saint Paule Lieutenant for the French king in Picardie, and so conueied to her father, which gaue her in maryage to Charles, sonne to Lewes Duke of Orliaunce. The French men often tymes required king Henry to assigne vnto her a dower, but all was in vaine, for the Englishemen aunswered, that the

The Ladye Isabell and wife of king Richard is sent home to her father the French king.

the matrimony was neuer consummate, by reason wherof, she was not dowable by the very treaty of the mariage concluded, and so this matter cessed and was no more moued.

Nowe as the olde prouerbe sayth, after winde commeth raine, and after one euill commonly ensueth another: So duryng this tyme that king Henry was vexed and vnquieted, both within the Realme and without, Owen Glendor a squier of Wales, perceyuyng the realme to be vnquieted, and the king not very well setled in his Kingdome, purposed to take vpon him the principalitie of Wales, and the name & preheminence of the same: and what with faire flatteryng wordes, and large promises, he inuegled and allured an vndiscrete number of Welshe men, who tooke him for theyr Prince, and made to him an othe of allegeance and subiection. And beyng thus aduaunced and supported, he made sharpe and cruell warre vpon Reignold Lorde Gray of Rithen, and tooke him prisoner, promisyng him libertie, and that he would discharge his raunsome if he would take his daughter in mariage, thinkyng by that affinitie to haue great ayde, and to be of a great power in Wales. The Lord Gray beyng not very riche, neyther of substaunce nor of friendes, consideryng this offer to be the onely way of his relefe and deliueraunce, assented to his pleasure, and maryed the Damosell: But this false father in lawe kept him with his wife still in prison vntill he dyed: And not content with this heynous offence, he also made warre vpon the Lorde Edmond Mortimer, Erle of Marche, and in his awne Lordship of Wigmore, where in a conflict he slue many of the Erles men, and toke him prisoner, and fettered him in Cheynes, and cast him in a deepe and miserable Dungeon. The king was requyred to purchase his deliueraunce, by dyuerse of the Nobilitie, but he would not here on that syde, but rather desyred and wished all his linage in heauen, for then his title had beene out of all doubt & question.

Owen Glendor glorifiyng in himself for these two victories, inuaded the Marches of Wales on the west syde of Seuerne, robbed Villages, brent townes, and slue the people, and beyng laden with prayes and bloody hands returned againe into Wales, neuer ceassyng to doe mischiefe vntill the next yere that the king raysed a great armie and puyssaunce, to resist and defende his malicious attemptes, as after shall be declared.

Owen Glendor rebelleth.

Edmond Mortimer taken and imprisoned.

And in this first yere also this realme was not only troubled with Ciuile sedition, and the craftie practises of the Frenchmen, and great trouble of the Welchmen, but also of the Scottes with all their power armed themselues agaynst thys king Henry, the occasion whereof was, that George of Dunbare Erle of the Marches of the realme, made meanes vnto king Robert of Scotland that Dauid hys eldest sonne might marie the Erles daughter called Elizabeth, and delyuered for the same mariage into the kings handes a great some of money. When Archibald Erle Douglas heard of thys conclusion, he disdeyning the Erle of Marches blood to be aduaunced before hys stock, did eyther by fayre wordes or else by disbursing a greater some of money, so enuegle king Robert of Scotlande, that Dauid his heyre refusyng the first damosel, maried the Erle Douglas daughter: The Erle of March desyred restitution of his money, to whome the king gaue many trifelyng answers, the which he tooke in so euill parte, that he with his wyfe fled into Englande vnto Henry Erle of Northumberlande, entending to be reuenged

Ciuile sedition.

ged vpon the king of Scotlande, and with the helpe of the borderers, brent dyuers townes, and slue many persons within the realme of Scotland.

Kyng Robert beyng hereof aduertised, first depriued the Erle George of all his dignities and possessions, and caused his goodes to be confiscate, and then wrote to the king of England earnestly beseeching him, if he would haue the truce any lenger to continue, eyther to delyuer into his possession the Erle of March, and other Traytors and rebels to his person and realme or else to banish and exile them out of his realme and dominions. King Henry aunswered discretely the Herault of Scotland, that the worde of a prince ought to be kept, and hys writyng and seale ought to be inuiolate: And consydering that he had graunted a saufe conduyt vnto the Erle and hys company, he would neyther without cause reasonable breake his promise, nor yet deface his honour, which aunswere beyng declared to the king of Scottes, he incontinent did proclayme open warre against the king of England, with bloud, fyre and sworde.

War proclaymed by the Scottes agaynst England.

King Henry forthwith gathering together a great puyssance & army, entered into Scotland brennyng and spoyling townes, Villages and Castels, sparyng nothing but Religious houses and Churches, and brent a great parte of the townes of Edenborough and Lyth, and besieged the Castell of Maydens in Endenborough in the ende of September, whereof was Captain Dauid Duke of Rothsay, and Prince of the realme, and Archibald Erle Douglas wyth many hardy men. Robert Duke of Albany beyng appoynted Gouernour of the Realme, because the king was sick and vnapt to rule, sent vnto king Henry an Herauld, assuryng hym on hys honour that if he would abyde and tary hys commyng, which should be wythin fiue dayes at the most, he would geue hym battayle, and remoue the siege, or else die for it.

Robert Duke of Albany promiseth to fight with King Henryes power.

The king being glad of these newes, rewarded the Herault with a Gowne of silke, and a chayne of Golde, promising him in the worde of a Prince, not to depart thence, but to abide there the comming of the Gouernour. The first daye passed, ye fiue and fortene to, the Gouernour neyther appered nor sent worde, the Wynter waxed colde, victuall fayled, men dyed of the Flure, and it rayned euery day so abundauntly, that hunger and colde caused the king to breake vp hys siege, and to depart out of Scotland without battayle or skirmiche offered: duryng which time both the Wardeynes of the Marches beyng with the king, the Scottes made a roade into Northumberland, and burned diuerse townes in Bamborough shyre, and shortly returned againe, or else they had bene trapped and come to late home.

When the king of Englande had dismyssed his souldyours and discharged his armie, the Scottes entendyng to be reuenged of their great dammages to them by the English nation done & committed by the Erle Douglas, appoynted two Armies to inuade Englande. Of the first was Chiefetaine syr Thomas Halibarton of Dirlton, and Patrike Hebborne of Hales, which made a road into England, and returned with little losse and no great gayne. After this the afforesayde Sir Patrike Hebborne, encouraged with the prosperous successe of his first iourney, with a great armie of the people of Lowdian, inuaded Northumberland, robbyng and spoyling of the countrie, and departed homeward, not without great gayne of beastes and captiues: But by the waye he was encountered with the Erle of Northumberlands

The Scots inuade England.

lands vice Wardeyn, and other gentlemen of the borders, at a towne in Northumberlande called Nesbit, and there the Englishmen fore assayled, and the Scottes valiauntly resisted, but after a long fight the victorie fell on the Englishe part, and as John Maior the Scot writeth, there were slaine the Flowre of all Lowdian, and specially syr Patrike Hebburne with many of hys lynage. There were apprehended Syr John, and Wyllyam Corkborne, syr Robert of Bas, John and Thomas Hablincton Esquiers, and a great number of the common people. The Erle Douglas beyng sore greued with the losse of his Nation and friendes, and entending to requite the same if it were possible, did by the consent of the gouernour of Scotland gather together an armie of twentie thousand talle men and mo. In the which armie the Lorde Mordack Erle of Fiffe, sonne to the Gouernour of Scotlande, the Erle of Angus, and many other Erles and Barons of the Nobilitie of Scotland. These valyaunt Captaines and courageous Souldyours entered into Northumberland, with baners displayed lyke men that thought themselues hable to spoyle the whole Countrie of Northumberland. Now when they were entred into Englande, thinking no puyssaunce hable to encounter with their force, sodainely there issued out of a Valey beside a towne called Homelden, the Lorde Henry Percy, whom the Scottes for his haut and valyaunt courage, called Sir Henry Hotspurre, and in his companie the Lorde George of Dunbarre Erle of Marche before banished Scotlande, as you haue heard, with all the Gentlemen of Northumberlande, and eyght thousand men on horsback and on foote: The encounter was sharpe, the fight was daungerous and doubtfull, but in the ende the victorie chaunced to the Englishe nation, and there were slaine of the Scottes of men of great renoune and estimation, Sir John Swynton, Sir Adam Gordon, Sir John Leyston, Sir Alexander Ramsey of Dalehouse, and. xxiij. knightes mo, beside ten thousand of the common people. And there were taken prisoners, Mordack Erle of Fiffe, Archibald Erle Douglas, Thomas Erle of Murrey, Robert Erle of Angus, and as some writers affirme, the Erle of Athell, and Wenteth with fiue hundreth other.

The Scots are discomfited.

Sir Henry Hotspurre.

The Scots agayne ouerthrowne.

When the Lorde Percy had obteyned this great victorie, he sent his prisoners into dyuers Fortresses, and determyned to subdue or destroy all the Countries of Lowdian and Marche, whose heades and Gouernours eyther he had slaine, or by force taken Captiues. And so with a great power entered into Tiuedale, wastyng and destroyeng the whole Countrie, and there besieged the Castell of Corlaues, whereof was Captaine Sir John Grenelow, who seyng that his Castell was not long hable to be defended, fell to composition with the Englishmen, that if the Castell were not succored within three Moneths, that then he would delyuer it into the Englishmens handes.

Tiuedale.

The Captaine thereof wrote vnto the Gouernour, which callyng a great counsayle, the most parte aduised hym rather frankly and freely to yeelde the Castell, then to put in ieopardie the remnaunt of the Nobilitie of Scotlande: So muche was their courages abated and cooled wyth the remembraunce of the last conflict and battayle: But the Gouernour rebuking their feynt and cowardly hearts, sware that if no man would follow of the Nobilitie, he would doe his deuoyre to reskew the Castell at that daye.

But

But this othe was neyther kept noꝛ bꝛoken, foꝛ he little pꝛeparing and leſſe entendyng the othe which he ſolemply made, neuer ſet foote foꝛward duryng the firſt two Moneths, foꝛ the reyſing of the ſiege, oꝛ reſcuyng of the Caſtell. But the Engliſhmen being ſent foꝛ to go with the king into Wales, rayſed their ſiege and departed, leauyng the noble men pꝛiſoners ſtill with the Erle of Noꝛthumberland, and the Lorde Percy his ſonne, which by the king were commaunded to keepe them to his vſe, and not to delyuer them without his aſſent.

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The king maketh pꝛouiſion to enter into wales.

The king now purpoſing his iourney and enterpꝛiſe into Wales, made great pꝛouiſion both foꝛ men, munition and artillery meete foꝛ ſuche a buſineſſe, whereof the Frenche king beyng aduertiſed, ſent pꝛiuilye the Lorde James of Burbone Erle of Marche, & his two bꝛethen, John and Lewes with .xij. hundꝛed knightes and Eſquiers, to ayde Owen Glendoꝛ againſt king Henry, and the ſayde James of Burbone with his companye tooke ſhipping wyth .xxx. ſayle at the mouth of Seyn, and the winde not beyng fauourable to his purpoſe, could not appꝛoche to the coaſt of Wales, but came beforе the towne of Plymmouth in Deuonſhire, and there leauing his great ſhippes lyeng at Anker, in the night tooke lande, and bꝛent, ſpoyled and deſtroyed dyuers ſmall Villages and pooꝛe cottages, and robbed fiue oꝛ ſixe little Crayers and fiſher boates laden with Fiſhe and coꝛne. But while he and his companye lyke greedy Wolues were ſeeking after their pꝛaye, the winde aroſe high, and a great tempeſtuous rage and furious ſtoꝛme ſodainly fluſhed and dꝛowned .xij. of his great ſhippes, which laye in the mouth of the hauen foꝛ his ſafegarde and defenſe. Whereof when the Erle was aduertiſed, and perceauing by the fyꝛing of the Beacons that the people begaune to aſſemble in plumpes to encounter with him, and alſo ſeyng his power ſoꝛe diminiſhed, as well by the ſlaughter of ſuche as raunged abꝛoade in hope of ſpoyle and pꝛaye, as by the furious rage of the vnmercifull ſea, and hydeous tempeſt, with much paine and great labour tooke his ſhippes againe, and was not without great ieopardie of his lyfe dꝛiuen on the Coaſt of Bꝛiteyn, and landed at Saint Malos. The French king perceauyng that this iourney had euill ſucceſſe, appointed one of his Marſhalles called Memoꝛancy, and the Maſter of his Croſſbowes, with .xij. thouſande men to ſayle into Wales, which tooke ſhipping at Bꝛeſt, and had the winde to them ſo pꝛoſperous that they landed at Milfoꝛd Hauen, and leauing the Caſtell of Pembꝛooke vnaſſaulted, becauſe it was well foꝛtefyed, manned and victualled, beſieged the towne of Herffoꝛd Weſt, which was ſo well defended by the Erle of Arondell and his power that they much moꝛe loſt then gayned. And from thence they departed towarde Owen Glendoꝛ, whome they named Pꝛince of Wales, and founde him at the towne of Denbigh abyding their comming with ten thouſand men. They were of him louingly receaued and gently enterteyned: And when all thinges were pꝛepared, they paſſed by Glamoꝛgan ſhire toward Woꝛceſter, and there bꝛent the Suburbes: But hering of the kings appꝛochyng, they ſodainely returned into Wales. The king with a great puyſſaunce folowed and found them enbattailed on a high Mountayne, and a great valey betwene both the armies, ſo that eche army playnely perceaued other, and euery hoſte looked to be aſſaulted of hys aduerſary, and of the grounde to take the moſt aduauntage: Thus they contynued

The French king aydeth Owen Glendoꝛ.

The French king aydeth the welſhmē againſt king Henry.

Herffoꝛd Weſt beſieged

nued eyght dayes together from moꝛning to night readie to abide, but not to geue battayle. There were many fierce ſkirmiſhes, and many pꝛoper feates of armes daylie done, which the French Chꝛonicles moꝛe then the Engliſhe can repoꝛte. Foꝛ there were ſlayne the Lorde Patrioles of Tries, bꝛother to the Marſhall of Fraunce, the Lorde Mattelone, and the Lorde Vale, and the Baſtard of Burbone with fiue hundꝛeth gentlemen.

Skirmiſhes with the French.

The Frenchmen and Welſhmen were ſoꝛe troubled and afflicted wyth famine, that their hartes and courages were ſoꝛe abated, foꝛ the king had ſo ſtopped the paſſages, that neyther victuall noꝛ ſuccour could by any waye be conueyed vnto them: wherefoꝛe of very neceſſitie they were compelled eyther to fight oꝛ flee, and ſo by the aduiſement and counſayle of the Marſhall of Fraunce, which put not to much confidence in the wauering Welſhmen, the whole hoſt departed the eyght day, in the ſecreteſt maner that they could deuyſe. The Frenchmen with little rewardes and ſmall gayne returned into Bꝛiteyn, making ſmall boaſt of their painefull iourney.

The Frenchmen returne againe into Fraunce with little gayne, and leſſe woꝛſhip

When the king perceaued them thus departed, he followed them and chaced them from hill to dale, and from one place to another, but all in vaine, and perceyuing then the time of the yere to be paſſed, and ſeyng that as then he could doe no good, he returned agayne to Woꝛceſter, and there diſperſed his armie, and returned agayne to London.

A rumour ſpread abꝛode that king Richard was alyue.

While the king was occupyed in Wales, as afoꝛeſayde, certeine lewde and ſedicious perſons had blaſed abꝛoade & noyſed that king Richard (which openly was ſeene deade) was yet liuyng, and deſyred ayde of the common people, to repoſſeſſe his realme and royal dignitie: And foꝛ the better blaſing of this falſe rumoꝛ abꝛoade, they ſet vp vpon poſtes, and caſt about the ſtretes, ſundꝛie moſt ſlaunderous and ſedicious billes and rymes, againſt king Henrie, and his pꝛoceedyngs. The king beyng not a little offended with theſe malicious doynges, cauſed diligent ſearche to be made foꝛ the aucthoꝛs thereof, and amongeſt other, there was found out, Sir Roger Claringdon knight, and .viij. gray Friers, which accoꝛdyng to theyꝛ deſertes were put to execution at Tybꝛne.

Sir Roger Claringdon knight.

And here is to be ſhewed that king Henry nowe ſeekyng friendſhip and affinitie in Germanie, ſent this yere his eldeſt daughter Blaunche, accompanied with the Erle of Somerſet, the Biſhop of Woꝛceſter, and the Lorde Cliffoꝛd, and other Noble perſonages into Almaine: which bꝛought her to Coleyn, and there with great tꝛyumph ſhe was maryed to William Duke of Bauier, ſonne and heyꝛe to Lewes of Bauier the Emperour, in the which yere alſo dyed Ladie Katheryn Swynſfoꝛd, the third wife of John of Gaunt Duke of Lancaſter, father to this king Henrie, and was buried at Lincolne.

Blaunch the eldeſt daughter of king Henry, maried to ỹ Duke of Bauier.

In the ſayde yere king Henrie maried Jane Duches of Bꝛiteyne, late wife to John Duke of Bꝛiteyne, at the Citie of Wincheſter, and with all tꝛyumphant pompe conueyed her thꝛough the Citie of London to Weſtminſter, and there ſhe was cꝛowned Quene.

King Henry maried to Jane Duches of Bꝛiteyne.

While theſe thinges were thus in doyng in England, Waleram Erle of Saint Paule, which had maryed the halfe ſiſter of king Richard, hauyng a deadly hatred to king Henrie, aſſembled a great armie, wherein (as ſayth maiſter Hall) were .xvj. thouſand men, and a great number of the ſame were Noble men, and after he toke ſhippyng at Harflet, and landed in the Ile of Wight:

Waleram Erle of ſaint Paule entereth England with a power.

Wight: And when he sawe no appearance of defence, he burned two poore villages, and foure simple Cottages, and for great tryumph of this noble acte, he made foure knightes: But sodeynly, when he was aduertised by his espyalles, that the people of the Isle were assembled and approched to fight with him, he with all possible hast tooke his ships and returned home againe, wherewith the noble men of his companie was much discontent and displeased, consideryng that his prouision was great, and his gaine small or none. And at this present tyme, John Erle of Cleremont, sonne to the Duke of Burbon, wonne in Gascoyne, the Castelles of Saint Peter, Saint Marie, and the newe Castell: And the Lorde Delabreth wonne the Castel of Carlaffin, which was no small losse to the English Nacion: Duryng which time dyed Philip Duke of Burgoyn, & Duke Albert of Bauier Erle of Henault.

Philip duke of Burgoyn dead.

In the ende of this yere dyed Geoffrey Chawcer, the most excellentest Poet that euer was in England, deceased the.xxb. day of October, and lyeth buryed in the bodie of the Church of Westminster, on the Southsyde neere vnto the Clocke. And the same yere also dyed that excellent Poet John Gowze, who lyeth buryed in Saint Audries Church in Southwarke, and he buylded a great part of the same Church.

Geoffrey Chawcer.

John Gowze

1401

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This yere appered a Comete or blasing starre of a great and huge quātitie, which some expounded to signifye great effusion of mans blood, and the same proued true, as after ye shal here. For Henry Erle of Northumberland, and Thomas Erle of Worcester his brother, and his sonne Lorde Henrye Percye, called Hottespurre, which were to king Henrie in the beginnyng of his reigne both friendes and ayders, perceyuyng now that the king had pacified all ciuile sedition, and repressed his enemies, & had brought his realme to a conuenient quietnesse, they began nowe somewhat to enuy his glorye, and grudged at his wealth and felicitie: And specially grieued, because the king demaunded of the Erle and his sonne, such Scottishe prisoners as they had taken at the Conflictes fought at Homeldon and Nesbit, as you before haue heard. For of all the Captiues which were then taken, there was deliuered to the Kinges possession, onely Mordake Erle of Fiffe, sonne to the Duke of Albany, Gouernour of Scotland: For the king diuerse and sundry tymes requyred them of the Erle and his sonne, but the Percyes affyrmyng them to be theyr awne proper prysoners, and theyr peculiar prayes, did vtterly denie to deliuer them, insomuch, that the king openly sayd, that if they would not deliuer them, he would take them without deliueraunce. Wherewith they beyng sore discontent, by the counsaile of Lorde Thomas Percey Erle of Worcester, whose studie was euer to procure malice, and to set all thinges in broyle and vncerteintie, fayrnyng a cause to proue and tempt the king, came to him to Windsore, requyrying him by raunsome or otherwise, to cause to be deliuered out of prison, Edmond Mortimer Erle of March their Cossyn Germaine, whome (as they reported) Owen Glendor kept in fylthie prison, chaineled with Irons, onely for that he tooke the kinges part, and was to him faythfull and true. The king began not a little to muse on this request, and not without cause, for in dede it touched him as nere as his shirt, for that he was so neere of the blood of king Richard, and had good cause to make clayme to the Crowne. For this Edmond was sonne to Erle Roger, which was sonne to Ladie Philip, daughter to Lionell Duke of Clarence, the

A blasyng starre.

Henry Erle of Northumberland & the Erle of Worcester. &c. begin to rebell.

the third sonne to king Edward the third, which Edmond at King Richardes goyng into Ireland was proclaymed heyre apparant to the Crowne of the realme, whose Aunt called Elianor this Lord Percey had maryed. And therfore the king little forced although that lynage were clerely subuerted, and vtterly extinct.

When the king had well aduised vpon and considered this matter, hee made aunswere and sayde, that the Erle of Marche was not taken prisoner neyther for his cause, nor in his seruice, but willyngly suffered himselfe to be taken, the which fraude the king caused to be openly published, and this aunswere pleased nothing the Erle of Worcester, but put him in a great choler and chafe, and departed in a great rage and fume, insomuch ỹ syr Henry Hottespurre sayde afterwardes openly: Beholde the heyre of the realme is robbed of his right, and the robber with hys awne will not redeeme him. And nowe the Percies disposed and bent themselues in all that they myght vtterly to depose king Henry, and to restore theyr Cossyn Edmond Erle of Marche vnto the Crowne and Diademe of the realme, whome they shortly after not onely deliuered out of the Captiuitie of Owen Glendor, but also entred into a league and amitie with the sayde Owen agaynst king Henrie and all his friendes, to the great displeasure and long vnquietyng of kyng Henry and his partakers.

The Lorde Percey & his brother redeme Edmond Mortimer Erle of March and pay his raūsome.

And here sayth Hall, that the aforesayd Owen Glendor, and the Erle of Marche, and the Percyes were greatly abused and deceyued by a Welshe Prophecier, who made them to beleue, that king Henrye was the Moldewarpe cursed of Gods awne mouth, and that they three were the Dragon, the Lyon, and the Wolfe, which should deuide this realme betwene them by the prophecie of Mawmet Marlyn: But in the ende all turned to their confusion and destruction, and specially of Owen Glendor, and the Lord Percey: For the Erle of March was euer kept in the Court, vnder such a keper, that he could neyther do, nor attempt any thyng agaynst the king, without his knowledge, and dyed without issue, leauyng his right title and interest to Anne his sister and heyre, maryed to Richard Erle of Cambridge father to the Duke of Yorke, whose offspring in continuance of tyme obteyned the game, and gat the garland.

Edmonde Mortimer Erle of March dyed without issue

King Henrye nowe knowyng of this Confederacie, and nothing lesse mindyng then that which hapned after, gathered a great armie to go againe into Wales, whereof the Erle of Northumberland and his sonne were aduertised by Lord Thomas Erle of Worcester, and with all the diligence that they could, raysed all the power that they could make, and sent to the Scots which before were taken prisoners for ayde of men, and promisyng the Erle Douglas the towne of Barwike, and a parte of Northumberland, and to other Scottishe Lordes great Lordships and Seigniories, if they obteyned the vpper hand and superiorytie. The Scottes allured with desyre of gaine, and for no malice that they bare to king Henry, but yet somewhat desirous to be reuenged of theyr olde grieues, came to the Erle with a great companie: And to make their cause to seeme good and iust, they deuysed certeyne Articles by the aduyse of Richarde Scrope Archebishoppe of Yorke, brother to the Lord Scrope, whome King Henry caused to be behedded at Bristow, as you haue heard before: which Articles they shewed to dyuerse noble men

The Percies rayse a power against king Henry.

and Prelates of the realme, which fauouring and consentyng to the purpose, promised them ayde, not onely by wordes, but also by writyng. Howbeit, whether it were for feare, eyther for that they would be lookers on, and no deede doers, neyther promise by worde nor by writyng was performed: For at the day of conflict, all the confederates absented them selues, and left the Erle of Stafford alone, which beyng of a haute courage and hie stomacke kept his promise, and ioyned with the Percies to his destruction.

The Lord Percey, with the Erle Douglas, & other the Erles of Scotland, with a great armie departed out of the North partes, leauyng hys father sicke (which promised vpon his amendment and recouerie, without delay to followe) and came to Stafford, where his Uncle the Erle of Worcester and he met, and there began to consult vpon their great affayres, and there also they exhorted theyr Souldiours to spare no trauaile for the libertie of theyr Countrie, protestyng openly that they made warre onely to restore the noble realme of England to his accustomed glory and freedome, which was gouerned by a tyraunt, and not by his lawful and right king. The Capteynes sware, and the Souldiours promised to fight, yea and to dye for the libertie of their Countrie.

When all thinges were prepared, they set forward towarde Wales, lokyng euery houre for new ayde and succours. The king heryng of the Erles approchyng, thought it pollecy to encounter with them before that the Welsh men should ioyne with their armie, and therefore returned sodeinlye to the towne of Shrewesburie. He was scantly entred into the towne, but he was by hys Postes aduertised that the Erles with Baners displayed, and battails raunged, were commyng towarde him, and were so hote and courageous, that they with light horses began to skirmish with his hoste. The king perceiuyng theyr doynges, issued out and encamped himselfe without the East gate of the towne. The Erles nothing abashed, although their succors them decepued, embattayled themselues not farre from the kinges armie. And the same night they sent the Articles, whereof is mencion made before, by Thomas Rayton, and Thomas Saluayn Esquiers, to the king, the true Copye whereof, as sayth Hall, doth followe.

The king with his power commeth to Shrewsburie.

Articles pronounced by the Percies against king Henry.

1 We Henry Percie Erle of Northumberlande, high Constable of England, and Warden of the west Marches of the same toward Scotland, Henry Percie oure eldest sonne Wardeyn of the East Marches of Englande towarde Scotland, and Thomas Percie Erle of Worcester beyng Proctours and protectours of the common weale, before our Lorde Jesus Christ oure supreme iudge, doe allege, say, and entend to proue with our handes personally this daye, agaynst thee Henry Duke of Lancaster, thy complices and fauourers, vniustly presuming, and named king of Englande, without title of right, but onely of thy guyle and by force of thy helpers: That when thou after thine exile diddest enter into Englande, thou madest an othe to vs vpon the holy Gospelles, bodely touched and kyssed by thee at Dankaster, that thou wouldest neuer claime the crowne, kingdome, nor state royall, but only thine owne proper inheritaunce, and the inheritaunce of thy wyfe in Englande, and that Richarde our souereigne Lorde and king and thine, should reigne during the time of his lyfe, gouerned by the good counsayle of the Lordes Spirituall and Temporall. Thou hast imprisoned the same thy souereigne

uereigne Lorde, and our king within the tower of London, vntill he had for feare of death resigned his kingdomes of Englande and Fraunce, and had renounced all his right, in the aforesayde kingdomes, and other his dominions and landes of beyond the sea. Under colour of which resignation and renunciation by the counsayle of thy friends and complices, and by the open noysing of the raskall people, by thee and thine adherents assembled at Westmynster, thou hast crowned thy selfe of the realmes aforesayde, and hast seazed and entered into all the Castels and Lordships perteyning to the kings crowne, contrarie to thine othe, wherfore thou art forsworne & false.

2 Also we doe allege, saye and entend to proone, that where thou sworeste vpon the same Gospels in the same place and time to vs, that thou wouldest not suffer any dismes to be leuyed of the clergie, nor fiftenes on the people, nor any other tallages nor tares to be leuyed in the realme of Englande, to the behofe of the realme during thy lyfe, but by the consideration of the three estates of the realme, except for great neede in causes of importaunce or for the resistaunce of our enemies, onely, and none otherwise. Thou contrary to thine othe so made, hast done to be leuied right many dismes and fiftenes and other impositions and tallages, as well of the Clergie, as of the commonaltie of the realme of England, and of the Marchaunts, for feare of thy Maiestie royall, wherefore thou art periured and false.

3 Also we doe allege, saye and entend to proue, that where thou sworeste to vs vpon the same Gospels in the aforesayde place and time, that oure souereigne Lorde and thine, king Richard should reigne during the terme of his lyfe in his royall prerogatiue and dignitie: Thou hast caused the same oure souereigne Lorde and thine, traytorously wythin the Castell of Pomffret, without the consent or iudgement of the Lordes of the Realme, by the space of.xv. dayes, and so many nightes (which is horrible among christian people to be heard) with hunger, thirst and colde to perishe, to be murdered, wherfore thou art periured and false.

4 Also we doe allege, saye and entende to proone, that thou at that tyme when our souereigne Lord and thine, King Richard was so by that horrible murder dead as aboue sayde, thou by extorte power diddest vsurpe, and take the kingdome of Englande, and the name, and the honour of the kingdome of Fraunce vniustly and wrongfully, contrary to thine othe from Edmonde Mortymer Erle of Marche, and of Ulster, then nexte and direct heyre of Englande and of Fraunce, immediately by due course of inheritaunce after the decease of the aforesayde Richarde, wherefore thou art periured & falke.

5 Also we doe allege, saye and entend to proue, as aforesayde, that where thou madest an othe in the same place and time to suppoxt and maintayne the lawes and good customes of the realme of Englande: And also afterward at the time of thy coronation, thou madest an othe, the sayd lawes and good customes to keepe, and conserue inuiolate. Thou fraudulently and contrarie to the lawe of England and thy fautours, haue writtен almost thorough euery shyre in Englande to chose such knightes for to holde a parliament, as shall be for thy pleasure and purpose, so that in thy parliamentes no iustice should be ministred against thy minde in these our complaynts now moued & shewed by vs, whereby at any time we might haue perfite redresse: Notwithstanding that we according to our conscience (as we trust ruled by God)

 haue

haue oftentimes thereof complayned, as well can testifie and beare witnesse the right reuerend fathers in God, Thomas Arondell Archbishop of Cauntorbury, and Richard Scrope Archebishop of Yorke: wherefore nowe by force and strength of hand before our Lorde Jesu Christ, we must aske our remedy and helpe.

6 Also we doe allege, saye and entende to prooue, that where Edmonde Mortimer Erle of Marche & Ulster, was taken prisoner by Owen Glendor, in a pitched and foughten fielde, and cast into prison, and laden with yron fetters for thy matter and cause, whom falsely thou hast proclaymed willingly to yeelde himselfe prisoner to the sayd Owen Glendor, and neyther wouldest delyuer him thy selfe, nor yet suffer vs his kinsmen to raunsome and delyuer him: yet notwithstanding, we haue not onely concluded and agreed with the same Owen for his raunsome at our proper charges and expenses, but also for a peace betweene thee, and the sayde Owen. Why hast thou then not onely published and declared vs as traytors, but also craftely and deceitfullye imagined, purposed and conspired the vtter destruction and confusion of our persons? For the which cause we defie thee, thy ayders and helpers as common Traitors and destroyers of the realme, and the Inuadours, oppressours and confounders of the very true and right heyres to the crowne of Englande, which thing we entende with our handes to proue thys daye, almightie God helping vs.

The kinges answere to the Lordes articles.

When king Henry had read their articles and defiaunce, he aunswered the Esquiers, that he was readie with dent of sworde and fierce battayle, to proue their quarell false and feyned, and not with worpting and slaunderous bylles, and so in his righteous cause and iust quarel, he doubted not but God would both ayde and assist him agaynst vntrue persons, and false forsworne traytors, with which aunswere the messengers departed.

The next daye in the morning early, which was the Euen of Marye Magdalen, the king perceaued that the battayle was neerer then he eyther thought or loked for, therefore least long taryeng might minish or hinder his strength, he did with all speede set his battayles in good order: and lykewise did his enimies, which both in puissaunce and courage was nothing to hym inferior. Then sodainely the Trumpets blewe, and foorthwith the battayles ioyned. The Scottes which had the forward on the Lordes syde, entending to be reuenged of their olde displeasures, done to them by the Englishe nation, set fiercely on the kings forward, that they made them draw back, and had almost put them out of their araye. The Welchmen also, which sith the kings departure out of Wales, had lurcked and lyen in woodes and Mountaynes, hearyng of thys battayle toward, came to the ayde of the Erles, and refreshed the werie people with newe succours. When a fearefull messenger had declared to the king that his people were beaten downe on euerye syde, it was no need to bidde hun sturre, for sodainely he approched with his freshe battayle, and comforted, hartened and encouraged his parte so, that they toke their hartes to them, and manfully fought with their enimies. The Prince that daye holpe much his father, for although he were that daye sore wounded in the face with an arrow, yet he neuer ceassed either to fight wher the battayle was most strongest, or to encourage them who seemed to him to faynt. Thys sore and fierce battayle continued three long houres with indifferent

The battaile of Shrewsburye.

different fortune on both parts: but at the last the king crying victory, brake the array, and entered into the battayle of his enemies, and fought fiercely, and entered so farre into the battayle, that the Lorde Douglas strake hun downe, and slue Syr Walter Blunt, and three other apparelled in the kings suite and clothing, saying: I marueil to see so many kings to arise so sodainely agayne, but sone after the king was reysed agayne, and that daye he did many a Noble feate of armes. For the Scottes write, and Frenche men also, though the Englishmen keepe silence, that he himselfe slue with his awne handes that daye. xxvj. of his enimies, and the other of his parte encouraged by his doings fought valyauntly, and slue the Lorde Percy called Sir Henry Hotspurre, the best Captaine on the parte aduerse, and when his death was knowne, they fled and happie was he that was formost. And in that flight the Erle Douglas fallyng from the cragge of a Mountayne brake one of his stones, and so was taken, and for his valyauntnesse was of the king freely and frankely deliuered. There was taken also Sir Thomas Percy Erle of Worcester and dyuers other. On the kings parte were slaine Sir Walter Blont, and.xvj. hundreth other persons: But on the parte of the rebels were slayne the Erle of Stafford, the Lorde Percy, and aboue. v. thousand other, and as for the Scottes fewe or none escaped alyue.

Sir Henry Hotspurre is slaine.

The king obtayneth a great victory of his Lordes.

After this great victory by the king obteined, he first rendred his humble and harty thanks to God almightie, & caused the Erle of Worcester the next morow after to be drawne hanged and quartered in the towne of Shrewsburye, and his head to be sent to London, and there set vpon a pole vpon London bridge, and the same time also were many moe Captaynes executed in the sayde place. And this being done, the king lyke a valyaunt Conquerour returned to London with great pompe, where he was by the Magistrates of the Citie most solemply receaued, and ioyfully welcommed. But here a little to returne, before his departure from Shrewesburie he not forgetting his enterprise agaynst Owen Glendor, sent into Wales with a great armie Prince Henry his eldest sonne agaynst the sayde Owen, and hys seditious complices, which being dismayed and in a manner desperate of all comfort, by the reason of the kings late victorie, fled into desert places and solitarie Caues, where he receyued a finall rewarde, meete and prepared by Gods prouydence for such a rebell and sedicious seducer. For being destitute of all comfort, and dreading to shewe his face to any creature, lacking meate to sustaine nature, for pure hunger and lack of foode, miserably ended his wretched lyfe. Nowe after that the death of Owen was knowne to the Prince, and that the Prince with little labour, and lesse losse had tamed and bridled the furious rage of the wylde Welchmen, and had left Gouernours to rule and gouerne the countrie, he returned to his father with great honor and no small prayse.

Owen Glendor being forsaken of all people, dyed by hunger and famine.

The Erle of Northumberland heeryng of the ouerthrowe of hys brother and sonne, came of his awne free will to the kyng, excusyng himselfe as one neyther partie nor knowyng of theyr doyng nor enterprise: The king neyther accused him, nor helde him excused, but dissembled the matter for two causes, one was, he had Barwike in his possession, which the king rather desyred to haue by pollicy, then by force: The other was, that the Erle had his Castelles of Alnewyke, Warckworth, and other, fortefyed with Scottes, so that

that if the Erle were apprehended, all Northumberlande were in ieopardye to become Scottiche: For these causes the king gaue him fayre wordes, and let him depart home, where he continued in peace a while, but after rebelled as ye shall here.

The buyldyng of the Conduit in Cornehill.

And in this tyme, at the charges of the Citie of London, where before there was a certeine prison in Cornehill called the Tonne, they nowe buylded in the same place a fayre Conduyt, which at this day is called the Conduyt in Cornehyll.

1402
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Walerain Erle of saint Paule once againe assayleth king Henry the fourth.

This yere Walleram Erle of Saint Paule, considerynge that he had defyed king Henrye, and also that he had made dyuerse voyages, and done little dammage to the Englishe Nation, but had susteyned much losse, and yet continuyng in hys olde malice agaynst the king of England, by the assent of the French king, assembled a great number of men of warre, as fiue hundred men of armes, fiue hundred Genowayes with Crosbowes, and a thousande Flemynges on foote, and layde siege to the Castell of Marke, three Leagues from Calice, within the territorie of the king of England, the. xvj. day of July, whereof was Capteine Sir Philip Hall, with. lxxx. Archers, and. xxiiij. other Souldiours. The Erle raysed agaynst the Castell dyuers engynes, but they preuayled not, for they within shotte so fiercely, and cast stones so incessantly, and defended the same so manfullye, that they preuayled not at that tyme. And the Erle perceiuyng that his enterprise had not such successe as he looked for, retyred with his men lodged in the towne, fortefiyng the same for feare of rescues that might issue from Calice. The next day he gaue a sore assault again, & with great force entered the vtter Court, of the Castell & toke therein a great number of horse, Kyne and Cattaile, at the which assault sir Robert Barynguile, cossyn to the Erle, was slain. The same day an hundreth Archers on horsebacke came out of Calice, and perceiued the doynges and demeanour of the Erle and his companie, and toward night they sent an Herauld vnto him, certefiyng that they would dyne with him the nexte daye: To whome he proudly aunswered, that he would gladly receyue them, and theyr dinner agaynst theyr comming shoulde bee ready prepared.

The nexte day ensuyng issued out of Calice two hundreth men of armes, two hundreth Archers, three hundreth men on foote, with. x. or. xij. Chariots laden with victuall and Artillery, conducted by Sir Richard Aston knight, Lieutenant of the Englishe pale for the Erle of Somerset, Captaine generall of those Marches, which in good order of battaile marched toward their enemies, which before by their espialles were aduertised of their comming: But that notwithstandyng, they issued not out of their lodgynges to encounter with them, but kept themselues within their Closure.

The Englishe men shot so closely and so sharpely together, that the Flemynges and footemen began to flie: The men of Armes fearyng the slaughter of theyr horses, ran away with a light galop: The Genowayes which had spent the most part of their shot at the assault, made little defence, and small resistance, and so were all slaine and put to flight. The hastie and rashe Erle of Saint Paule, and dyuerse other without stroke geuen to their enemies, fled to Saint Omers: And there were taken of the best of the armie, as sayth the Frenche and Duche Chronicles, .lx. or. lxxx. persons, amongest whome

The French men are discomfited.

whome the Capteyn of Bulleyn was one, and many Lordes and knightes slaine. After that the Englishe men had taken all the Cartes, Munitions, and victualles that their enemyes had brought thether, they returned to Calice in great triumph: And within fiue dayes after, there issued out of the English pale about the number of fiue hundreth men, toward Arde by night tyme, thinkyng to haue found the towne vnprouided: But Sir Mansard de Boys, and the Lord Rygnie defended it, and disappointed the Englishe men, who with the losse of fortie men, returned to Calice: Which dead persons were brent in an olde house, because their enemies should be ignorant of the dammage that the Englishe men had by them susteyned.

The Erle of Saint Paule beyng at Turwyn, and yet imaginyng in some part, or by some way to be reuenged of the Englishe men, and to recouer some part of his losse, but more of his honour, sent for a great companie of Noble men, and valiaunt personages, and concluded to inuade the Marches of his enemyes. But the French king considerynge the Erles euill fortune, commaunded him to leaue off his enterprize, with the which he was sore displeased. Yet to auoyde perilles, the French king layde in Garrison at Bulleyn and other places, the Marques of Pount, sonne to the Duke of Barre, and the Erle of Dampney, and Sir John Harpadane, a knight of great renowne and high estimation.

The king of England circumspectly fore seeyng thinges to come, and imaginyng that the Frenche men attempted some newe enterprize agaynst him, or his Dominions beyond the Sea, sent foure thousand men to Calice, and to the Sea, whereof three thousand landed at Scluse, which besieged a Castell standyng in the mouth of the Hauen, and made dyuerse assaultes, and lost diuerse of their companie: But newes were brought to them, that the Duke of Burgoyne had desyred lycence of the Frenche King to besiege the Towne of Calice, for which cause they raysed their siege, and went to the defence of Calice.

And this yere also sayth Reynulph, the Emperour of Constantinople, whose name, as some writers call him, was Robert, came into Englande, onely to see the Countrie, and maners of the people thereof.

Plimmoth is spoiled by the French men.

And this yere the Lorde of Castell in Briteyn landed within a myle of Plymmoth, with a great companie, and lodged in the towne all that day and night, and the next day spoyled and robbed the sayde towne, and carryed away all that was therein, and returned againe into their Shippes.

1403
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Sone after this, Lewes Duke of Orleance, brother to the French king, a man of no lesse pride then of great courage, wrote his letters to king Hery, aduertising him that he for the perfect loue which he bare to the noble feates of Chiualrie and Martiall actes, could inuent nothing more honourable nor laudable to them both, then to meete in the fielde, eche part with an hundred knightes and Esquiers, all beyng Gentlemen, both of name and armes, armed and weaponed at all poyntes, to fight and combate to the yeldyng, and euery person to whome God should send victorye, to haue his prisoner, and him to raunsome at his pleasure, offering himselfe & his companie to come to his City of Angulesme, so that the king of England would come to the lands and borders of Burdeaux, and there defende his chalenge.

A Frenchs brag.

The King of England, which was as graue and wittie, as the Duke was

The wise and graue answere of king Henry.

was hautie and courageous, wrote to him againe, that he not a little mused and more marueyled, that the Duke beyng sworne aswell to him, as to king Richard, to mainteyn the peace betweene his brother the Frenche king, and them concluded, and to that had set his signe and great seale, would nowe for vaineglorie, and vnder the colour of doyng of deedes of Armes, not onely violate the peace, and breake the amitie betweene them before concluded, but also geue an occasiō of displeasure and ingratitude, by the which in conclusion might rise mortall warre, and deadly enemitie: affirmyng farther, that no king annoynted, of very dutie was euer bound to answere any chalenge, but to his pere of egall estate, & equiualent dignitie. And that no Christian prince ought or should consent to warre or effusion of Christian blood, but onely for the defence of his realme, or for conquest of his right, or for the amplifiyng of Christes fayth, and Christian religion, and not for pride, worldly fame, and vaineglorie: And saiyng further, that when opportunitie of tyme, and conuenient leysure serued, he would transtrete and passe the sea himselfe, with such companie as he thought most conuenient, into his Countrie of Gascoyne, at which tyme the Duke might set forward with his band, for the atteynyng of honour, and accomplishyng of his couragious desyre, promisyng in the word of a Prince, that he would not thence depart, vntill the Duke eyther by fulfillyng his owne desyre, or by singuler Combate betwene them two, onely for the auoidyng of the effusion of Christian blood, should thinke himselfe satisfied and fully answered. Howbeit, at that time he beyng busied with weightie affayres, concernyng the publike weale of his realme, could neyther appoynt tyme nor place, protestyng that the deferryng of tyme was neither for disdeyne, nor yet for cowardnesse, but onely to abate the pride of him, which knowyng not himselfe, nor fearyng reproche, regarded not his othe, writyng, nor seale.

To this answere the Duke of Orliaunce replyed, and king Henry reioyned, the which doynges for the vnprincely tauntes conteyned in them, I thought meete to omit and passe them ouer.

The Duke of Orleaunce besiegeth Uergie in Guyan.

The Duke of Orleaunce not content with the king of England, assembled an army of fiue thousand men, and entered into Guyan, and besieged the Towne of Uergie, whereof was Capteyne Sir Robert Antelfielde a valyaunt knight, and an hardie Capteyne, hauyng with him onely three hundreth Englishe men. The Duke almost euery day assaulted the towne very fiercely, but they within the Towne couragiously defended the same. Insomuche that when they had lien there three monethes, and had lost many of his men, and gotten nothing, without honour or spoyle returned into Fraunce.

The Admirall of Fraunce is discomfited.

After this, the Admirall of Bziteyn, which was greatly enflamed and encouraged, because the last yere he had entered the Hauen of Plymmoth, and robbed and spoyled the towne, and afterward had taken certayne ships with Wine. And he being now accompanied with the Lorde Castell a valyaunt Baron of Bziteyn, and hauing .xxx. sayle of shippes well furnished with artillerie, munition, and victualles, and .xij. hundreth men of armes, sayled from Saint Malos, and came before the towne of Dartmouth, and would haue landed, but by the force of the townes men, and men of the countrie, they were repulsed and put back: In which conflict the Lord of Castell with his two brethren, with foure hundreth other were slayne, and aboue two

two hundreth prisoners taken and raunsomed, whereof the Lord of Baqueuille high Marshall of Bziteyn was one, which was brought to the king, and was afterward redeemed.

The Lorde Thomas Duke of Clarence.

The Admirall being sory of thys infortunate enterprise, with much losse and no gayne returned hastely into his Countrey. King Henry being aduertised of this attempt, sent the Lorde Thomas his sonne, which after was Duke of Clarence, to the sea, with a great nauie of Shippes, to the entent that eyther with battayle or spoyling or destroyeng of the Sea costes, both of Bziteyn and of Fraunce, he might reuenge this iniurie and inuasion. And he sayling by the sea costes landed diuers times, and brent townes and destroyed people without any pitie or mercie: And when he thought his quarrell well reuenged, he sayled toward England, and in his returning he encountred with two great Caricks of Geane, laden with riche merchaundise, betwene whome was a great conflict, and a bloudy battayle: But after long fighting the Englishmen preuayled, and brought both the Caricks into Camber before Rye, where one of them by misaduenture of fyre perished, to the losse and no gayne of both the parties.

John Duke of Burgoyn would haue besieged Calice, but he was forbidde by the french King.

About this time, John Duke of Burgoyn, which had long laboured, and nowe obteyned lycence to besiege the towne of Calice, preparyng Engynes, and all other Instruments necessarie for that purpose, assembled at Saint Omers fiue thousand men of armes, xv. hundred Crossowes, and xij. thousande footemen. And now when all things were in a readinesse, and the whole armie assembled, he was by the Frenche king and his counsayle (who had some mistrust in hym) countermaunded and forbidden any further to proceede in that enterprise: For the which cause he conceaued such an hatred and deadly malice against the Duke of Orleaunce (whome he thought was the onely let and stop of his glorie and renowne) that he euer after, not onely stomaked and grudged agaynst him, but in the ende (as you shall here) brought him to death and finall destruction.

William Serle one of the murderers of the Duke of Glocester, taken and executed.

And it so happened, that this yere one Wylliam Serle, whome some call John Serle, beyng one of the murderers at Calice of the Duke of Glocester, was taken lurking in the Marches of Scotlande, and drawen on an Herdle from that place vp to London, and committed to the Tower, and then brought to Westmynster, and there he was also charged that he had bruted abroad that king Richard was alyue, and for these thyngs was there arreigned, condempned, iudged, hanged, drawen, and quartered at Tyborne.

1404
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John Erle of Northumberland conspyreth against king Henry.

The Erle of Northumberland, of whome before is spoken, bearing no little hatred vnto King Henrie, for the death of his sonne Sir Henrie Hotspurre, and his brother the Erle of Worcester, as afore sayde, did daylie practise some meane to be reuenged therof, and now secretly he began to breake his minde to Richard Scrope Archebishop of Yorke, brother to Wylliam Lorde Scrope, high Treasorer of Englande, whome king Henry (as you haue heard) beheadded at Bristow, & with Thomas Mowbray Erle Marshall, sonne to Thomas Duke of Norffolke, for king Henryes cause before banished the realme of England, and with the Lordes, Hastynges, Fauconbridge, Bardolfe and dyuers other, which he knew to beare deadly hatred vnto king Henry. And after many meetings, and long consultations had, they finally did conclude and determine: that all they, their friends and Allies, wyth

wyth all their power ſhould meete at Yorkeſwolde at a daye appointed, and that the Erle of Northumberland ſhould be Chiefetayne of the armie, who promiſed to bring with him a great number of Scottes.

The king hath knowledge of the conſpiracie.

Thys conſpiracie was not ſo ſecretly kept, nor ſo cloſely couered, but that the king had knowledge thereof, and was fully informed of the ſame: wherefore to preuent the time of their aſſembly, he with ſuche power as he could ſodainely call together, marched with all ſpeede into the North partes, and was there with all his hoſte and power, before the Confederats heard any thing of his comming forward, and ſodaynely he cauſed to be apprehended the Archebiſhoppe, the Erle Marſhall, Syr John Lampley, and Sir Robert Plumpton. Theſe perſons were arreigned and attainted of highe treaſon, and adiudged to die, and ſo on the Monday in the Whitſon weke, all they without the Citie of Yorke were beheaded.

Diuers Lordes apprehended and executed.

The Archebiſhop of Cãterburye intreateth for the Archbiſhop of Yorke.

And here I finde written in an auncyent hiſtorie, that after the taking of the Archebiſhop of Yorke, that the Archebiſhop of Cauntorbury, called Thomas Arondell came vnto the king and ſayd, Sir if the Biſhop of Yorke haue ſo greatly offended you as it is ſayd, yet I pray you conſider that I am your ghoſtly father, and the ſecond perſon in your realme, & that you ought not to hearken to anye mans boyce before me: wherefore I counſayle you reſerue the payne and puniſhment of the ſayde Biſhop to the Popes iudgement, and he will take ſuche order as ye ſhall be pleaſed. And if you will not ſo doe, yet let him be referred to the parliament, and keepe your handes vndefiled from his bloud. The king anſwered: I may not ſtaye him for the rumour of the people. Then the Archebiſhop called for a Notarie, to make an Inſtrument of the kings anſwere, that if neede were, it might be preſented to the Pope: But the king would not ſtay but cauſed execution, as aforeſaid.

Execution.

Beſide the perſons aforenamed, diuers other of the ſayde conſpiracie, as the Lorde Haſtyngs, the Lorde Fauconbridge, Sir John Coluile of the Dale, and Sir John Griffith were beheaded at Durham.

The Erle of Northũberland flieth into Scotland.

The Erle of Northumberland perceauing his counſayle to be reueled, and his confederates put to ſhamefull execution, fled into Scotland to hys olde friend George of Dunbarre Erle of Marche, which the yere before was reuoked out of exile, and reſtored to his poſſeſſions, name, and dignitie, where he taried vntill the next Sommer, and then ſayled into Fraunce, and after into Flaunders, deſpying ayde and aſſiſtaunce agaynſt king Henry: But when he ſawe little hope of comfort, and that fewe hearkened to his requeſt, he accompanied with the Lorde Bardolph much diſmayed, and more deſperate, returned againe to his true friends into Scotland, and there made his abode the whole yere, abyding the fauour of fortune: During which tyme, the king without any difficultie tooke into his poſſeſſion the towne of Berwike, the Caſtels of Alnewike, and all other Forteſſes appertayning to the Erle. And lyeng at Berwike, he cauſed to be put to death the Barons ſonne of Greyſtock, Sir Henry Beynton, and John Blenkenſop, and fyue other, as offenders in this conſpiracie.

The Prince of Wales entreth with a power into Scotland.

Nowe when king Henry had thus appeaſed this late conſpiracy, he ſent his ſonne the prince of Wales, accompanied with Edward Duke of Yorke, and a great armie with him, to encounter with the Scottes, which by promiſe were bounde to ayde and aſſiſt the aforeſayde Conſpirators: But they hearyng

hearyng that the founders of the warre were apprehended and put to death, made no haſte forward, but taried peaceably at home. So that the Prince entring into Scotlande, and fynding no reſiſtence, brent Townes, ſpoyled Villages, and waſted the Countrey euery where as he paſſed: which thing ſo much amaſed the king of Scots and his counſaile, ỹ notwithſtanding that he had gathered & appoynted a great hoſt vnder the Conductes of the Erles of Douglas, and Bowhan to reſiſt the prince and his inuaſions: yet they ſent Ambaſſadors vnto him, requyring him of peace and finall concord: which requeſt he vtterly denayed, but at their humble petition a truce for certaine Moneths was taken, of the which they were both glad and ioyous, and ſo the prince laden with pray & ſpoyle, returned with great gaine to his father.

Robyn Mendmarket.

Whyle the prince perſecuted thus the country of Scotland on the land, Sir Robert Umfreuyle Vice Admirall of England vexed the Countries of Fiffe, and Loghdian on the Sea coaſt, for he lyeng in the Scottiſhe Sea xiiij. dayes, and euery day landed on the one ſide or other and tooke prayes, ſpoyles and priſoners maugre the great powers of the Duke of Albany, and the Erle of Douglas: in ſo much that he brent and tooke the towne of Peples on their fayre day: and with great gaine returning to his ſhippes, brent the Galiot of Scotlande with many other Veſſels, and ſent cloth, victuall and diuers marchaundizes to euery towne in Northumberlande, ſetting thereon no great price, wherfore the Scots called him Robin Mendmarket.

A newe rumour that king Richard was alyue.

The king about this time was newly vexed and vnquieted, for notwithſtanding the fortunate ſucceſſe that he had obteyned in all his outwarde warres and inward affayres, yet ſome of his people bare vnto him ſuch canard heartes, that ſtill they practiſed his deſtruction: For nowe was a newe rumour ſpread abroade that king Richard was alyue once agayne, and that he was in Scotland: To the which fable, ſuche credite was geuen, that if prudent pollicie had not foreſeene the daunger thereof, it had kindled a greater flame then would haue bene eyther eaſely or quickly quenched.

1405

A great peſtilence and death in London.

This Sommer the plague of peſtilence reigned ſo ſore in the Citie of London, and in the countrie alſo rounde about the Citie, that the king durſt not repayre thether. Wherefore he departing from the Caſtell of Ledes in Kent, determined to take ſhipping at Mynborough, and to ſaile ouer to Lye in Eſſex, and ſo to Walſhyr, there to paſſe hys time vntill the plague were ceſſed: And becauſe certayne Pirates of Fraunce were lurcking at the Thames mouth wayting for their praye: Thomas Lorde Camoys with certaine ſhippes of warre was appoynted to waft ouer the kyng. When the kyng was on the Sea, and in the middeſt of his iourney, whether the winde turned, or that the Lorde Camoys kept not a direct courſſe, or that his Shyp was but a ſlugge. The French men, which by all ſimilitude had knowledge of the kings paſſage, entered amongeſt the kings Nauie, and tooke foure Veſſels nere vnto the kings ſhip, and in one of them, Sir Thomas Rampſton knight the kings Vice Chamberleyn, with all his Chamber ſtuffe and apparell, and followed the king ſo neere, that if his Ship had not beene ſwift, he had landed ſooner in Fraunce, then in Eſſex. The King being ſore moued with the Lorde Camoys, cauſed him to be attached and endited, that he conditioned and agreed with the French men, that the king in his iourney ſhould be intercepted and taken. On this point he was arreigned the

The king in great daunger to be taken of the Frenchmen.

last day of October, before Edmond Erle of Kent, that daye high Stuarde of the Realme, on which daye he was adiudged by his Peeres not giltie, and was dismissed at the barre, and restored to all his lands, goods & offices.

In this yere king Henrye, not onely desiryng newe affinitie with forein Princes, but also the preferment of his lyne and progenie, sente the Ladie Philip his yonger daughter to Erick king of Denmarke, Norway, & Swethen, which was conueyed thether with great pompe, and there with muche tryumph was solemply maryed to the sayde king, where shee tasted both of welth and wo, ioy and paine.

This yere Rochester Bridge was begon to be buylded of stone, and the same together with the Chapell standyng at the ende of the same, was finished by Sir Robert Knolles knight, who also newly reedefyed the bodie of the Church of the white Friers in Fletestrete in Lõdon, & there was buried.

1406
8

You heard before howe king Robert of Scotland, beyng very aged and impotent, was not able to gouerne and rule his realme, and howe Walter his brother, beyng by him created Duke of Albanie (which was the first Duke that euer was in Scotlande) was made Gouernour of his brothers Countrie and Dominion. After which office and preheminence by him obteyned, he so fore thirsted after the Crowne and Sceptre royall, that he cared little though the king his brother & his two sonnes had beene at Chrystes fote in heauen. And somewhat to further his purpose, it vnfortunately chaunced, that Dauy of Rothsay Prince of the realme, and eldest sonne to the king was accused to his father of diuerse and sundry crimes, and especially of wanton and dissolute liuyng, as rauishyng of wyues, deflowryng of Virgines, and defilyng of maydens: Wherefore the king deliuered him to his brother the gouernour, trustyng that by his good counsaile, and discrete aduertisement, he would not onely amend his lyfe, but also ware graue, prudent, and wise. Nowe when the Duke had possessed part of his desyred pray, he sent his Nephewe from Castell to Castell, from prison to prison, from place to place, and in conclusion lodged him in a Towre within the Castell of Frankelande, where with famine he caused him miserably to ende his lyfe, puttyng a poore woman to paynefull death, which gaue to the Prince the milke of her breastes by a Rede into the prison. His death was long hidden from the king his father: But in conclusion the Gouernour shewed vnto the king, how diuerse persons trayterously had murdered him, which were apprehended and iudged to die, and yet in their lyues they neuer knewe nor sawe him. The King notwithstandyng his brothers excuse, doubted much of the ende of his other sonne named James, wherfore he priuily prouided a ship, in the which he put the childe, beyng then of the age of.xi. yeres, vnder the tuition of the Lord Henry Sentclere, Erle of Orkeney, willyng him to conuey the prince into Fraunce, if by any possibilitie he could thether atteyne. And if fortune should driue him vpon the coast of England, he wrote his most gentle and louyng letters vnto king Henry, the effect whereof were, that forasmuch as a truce was taken betwene them, and that in the same was conteyned, that all men conueighyng letters from the one of the kinges to the other shoulde surely and safely passe and repasse without any contradiction, and that therefore it would please him not to breake nor denie the sayde libertie to the bearer of his letter which was his only sonne, and to suffer him not onely to liue safely

The Ambicious mynde of the Duke of Albanie.

The Duke of Albanie cruelly murdered the Prince of Scotland.

safely and surely vnder his protection and defence; but also to vouchesafe to preserue and defende him, beyng now the onelye heyre of the Kingdome of Scotland, from the malicious attemptes of his ambicious & cruell kindred.

Now all thinges beyng in a redynesse, the Mariners set forwarde and departed from Bas Castle with this yong Prince, and Henry Percey, sonne to the Lord Percey, called Hottespurre before slaine at Shrewsbury, and by force of tempest were driuen vpon the coast of England in Holdernesse, at a place called Flamborough hed, the.xxx. day of March, where the yong prince for to refreshe himselfe tooke land, and soone after he and all his companie were taken, and brought to the king at Windsore, where he with all due reuerence deliuered his fathers letter. When the letter was read and vnderstand, the king assembled his counsaile, to knowe what should be done with this noble infant. Some to whome the continuall warres was odious and hatefull, affirmed that there could not happen a more surer or better occasion of peace betwene both the realmes, which beyng so offered, they would in no wise should be reiected but taken, considerynge that this Prince was sent thether in trust of safegarde, in hope of refuge, and in request of ayde and comfort agaynst his enemyes and euill willers: But other (whose opinion tooke place) affirmed him to be a prisoner, and so to be ordered, forasmuche as he was taken, the warre beyng open, and that his father did not onely maintein the Erle of Northumberland and other rebelles within his Countrie, and gaue them great honoures, but also sent a great number of his Nobilitie agaynst the king at the battail of Shrewsbury: Wherfore it was agreed that he should be deteyned as a prisoner lawfully taken, and duely apprehended.

James prince of Scotland by tempest is forced to land in England.

James prince of Scotland is taken as a prisoner.

When newes of this definitiue sentence was shewed to his father, he tooke suche an inward conceipt, that it cost him his lyfe within a fewe Monethes after. And although the takyng of this Prince was at the first tyme displeasant vnto the realme of Scotland: yet surely, after, he and all his region had great cause to reioyce, and thanke God of that fortunate chaunce. For where before that tyme, the people of Scotland were rude and without good maners, and hauyng little learnyng, and lesse good qualities, thys Prince beyng. xviij. yeres prisoner within this realme, was so trayned and taught by his Schoolemaisters, which were appointed to him onely by the kinges clemencie, that he not onely flourished in good learnyng and knowe-ledge, but also excelled in Martiall feates, Musicall instrumentes, Poeticall Artes, and liberall sciences. Insomuch that at his returne from Captiuitie, he furnished his realme both with good learnyng, and Ciuile policie, which before was barbarous, rude, and without all good maner.

This yere a worthie Citizen of London named Richard Whittyngton Mercer and Alderman, was elected Maior of the sayde Citie, and bare that office three tymes: This worshipfull man so bestowed his goodes and substaunce to the honor of God, to the releefe of the poore, and to the benefite of the cõmon weale, that he hath right well deserued to be regestred in the boke of fame. First he erected one house or Church in London, to be a house of prayer, and he named the same after his awne name Whittyngtons Colledge, and so it remayneth to this day. And in the same Church, beside certeine Priestes and Clerkes, he placed a number of poore aged men and women, and buylded for them houses and lodgynges, and allowed vnto them

Richarde whittingtons Maior of London.

Whittingtons Colledge.

Newgate.

Wood, Cole, Cloth, and weekly money, to their great relefe and comfort. This man alſo at his owne coſtes, buylded the Gate of London called Newgate, in the yere of our Lord. 1422. which before was a moſt vgly & lothſome priſon. Alſo he buylded more then the halfe of ſaint Bartholomewes Hoſpitall in weſt Smithfielde in London. Alſo he buylded of hard ſtone, the bewtifull Librarie in the gray Friers in London, now called Chriſtes Hoſpitall, ſtandyng in the North part of the Cloyſter thereof, where in the wall his armes is grauen in ſtone. He alſo buylded for the eaſe of the Maior of London and his brethren, & of the worſhipfull Citizens, at the ſolempne dayes of their aſſemblie, a Chapell adioinyng to the Guyldhall, to the entent they ſhould euer before they entered into any of their affayres, firſt to go into the Chapell, and by prayer to call vpon God for his aſſiſtaunce. And in the ende ioynyng on the South part of the ſayde Chapell, he buylded for the Citie a Library of ſtone, for the cuſtodie of their recordes and other bookes. He alſo buylded a great part of the Eaſt ende of the Guyldhall, beſyde many other good workes that I knowe not. But among all other, I will shewe vnto you one very notable, which I receyued credibly, by a writyng of his owne hande, which alſo he willed to be fixed as a Scedule to his laſt will and teſtament, the contentes whereof was, that he willed and commaunded his Executors as they would aunſwere before God at the day of the Reſurrection of all fleſhe, that if they found any debtor of his, that ought to him any money, that if he were not in their conſciences well worth three tymes aſmuch, and alſo out of the debt of other men, and well able to pay, that then they ſhoulde neuer demaund it, for he clerely forgaue it, and that they ſhould put no man in ſute for any debt due to hym. Looke vpon thys ye Aldermen, for it is a glorious Glaſſe.

Saint Bartholomewes.

Guyldehall Chapell.

Guildehall.

A glorious glaſſe for rich men to looke in.

1407
9

But nowe to returne to the ſtory where we left. The Erle of Northumberland, which had bene in Fraunce and other Countries, to haue gotten ayde agaynſt king Henry, and miſſed of his purpoſe, did nowe put his whole confidence in the Scottes, and in eſpecially in his olde friend George Erle of Marche, and ſo aſſembled a great power of the Scottiſhe Nation to inuade Northumberland, and recouered diuerſe of his owne Caſtelles and Seigniories, to whome people without number dayly reſorted. And he entending to be reuenged of his olde griefes, accompanied with the Lord Bardolfe, and dyuerſe other Scottes, and Engliſhe men, entred into Yorkeſhire, and there began to deſtroy and ſpoyle the Countrie.

The Erle of Northumberland with a great power of the Scots returneth into England.

Whereof the king beyng aduertiſed, cauſed forthwith a great army to be aſſembled, and marched toward his enemyes, but before the king came to Nottyngham, Raufe Rokeſby Shirife of Yorkeſhire, in the middeſt of Februarye, with the power of the Country, ſodeinly ſet on the Erle and his companie, at a place called Bramham Moore, where after long fight, the Erle, and the Lorde Bardolfe, and many other were taken and brought to Yorke, and there executed, and their heddes ſent to London.

The Erle of Northũberland taken & executed.

Pirates.

After this, the king hauyng knowledge that dyuerſe Pirates were about the coaſt of England, prepared certeine Shippes well furniſhed with men, victuall, and munition, and in the beginnyng of Marche ſent to the ſea, Lord Edmond Holland Erle of Kent, as Chefetaine of that Crewe. And when the Erle had ſearched all the coaſt of Fraunce, and had not founde one

Pirate

Pirate or Sea robber, he was aduertiſed by his eſpialles, that they heryng of his army were gone back into the partes of Britayne. Wherfore the ſayd Erle entendyng to be reuenged on them, made his courſe thether, and before his arriuall they had conueyed theyr ſhippes into the Hauens, ſo that he could not fight with them on the ſea, wherfore he launched out his Boates, & with his luſtie & hardie Souldiours toke land, and fiercely aſſaulted the towne of Briake ſtandyng vpon the Sea ſyde. The Citizens threwe out Dartes, caſt ſtones, ſhot quarelles, and manfully defended their Walles. In the which conflict, the Erle receyued ſuch a wounde in his head, that he departed out of this worlde the fift day after. The aſſaylantes nothyng diſmayde, but rather kindeled and ſet on fire with the death of their Capteyn, like men deſperate, ſtill continued and folowed the aſſault of the towne, and by fine force entered into the ſame, and ſet it on fyre, and ſlue all that made any reſiſtance: And for lacke of a Capteyne, the men of warre laden with prayes and priſoners, returned againe into England.

The Erle of Kent ſlain at the ſiege of Briake.

Briake taken and burnt.

This Edmond Erle of Kent was in ſuch fauour with King Henry, that he not alonely aduaunced and promoted him to highe offices and dignities: But alſo by his meane, and no ſmall coſt, obteyned for him Lucie the eldeſt daughter, and one of the heyres of the Lorde Barnaby of Millayn (brother to Lorde Galeace, whoſe ſonne alſo called Galeace, murdering his Uncle Barnaby made himſelfe firſt Duke of Millayn:) For which mariage the Lorde Barnaby payde to the ſayde Erle of Kent, an hundred thouſand Ducates in the Church of ſaint Mary Ouereyes in Southwarke, at the day of the ſolempnitie of the ſayde mariage, by Done Alphons of Caniola.

Edmond Erle of Kent was well beloued of king Henry.

This Lucye, after the death of her huſbande, by whome ſhe had none iſſue, was moued by the king to mary hys baſtard brother the Erle of Dorſet, a man very aged and euill viſaged, whoſe perſon neyther ſatiſfied her phantaſie, nor whoſe face pleaſed her appetite, wherfore ſhe preferring her owne minde more then the kinges deſyre, delyghting in him which ſhoulde more ſatiſfie her wanton deſire, then gayne her any profite, for verye loue tooke to huſbande Henry Mortimer a goodly yong Eſquire, and bewtifull Bacheler. For which cauſe the king was not onely with her diſpleaſed, but alſo for maryeng without his licence, he ſeaſed and fined her at a great ſome of mony, which fine king Henry the fift, both releaſed and pardoned, and alſo made him knight and promoted him to great offices, both in England and in Normandy, which Sir Henry had iſſue by this Ladye, Anne maryed to Sir John Awbemond, mother to Elizabeth Candos, mother to Phillis maried to Sir Dauy Hall Captayne of Cane: She had alſo iſſue, Mary maried to John Cheddur, and Lucy eſpouſed to ſyr John Creſſy.

Marriaunce betweene John Duke of Burgoyn and Lewes Duke of Orleaunce.

This yere happened a long and great froſt, which continued .xb. wekes, and by reaſon thereof dyed great numbers of cheepe and birdes.

A great froſt.

1408
10

About this time John Duke of Burgoyn, a man of a quick wit, and of a haute courage, and deſyrous of rule, beyng of great authoritie among the French nation, to whome ciuile diſcorde was more pleaſant, then brotherly loue and friendſhip, beganne ſore to murmour and grudge againſt Lewes Duke of Orleaunce, becauſe that he was chiefe of the kings counſayle, and ordred all things by his diſcretion for that the king his brother was (as you haue heard) fallen into a Frenſie, and therefore meddled in nothing. The

Duke of Orleaunce on the other side, being highly set vp in pride, beganne to disdeyne and froune at the Duke of Burgoyn, because he perceaued that he aspired and gaped to haue the supreme regiment in the publique affaires and weighty causes, thus the one would haue no superiour, and the other would haue no peere. This cankard disdeyne in short space grewe to suche a hate, that all the Realme of Fraunce was deuyded into Factions, the one parte fauouring the Duke of Orleaunce, & the other enclyning to the Duke of Burgoyn, which diuision had almost brought the realme of Fraunce to vtter ruine and confusion.

The French king being somewhat amended of his disease, heryng of the controuersie betweene these two princes, sent for them both to Paris, where he openly and largely rebuked their pride and malice, in so much that the Nobilitie there present iudged the displeasure betwene them was clerely forgeuen and forgotten. But high courages are not so sone abated, nor rooted malice will not so sone be plucked vp. For the Duke of Burgoyn still compassing the destruction of the Duke of Orleaunce, appointed a secrete friend called Raufe Actouille to bring his purpose to passe. This Raufe forgetting not his enterprise, assembled together a companye of suche persons as he most trusted, and as as a Wolfe greedy of his praye, when the Duke of Orleaunce was comming from the courte, in the night season, he fiercely set vpon him, and shamefully slue him.

Lewes duke of Orleance is murdered.

When this murder was published, all people cryed vnto God for vengeaunce. The Duke of Burgoyn iustified this acte, by the mouth of John Petit Doctor in diuinitie, who wrested Scriptures and Doctors so farre out of course, that his iustification within fewe yeres after was by the whole Vniuersitie of Paris adiudged Heresie.

The French king least greater mischiefe might ensue, was inforced to cloake his inward affection, and to dissemble the matter, doubtyng least the Duke of Burgoyn, whose heart and haute courage he had good experience of before (if he should proceede agaynst him for his euill acte) woulde ioyne and take part with the English nation against the realme of Fraunce. Wherefore after long consultation had by the entreatie of the king, and other Princes of the blood Royall, Charles Duke of Orleaunce, sonne to Duke Lewes lately murdered, and John Duke of Burgoyn were reconciled, and brought to a feyned concorde and a faynt agreement, eche of them taking a corporall othe vpon the holy Euangelists, neuer after to disagree or renewe any displeasure for any thing before passed, but all this preuayled nothing.

For nowe the Duke of Orleaunce perceauing the king his Uncle to beare with the Duke of Burgoyn, and to let the detestable murther of hys father so lightly passe ouer without payne or punishment, allyed and confederated himselfe with the Duke of Berry and Burbon, and the Erles of Alaunson and Arminack, who reysed a great puyssaunce of people, & defyed the Duke of Burgoyn & his complices, as their mortal foe, & deadly enemy.

The Duke of Burgoyne sendeth to the king of England for ayde.

The Duke of Burgoyn fearing the ende hereof (because there was a motion of a mariage to be had betwene the prince of Wales and his daughter) was somewhat the bolder to sende to the king of England for ayde and succours against his enimies. King Henry no lesse forseyng then that which after ensued, which was that the discorde of these two great princes might turne

turne his realme to great profite and honour, sent to the Duke of Burgoyn Thomas Erle of Arundell, Sir Gilbert Umfreuyle Lorde of Kyme, Sir Robert Umfreuyle, and syr John Grey, with fiue hundreth Archers, which toke shipping at Douer, and landed at Sluce. When the Englishmen were arryued in Flaundyrs, the Duke of Burgoyn with the Englishmen and all his power roade daye and night vntill he came neere to Paris, and there the next daye after with harde fightyng, and courageous shooting, the Englishe men gate the bridge of Saint Clow, and so passed ouer the riuer of Sayne, and tooke and slue all the Souldyours, which the Duke of Orleaunce had there left in garrison to defend the bridge. Amongest whome Sir Mausard de Boyes a hyghyaunt Captayne was taken prisoner by the Englishmen, and highly raunsomed. But the Duke of Orleaunce and his companie, which were lyke to haue bene compassed with their enimies, so that almost all their wayes of refuge were stopped and enclosed, in the night time made a bridge ouer the ryuer on the parte of saint Denyce streete, and so escaped and fled into the high Countries. And after this conflict the Duke of Burgoyn being nowe in his ruffe, and thinking no man eyther in auctoritie or blood equyualent to himselfe, and blynded with a hall before his eyes, tooke vpon him the whole rule and gouernaunce of the realme, and ordered the king as pleased him, and not to the kings wyll, and thinking also that in so troublous a time he had vnknyt the knot of all ambiguities and doubtes, and therefore dismyssed the Englishmen geuyng to them both heartie thanks and great rewardes, which doing king Henry much disalowed, consydering that he had sent awaye his defence before the great brunt of the warre were ouer passed and should haue taken heede before what pollicie his enimies practised.

The Englishmen returne agayne into England.

Thys yere sayth Reynulph, the King kept, and helde a great Justes in Smithfielde in London, which contynued eyght dayes, and vnto the same came certayne Henowayes Gentlemen, and ranne with the Gentlemen of Englande, but the honor of that passtyme was geuen to the Englishmen, although some of the straungers did very well.

A great Justes in Smithfield.

1409
11

King Henrie being nowe at quiet, and not troubled with ciuile dissension, nor warres in his realme, called his high Courte of Parliament, in the which after he had concluded dyuers actes meete and expedient for the publique wealth of his realme and people, he exalted and promoted his three younger sonnes to high honors, as Lorde Thomas to the Duchye of Clarence, Lorde John to the Duchy of Bedforde, and Lorde Homfrey to the Duchy of Glouceſter, and Lorde Thomas his halfe brother Erle of Dorset, he made Duke of Exceter: Howbeit some writers saye that he was erected to that estate and dignitie by king Henry the fift, in the first yere of his reigne, which thing is not greatly materiall, considering he had none issue.

A parliament at Westminster.

Thomas Duke of Clarence.
John Duke of Bedford.
Homfrey Duke of Glouceſter.
Thomas Duke of Exceter.

And this yere the commons of the realme put vp a Bill into the parliament house vnto the Lordes agaynst the clergie for the taking away of their temporalties, of the which Bill more shall be sayde in the seconde yere of king Henry the fift.

A bill preferred vnto the Parliament agaynst the possessions of the Clergie.

And thys yere the market house in the neyther ende of the poulfrie in London, now called the Stockes, was buylded for the free sale of the foreyn Boocher, and of the foreyn Fishmonger.

1410
12

In this meane while John Duke of Burgoyn, which ruled the roste, and

and gouerned both king Charles the French king, and the whole realme, so much stomacked and enuyed the Duke of Orleaunce and his helpers, that he caused the Frenche king in person to arme himselfe against them and theyr adherentes, as traytors to him, and apparant enemies to the common weale, and sente dyuerse Capteynes to inuade theyr landes and territories in the Countryes of Poyters, and Angulesme, and other Seigniories appertey-nyng and belongyng to the homage and obeysaunce of the Duchie of Acquiteyn and Guyan: Wherefore the Dukes of Orliaunce, and Berry, & Burbon, with theyr friendes and alyes, seyng that now theyr hope consisted in the king of Englande, sent to him Albert Awbemond, a man of no lesse learnyng than audacitie, who in the name of the Confederates offered certeyne conditions, as ye shall heere.

The Duke of Orleaunce seeketh ayde of the king of England.

1 First, the sayd Lordes offered that from thencefoorth they should expose and set forth their awne persons, finaunces and landes, to serue the king of England, his heyres and successors, whensoeuer they were requyred or called, in all iust quarelles: which iust quarelles, the king of England shal take to apperteyne to the Duchie of Guyan with the appurtenaunces, affyrmyng howe the sayd Duchie perteyneth, and ought to apperteyne, to him of right by lyneall heritage, and lawfull succession, manifestyng from thencefoorth, that they should not blemish nor spot their truth nor fidelitie to assist and ayde him, in the recouerying the same Duchie.

2 Also the sayd Lordes offered theyr sonnes, daughters, nephewes, and neces, parentes and all their subiectes, to contract mariage accordyng to the discretion of the king of England.

3 And they offered townes, Castelles, treasures, and generally all theyr goodes to ayde the king, his heyres and successours for the defence of theyr rightes and quarelles, so that the bond of their allegiance might be saued, the which in an other secret appoyntment, they before had declared.

4 Also they offered to the king of England generally, all theyr friends, alyes, and well willers, to serue him in his quarell for the recouery of hys whole Duchie of Guyan.

5 Also to ceasse all fraude, the sayde Lordes recognised that they were redie to affirme the sayd Duchie of Guyan to belong to the king of England, in like and semblable wise, in libertie, and fraunchises, as euer any of the sayde kings predecessors helde or possessed the same.

6 Also the sayde Lordes knowledged, that all the townes, Castelles, and fortresses, that they had within the Duchie of Guyan, to holde them of the king of England, as of the very true Duke of Guyan, promisyng all seruice and homages after the best maner, that in such case might be.

7 Also they promised to deliuer vnto the king as muche as lay in them, all townes and Castelles apperteinyng to the royaltie and Seigniorie of England, which are in number. xx. townes and Castelles, and as to the regarde of other townes and fortresses which were not in their puyssaunce and seigniorie, they would helpe the king of England, his heyres and deputies to win them, with men in sufficient number at their proper expences and charges.

8 Also the king of England was agreed, that the Duke of Berry his true Uncle and Vassall, and the Duke of Orliaunce his subiect and Vassall, and the Erle of Arminacke should holde of him by homage and fealtie, the landes and

and Seigniories hereafter folowyng: that is to say, the Duke of Berry to holde onely the Countie of Pontiew, duryng his lyfe, and the Duke of Orliaunce to holde the Countie of Angulesme, duryng his life, and the Countie of Perigot for euer, and the Erle of Arminake to holde foure Castelles vpon certeine sureties and conditions, as by Indenture should be appoynted.

9 For the which offers, couenauntes, and agreementes, they affirmed that the king of England as Duke of Guyan, ought to defende and succour them agaynst all men, as their very Lorde and souereigne, and not to conclude any treatie of league with the Duke of Burgoyn, his brethren, children, friendes or allyes.

10 Furthermore, the king of England ought to ayde the Lordes, as his true Vassals in all theyr iust quarelles for recouerying of dammages, for iniuryes to them wrongfully done.

11 Also they required the king of England to send vnto them. viij. thousand men to ayde them agaynst the Duke of Burgoyn, which dayly prouoked the French king to make open warre on them, theyr landes and seigniories, promisyng further to disburse and pay all the costes and charges which the sayde armie of Englishe men should expend duryng their warre, which letter was written the. viij. day of May, in the yere of our Lorde afore mencioned.

¶ King Henrie louingly receyued, and gently entertayned this Messenger Albert, and when he had well debated and considered the case, he first detesting the abhominable murder of the late Duke of Orleaunce, and seing no iustice ministered, nor no punishment done for so shamefull an act, hauyng also an approued experience ỹ the Duke of Burgoyn would kepe no lenger promise then he himselfe lusted. And secondarily, considery̆ng what large promises and offers these Princes had made vnto him, both greatly to his honour, and to the high profite and commoditie of his realme and subiectes, thought that he was bound by the office of a king to ayde and succour them, which cryed for iustice and could haue none, and in especiall because they in that poynt beyng his subiectes and vassalles, ought to be defended in maintenaunce of his superiozitie and seigniorie: Wherefore he louyngly promised them ayde and relefe.

The king graunteth to ayde ỹ Duke of Orleaunce

The returne of the Messenger with this message was to them as pleasant, as is the deliueraunce of a Captiue from his sore imprisonment, or of a Marchant passing by the way, & beset with theues, when he is rescued by his friendes or companions. And not without cause, for the french king, not of his awne courage animated, but maliciously incensed by the Duke of Burgoyn, persecuted the faction of the Orliaunces from Citie to Citie, and from towne to towne, with such power and extremitie, that they were both of force and necessitie compelled to repayre to the Citie of Bourges in Berry, and there to appoynt themselues eyther to render or defend.

Ye must vnderstand that Princes haue sometyme Argus eyes, and Midas eares, for this feate was not so secretly wrought in Englande, but it was as apparantly spyed in Fraunce: Wherefore the Frenche kinges Counsaile sent the Erle of saint Paule, the olde cankard enemy to the English men, into the partes of Picardie, with. xv. hundreth horsemen, and a great number of footemen, and he ordeyned certeyne of his men to geue assault to the towne of Guynes, while he lay in stale to waite for the relefe that might come from Calice.

The French men assaule Guines.

Calice. The furious Frenche men brake a fewe olde Pales aboute poore mens Gardeynes of Guisnes: But the men of warre in the Castell shotte so fiercely, and cast out wildefyre in such aboundaunce, that the assaylants were faine to retyre. And so the Erle of Saint Paule which neuer wonne gaine, but lost honour at the Englishe mens handes, returned, not onely with the losse of his people, but defrauded of his desyred pray, and went to the towne of Saint Quintines.

Guyld hall buylded.

Thys yere, of an euill fauoured olde house or cotage was the Guyldhall in London buylded and finished at the charges of the Citizens, but chiefly at the charges of Richard Whytington Alderman.

1411
13

But to returne to the former history, the French king in this meane while besieged the Citie of Bourges in Berry, wherein the Duke of Orleaunce and his company had fortefyed themselues. When the king of Englande was thereof aduertised, he sent forth his sonne Thomas Duke of Clarence, and Edward Duke of Yorke, with eyght hundred horsemen, and nine thousand footemen, which landed in the Bay of Hogges in Normandy by saint Wast, in the territorie of Constantyne. The Englishmen swarmed lyke Bees rounde about the countrie, robbyng Marchaunts, spoyling husbandmen, and brennyng townes, and were ioyously receyued of the Erles of Alaunson and Richemond ayders of the Orlienciall parte.

The Englishmen lande in Fraunce.

The Counsayle of Fraunce not wylling that the Englishmen shoulde ioyne with the Dukes of Orleaunce and Berry, or their complices, caused a common fame (although it were not true) to be spreade abroade, that there was a final peace concluded betwene the French king and his Lords, which late were to him aduersaries. When this fable was noted to the Englishmen, which were by hastie iourneyes passed the ryuer of Leyre, they spoyled the towne and Monasterie of Beauliew, and wasted with fyre & sword the Countries of Tourayn and Mayne. Agaynst whom the Duke of Burgoyn sent the Lorde Rambures, with a great armie, which in shorte tyme was vanquished.

A Frenth practise.

The Dolphyn of Fraunce fearyng the doings of the Englishmen, concluded a feyned peace betwene the Duke of Orleaunce and Burgoyn, and their adherents, so that the Duke of Orleaunce should without delaye dispatche out of the dominions of Fraunce all the Englishe armie. The Duke was not riche to pay, and the Englishmen were greedy to haue, insomuch as they marching toward Guyan in good order, what by sacking of townes, and what with raunsomming of riche persons gate great treasure and many good prayes. Besides this, to the ayde of the Duke of Orleaunce king Henry sent to Calice the Erles of Kent and Warwike with two thousand fighting men, which spoyled and defaced the Countie of Bullenoys, and brent the towne of Samer de boys, and tooke with assault the Fortresse of Russalt with dyuers other.

A feyned peace concluded.

The Duke of Orleaunce, which was daylie called vpon to dispatche the Englishmen out of Fraunce, came to the Duke of Clarence and his armie, rendring to them a thousande Gramercyes, and disburssed to them as much money as eyther he or his friendes might easely spare, and for nine thousand Frankes, which remayned vnpayde, he delyuered in gage his second brother John Erle of Angulesme, which was Graundfather to Frances, afterward Frenche king, and Sir Marcell of Bourgh, Sir John of Samours, Sir Archibald

Archibald of Villiers and dyuers other, which Erle long contynued in Englande as after ye shall here.

When this agreement was taken, the Dukes of Clarence and Yorke with great praye (riche prisoners and welthy hostages) came to Burdeaux, making warre on the Frontiers of Fraunce to their great gaine and profit. So by the onely commyng in of the Englishmen into Fraunce, the Duke of Orleaunce was restored, not onely vnto peace and quietnesse with all persons, sauyng the Duke of Burgoyn: But also fell into suche fauour with the king and the realme, that he was of all men welbeloued, much honored and highly esteemed, and so continued, vntill wauering fortune turned her variable wheele. For after this, he being enemie to the Englishe nation, was vanquished and taken prisoner, and so remayned in Englande aboue xviij. yeres, vntill the flowre of his age was passed or sore blemished.

The Englishe men returne out of Fraunce with riche prayes.

And thys yere the king abaced the coynes of Golde and Syluer, and caused the same to be curraunt in his realme at such value as before they had gone, where in deede the Noble was worse by foure pence, then the other was, and lykewise was the coynes of Siluer curraunt after the same rate.

The coyne abaced.

And here I finde noted by certaine wryters, that thys yere the Thamys did flowe three times in one daye, as though the same were matter worthye of a note, for the straungenesse thereof: But if you consider the causes thereof, then is it worthy of no note at all, for the causes thereof are naturall, as great windes and tempestes that rise on the sea costes, which by violence driue the sea into the freshe Ryuers, more aboundauntly then the common course would, or else by lyke violence keepeth out the sea from the freshe ryuers, that it can not flowe at one houre so high and abundantly as the common course thereof is accustomed to doe, and it happeneth also many times by reason of abundaunce of rayne, which falleth of the lande, and filleth the ryuers, and so encreaseth the freshe waters, that the same meeting with the sea water entering into the ryuer, causeth the same to swell, and rise farre aboue the common course, and altereth the houres both of flowyng and ebbyng. In lyke maner the tydes alter by reason of great and long frostes and Snowe that freeseth the ryuers and dyches in the land, which causeth short and mo tydes in fewer houres then hath bene accustomed, by reason the water is turned to Yse. And in lyke maner vpon a sodaine thawe, the floodes agayne encrease farre aboue the accustomed course, & of these naturall causes commeth the alteration of the houres of ebbyng and flowyng.

Ebbyng and flowyng why they alter as sometimes.

1412
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Now after that these great and fortunate chaunces had happened to king Henry, he thinking that there could not a greater prayse be geuen to a king, then for the execution of his office, and the administration of iustice, and entendyng to lyue in quietnesse, being nowe delyuered of all ciuile diuision, with the which almost all christendome was troubled, not onely to the decaye of Christes religion, and christian creatures, but to the greater aduauncement of Paynym princes, by the publishing and setting forth of that counterfeat and false prophet Mahomet. And that the king would shew himselfe mindefull hereof, he called a great counsayle of the three estates of his Realme, in the which he deliberately consulted and concluded, as well for the politique gouernaunce of his realme, as also for the warre to be made agaynst the Infidels, and specially for the recouery of the Citie of Jerusalem,

lem, in the which warres he entended to ende his transitory life, and for that cause he prepared a great armie, and gathered much treasure, entending to set forwarde in the same spring time. But see the chaunce, whatsoeuer man intendeth, God sodainely reuerseth, what princes will, God will not, what we thinke stable, God maketh mutable, whereby Salomons saying is found true: That the wysedome of men is but foolishnesse before God. When this prince was thus furnished with treasure sufficient, with valiaunt Captaines and hardie Souldiours, with tall shippes furnished with victualles, munitions and all things necessary for such a iourney royall, he was taken with a sore and sodaine disease called an Apoplexie, of the which he languished vntill his appoynted houre. During which sickenesse, as some authors write, he caused the crowne to be set on the pillowe at his beddes head, and sodaynly his pangue so sore troubled hym, that he lay as though his breth and soule were departed from him, wherefore hys Chamberleynes couered his face with a lynnen cloth.

King Henry purposed a voyage to Ierusalem.

The king is taken with a greeuous sickenesse.

The Prince his sonne being thereof aduertised, entered into the chamber, and tooke away the crowne and departed: The father being sodainely reuyued out of his traunce, quickly perceaued the lacke of his crowne, and hauing knowledge that the prince his sonne had possessed it, caused him to repayre to his presence, requyring of him to shew for what cause he had so misused himselfe. The prince with a good audacitie aunswered: syr, to mine and all mens iudgements you seemed dead in this worlde, wherefore I as your next and apparaunt heyre tooke that as mine awne, and not as yours: Well fayre sonne sayde the king (with a great sigh) what right I had to it, & how I enioyed it God knoweth. Well quod the prince, if you die king, I wil haue the Garlande, and trust to keepe it with the sworde against all mine enimies as you haue done, well sayde the king, I commit all to God, and remember you to doe well, and with that turned himselfe in his bed, and shortly after departed vnto God in a Chamber of the Abbotes of Westminster called Ierusalem, the twentie daye of Marche. 1413. and in the yere of his age. xlvj. when he had reigned. xiij. yeres. v. moneths and odde dayes, in much trouble and little pleasure, whose body with all funerall pompe was conueyed to Cauntorbury and there solemply buryed, leauing behinde him by the Lady Mary daughter to Lorde Homfrey Erle of Hereford and Northampton, Henry prince of Wales, Thomas Duke of Clarence, John Duke of Bedford, Homfrey Duke of Gloucester, Blanche Ducheſſe of Barre, and Phylip Queene of Denmarke, for by hys last wyfe, Queene Jane, he had no children.

A corageous yong prince.

The death of king Henry the fourth.

The issue of king Henrie the fourth.

The description of king Henry the fourth.

The king was of a meane stature, well proporcioned and formally compact, quick and delyuer, and of a stoute courage. After that he had appeased all ciuill dissentions, he shewed himselfe so gently to all men that he gat him more loue of the nobles in his later dayes, then he had euill will of them in the beginning.

When tydings of hys death was brought vnto the Duke of Clarence, being then in Aquitayne, he then with all diligence toke ship with the Erle of Angulesme, and other his hostages and returned into England, to the great comfort of hys brethren.

Henry

HEnry Prince of Wales, sonne and heyre vnto king Henrie the fourth, borne at Monmouth on the Riuer of Wye, after the death and buriall of his Noble father king Henry aforesayde, tooke vpon him the highe power and regiment of this realme of England the. xx. day of Marche. 1412. and was proclaymed king, by the name of king Henry the fift, and crowned at Westminster the. ix. day of Aprill next ensuyng. And before the possession of the Crowne, dyuerse honorable and noble personages did to him homage, & fealtie (which before that time had not beene vsed) as vnto him of whom they had conceyued great hope and worthynesse of Gouernment.

1412

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This king, this man was he (which accordyng to the olde prouerbe) declared and shewed that honoures ought to chaunge maners, for incontinent after that he was placed in the siege royall, and had receyued the crowne and Sceptre of this Noble Realme, he determined with himselfe to put on the shape of a newe man, and to vse a nother sort of liuyng, turnyng insolencie and wildenesse into grauitie and soberneſſe. And because he would so continue, and not be allured to the contrary by his olde familiars, who in the lyfe of his father, by their wantonnesse and entising caused him at one tyme to strike the Lorde chiefe Iustice in the face, for the which he was imprisoned, and also had the displeasure of his father, who remoued him from being president of his counsaile, & placed therein his brother Thomas, Duke of Clarence, to his great griefe: he therefore, I say, detesting a wanton and disordrely life, first banished from him all his olde wanton familiars & flatterers, (not vnrewarded, nor yet vnpreferred) forbiddyng them vpon a great paine, not once to approch nor come neere his speche or presence, by the space of ten myles. And in their places he elected and chose men of grauitie, of wisedom, and of high pollicie, by whose wisedome, and prudent counsaile he might at all tymes rule to his honour, and gouerne to the profite both of himselfe and of his common weale. This prince among all other, did very well remember and consider, that a king ought to be a ruler with wisedome and grauity, and to be both diligent and constant: wherefore callyng his counsaylors together, first of all (as Hall sayth) he commaunded the Clergie sincerely and truely to preach the worde of God, and to liue after the same. The laye men he willed to serue God, and obey their Prince, forbiddyng them aboue all thinges the brech of Matrimonie, the vse of swearyng and wilfull periurie. Besyde this he elected the best learned men in the lawes of the Realme, to the offices of iustice, and men of good liuyng he preferred to high degrees and authoritie. And callyng to remembraunce the madnesse of the Welshe men, and the falsehood and inconstancie of the Scottes (whose often incursions and robberyes he well had in his fathers dayes experimented and assayed)

A Godly and wise Prince.

sayed) he studied to allwage and represse, to the entent that he beyng quyet in his awne regions, might eyther make outwarde warre without doubt or daunger, or else for the common weale of his realme studie howe to encrease the glorie of his seignorie, and so to kepe and conserue it.

King Richard is remoued from Langley to Westminster.

When all thinges were thus setled and framed to his purpose, he caused the bodie of king Richard the seconde to be remoued, with all funerall pompes conuenient for his estate, from Langley to Westminster, where he was honourably enterred with Queene Anne his first wife, in a solempne Tombe, erected and set vp at the costes and charges of this Noble Prince King Henrie.

The counsayle of Constance.

And although this noble prince had set and established all thinges beyng in difference and variaunce within his awne peculiar realmes and dominions: Yet the same tyme, beyng called to the counsaile of Constance, which is a Citie situate vpon the goodly ryuer of Rhyne, he sent thether Richard Erle of Warwike, and three Bishoppes, with other famous Prelates and Doctors besydes Knightes and Esquiers to the number of. viij. hundreth horse. At this Synode were assembled (as Hall saith) three hundreth. xlvj. Bishops, Abbottes, and Doctors. And of noble men fiue hundreth. lxuij. And of knightes and Esquiers. xvj. thousand, besydes seruauntes, which (not accomptyng the townes men) were accompted. lxb. thousand persons.

These persons were highly receyued of the Emperour Sigismond, and of the Bishop of Rome called John the. xxiij. which in the same counsaile as the sayde aucthor affirmeth, for great and abhominable crymes, and detestable offences by him committed (of the which he could not pourge himselfe, nor make any defence) was by the same Synode deposed, and of his estate depriued. Gregorie the. xij. beyng one of the Schismatical number, fearyng shame more than regardyng his worldly affection, deposed himselfe both from his name and Papall dignitie. But Benedict the. xiij. still and stiffy affirmyng himselfe to be the Vicar of God, so much despyred honour, and semuche was wrapped in his awne lewde opinion, that neyther friend nor good counsaile could do any good with him, wherefore at the last, he was also deposed, and lost both his name and honestie. And within three yere after, Otho Columbe a noble Romaine borne, was elected Bishop of Rome, and named Martyn the fifth. And in this counsaile, John Wicliffe English man, and John Husse, and Jherom of Prage Bohemians, were condemned of heresie, of whome ye may read more in the booke of Monuments of the Church.

Pope John is deposed.

John Wycliffe. John Husse. Jherom of Prage.

Sir John Oldecastell.

And in this first yere, Sir John Oldecastell, which by his wife was called Lorde Cobham, a valiaunt Captaine and an hardie Gentelman, was accused vnto the Archebishop of Cauntorbury of certeine poyntes of heresie: But for that I haue not purposed in this Historie to write of any matter that specially concerneth religion, I will therefore referre you to the booke of Monumentes of the Church, where the whole Historie of this Gentelman and many others is at large described and set foorth. And in lyke maner foloweth in the sayde booke, the whole historie of Sir Robert Acton, Browne, Beuerley, and dyuerse other.

Sir Robert Acton. Browne. Beuerley.

1413

2

The King, for the honour of himselfe, and the aduauncement of hys people, called this yere and the last day of Aprill, in the towne of Leycester his high Court of Parliament, in the which many good and profitable lawes were

were concluded, and many peticions moued, were for that tyme deferred. Among which petitions one was, that a bill exhibited in the. xj. yere of King Henry (as is mencioned before) which by reason that the King was then troubled with Ciuill dissention, came to none effect, might nowe be considered and regarded: the effect of which petition was, that the temporall lands deuoutly geuen, & disordinately spent by the religious, and other of the clergie, might suffice to mainteyne to the honour of the king, and defence of the realme, xv. Erles, xv. C. Knightes. vj. thousande, two hundreth Esquiers, and one hundreth almose houses, for the relefe of the impotent and nedy persons, and the king to haue cleerely into his Coffers, xx. thousand poundes, with many other prouisions and values of sundrie religious houses.

A bill inoued in the Parliament house against the Clergie.

This before remembred bill (sayth Hall) much feared the religious, insomuch that fat Abbottes swet, the proude Priors frowned, the poore Friers cursed, the siely Nonnes wept, and all together were nothyng pleased nor yet content. But to finde a remedie for a mischiefe, and a tent to stop a wounde, the Clergie practised to put into the kinges heade, the title that he had to the Crowne and kingdome of Fraunce, and howe honourable it should be for him to trauaile for the recouerie thereof, and howe willyng all the good people of the realme woulde be to ayde him in that honourable enterprice. And the next day after in most solempne and learned maner, the Archebishop of Cantorbury, whose name then was Henry Chichley, made such an excellent Oration to moue, encourage, and perswade the king to take that voyage in hand, that nothing could be eyther more or better spoken. And when the Bishop had done, then the Nobilitie in like maner sayd to and fro their mindes, so that nowe there was vsed none other talke in euery mannes mouth in the Parliament house, but for the conqueryng of Fraunce, and the bill against the Clergie was lulled a sleepe, and nothing came thereof. And so soone as this voyage was agreed vpon, the parliament brake vp.

An Imbassade sent frō the king of Englande to the french king.

The aforesayde parliament being nowe ended, the king sendeth a solempe Imbassade vnto the French king, to make his clayme vnto the crowne and kingdome of Fraunce, as his right and inheritaunce, or else to bid hym battayle, and to declare vnto him, that if he would not delyuer the same vnto him, that then he would trie his right by dent of swoorde: The Imbassadors were these, the Duke of Excester and Erle of Dorcet the kings Uncle. The Lorde Grey Admirall of England, the Archebishop of Deuelyn, the Bishop of Norwiche, and they had attending vpon them aboue fiue hundreth Horsse.

The French king receaued them very honorably, and sumptuously banqueted them, shewing to them goodly iustes, and martiall pastimes, by the space of three dayes together, in the which Justes the king himselfe to shew hys courage and actiuitie to the Englishe men, brake Speares, and lustely turneyed.

The king of Englands claymeth the crowne and realme of Fraunce.

After this great triumph, the Englishe Imbassadours had accesse vnto the Frenche king and declared their commission, which was to require of him to deliuer vnto the king of England the realme and crowne of Fraunce with the entier Duchies of Aquitaine, Normandy and Aniowe, with the Countries of Poyteu and Mayne, and dyuerse other requestes, and offering also that if the French king would without warre or effusion of Christian

blond, render to the king their master his verye right and lawfull inheritaunce, that then he would be content to take in mariage the Lady Katheryn daughter vnto the French king, and to endue her with all the Duchye and countryes before reherſed. And if he entended not ſo to doe, then the king of Englande did expreſſe and ſignifie vnto him, that with the ayde of God, and helpe of his people he would recouer his right and inheritaunce wrongfully witholden with mortall warre and dent of ſworde.

The French king and his counſayle much amaſed at theſe demaundes, thinking them very vnreaſonable, and yet not willing to make any haſtye aunſwere in ſo great and weightie a matter, prayed the Engliſhe Ambaſſadours to ſay to the king their Maſter, ỹ they hauing nowe no opportunitie to conclude in ſo highe a matter, would ſhortly ſende Ambaſſadors into England, which ſhould certifie and declare to the king their whole minde, purpoſe and anſwere.

The Engliſhe Ambaſſadours receyuing this for aunſwere, tooke their leaue of the French king, and returned into Englande, declaryng vnto the king in order all that had bene done.

And at this time, as ſome writers reporte, the Dolphyn, who heering this meſſage ſent to the French king his father, and diſdeyning the youth of King Henry, and thinking it was an enterpriſe farre vnmete for him to take in hande, did therefore in mockage ſende to him a Tonne of Tennys balles to play with all, meaning that he had better ſkill in a Tennys courte, and handling of a Ball, then in the martiall affayres of warre. But the king after he had receyued from the Dolphyn his former preſent, aunſwered: that before he had ended with him and his father, he purpoſed by Gods ayde to toſſe as many Balles of yron with him, which ỹ beſt racket he had ſhould not be hable to reſiſt nor returne. And forthwith, for that many French men were promoted within this realme to Eccleſiaſticall dignities, and by reaſon thereof conueighed diuers ſommes of money ouer into Fraunce, for the reliefe of their friends and Countrie men, the king therefore for the common weale of his realme and ſubiectes, ordeyned that no ſtraunger hereafter ſhould be promoted to any ſpirituall degree or dignitie within this realme, without his ſpeciall lycence and royall conſent, and that all they that ſhould ſo be admitted, ſhould finde ſufficient ſuretie not to diſcloſe the ſecretes of this realme to any foreyn or ſtraunge perſon, nor alſo to miniſter vnto them any ayde or ſuccour with money, or by any other meane.

The pride and diſdainefulneſſe of the Dolphyn of Fraunce.

The king maketh a great prouiſion againſt Fraunce.

And nowe with all ſpeede he aſſembled a great puyſſaunce and armie throrough all his dominions: And for the better furniture of his Nauie, he ſent into Holand, Zelande, and Friſelande to procure and hire Shippes for the conducting and tranſporting ouer of his men and munitions of warre: And finally, prouyded for armour, victuall, money, Artillery, cariages, Tentes, and other things neceſſarie for ſo high an enterprice, the which prouiſions were ſoone blowen ouer and knowne in Fraunce. Wherefore the Dolphin, who had taken on him the gouernaunce of the realme, becauſe his father was fallen again into his olde infirmitie, ſent for the Dukes of Berry and Alaunſon, and all the counſayle of Fraunce, to determine what ſhould be done in ſo weightie a cauſe. And after long conſultation it was agreed to aſſemble people throrough the whole realme of Fraunce to reſiſt and repulſe the

the king of England and his power whenſouer he would arryue or ſet foote in Fraunce.

An Ambaſſade ſent out of Fraunce to the king of England.

But to the entent to haue ſtayed the king of Englande at home, they ſent vnto him a ſolempne Ambaſſade, to make vnto him ſome offers accordyng to the demaunds afore reherſed. The charge of this Ambaſſade was committed vnto the Erle of Vandoſme, to Mayſter Wylliam Bouratier Archbyſhop of Bourgues, and to the Biſhop of Lyſeux, to the Lorde of Pury and Braquemount, and to Maſter Gualtier Cole the kings Secretary and diuers other. Theſe Ambaſſadors accompanied with. CCCl. horſe paſſed the ſea at Calice, and landed at Douer, before whoſe arryuall the king was departed from Wyndſore to Wincheſter, entending to haue gone to Southhampton, and there to haue bewed his Nauie, but heering of the Ambaſſadors comming, tarped ſtill at Wyncheſter, where the ſayde Frenche Lordes ſhewed themſelues very honorably before the king and the Nobilitie. And the king ſitting vnder his cloth of eſtate in the Biſhops hall, the ſayde Ambaſſadours had acceſſe vnto him, where the Archebiſhop of Bourges made vnto him an eloquent Oration diſſuading warre and prayſing peace, offeryng to the king of Englande a great ſome of money, with diuers baſe and pore Coũtries with the Lady Katheryn in mariage, ſo that he would diſſolue his army, & diſmiſſe his Souldiours which he had gathered and made ready.

The oration being ended, the king cauſed the Ambaſſadors to be highly feaſted, and ſet them at his awne table. And at a daye appointed in the aforeſayde hall, the Archebiſhop of Cauntorbury made to their oration a notable and learned aunſwere: the effect whereof was, that if the French king would not geue with his daughter in mariage, the Duchies of Aquiteyn, Normandy, Aniowe and all other ſeigniories and dominions, ſometime appertenyng to the Noble progenitors of the king of England, he would in no wiſe retire his armie nor breake his iourney, but would with all diligence enter into the realme of Fraunce, with ſworde and fyre, and not leaue vntill he had recouered his auncient right and lawfull patrimony. The king auowed the Archebyſhops ſaiyng, and in the worde of a prince promiſed to performe it to the vttermoſt.

A ſlowtfull prowd biſhop

The Byſhop of Bourges beyng in a chafe that his purpoſe tooke no better effect, prayed lycence and pardon of the king that he might ſpeake, which being graunted vnto him, he very rudely and vnreuerently ſayde vnto the king as followeth. Thinkeſt thou to put downe and deſtroy wrongfully the moſt chriſtian king our moſt redoubted ſouereigne Lorde, and the moſt excellenteſt prince of all Chriſtianitie, of blond and preheminence? O king, ſauyng thine honor, thinkeſt thou that he hath offered or cauſed to be offered to thee lands, goodes, or other poſſeſſions with his awne daughter for feare of thee or thy Engliſh Nation, or of thy friendes or well willers? No, no, but of truth, he moued with pitie, as a louer of peace, to the intent that innocent blond ſhould not be diſperſed abroade, hath made to thee theſe reaſonable offers, putting his whole affiaunce in God moſt puyſſaunt, according to right and reaſon, truſtyng in hys quarell to be ayded and ſupported by his faythfull and good ſubiects and his well wyllers. And ſyth we be ſubiectes and ſeruaunts, we require thee to cauſe vs ſafely and ſurely without dammage to paſſe out of thy realme and dominions, and that thou wilte write

thine aunſwere wholy as thou haſt geuen it, and to ſeale the ſame wyth thy Seale.

The king of England nothing vered nor vnquieted with the ſayengs and proude bragges of the vnnurtered Archebiſhop, but well remembering the prouerbe of Salomon, that warres are to be taken in hande with diſcretion, and where many can geue counſayle there is victorie, therefore coldely and ſoberly he aunſwered the Byſhop, ſayeng: My Lorde, I little eſteeme your French bragges, and leſſe ſet by your power and ſtrength, I knowe perfitely my right to your region, and except you will denie the apparaunt truth, ſo doe you, and if you neyther doe nor will knowe, yet God and the worlde knoweth it. The power of your Maſter, you ſee daylie, but of my power ye haue not yet taſted, if your Maſter haue louing friends and faythfull ſubiectes, God I thanke him I am not vnprouyded of the ſame: But this I ſaye vnto you, that before one yere paſſe, I truſt to make the higheſt crowne in your Country to ſtoope, and the proudeſt Pyter to knele downe: And ſaye this to the vſurper your Maſter, that within three Moneths I will enter into Fraunce, not as into his lande, but as into mine awne true and lawfull patrimonie, entendyng to conquer it, not with bragging words, nor flattering Orations, but by power and dent of ſword by the ayde of God in whome is my whole confidence, and I aſſure you I will not ſpeake that worde, the which I would not both write and ſubſcribe, neyther would I ſubſcribe to that which I would not wyllingly ſet to my ſeale, therefore your ſafe conduyt ſhall be to you delyuered with mine anſwere, and then you may departe ſurely and ſafely into your Countrie, where I truſt ſooner to viſite you then that you ſhall haue cauſe to bid me welcome. With this aunſwere the Ambaſſadors not a little greeued did ſhortly after departe, but not vnrewarded, and that very bountifully and liberally.

The kinges diſcrete aunſwere made to the biſhop.

Nowe after the Frenche Ambaſſadors were departed, the king, as I ſayde before, hauyng a great foreſight and diſpoſing all thinges in order, did not forget the olde condicions of the variable and inconſtant Scottiſhe Nation, and therefore appoynted the Erle of Weſtmerland, the Lorde Scrope, the Baron of Greyſtroke, and Sir Robert Umfreuile, with dyuerſe other valiant Capteynes, to kepe the Marches ioynyng to Scotland. The which ſir Robert Umfreuile, on the day of Saint Mary Magdalene, entered vpon the Scottes at the towne of Gederyng, hauyng in his companie onely foure hundreth Engliſhe men, where after a long conflict and ſkirmiſhe, he ſlue of his enemies.lx. and odde, and tooke priſoners. CCClx. and diſcomfited and put to flight a thouſand and mo, whome he folowed in chaſe.xij.myles, and ſo laden with praye and priſoners, returned to the Caſtel of Rokeſborough vnhurt, of the which Caſtell he was then Capteyne.

A ſkirmiſhe wyth the Scottes.

When the king had prepared all thinges mete for his iourney, he then for the ſafegarde of the realme, leauyng behinde him the Queene his mother as Gouernour of the realme, departed to the towne of Southampton, and there purpoſed to take his ſhippyng. And becauſe he would not ſteale on the French king, but that he ſhould haue knowledge of his commyng, he therefore diſpatched with ſpeede Antelop his purſuyuant at armes, with letters of defyance: The which letters, when the French king and his counſaile had read, and well conſidered, he made aunſwere to the officer of armes, that he

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Letters of defiance ſent to the french king.

woulde prouide for his defence, and ſo licenced the Meſſenger to departe at his pleaſure.

Certaine Lordes apprehended for treaſon.

Shortly after, the king beyng in a readineſſe to aduaunce forwarde, ſodeinly, he was credibly informed, that Richard Erle of Cambridge, brother to Edward Duke of Yorke, and Henry Lorde Scrope, and Sir Thomas Gray had conſpired his death and vtter deſtruction, wherfore he cauſed them forthwith to be apprehended. And after theſe priſoners were examined, they not onely confeſſed the conſpiracie, but alſo declared that for a great ſomme of money which they had receyued of the French king, they entended eyther to delyuer the king alyue into the handes of his enemyes, or elſe to murther him before that he ſhould arriue in Normandie. When king Henry had all the truth opened vnto him, of the which he was not onely very deſyrous, but alſo was moſt hartely ſorie, and inwardly grieued that he ſhould loſe ſuch valiaunt Capteynes, by whoſe ayde he might haue bene made the more dreadfull to his enemies: but nowe the matter beyng thus fallen out, the king aſſembled together all his nobilitie, and before them cauſed to be brought forth the aforeſayd three great offenders, and vnto them ſayde as foloweth. I can not a little meruayle what ſhould moue you to deuiſe or conſpire my death, who hath loued you moſt derely, and to ſay truly vnto you, ye could not conſpyre my death which am your heade and gouernour, but ye muſt alſo purpoſe the deſtruction of al that be here, and of all the people in this realme. And although ſome priuate Scorpion poſſeſſed your hearte, and heades to this great wickednеſſe, yet ye ſhould nowe haue forborne to haue practiſed the ſame, ſo long as I was with mine armie, whome ye knowe can not continue without a Captein. But foraſmuch as ye haue purpoſed ſo great a miſchiefe, and ſo abhominable a fact, and confeſſed the ſame, and alſo to the entent that your ayders beyng in the armie may abhorre ſo horrible an offence, ye ſhall receyue the puniſhement and paine that the lawe hath appoynted for your demerites.

And the nert day folowyng, when theſe noble men were executed, the king ſayde to his Lordes, ſe you not the mad imagination of men, which perſecute me that dayly ſtudie & vſe my great trauayle to do good to them and to all men, and hurt to none, which I knowe is my duetie, and therevnto was I borne. I pray God that there remaine none among you that is infected with ſo much vntruth, as had liefer to ſee mee deſtroyed and brought to confuſion, then to ſee his native Countrie flouriſh and encreaſed with honour, and Empire. But I aſſure you, I haue conceyued a right good opinion of you, and therefore by Goddes ſufferaunce we will ſet forward, and for my ſelfe I will forget all paine & perill, and be your Lodeſman and guyde. Now when the king had thus ſayde, all the Noble men kneled downe, and promiſed faythfully to ſerue, and duly to obey him, and rather to die then ſuffer him to fall into the handes of his enemies.

This done, the king thought ſurely that all conſpiracie and ſedition had bene quenched: But he was deceyued, for he ſawe not a fyre that was newly kindeled, which afterward drue to ſo great a flame, that it burned and conſumed the walles of his awne houſe and family, which fyre at that tyme if he had eſpyed, he might peraduenture eaſilie haue quenched and put out: For certeine write that Richarde Erle of Cambridge did not conſpyre with the

Lorde

Lorde Scrope, and Sir Thomas Gray, to murther king Henry, to please the Frenche king withall, but onely to the entent to exalt to the Crowne his brother in lawe Edmond Erle of Marche, as heyre to Duke Lyonell the thirde begotten sonne of king Edward the third. After whose death, considering that the Erle of Marche for diuerse secrete impedimentes, was not able to haue generation, he was sure that the Crowne should come to hym, or to his children. And therefore it is to be thought, that he rather confessed himselfe for neede of money to bee corrupted by the Frenche king, then hee would declare his inwarde minde, and open his very entent: For surely he sawe that if his purpose were espyed, the Erle of Marche should haue dronken of the same Cuppe that he did, and what should haue come to his owne children he much doubted, therfore beyng destitute of comfort, and in dispaire of lyfe, to saue his children he feyned that tale, despyzing rather to saue his succession, then himselfe, which he did in deede. For Richard Duke of Yorke his sonne, not priuily, but openly claymed the Crowne, and Edward his son both claymed it, and gayned it, as hereafter ye shall here, which thing at this time if king Henry had foreseene, I doubt (sayth Hall) whether euer that lyne should haue claymed the garland, or gotten the game.

The king setteth forward into Fraunce.

Harflewe besieged.

Nowe assoone as the winde came about, the king set forward with his Nauie, beyng in number an. CXI. shippes, and shortly after landed at Caur in Normandie without resistance. And the next day after, the king marched toward the towne of Harflew, standyng vpon the Riuer of Seyne, betwene two hilles, and besieged it on euery part. The Capteyne of the towne was the Lord Escouteuyle, accompanyed with the Lorde Blaynuyle of Harqueuile, the Lordes of Harmanuyle, of Galard Boyes, of Clere de Barton, of Adsanches, of Bzian, of Gaucort, of Lilleadam, and many other.

The Frenche king beyng aduertised of the Kinges arryuall, sent in all the haste the Lord Delabreth Constable of Fraūce, and the Lord Bonciquall Marchall of Fraunce, the Seneschall of Henawde, the Lorde Ligny, and diuerse other Capteynes, which fortefyed townes with men, victuall and artillery, vpon all the Sea coast. And heeryng that the king of England had besieged Harflew at his first landyng, came to the Castell of Cawdebeck beyng not farre from Harflewe, to the entent to succour their friendes whiche were besieged, if they might by any pollicie: And if not, then they imagined howe to slay and hurt the Englishe men, when they went into the Countrie of foragyng for beastes and victual, and so to trap and destroy them. But they were deceyued, for notwithstandyng the prouision and pollicie of the French men, the Englishe men forrayed the Countrie and spoyled the Villages and returned againe to the Campe with many a riche pray. The Englishe men dayly assaulted the towne, and the Duke of Gloucester to whome the order of the assault was committed, made three mynes vnder the ground, and approched the Walles with ordinaunce and engines, and would not suffer them within to rest at any time. The king lying on the hill side with his battail, did not onely keepe the Frenche men from succoryng of the towne, but also toke away from the townes men all the hope and trust of their succour, ayde, and relefe, and also all the Goonpowder that was sent by the Frenche king vnto them that were besieged, was taken by the English men. The Captaines of the French men within the towne, perceyued that they were not able to endure

endure the fierce assaultes of the Englishe men, and fearyng to be ouercome and taken by force, desired of the king of England only truce for three dayes, promisyng that if they were not rescued within ỹ tyme, that then they would yeelde themselues and the towne, theyr liues beyng saued. And for performance hereof, they deliuered vnto the king. xxx. of the best Marchauntes and Capteynes that were within the towne.

The king of England accepted this offer. And so soone as this composition was agreed vpon, foorthwith the Lorde Hacqueuyle was sent vnto the French king to declare the necessitie of the towne, and the short tyme of the truce. To whome the Dolphyn answered, that the kinges power was not yet assembled in such a nūber, as was conuenient to raise so great a siege.

When this answere was reported to the Capteynes, they seyng no hope of comfort or relefe, after the thirde day rendered to the king of England the towne, beyng the. xxviij. day after it was besieged, and the. xxij. day of the moneth of September, to the great abashement of all Normandie, for it was the chiefest port of all that Countrie. The Souldiours were raunsomed, and the towne was sacked, to the great gaine of the Englishe men. The king of Englande made Capteyne of that towne his Uncle Thomas Duke of Exceter, which established his Lieutenant there John Fastolffe, with. xv. hundreth men, and. xxv. good knightes, whereof the Baron of Carew, and Sir Hugh Lutterell were two counsaylors. And because diuerse of his Nobles lying before Harflew were sicke of the Fluxe, and many were dead, amongest whome the Erle of Stafforde, the Bishop of Norwiche, the Lordes, Molyns, and Burnell, were foure beside other. The king licenced the Duke of Clarence, his brother, John Erle Marchall, and John Erle of Arondell beyng infected with that disease, to returne into England.

Harflew is yelded to the king of England.

King Henry not a little reioysing of this victory at his beginning determined with all diligence to set forward, and to performe his entended purpose and warlye enterprise, but by reason that the sharpnesse of Winter weather approched more sooner at that time, then before it had beene accustomed he was therewithall sore troubled and vered. Wherfore he callyng together all his Cheuetaynes, and conferryng with them what was best to be done: After long consultation, in the ende it was agreed on all sides, that it was a thing both necessarie and conuenient to set forward with all diligence before the dead time of Wynter approched, toward the towne of Calyce. And because their going forward might be called of slaunderous tongs a running or flyeng awaye, it was therefore agreed, that the whole armie should passe the next way by lande thorough the middest of their enimies: And yet that iourney was iudged perillous, by reason that the number was much minished by the Fluxe and other Feuers which sore vered, and brought to death aboue fiftene hundred persons, which was the very cause that the returne was the soner concluded and agreed vpon: But yet before his departing he entred into the towne of Harflew. And all the men of warre that had not paide their raunsome, he sware them on the holy Euangelistes to yeeld them selues prisoners at Calice, by the feast of saint Martyn in Nouember next folowyng: Diuers of the Burgesses he highly raunsomed, and a great part of the women and children he put out of the towne, geuing to euery poore creature. v. Sowse. The priestes had lycence to departe, leauing behinde them

them their ſubſtaunce. The goodes in the towne were innumerable, which were all prayse to the Engliſhmen, which ſent the beſt into England as a token of good luck. There were two ſtrong Towers ſtanding on the Hauen ſyde, which looking for ayde did not yeelde tenne dayes after the towne was rendered.

When the king had repayred the towne, and fortefied and furniſhed the ſame with men, munition, and victuall, he remoued from Harflew to Pountheyſe, entending to paſſe the ryuer of Some with his army, before the bridges were eyther withdrawen or broken.

The French king heering that the towne of Harflew was taken by the king of Englande, and that he was marchyng forward into the Bowelles of the realme, ſent out his proclamations, and aſſembled his people in euery quarter, committing the whole charge of his armie to his ſonne the Dolphin and the Duke of Aquiteyn, which incontinent cauſed the Bridges to be broken, and all the paſſages to be defended: beſyde that, they cauſed all corne and other victuall to be deſtroyed in all places, where they coniectured that the Engliſhmen would repayre or paſſe thorough, to the intent that they might eyther keepe them in a place certayne without any paſſage or departure, and ſo to deſtroye them at their pleaſures, or elſe to keepe them in a ſtrayte without victualles or comfort, and ſo by famine eyther cauſe them to dye or yeelde.

Blanchetaque a paſſage ouer the ryuer of Some.

The king of Englande afflicted with all theſe incommodities at one tyme was neyther diſmayed nor diſcouraged, but keeping forth his iourney approched to the ryuer of Some, where he perceaued that all the Bridges were by his enimies broken and vnframed: wherefore he came to the paſſage called Blanchetaque, where king Edwards great graūdfather paſſed the ryuer of Some before the battayle of Creſſy: But the paſſage was ſo kept that he could not paſſe without great daunger, conſydering that his enimies were both before his face, and hard behinde his backe: But yet he paſſed forward, burnyng Villages and taking great booties, and euery day he ſent his light horſemen abroad to ſpie and ſeke what perilles there were at hande, and what embuſhments were layde on the one ſyde or the other, and where he might moſt ſafely paſſe the riuer. The eſpialles returned and declared for a truth that the countrie ſwarmed with men of warre, whereof he being aduertiſed, ſet forth in good order, keeping ſtill his way forward, and ſo ordered his armie and placed his cariage, that hauing his enimies on both ſides of him, he paſſed ſo terribly that his enimies were afrayde once to offer him battayle: And yet the Lorde Delabreth Conſtable of Fraunce, the Marſhall Boncequalt, the Erle of Vandoſme great Maſter of Fraunce and the Lorde Dampier Admirall of Fraunce, the Duke of Alanſon, and the Erle of Richmond with all the puyſſaunce of the Dolphyn lay at Abuyle, and durſt not once touche his battayles, but euer kept the paſſages, and coaſted aloofe lyke a Hawke that lyketh not her prayе.

The king of Englande ſtill kept on his iourney vntill he came to the Bridge of ſaint Marence, where he found aboue.xxx.thouſand Frenchmen, and there pitched his fielde, looking ſurely to be ſet on and foughten withall: wherefore to encourage his Captaynes the more, he dubbed certaine of his valyaunt and hardy gentlemen knightes, as:

John

John Lorde Ferres of Groby.
Reignold of Greyſtock.
Piers Tempeſt.
Chriſtopher Moriſoy.
Thomas Pickering.
Wylliam Huddleſton.
John Holbalton.
Henry Mortimer.
Phylip Hall.
Wylliam Hall.
Jaques of Ormond,
wyth dyuers other.

But after the king ſawe that the Frenchmen made no ſemblaunce to fight, he departed in good order of battayle by the towne of Amyence, to a towne neere to a Caſtell called Bowes, and there laye two dayes, looking euery houre for battayle. And from thence he came neere to Corby, where he was ſtayed that night by reaſon that the common people and Peſaunts of the country aſſembled in great number, and the men of armes of the Garriſon of Corby ſkirmiſhed with his armie in the morning, which tarying was to him both ioyous and profitable, for there he diſcomfited the crewe of horſemen, and draue the ruſticall people euen to their gates, and found there the ſame day a ſhalow foorde betweene Corby and Peron, which neuer was eſpied before. At the which he, his armie and cariages the night enſuyng paſſed the ryuer of Some without let or daūger, and then determined with all diligence to paſſe the ryuer of Some, without let or daunger, and then determined with all diligence to paſſe forward to Calice, and not to ſeeke for battayle, except he were thereunto conſtreyned, for his armie by ſickneſſe was ſore miniſhed, for he had onely two thouſand horſemen, and.xvij.thouſand Archers, bill men and of all ſortes: The Engliſhmen were afflicted in this iourney with an hundred diſcommodities, for their victuall was in maner all ſpent, and newe they coulde get none, for the enemies had deſtroyed all before their comming: Reſt they could take none, for their enemies were euer at hand: daylie it rayned, and nightly it freeſed, of Fuell was ſcarceneſſe, and of Fluxes was plenty, money they had ynough, but comfort they had none.

The Engliſhmen were ſore afflicted.

The French king being at Roan, and hering that the king of Englande was paſſed the water of Some, was not a little diſcontent (and as Hall ſayth) aſſembled his counſayle to the number of.xxxv. to conſult what ſhould be done, the chiefe wherof, were the Dolphyn his ſonne, whoſe name was Lewes, callyng himſelfe king of Cicile, the Dukes of Berry and Bryteyn, the Erle of Pontieu the kings youngeſt ſonne, and dyuers other, whereof xxx. agreed that the Engliſhmen ſhould not departe vnfoughten withall, and ſyxe were of the contrary opinio, but the greater number ruled the matter. And ſo Mountioy king at Armes was ſent to the king of Englande to defye him as the enemie of Fraunce, and to tell him that he ſhould ſhortly haue battayle. King Henry ſoberly aunſwered: Sir my entent and deſyre is none other, but to do as pleaſeth almightie God, and as it becommeth me, for ſurely I will not ſeeke your mayſter at this time: But if he or his ſeeke me, I will willingly fight with hym. And if any of your nation attempt once to ſtop me in my iourney toward Caleys, at their ieopardie be it, and yet my deſyre is that none of you be ſo vnaduiſed or harebreyned, as to be the occaſion that I in mine awne defence ſhould be the effuſion of Chriſtian bloud, and ſyns he rewarded the Herault, and lycenced him to depart.

The French king ſendeth a defiaunce to the king of England.

When the Lordes of Fraunce heard the king of Englandes aunſwere,

ff

it was incontinent proclaymed, that all men of warre should resorte to the Conestable of Fraunce, to fight with the king of Englande, and his puyssaunce: wherevpon all men accustomed to beare armour, and desyrous to wynne honour thorough the realme of Fraunce, drewe toward the field. The Dolphyn sore desyred to be at that battayle, but he was prohibited by the king his father: Lykewise Philip Erle of Charolous sonne to the Duke of Burgoyn would gladly haue beene at that noble assembly, if the Duke his father would haue suffred him, but many of his men stale awaye, and went to the Frenchmen.

The king of England being informed by his Espialles that the daye of battayle was neerer then he looked for, dislodged from Bompers, and went in good aray thorough the fayre playne, beside the towne of Blangy, where to the intent that his armie should not be included in a streight, or driuen to a corner, he chose a place meete and conuenient for two armies to darrayne battayle betweene the townes of Blangy and Agincourte, where he pight hys fielde.

The Conestable of Fraunce, the Admirall, the Lorde Rambures master of the Crosbowes, and dyuers Lordes and knightes pitched their Banners neere to the Banner royall of the Constable, in the Countie of Saint Paule within the territorie of Agincourt, by the which waye the Englishe men must needes passe towarde Caleys. The frenchmen made great fyres about their Banners, and they were in number.lx. thousand horsemen as their awne historians and writers affirme, besyde footemen, pages and Wagoners, and all that night they made great cheere and were mery. The Englishmen also that night sounded their trumpets, and dyuers Instruments musicall with great melodie, and yet they were both hungrie, werie, sore trauayled and muche vered with colde diseases: Howbeit they made peace with God and their consciences, euery man encouraging other rather manfully to dye, then eyther to yeelde or flie.

The courage of the Englishmen.

The battayle of Agincourt

Nowe approched the fortunate and fayre day to the English men, and a blacke and vnluckie day to the French men, which was the.xxv.day of October.1415. beyng then Friday. On the which day in the morning, the French men made three battayles. In the Vaward were.viij. thousande healmes of knightes & Esquiers, and foure thousand Archers, and.xv. C. Crosbowes, which were guyded by the Lorde Delabreth Constable of Fraunce, hauyng with him the Dukes of Orleaunce, and Burbon, the Erles of Ewe, & Richemond, the Marchal Bonciqualt, and the maister of the Crosbowes, the Lord Dampier Admirall of Fraunce, and other Capteynes, and the Erle of Vandosme, and other the kinges officers, with.xvj.hundreth men of Armes, and they were ordered for a wing to that battaile. And the other wing was guyded by Sir Guyshard Dolphin, and sir Clugnet of Brabant, and sir Lewes of Burbon, with.viij. hundreth men of Armes of chosen persons. And to breake the shot of the Englishe men, were appointed sir Guylliam de Saquensens, with Hector and Philip his brethren, Ferrey of Waylley, and Alein of Galspanes, with other.viij.C men of Armes. In the middle ward were assigned as many persons and mo as were assigned in the Vaward, and therof was the charge committed to the Dukes of Barre, and Alenson, the Erles of Neuers, Vawdemount Blamount, Salings, Graunt pree, & of Rusty. And in

in the rereward were all the other men of armes, guyded by the Erles of Marle, Dampmartyne, Fauconberge, and the Lorde Lurrey, Capteyne of Arde, who had with him men of the Frontiers of Bolonoys.

When these Battayles were thus ordered, it was a glorious sight to beholde them, and surely they were esteemed to be in number six tymes as many or more then was the whole companie of Englishe men with Wagones, Pages and all. And now both the Armies beyng in a redinesse, the Constable of Fraunce with an eloquent and earnest Oration, encouraged hys souldiours manfully that day to stande to it for the honour of Fraunce: The king of England did no lesse prudently and valiauntly stirre vp the heartes of his people. And these exhortations ended, the king of England had placed purely two hundreth Archers in a lowe medowe nere to the forwarde of his enemies, but yet separate with a great diche, and they were commaunded to kepe themselues close vntill they had a token geuen them to shote. Besyde this he appoynted a Vawarde, of the which he made Capteyne Edwarde Duke of Yorke, which of a haute courage obteyned of the king by petition that office, and with him were the Lordes Beamond, Willoughby, and Fanhope, and this battaile was all Archers. The middle ward was guyded by the king himselfe, with his brother the Duke of Glocester, and the Erles Marchall, Orford, and Suffolke, in the which were all the strong bill men. The Duke of Exceter, Uncle vnto the king, had the rereward which was myxed both with Archares and Bill men. The horsemen like winges went on euery side of the battaile. When the king had thus ordered his battaile, yet fearyng least the French men would compasse and beset him about, lyke a wise and a politike prince, he caused stakes bound with yron sharpe at both the endes, of the length of.v. or.vj. foote, to be pitched before the Archers, to the entent that if the barde horses ranne rashely vpon them, they might shortly be gored and destroyed, and appoynted certeine personnes to remoue the stakes when the Archers moued, as tyme required: so that the footemen were hedged about with the stakes, & the horsemen stoode lyke a Bulwarke betwene them and their enemyes, without the stakes. This deuice of fortefiyng of an armie with stakes, was at this tyme first deuised and practised, but sithe that tyme they haue deuysed, Caltroppes, Harrowes, and other newe trickes. All thinges beyng thus set in order, nowe approched the battaile. But here Hall sheweth at large, howe that the French men the night before had made themselues assured of the victorie, and had diuided the prisoners and spoyles among them, and had cast lottes for them, but it is an olde prouerbe that he that maketh his reconyng without his hoste, must be faine to recon twise, and also it is a true saiyng, that man purposeth, but God disposeth, for victory is the gift of God, as may appere by the sequele of this battaile, which happened to the Englishe men rather miraculously then otherwise. Therefore to God the king very well gaue the praise thereof, as in the ende of the same ye shall heere.

A good intention.

Nowe the armies approchyng somewhat nere, an olde knight called Sir Thomas Harpyngton, a man of great experience in warre, with a Warder in his hande. And when he cast vp the Warder, all the armie shouted, at the which the Frenchmen much marueyled: But that was a signe to the Archers in the Medowe, which knowyng the token shot wholy altogether

ther at the Vaward of the French men. When they perceyued the Archers in the Medowe, whome they sawe not before, and sawe they could not come to them for a ditche, they with al hast set on king Henries Forward: But ere they ioyned, the Archers in the forefront, and the Archers on the syde, which stoode in the Medowe, so wounded the fotemen, so galled the horsses, and so combred the men of Armes, that the fotemen durst not go forward, the horsemen ranne in plompes without order, some ouerthrewe his felowe, and horses ouerthrewe their maisters: So at the first ioynyng, as the Frenche men were clerely discouraged, so the Englishe men were muche chered and comforted. When the French Vaward was thus discomfited, the Englishe Archers cast away theyr Bowes, and toke into their handes, Axes, Malles, Swordes and Billes, and therewith slue the French men, vntill they came to the middle warde. Then the king approched, and so encouraged his souldiours, that shortly the seconde battaile was ouerthrowne, and dispersed, but not without great slaughter of men, for the French men strongly withstood the fiercenesse of the English men, when they came to handie strokes, so that the fight was very doubtfull and perillous. And when one part of the french horsemen thought to haue entered into the kinges battaile, they were wyth [illegible]e stakes ouerthrowne and slaine, or taken.

A valyaunt Prince.

Thus the battaile continued three long houres. The king ỹ day shewed himself a valiaunt Prince, for notwithstandyng that he was almost felled by the Duke of Alanson, yet with plain strength he slue two of the Dukes companie, and felled the Duke: But when the Duke woulde haue yelded vnto him, the kinges garde, contrary to the kinges minde, outragiously slue him. And in conclusion, minding to make an ende of that dayes iourney, caused his horsemen to fetch a compasse about, and to ioyne with hym against the rereward of Fraunce, in the which battaile were the greatest number of people. When the French men perceyued his entent, they were sodeinly amased, and ranne away lyke sheepe, without array or order. When the king perceyued the Banners cast downe, and the array cleerely broken, he encouraged hys Souldiors, and folowed so quickly, that the French men turnyng to flight, ran hether and thether, not knowyng which way to take, castyng away their armour, and on their knees desyred to haue their liues saued.

In this meane tyme, while the battaile continued, and that the Englishe men had taken a great number of prisoners, certeine Frenche men on horseback, whereof were Captaynes, Robinet of Bozneuile, Rifflarde of Clemas, and Iſambert of Agincourt, and other men of armes, to the number of vj. hundreth horsemen, which fled first from the field at their first commyng, and heeryng that the Englishe Tentes and Pauillions were farre from the armie, and without any great number of keepers or persons mete and conuenient for defence, partly moued with couetousnesse of spoyle and pray, and partly entendyng by some notable act to reuenge the dammage and displeasure done to them and theirs in the battaile the same day, entered into the kinges Campe, beyng voyde of men, and fortefyed with Herlettes and Lackeyes, and there spoyled Hales, robbed Tentes, brake vp Chestes, and caried away Caskettes, and slue suche seruauntes, as they there found: For the which act they were long imprisoned and sore punished, and lyke to haue lost their lyues if the Dolphyn had lenger lyued.

But

But when the king of Englande by a fearefull messenger was sodenly aduertised of thys newe onset, and also heard the outcrie of the Lackeyes, he fearing least his enimies were gathered together agayne, and doubtyng that the great number of prisoners that were taken, would rather take parte with the enemies then with him, did therefore by proclamation commaund throughout the armie that euery man should kyll his prisoner, vpon paine of death. When this dolorous commaundement was pronounced, pitie it was to see, and more lothsome to beholde how some frenchmen were sodainely sticked with daggers, some brayned with Polaxes, some beaten downe with Malles, some their throtes cut, and some their bellies cut, and their paunches hanged out, so that in effect, hauing respect to the great number of prisoners, fewe or none was saued.

When this lamentable manslaughter was fynished, the Englishe men forgetting their woundes, and not remembring what paine they had susteyned all that daye in fighting with their enimies, as men that were freshe and lustie, raunged themselues agayne in araye, both prest and ready to abide a newe fielde, and also to inuade a fresh their enimies, and there withall courageously set vpon the Erle of Marle and Fawconbridge, and the Lords of Lonray and of Thyne, which with .vj.C. men of armes had all daye kept together, and slue them out of hande.

After this last conflict, the king of Englande passed thorough the fielde, and sawe neyther resistaunce nor the apparaunce of any french men, sauing the dead Corses, wherefore he caused a retrayte to be blowen, and brought all his armie together, about foure of the clock at after noone, and first (as Hall sayth) callyng his prelates together, caused them to geue thankes to God, by whose almightie power he had receaued that victorie, and to sing the Psalme of In exitu Israel. &c. Commaunding euery man to kneele downe, when they came at this verse, Non nobis domine, non nobis, sed nomini tuo da gloriam. Which is in Englishe, Not vnto vs O Lorde, not vnto vs, but vnto thy name be geuen the prayse and glory, & then caused the psalme of Te deum to be song, so that it might euidently appere that this noble prince had a perfite fayth and trust in the ayde of God, which heard his prayer, and regarded his fayth, and therefore gaue him the victorie.

That night he was refreshed with suche as he founde in the Frenche campe, and in the morning Mountioy king at Armes, and foure Heraultes came vnto him to knowe the number of prisoners, and to desyre buriall for them which were slayne. But before he aunswered the Heraults, he calling to remembraunce, that it was more honourable to be praysed of his enimies then extolled of his friendes, did therefore demaunde of them why they made to him that request, for that he was not certaine whether the prayse of that victorie ought to be attributed to him or to their Nation? O Lorde quod Mountioy, thinke you vs officers of Armes to be rude and bestiall? If we for the affection that we beare to our naturall Countrie, would eyther for fauour or meede hyde or denie your glorious victorie: The Foules of the ayre and wormes of the ground will beare witnesse agaynst vs, and so will the Captiues that are yet in your possession. Wherefore according to the dutie of our office, which is or should be alwayes indifferently to write, and truly to iudge, and therefore we saye and affirme, that the victorie is youres, the ho-

nor is yours, and yours is the glorie, aduising you as you haue manfully gotten it, so politiquely to vse it. Well sayde the king, seing this is your determination, I wyllingly accept it, desyring you to shewe me the name of the Castell neere adioyning, and they answered it was called Agincourt: Then sayde the king, this conflict shall be called the battayle of Agincourt, which victorie hath not bene obteyned by vs nor our power, but by the ayde and sufferaunce of almightie God, for the iniurie and vntruth that we haue receyued at the handes of your prince and his nation. And that daye he feasted the French officers of armes, and graunted to them their request, which busily sought thorough the fielde for such as were slayne: But the Englishmen suffred them not to go alone, for they searched with them, and found manye hurte, but not in ieopardy of their lyfe, whome they tooke prisoners, and brought them into their tents.

The battaile of Agincourt.

When the king of Englande had well refreshed himselfe and hys souldyours, and had taken the spoyle of suche as were slaine, he with his prisoners in good order returned toward his towne of Calice.

When tydings of this notable victorie was perfitely knowne in Englande, there was no small ioye and reioysing with praysing of God, and making of Bonefyres with all the triumph that might be made.

On the Sundaye, after the king was departed toward Caleys, diuers Frenchmen repayred to the playne where the battayle was, and remoued agayne the dead bodyes, some to finde out their Masters, and to bury them, and some to take the reliques which the Englishmen had left. For the Englishe men tooke nothing but Golde, Siluer, Jewelles, riche apparell and costly armour: But the ploughmen and Peysaunts spoyled the deade Carcasses, leauing them neyther shyrt nor clowte, and so they laye starke naked vntill Wednesday. On the which day diuers of the noble men were conueyed into their countries, and the remnaunt were by Philip Erle of Charoloys (sore lamenting the chaunce, and moued with pittie) at his coste and charge buried in a square plot of fiftene hundred yardes, in the which he caused to be made three pittes, wherin was buried by accompt fiue thousand and. viij. hundred persons beside them which were caryed away, and other that were wounded to the death, and were caryed to Hospitalles and there dyed.

Prisoners taken.

In this battayle were taken and slayne the flowre of all the Nobilitie of Fraunce, for there were taken prisoners:

Charles Duke of Orleaunce.	The Lorde of Dynchy.
John Duke of Burbone.	Sir John of Uawcourt.
John of Craon Lord of Donuart.	Sir Arthur Bremyer.
The Lorde of Folleur.	Sir Jenet of Poys.
The Lorde of Humyers.	The sonne and heyre of
The Lorde of Roy.	the Lorde Ligny.
The Lorde of Cawny.	Sir Gilbert de Lawney.
The Lorde of Hamcourt.	The Lorde Dancombe, and dyuers other, to the number of. xb. hundred kightes and Esquires, beside the common people.
The Lorde of Noell.	
The Lorde Bonciqualt,	
Marchall of Fraunce.	

Noble mens flaine.

There were slayne of the Nobles and Gentlemen at this battaile,

Charles Lorde Delabreth, high Conestable of Fraunce.

Jaques

Jaques of Chastilon Lorde of Dampier, Admirall of Fraunce.	The Lorde Daurey.
	The Lorde Brenew.
The Lorde Rambures, master of the Crossebowes.	The Lorde of Pair.
	The Lorde Crequi.
Sir Guyshard Dolphyn, great Mayster of Fraunce.	The Lorde of Lowraye.
	The Baylye of Ampence.
John Duke of Alaunson.	The Lorde of Raynuale.
Anthony Duke of Brabant.	The Lorde of Longuale.
Edward Duke of Barre.	The Lorde of Mawlaye.
The Erle Neuers.	The Lorde of Diurye.
Sir Robert Barre Erle of Marle.	The Lorde of Newfchile.
	The Lorde of Caligny.
The Erle of Uawdemount.	The Lorde of Rochegurche.
The Erle of Blawmount.	The Vicedane of Lamoys.
The Erle of Graund pree.	The Lorde Delaligier.
The Erle of Roussy.	The Lorde of Baffremount.
The Erle of Fawconbridge.	The Lorde Saint Bris.
The Erle of Foys.	The Lord of Contes and his sonne.
The Erle of Lestrake.	The Lord of Nannes & his brother
The Lorde Boys of Burbon.	The Lorde of Rout.
The Vidane of Amias.	The Lorde of Applyncourt,
The Lorde of Croy.	The lord Delariuer, wt diuers other which I leaue out for tediousnesse.
The Lorde Belly.	

And certainely by the relation of Heraultes, and declaration of other noble persons worthy of credite, as Enguerrant writeth, there were slaine at this battayle on the French parte, aboue ten thousand persons, whereof were princes and nobles bearing banners. Crrbj. and all the remnaunt saue. rbj. C. were knightes, Esquires and Gentlemen: So of noble men and Gentlemen were slayne eyght thousand, and foure hundred, of the which fiue hundred were dubbed knightes, the night before the battayle. From the fielde escaped alyue the Erle Dampmartyn, Clunet of Brabant, Sir Lewes of Burbon, Sir Galliot of Gaulles, Sir John Dengearmes, and fewe other men of name.

English men slaine.

Of Englishemen were slaine at this battaile, Edward Duke of Yorke, The Erle of Suffolke, Sir Richard Kikeley, and Dauigam Esquier, and of all other not aboue fiue or sixe hundreth persons.

After that the king had refreshed himselfe in the Towne of Calice, and that such prisoners as he had left at Harflew, as you haue heard, were come vnto him to Calice: Then he the first day of Nouember with all his prisoners tooke shippyng at Calice, and the same day landed at Douer, hauyng with him the deade bodyes of the Duke of Yorke, and the Erle of Suffolke, and caused the Duke to be buryed at his Colledge of Foderynghey, and the Erle at Ewhelme. And by soft iourneyes he came to London, and was met and receyued at Blackheth by the Maior and Aldermen of London, clothed in scarlet, and three hundreth Commoners clothed in murrey, with all ioy and solemnitie, praysyng God for the high honour & victorie that he had obteyned.

Heauy newes to the french king.

But now to returne to the french king, when ỳ heauy newes of the losse of the aforesayde battaile came vnto him, he then lying at Roan, and wyth him

him the Dolphyn, the Dukes of Berrey, and Bziteyn, and his ſecond ſonne the Erle of Ponthewe, though the ſame were moſt grieuous vnto him, no man ought to merueyle. Wherefoze the Frenche king perceyuyng that the warre was nowe but newely begon, determined to pzouide foz chaunces to come befoze they ſhould ſodeinly happen. And firſt he elected his chiefe officer foz the warres called the Conſtable, which was the Erle of Armynacke, a wiſe and pollitique Capteine, and an auncient enemie to the Engliſh men, and Sir John of Cozſey was made maiſter of the Croſbowes, and then they foztefyed townes, and furniſhed gariſons. While theſe thinges were thus in wozking, eyther foz Melancholy that he had foz the loſſe ſuſteyned at Agyncourt afozeſayde, oz elſe by ſome ſodeine diſeaſe, John Dolphyn of Vyennoys, heyze apparant to Charles the French king, departed out of this natu-
The death of the Dolphyn of Fraunce. rall lyfe without iſſue, which was an happie chaunce foz Robynet of Bozneuile and his companions, as you haue heard befoze, foz his death was theyz lyfe, and his lyfe woulde haue bene their death.

1415 4 After this notable victozie obteyned by the Engliſhe men, and that king Henry was departed into England, and the French king had made his new officers, as afozeſayd. Thomas Duke of Exceter Captein of Harflew, accõpanied with thzee thouſand Engliſhmen, made a great road into Nozmandy, almoſt to the Citie of Roan: In which iourney he gate great aboundaunce both of riches and pziſoners. But in his returne the Erle of Armynack newly made Conſtable of Fraunce, entendyng in this his firſt iourney to winne his ſpurres, and in his companie aboue fiue thouſand hozſemen, encountered with him. The ſkirmiſhe was ſoze, and the fight fierce, but becauſe the Engliſhe men were not able to reſiſt the fozce of the French hozſemen, the Duke to ſaue his men, was compelled to retyze as politikely as he could deuyſe:
A ſoze ſkirmiſhe. But foz all that he could do, he loſt thzee hundzeth of his men. The Frenche men not content with this good lucke, folowed them almoſt to the Barryers of Harflew. When the Engliſhe men within the towne eſpied the chaſe, they iſſued out in good ozder, and met with their enemies, and not onely ſlue and tooke a great number of them, but alſo chaſed them aboue. viij. Myles towarde the Citie of Roan.

Sigiſmond Emperour. And about this ſeaſon, Sigiſmond Emperour of Almaine, which had maryed Barbara daughter to the Erle of Zilie, Coſſyn Germain remoued to king Henry, a man of great vertue, & fidelitie, which had not only long labored to ſet an vnitie and concozde in Chziſtes Church, and Chziſtian religion, but alſo he ſent dyuerſe Ambaſſadozs, aſwell to the Frenche king as to the king of England, becauſe he was farre diſtant from their countries and regions to encreaſe perfect peace and vnitie. Wherefoze he perceyuyng that his Ambaſſade bzought nothing to ſuch concluſion as he wiſhed, did therefoze in his awne perſon come from the furthermoſt part of Hungary into Fraunce, and after into England, entendyng to knit togeather all Chziſtian Pzinces in one amitie and frendſhip, and ſo beyng friendes togeather, to make warre and reuenge their quarelles agaynſt the Turke, the perſecutoz of Chziſtes fayth, and enemy to all Chziſtendom. And with this noble Pzince came the Archebiſhop of Reynes, and dyuerſe other noble men, as Ambaſſadozs from the French king, into England. The king of England foz olde amitie betwene the houſe of England and Beame, accompanied with all his Nobilitie,

Nobilitie, him receyued vpon Blacke heth the. viij. day of May, and bzought him thzough London to Weſtminſter with great triumph, where Juſtes, Tourneyes, and other martiall feates were to him with all ioy and pleaſure ſhewed, and ſet fozth.

Albert duke of Holland. Duryng which tyme, there came into Englande Albert Duke of Holland, who alſo was friendly enterteyned. And theſe two Pzinces were by the king conueyed to Windſoze to ſaint Geozges feaſt, and there were elected companions of the noble ozder of the Garter, and had the Coler and Habite of the ſame to them deliuered, and ſate in their ſtalles all the ſolemnitie of the feaſt, by the which ozder they knowleged themſelues to be highly honoured, and much exalted. After this ſolempne feaſt finiſhed, the Duke of Holland well feaſted, and greatly rewarded, returned into his Country. But the Emperour taryed ſtyll, neuer ceaſyng to declare and perſwade, what vtilitie, what goodneſſe, and what ioy might enſue, if both the realmes of England and Fraunce were bzought to a finall concozd, and perfect vnitie. But the euill chaunce of the French Nation was to his purpoſe a barre, and a let, becauſe they were pzedeſtinate to ſuffer yet mo plagues and detrimentes at the handes of the Engliſh men. Foz when concozde was at hande, and peace was enteryng into the Gates, a new cauſe of moze diſcozde and diſſenſion ſodeinly bzake out, and came to the kinges knowlege: Foz he beyng infozmed of the loſſe of his men in the territozie of Roan (as you haue heard) was ſo ſoze diſpleaſed, that he would heere of no treatie, noz haue once this wozde (peace) named.

The Emperour like a wiſe Pzince, perceiuyng that the tyme would not ſerue to bzing to paſſe that he came foz, ceaſſed any further to trauaile therein. And leauyng all treatie and perſwaſion foz Fraunce, he entered into a
The Emperour entereth into a league with the king of England. league and amitie himſelfe with the king of England. Which confederacye leaſt it ſhould be bzoken, they ſtudyed and deuiſed all wayes and meanes poſſible, foz the pzeſeruation and obſeruation of the ſame: Which plaine meanyng, and true dealyng was afterwarde to them both, not onely much honour, but great commoditie. Nowe when the Emperour had thus concluded a league with the king of England, he tooke his iourney homeward into Germanie: and the king of England, partly to ſhewe him pleaſure, and partly becauſe of his awne affayzes, aſſociated him to his towne of Calice: during which time the Duke of Burgoyn offered to come to Calice to ſpeake with the Emperour and the king, becauſe he heard talke of the league and confederacie that was concluded betwene them. The king ſent to the water of Grauelyng, the Duke of Glouceſter his bzother, and the Erle of Marche, to be hoſtages foz the Duke of Burgoyn, and ſent alſo the Erle of Warwike with a noble companie to conduct him to his pzeſence. At Grauelyng foozde the Dukes met, and after ſalutations done, the Duke of Burgoyn was conueyed to Calice, where of the Emperoz, and of the king he was highly welcomed and feaſted: Duryng which tyme, a peace was concluded betweene
A peace concluded betwene the king of England and the Duke of Burgoyn. the king of England, and the Duke of Burgon, foz a certein ſpace, concernyng onely the Counties of Flaundyzs, and Arthoys, foz the which cauſe the French king and his ſonne was highly diſpleaſed. The Duke of Glouceſter was receyued at Grauelyng by the Erle of Caroloys, ſonne to the Duke of Burgoyn, and by him honourably conueyed to Saint Omers, and there lodged

ged that night. The next day the Erle Caroloys came with diuers noble men to visit the Duke of Glouceſter in his lodging. And when he entered into his Chamber, the Dukes backe was towarde him, talking with ſome of his ſeruantes, and did not ſee nor welcome the Erle Charoloys at the firſt entrie: But after he ſayde ſhortly, without any great reuerence or comming towardes him: ye are welcome fayre Coſſyn, and ſo paſſed forth his tale with his ſeruauntes. The Erle Charoloys for all his youth was not well content, but ſuffered for that tyme.

When the Duke of Burgoyn had done all thinges at Calice that he came for, he after the. ix. day returned to Grauelyng, where the Duke of Glouceſter and he met againe, and louyngly departed, the one to Calice, and the other to Saint Omers: For the which voyage the Duke of Burgoyn was ſuſpected to be enemie to the Crowne of Fraunce. After the Dukes departure, the Emperour was highly feaſted and rewarded, and at his pleaſure ſayled into Holland, and ſo road into Beame. The king likewiſe tooke Ship and returned into England, on Saint Lukes euen, the yere of our Lorde. 1417.

In this meane tyme, the Erle of Arminack puffed vp with his laſt victorie, although the honour were ſmall, and the gaine leſſe, determined clerely to get againe the towne of Harflew. Wherefore as cloſely as he could, he gathered together men in euery place, and appoynted them all to mete him at Harflew at a day aſſigned. The appoyntment was kept, and the towne was beſieged both by water and land, before the Captaynes of the towne knewe perfectlye the firſt motion. For John Vicont Narbon, Viceadmirall of Fraunce had brought the whole nauie to the ryuage and ſhore adioinyng to the towne, entendyng priuily to haue entered the towne before he had beene perceyued. But this ſubtile imagination tooke no place, for they which kept the watche tower, ſodeinly perceyuyng their enemies to approche, rang the Larom Bell: And the Duke of Exceter incontinently cauſed all men to repayre to the walles, and fortefyed the Gates, and diſpatched a ſwift Barke to the king of England with letters, requiryng him of ayde and ſuccour. And although the French men perceyued that their wily enterpriſe was knowne, and that the towne could not ſo ſodeinly be ſtolen and taken as they had deuiſed, yet they continued their ſiege both by water and by land, and made dyuerſe aſſaultes, at the which if they nothyng garned, yet euer ſomewhat they loſt.

Harflew beſieged by the Frenchmen.

When theſe newes were come to the eares of king Henrie, and that he knewe that his people were in great ieopardie, except that great diligence were vſed for their reliefe and deliueraunce, he without delay apparelled a great nauie, and made Chiefteine thereof the Duke of Bedford, who beyng accompanied with the Erles of Marche, Orenford, Huntyngdon, Warwike, Arondell, Sariſbury, Deuonſhire, and dyuerſe Barons, with two hundreth ſayle of good Shippes, well furniſhed with men, munition, and victualles, did with all ſpede ſet forwarde, and beyng ſhipped at Rye, they with good expedition came to the mouth of the Riuer of Seyne. And when the Vicont of Narbon, who with his nauie kept the mouth of the Riuer of Seyn, perceyued the Engliſhe nauie to approche, he geuyng a token to all his companie, couragiouſly ſet forth towarde his enemies. The Duke in likewiſe

likewiſe valiauntly encountred with them, the fight was long, but not ſo long as perillous, for battailes of the ſea be euer deſperate. But after long fight the victorie fell to the Engliſhe men, and they tooke and ſonke almoſt all the whole nauie of Fraunce, in the which were many Ships, Hulkes, and Carickes, to the number of fiue hundreth. Of the which three great Carectes were ſent into England. And in the ſame conflict were ſlaine of the Frenche men no ſmall number, as it appeared by their dead bodyes, which ſwarmed euery day about the Engliſhe ſhippes.

The French men ouerthrowne vpon the Sea.

After this victorie fortunately obteyned, the Duke of Bedford ſayled by water vp to the very towne of Harflew, and without let or impediment landed and refreſhed it both with victuall and money: which ſuccours if they were welcome to the Duke of Exceſter his Uncle, I repoꝛt me to them that haue bene in neceſſitie, and would haue gladly bene refreſhed.

Harflewe is reſcued by the Engliſhe men.

When the Erle of Arminacke heard that the puyſſaunt Nauie of Fraunce was vanquyſhed and taken, he reyſed his ſiege before the towne, and returned with ſmall ioye vnto Paris, as he that had no hope, nor ſawe no lykelyhood or meane to recouer agayne the towne of Harflewe, for the which he ſo ſore thirſted.

The Erle of Arminacke departeth frō the ſiege of Harflewe.

After thys diſcomfiture and great loſſe, the fortitude and ſtrength of the Frenchmen beganne to decaye, and their bragging bewtie beganne to fade. For nowe the Princes and Nobles of the realme fell into diuiſion and diſcorde among themſelues, as who ſay, that the Nobility ſtudyeng how to reuenge their olde iniuries and diſpleaſures, refuſed to take payne for the aduauncement of the publique wealth, and ſauegarde of their awne countrie. And for priuie diſpleaſure, couert malice or hatred, their power began to waxe ſo ſlender, and their libertie was brought into ſuche a malicious diuerſitie and doubtfull difference, that, as here after ſhall be ſhewed, it was merueyle ỹ their countrie was not brought to a perpetuall bondage: Which thing no doubt had followed, if this king Henry of Englande had lenger lyued in this tranſitorie worlde. For notwithſtanding that the Duke of Orleaunce, the Captaine and head of the one faction, was at that tyme captiue and priſoner in England, yet there grew ſo much priuie diſpleaſure and cancard hatered betwene Charles the Dolphyn and John Duke of Burgoyn, that whyle the one ſtudied and compaſſed howe to ouercome the other, with armour or with pollicie, with diſſimulation or craftie conueyaunce, euerye Journeyman of their faction, and euery noble man partaker with the one or the other, put all their whole ſtudie and diligence to aduaunce forward their ſect and parte, and not one of them would take heede how to reſiſt or refell the preſent ieopardie which was comming out of Englande. And as one inconuenience ſuffereth many to follow, ſo was it in Fraunce at this time: For the french king was not of good memorie: The warre that was towarde ſeemed both doubtfull and perillous: The princes were diſtruſtly, and at diſcord, and an hundreth mo things, which might bring the realme to extreme miſerie and vtter deſtruction, as after you ſhall here.

Diſcorde among the noble in France

When the Duke of Bedford had atchieued his enterpriſe, and performed his commiſſion both in rayſing the ſiege of Harflewe, and victualling of the towne, he with no ſmall number of priſoners, and great abundaunce of prayе, as well in ſhippes and in prouiſion for the ſea, returned into Eng-

land

land with great triumph and glorie.

1416 A parliamẽt.

Shortly after this, the king assembled his high courte of Parliament, and there in open audience made to them a shorte and pithie Oration, declaring to them the iniuries lately done and committed by the French Nation, and shewed also the iust and lawfull occasion of his warres, and signified also what discorde and ciuile dissention reigned amongst the Nobilitie of Fraunce, and rehearsed many things for the which it were now very necessarie and needefull for his grace and the realme, to represse and ouercome them with all their power and puyssaunce, and that without deferring or prolonging of time, and therefore in all gentle maner desyred them to prouide for money and treasure out of hande for the conduct and wages of souldiours, to the intent that nothing should lacke when they should be ready to set on their enimies.

The whole parliament hearing his causes so iust, and his request so reasonable, did immediately geue their generall assent to ayde him, and caused such somes as they agreed vpon to be foorthwith collected and payed, so glad was all men of these warres, and as all they conceaued good opinion thereof, so it happened in the ende most honorable to the king, and profitable to the subiectes.

John Duke of Bedford made gouernour of the Realme of England.

In this parliament also John Duke of Bedford was made Gouernor or Regent of the realme, and head of the publique wealth, which office he should enioye as long as the king was making warre on the French nation. The king before he would take his voyage, sent the Erle of Huntyngdon to serche and scowre the Seas, least any Frenchmen lyeng in wayte for him might attrap him sodenly, or he had any knowledge of their setting forward. This lustie Erle called John Holland, sonne to the Duke of Exceter, which was behedded at Circiter in the time of King Henry the fourth, and Collyn to the king, with a great number of shippes searched the sea from the one coast to the other. And in conclusion he encoũtred with. ix. Caricks of Jeane (which Lorde Jaques the Bastard of Burbon had reteyned to serue the french king) and set vpon them sharply, the conflict was great, and the fight long: But in conclusion the Frenchmen were ouercome and fled, and three of the greatest Caricks with their patrones, and Monsire Jaques de Burbon their Admirall were taken with asmuch money as should haue payd the Souldiours of the whole fleete for halfe a yere: And three other Caricks were bowged and sent to the bottome of the sea.

John Holland Erle of Huntingdon.

Jaques Bastard of Burbon.

The king of England sayleth with a power into Fraunce.

The king heering of this good chaunce, about the ende of Julij tooke his Ship at Portesmouth, accompanyed with the Dukes of Clarence and Gloucester, brethren to the sayde king, the Erles of Huntyngdon, Merchall, Warwike, Deuonshire, Salsburie, Suffolke and Somerset, the Lords Rosse, Willoughby, Fitz Hugh, Clynton, Scrope, Matriuers, Bourchier, Ferrers of Groby & Ferrers of Chartley, Fanhope and Gray of Codnore, Sir Gilbert Umfreuple, Sir Gilbert Talbot, and dyuers other: And so hauing winde and wether to his desyre, he landed in Normandie neere vnto a Castell called Touque, where he consulted with his Captaines what waye was best to be taken concerning their high enterprise.

When the Normans heard of the kings arryuall, they were sodainely striken with a deadly feare, and as men amased, and halfe out of their wittes, and

and forsoke their houses and bagge and baggage, and ranne into the strong and walled townes. And likewise the men of warre, which were left in euery place to scowre the Country, fled into the walled townes, among the rude Commonaltie.

Touque castell besieged and taken.

When king Henry had taken counsayle, he layed siege to the Castell of Touque, being very well fortefied both with nature and mans arte, and began to assault it: And although that they within valiauntly defended it, yet by fine force the king ouercame it and tooke it, and all the men that were therein, whome also he tooke to mercy, and made Captaine thereof Sir Robert Kirkeley knight.

Cane besieged and assaulted.

From thence he passed foorth to the strong towne of Cane, which standeth in a playne fertile countrey, no stronger walled then depe diched, which was well victualled and replenished with people: For the Citezens fearing the kinges comming, had prouyded for all things necessary for defense. And assone as the king was come he cast a depe trench with a high mount to prohibite them within the towne to haue any egresse or outward passage: and that done, beganne fiercely to assault the towne: But the men of the towne were nothing abashed, and stoode manly to their defence. The fight was fierce and euery man tooke heede to his charge. The Englishmen studied all the wayes possible to damnage their enimies, some shot arrowes, some cast stones, and other shot Gonnes: Some brake the walles with engines, some set scaling ladders to the walles, and other cast in Wildfyre, euery man labored to come to hande strokes, which was their desyre. On the other syde, the Normans threwe downe great stones, Barres of yron, dartes, hot Pitche, and brennyng Brimstone and boyling lead. Dyuers dayes this assault continued to the great losse & hurt of the Englishmen. When king Henry perceyued this, he abstayned from the assault, & determined vnderminyng to ouerthrow the walles & towres of the towne, & the Pioners wrought so fast that within fewe dayes, the walles stood onely vpon Postes ready to fall, when fyre should be put vnto them. The king caused his people to approche the walles, and to keepe the Citezens occupied, least they should make a countermine, or to be an impediment to his workemen and labourers, wherefore he caused the assault to be cried agayne: Then euery man ran to the walles, some with scaling ladders, some with hookes, and some with cordes and plom nets, euery man desyring to get vp on the walles, and hande to hande to grapple with his enemie, the Citizens manfully defended. While the fight was quick and fierce on both sydes: The Englishmen in diuers places persed and brake thorough the walles, and dyuers ouertures and holes were made vnder the foundation by the Pioners, by the which the Englishmen might easely enter into the towne. The king hauing compassiõ of the townes men, desyring rather to haue them saued then destroyed, sent them worde by an Herault, that yet was time of mercie and clemencie, if they would submit themselues to his grace: But they obstinately hoping of succour, answered that they would stand at their defense. Then the Englishmen againe scaled the walles, and entred thorow the trenches into the towne: The fight was sore by the space of an houre, but in conclusiõ the Englishmen obteyned.

Nowe when the king was possessed of the towne of Cane, he first of all commaunded all harneys and weapons to be brought into one place, which was

was done with diligence without any resistence. Then the miserable people kneeling on their knees cryed for mercie: To whom the king gaue certaine comfortable wordes and bade them stande vp, and then he resorted to the Church and gaue thanks to God, & after he caused a good and great watch that night to garde the towne. And the next day in the morning he called the Magistrates and gouernours of the towne into the Senate house, where some for their stony stubbernesse, and mad obstinacie were adiudged to die, and other were sore fyned and highly raunsomed. Then he callyng together hys souldyours and men of warre, both gaue to them high laudes and prayses for their manly doings, and also distributed to euery man according to his desert the spoyle and gayne, taken of the towne and townes men, chiefely because he had tried at that assaulte their valiaunt courages, and vnfearefull heartes.

Nowe though the towne were wonne, as aforesayde, yet the Castell which was strong and well fortefied, both with men & al things necessary for defence, was still in the Frenchmens possession, the captayne whereof, to the entent to shew himselfe valiaunt and not wylling to breake his othe, boasted that he would rather dye in defense, then freely to yeelde the Castell. King Henry was not minded to ouerthrow the Castell (without which it was not easie to be won) because it was bewtifull & necessary both to kepe the towne from goyng backe, & also to defend the same when opportunitie should serue: Wherefore he sent worde to the Lorde Mountainy being captaine, that if he would yeelde the Castell by a daye, he should departe without dammage: And if he would be obstinate, he should finde no fauour. When the Captaine and his companions had well considered vpon the condition offered, he rendred the Castell and yelded themselues. And so the king was possessed both of the towne and Castell of Cane.

Castell of Cane is rendred to the king.

While the king of England was besiegyng this towne, the French men had neyther a conuenient armie to resist their power, nor were redy or able relieue their friendes in this miserable necessitie, because they had such diuision & dissension among themselues, and a good cause why: For king Charles was of so small wit by reason of his sickenesse, that he could not rule, and so was spoyled both of his treasure and kingdome, and euery man spent and wasted the common treasure.

Charles the Dolphyn of Fraunce.

Charles the Dolphyn beyng of the age of. xvj. or. xvij. yeres, onely lamented and bewayled the ruyne and decay of hys countrie: He onely studyed the aduauncement of the common welth, and he onely deuysed how to resist his enimies: But hauyng neyther men nor money, was greatly troubled and vnquieted. And in conclusion, by the counsaile of the Erle of Armynack Constable of Fraunce, he founde a meane to get all the treasure and riches which Quene Isabell his mother had gotten and horded vp in dyuerse secret places: and for the common vtilitie of his Countrie, he spent it wisely in wagyng of his Souldiours, in preparyng of thinges necessarie for the warre. The Queene forgettyng the great perill the realme stoode in, but remembryng the displeasure to her by this act done, declared her sonne and the Constable to be her mortall enemies, and promised that they should be persecuted to the vttermost. And euen for very womanly malice, thee set in the highest authoritie about the king her husband, John Duke of Burgoyn, geuyng him

him the regiment and direction of the king and his Realme, with all preheminence and souereignitie.

John Duke of Burgoyn is made Regent of Fraunce.

The Duke of Burgoyn hauyng nowe the sworde of authoritie, for the which he had so sore longed, and glad to be reuenged of his olde iniuries, began to make warre on the Dolphyn. And purposyng that when he had once tamed and framed to his purpose this yong vnbrideled Gentleman, then he determined, as he might to refell and withstand the common enemies of the realme. The same or like reason moued the Dolphyn, for he mindyng first to represse and extinct the Ciuile dissension at home, before he would inuade forein enemies, prepared warre to subdue and destroy John Duke of Burgoyn, as the chiefe heade & leader of that wicked and great mischiefe, whereby the realme was much vnquieted, & more decayed, and in a maner brought to a finall ruyne and vtter destruction. Thus Fraunce was inflamed, and in euery part troubled with warre and diuision, and yet no man would eyther prouide in so great a daunger, nor once put foorth their fynger to remoue the mischiefe.

King Henry not mindyng to lye still in Normandie, nor yet to leaue his enterprise vnperfourmed, sent the Duke of Clarence to the Sea coast, which with great difficultie gate the towne of Bayeux. The Duke of Glouceſter also with small assault, and lesse defence tooke the towne of Liseaux. In the meane season, King Henrie taryed still at Cane, fortefyng the Towne and Castell, and put out of the towne. xv. hundreth women and impotent persons, and replenished the towne with Englishe people. And while the king soiourned at Cane, he kept a solempne feast, and made there many knightes: And besydes that, he shewed there an example of great charitie & mercy. For in searching the Castell, he found there innumerable substance of plate & money, belonging to the Citizens: whereof he would not suffer one penny to be touched or conueyed away, but restored the goodes to the owners, and delyuered to euery man his owne.

A noble and charitable prince.

When the fame of the gettyng of Cane was blowen through Normandie, the Normanes were so sore afrayed, and so much abashed, that you should not onely haue sene men, women, and children ronnyng in euery way by great plompes from towne to towne, not knowyng whether to flie: But also the rurall persons and husband men drawe the Beastes out of the Villages into suche places where they hoped of refuge or defence: So that a man would haue thought that Normandy had sodeinly bene left desolate and voyd of people and Cattaile. But when the rumor was spread abroade of his clemencie shewed to Captiues, and of his mercie graunted to suche as submitted themselues to his grace, all the Capteines of the townes adioyning came willyngly to his presence, offering to him themselues, their townes, and their goodes. Whereupon he made proclaymation, that all men which had or would become his Subiectes, and sweare to him allegeaunce, should enioy theyr goodes and liberties in as large or more ample maner then they did before, which gentle entertaynyng, and fauourable handelyng of the stubborne Normanes, was the very cause why they were not onely content, but also glad to remoue and turne from the French parte, and become subiects to the Crowne of Englande.

When the king had set Cane in good order, he left there for Capteynes,

the one of the towne and the other of the Castell, Sir Gilbert Umfreuile, and Sir Gilbert Talbot, and made Bailife there Sir John Popham, and so departed from Cane to Argenton, which was shortly rendred vnto him. Then all these townes folowyng, without stroke striken, yelded to him, in whom he placed dyuerse Capteynes.

Flanson	Caynhoy	Essay
Argenton	Conde	Faloys
Boyeux	Creuly	Thorigny and Vernoyle

Also these Townes folowyng yeelded themselues to the Duke of Clarence.

Townes in Normandie that yeelded to king Henry.

Auuilliers	Chambroys	Fangermon	Lisieux
Barney	Cowiton	Freshney	Ragles.
Becheluyn	Creuener	Harecotte	

And likewise dyuers townes in the Country of Constantine yelded to the Duke of Glouceſter, which were these.

Auranches	Constance	Pont done	Vire
Briqueuile	Hambery	Saint Saluior	Valoignes.
Cauenton	Hay du Payes	Saint James	
Chiergurg	Pontorson	Saint Clow	

And while the king wanne thus in Normandie, his nauie lost nothing on the Sea, for they so scoured the streames, that neyther Frenchman nor Britein durst appere: Howbeit one day there arose so hideous and so terrible a storme, that neyther Cable helde, nor Anker preuayled, so that if the Erles of March and Huntyngdon had not taken the Hauen of Southhampton, the whole Nauie had perished, and the people had bene destroyed, and yet the sauegarde was straunge: For in the same Hauen two Balyngers, and two great Caricks laden with marchandise were drowned, and the broken mast of another Caricke was blowen ouer the wall of Hampton (as diuers wryters affirme) such is the power of the winde, and such is the rygour of a tempest. When the fury of the winde was asswaged, and the Sea ware calme, the Erles of March, and Huntyngton passed ouer the sea with all their compayne, and landed in Normandie, marchyng toward the king, before whom the Normanes fled, as fast as the fearefull hare doth before the gredie Greyhound. And so they passed through the Countrie, destroying of Villages, and taking of prayes, vntill they came to the king who then was goyng toward Rhoan.

A sore tempest.

Sir John Oldcastell.

And during this tyme Sir John Oldecastell Lord Cobham, of whome mencion is made before, was taken, and after condemned and hanged, and brent, the whole Historie whereof you may reade in the booke of the Monuments of the Church.

1417

As the king passed to Rhoan, he was skirmished with, in sundry places, but in the ende the victorie still happened vnto him, so that nothing that stood in his way could stop him, for he tooke by force Pountlarch, Louyers and Eureux, and at the last came before the Citie of Rhoan, the which was wonderfully fortefyed, for the while he had lyen at the siege of Cane, and was in other places of Normandy, the inhabitants of Rhoan had walled it round about, and made dyuers Bulwarkes for the defense thereof, they had also great

great store of victuals, for the whole countrie about had brought thether such as they had: And thether also they had brought their plate, Jewels, and money, so that the towne was filled with great ryches & treasure, which caused the king to be the more desyrous thereof, wherefore the last daye of July he compassed the same rounde about with a strong siege, and gaue therevnto a terrible assault. And to the intent that no ayde should passe by the ryuer toward the Citie, a great chayne of yron was deuised at Pountlarche, and set on piles from the one side of the water to the other: and beside that chaine he set vp a newe forced bridge, sufficient both for cariage and passage. And at this time the Erle of Warwike was sent to the towne of Cawdebeck standing on the ryuer side betwene the Sea and the Citie of Rhoan, which towne he so hardly assaulted, that the Captaines offered to suffer the English Nauie to passe by their towne without hurte or detriment, to the Citie of Rhoan, and also that of Rhoan yeelded, they promised to render their towne without anye fayle or farther delaye: And this composition they sealed, and for performaunce of the same they deliuered pledges. And immediately after this agreement the Englishe Nauie, to the number of one hundreth Sailes, passed by Cawdebeck and came before Rhoan, and besieged it on the water syde. To this siege came the Duke of Glouceſter with the Erle of Suffolke and the Lorde of Burgayny, which had taken the towne of Chierburgh, and were lodged before the port of Saint Hilarij, neerer their enemies then any other persons of the armie.

Rhoan is besieged.

During this siege, arryued at Harflewe the Lorde of Kylmay in Ireland with a band of .vj. hundreth Irishmen, armed in Mayle with Dartes and Iauelynes, after the maner of their countrey, all talle, quick, and delyuer persons, which came and presented themselues before the king, lyeng still at the siege: Of whome they were not onely gently enterteyned, but also (because the king was informed that the French king and the Duke of Burgoyne would shortly come, and eyther rayse the siege, or victuall the towne at the Northgate) they were appointed to keepe the Northsyde of the army, and inespeciall the way that came from the Forest of Lyons. Which charge the Lord of Kylmayn and his company ioyfully accepted, and did so theyr deuoyre, that no men were more praysed, nor did more dammage to their enimies then they did, for surely their quickneſſe and swiftneſſe did more preiudice to their enimies, then their great barbed horſſes did hurte or dammage to the nymble Irishmen.

Irishmen.

Thus the Citie of Rhoan being compassed aboute with enimies, both by water and lande, hauing neyther comfort nor ayde of king nor Dolphyn. And although the armie were strong without, yet within there lacked neyther hardy Captaynes nor manfull Souldiours. And as for people, they had more then ynough: For it was written by him that knewe the number, there were at the time of the siege within the Citie of Christian people. CC. and .x. thousand persons. The king and his people assaulted the towne fiercely: The frenchmen defended it courageously and valiauntly: long was the siege, and terrible were the assaultes, to the losse and no gayne of neyther partie: wherefore after the king of England had well considered with him selfe that by the manifold assaultes many of his people perished, therefore at the last he determined to conquere them by famine. Wherefore he stopped all

the passages both by water and lande that no victuall should be conueyed to the Citie, and he cast trenches round about, & set them full of stakes, and defended them with Archers, so that they within could haue no waye out, eyther to inuade their enemies, nor departe out of their fortresse.

And sodainly a fayned tydings was brought, that the french king approched with all his power to rayse the siege and to rescue the Citie: wherefore king Henry commaunded all men to lye in their harneys, least they might by some subtile cautele be surprised vnware, and taken vnprouyded. But the French king neyther came nor sent, to the great wonder of the Englishe men.

This siege thus contynuyng from Lammas to Christmas, diuers enterprises were attempted and diuers policies were deuised, how euery part might dammage and hurte his aduersary and enemie, but no parte much reioysed of their gayne. During which time, victuall began sore to fayle within the towne, so that onely Vineger and water serued for drinke, pea and at the length dogges, Ratte, and Myse serued for their meat, and the scarcety of victualles was so great, that daylie great numbers of people within the Citie dyed for hunger. And the riche men within the towne put out of the gates great numbers of poore people and children, which were by the Englishmen that kept the trenches, beaten and driuen back agayne to the gates of the towne, which agaynst them were closed and barred. So that this miserable people vncomfortably forsaken, and vnnaturally dispised of their awne nation and household felowes, betwene the walles of their Citie, and the trenches of their enimies lay still cryeng for helpe and relefe, for lacke whereof innumerable soules daylie died and hourely starued. Yet king Henry moued with pittie and compassion, did in the honour of Christes birth on Christmas day refreshe all the poore people with victuall, to their great comfort, for the which act they not onely thanked him, but also prayed to God for his preseruation and furtheraunce, and for the hinderaunce and euill successe of their vnkinde Citezens and vncharitable countrie men.

This miserable famine daylie more and more encreasing, so daunted the heartes of the bolde Captaines, and so abated the courages of the riche Burgesses, and so tormented the bodyes of the poore Citezens, that the stowte Souldiour for faintnesse could scase welde his weapon, nor the riche Marchaunt for money coulde not buye a shyuer of bread: So that the commonaltie cryed to the Captaines, and the needie people besought the Lords to haue compassion vpon them, and to inuent some waye for their succour and comfort.

The gouernours of the towne, after long consultation had, consydering the great necessitie that they were in, and seing none apparence of succour or relefe, determined it both necessary and conuenient to treate with the king of Englande. And vpon newe yeres euen, there came to the walles at the gate of the bridge diuers commissioners, appoynted by the Captaines, which made a signe to the Englishe men lyeng without, to speake with some gentleman or other person of auctoritie. The Erle of Huntingdon, which kept that part, sent to them Syr Gilbert Umfreuyle, to whome they declared, that if they might haue a guyde and a safeconduyt, they would gladly speake with the king. Sir Gilbert not onely promised to doe their message, but

but also to certefie them of the kings pleasure and purpose, which communication ended, he repayred to the Duke of Clarence, and other of the kings Counsayle, aduertising them of the request of the Citezens, which incontinent assembled themselues in the kings lodging, where Syr Gilbert Umfreuyle wisely and discreetely declared to the king, the mindes and entents of the Citezens. The king lyke a graue prince consydering that a thing gotten without effusion of blonde is both honorable and profitable, and sawe that the haute courages of the bragging French men were sore abated and almost tamed, thought it conuenient to here their lowly peticion and humble request, and therefore willed Sir Gilbert to aduertise them that he was content to here twelue of them, which should be safely conueyed to hys presence: And with this aunswere Sir Gilbert departed, and made relation thereof to the Capitaynes standing at the gate: who on the next daye in the morning appoynted foure knightes, foure learned men, and foure Burgesses all clothed in black, to go to the king of England. These twelue persons were receyued at the porte Saint Hillarij, by Sir Gilbert Umfreuyle accompanied with diuers gentlemen and yeomen of the kings household, commonly called yeomen of the Crowne, and they were conueyed to the kinges lodging. And shortly after, they were brought into the kings presence, who beheld them with a fierce and princely countenaunce. And one of them beyng of a stowte courage spake vnto the king as foloweth: Right high and mighty prince, if you will consyder wherein the glorie of victorie doth consist, you shall playnely perceaue that the same is in the taming of prowde men, and ouercomming of valiaunt souldyours, and subduyng of strong Cities, and not in slayeng of christen people by hunger and famine, wherein resteth neyther manhood, wyt nor pollecie. What glorie shall you obtayne in kylling of wretches by famine, which death of all deathes is to be dispised? If you wyll shewe your selfe charitable before God, or mercifull before men, let all oure poore people which will depart out of our Citie passe thorough your campe to get their lyuing in other places, and then manfully assault our Citie, and by force (if you dare) subdue and conquere it. And in this doyng if your enterprise succeede well, then shall ye not onely obteyne worldly fame and glory, but also merite much of God, in hauing pitie and compassion of the poore and needy people.

Prowde and preſumptuous French man.

When this bragger had sayde, the king which no request lesse suspected then that which they desyred, began a while to muse. And when he had well considered the subtile & craftie inuention of the Messengers, he with a fierce countenaunce, and a bolde spirite made to them this aunswere. Thinke you O fantasticall Frenchemen, that I am so ignorant, that I can not perceyue your double dealyng and craftie conueyaunce? Judge you me so symple, that I knowe not wherein the glory of a Conquerour consisteth? Esteeme you me so ignorant, that I perceyue not what crafts and warlike pollicies by strong enemies are to be subdued and brought to subiection? Yes, I am not so lopteryng a truand as to forget so good a lesson. And if these things be to you blind and obscure, I will declare and open them vnto you. The Goddesse of warre called Bellona (which is the Correctrice of Princes for right withholdyng, or iniury doyng, and the plague of God for euill liuyng) hath these three handmaydes, euer of necessitie to attend vpon her, that is, blood, fyre, and famine,

Bellona the Goddesse of warre.

mine, which thre Damoselles be of that force and strength that euery of them alone is able to torment and afflict a proude Prince: But they all beyng toyned together, are of puyssaunce able to destroy the most populous Countrie and richest region of the worlde. If I by assaultyng of your towne shoulde seeke your blood, although I gayned (as I doubt not but I should) yet my gaine were not clere without some losse of my people, If I set your Citie on fyre, and so consume it and you also, then haue I lost that precious Jewell which I haue so long laboured for. Therefore to saue mine owne people (which is one poynt of glorie in a Captein) and to preserue the towne, which is my iust and lawfull inheritaunce: And to saue as many of you as will not willyngly be destroyed, I haue appoynted the meriest of the three Damosels to afflict and plague you, vntill you be brideled and brought to reason, which shall be when it shall please me, and not at your appoyntment: And therfore I say and affirme, that the gaine of a Capteine by any of these three handmaides is both honorable and triumphant: But of all three, the yongest mayd is in all thing most profitable and commodious. And nowe to aunswere to your demaundes, as touchyng the poore people lyng in the ditches, I assure you, I more lament your lacke of charitie toward your Christian brethren, yea, and your owne nacion, your owne blood, and your owne Countrie men, then I reioyce at the vndoyng of so many creatures, and castyng away of so many enemyes. You lyke Tirauntes put them out of the towne, to the entent that I should slay them, and yet I haue saued their lyues. You woulde geue them neyther meate nor drinke, and yet I beyng their mortall enemie haue succoured and relieued them: So that if any vncharitie be, it is in you: If any shame or reproch be taken, receyue it your selfe, for you be the doers. If I haue done them good, let God reward me, for I looke of them to haue no thankes, if you haue done them euill, so shall you be done to. And as to suffer your people to passe out of the Citie through my campe, no, no, I will not so accomplishe your cloked request, but you shall kepe them still to spend your victualles: And as to assault your towne, I will you knowe it, that I am thereto both able and willyng as I see tyme and occasion: But seyng the choyse is in my hande to tame you eyther with blood, fyre, or famin, or both all, I will take the choyse at my pleasure and not at yours. And with that the king with a frowning countenaunce departed from them into his Chamber, and commaunded them to dyne with his officers.

When he was departed, the French men mernayled at his excellent wit, and mused at the hautinesse of his courage, and after they had dyned and consulted together, they requyred once again to haue accesse vnto his royall presence, which when it was to them graunted, they humbly on their knees besought him to take a truce for. viij. dayes, in the which they might by their Commissioners take some ende and good conclusion betwene him and hys counsaile. The king like a piteous Prince, rather couetyng the preseruation of the people, then their destruction, after good deliberation taken, graunted to them their asking, with the which aunswere they ioyously returned.

After their departure, there were appoynted and set vp three rich tents, the one for the Lordes of Englande to consult together: The seconde for the Commissioners of the Citie, and the thirde for both partes to argue and debate the matter in. The Commissioners for the Englishe part were, the Erles

Erles of Warwike, and Sarisburie, the Lorde Fitzhugh, Sir Water Hungerforde, Sir Gilbert Umfreuile, Sir John Robsert, and John de Vasques de Almada. And for the Frenche part were appoynted Sir Guy de Butteller, and fyue other.

During this truce, euery day the Commissioners met, the Englishmen accused, and the Frenchmen excused. The Englishemen demaunded muche, and the Frenchmen proffered little. Thus with arguyng and reasonyng the viij. day came, and nothing was done, nor one article concluded. Wherefore the Englishe men toke downe their Tentes, and the French men toke their leaue: But at their departyng, they remembryng themselues, required the Englishe Lordes for the loue of God that the truce might continue vntill the Sonne settyng the next day, to the which the Lordes assented.

When the Frenchmen were returned to Roan, sodeinly in all the towne sprong a rumor that the truce was expired, and nothing determined. Then the poore people ranne about the streetes lyke Frantike persons, howlyng, cryng, and callyng their Capteynes and Gouernours murderers, and manquellers, saiyng that for their pryde and stiffe stomacke, all this miserie was happened vnto the towne, threatnyng to slay them if they woulde not agree vnto the king of Englandes demaund and request.

The Magistrates beyng amased with the furie of the people, called all the towne together, to knowe their mindes and opinions. The whole voyce of the Commons was to yelde, yelde rather then starue. Then the Frenchmen in the Euening came to the Tent of Sir John Robsert, requiryng him of gentlenesse to moue the king that the Truce might be prolonged for foure dayes. The King thereunto agreed, and appoynted the Archbishop of Cantorbury, and the other seuen before named for his partie, and the Citizens appointed an egall number for them. So the Tentes were againe set vp, and dayly were assemblies, and much treatie on both partes. And on the fourth day the treatie was concluded, to the great reioysyng of the poore Citizens of Roan, and the same treatie was contayned in. xxij. Articles, which for that they are long, I do omit them: But the somme and effect of them were, that they yeelded the towne of Roan, themselues and their goodes vnto the king of England, the. xix. day of January, in the yere aforesayde.

The Citie of Roan is yelded vnto the king of England.

When the rendryng of the Citie of Roan was blowen through Normādie, and the Kinges Proclamation published through the Countrie, it is in a maner incredible to here what a number of townes yelded vnto the king, not beyng once desyred, which to recite I purpose not, because at this day England possesseth not one of them.

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Nowe when the gettyng of Roan, and the deliuery of all the townes aforesayde were blowen through the Realme of Fraunce, the heartes of the Frenchmen were sodeinly heauie, and their courages soone cooled. But who soeuer kicked and winched at this matter, John Duke of Burgoyn raged & swelled, yea, and so muche freated, that he wist not what to say, and lesse to do: And no marueyle, for he was at one tyme vered with a double disease. For he ruled both king Charles and his, and did all thinges at his will, whether reason agreed or no, and for that cause he knewe that he was neyther free from disdeyn, nor yet deliuered from the scope of malice. And therefore he imagined ꝑ all mischiefes and calamities which chaunced in the common wealth

wealth ſhould be imputed and aſſigned to his vnpolitique doyng, or to hys negligent permiſſion. Wherefore he imagined it profitable to the realme, and to him ſelfe moſt auailable, if by any meanes poſſible he could deuiſe any way or meane, by the which he might reconcile and ioyne in amitye the two great and mightie kinges of England and of Fraunce. Which thing once obteyned, and beyng deliuered from all feare of exterior hoſtilitie, he determined firſt to reuenge his quarell agaynſt Charles the Dolphyn, & after to repreſſe all cauſes of grudge or diſdeyne, and to recouer againe both the fauour of the Commonaltie, and alſo to put away all cauſes of ſuſpicion or imagined infamie againſt him and his proceedyngs. And intending to buyld vpon this fraile foundation, he ſent letters and Imbaſſadors to the king of England, aduertiſyng him that if he would perſonally come to a communication, to be had betwene him and Charles the French king, he doubted nothing but by hys onely meanes, peace ſhould be induced, and bloodie battaile excluded.

King Henry heard gently the Imbaſſadors, and agreed to their requeſt and deſyre, and ſo came to Maunt, where at the feaſt of Penthecoſt he kept a liberall houſe to all commers, and ſate himſelfe in great eſtate. On which daye eyther for good ſeruice before by them done, or for good hope of things to come, he created Gaſcon de Foyes a valyaunt Gaſcoyne, Erle of Longeuyle, and Syr Iohn Gray he made Erle of Tankeruyle, and Syr Iohn Bourchier Erle of Ewe. After this ſolempne feaſt ended, the place of enterview and meeting was appointed, to be beſide Melaus on the ryuer of Seyne in a fayre playne, euery parte was by the Commiſſioners appointed to their grounde. The frenchmen diched, trenched and paled their lodgings for feare of after clappes: But the Engliſh men had their parte onely barred and ported. The king of Englande had a large Tent of blewe Veluet and greene, richely embrodered with two deuiſes, the one was an Antlop drawing in an horſe Mill: the other was an Antlop ſitting in an high ſtage, with a braunch of Olife in his mouth. And the tent was garniſhed and decked with this poeſy. After buſie labour, commeth victorious reſt. And on the top and height of the ſame was ſet a great Egle of Golde, whoſe eyes were of ſuche orient Diamondes, that they gliſtered and ſhone ouer the whole field.

The French king likewiſe had in his Parke a fayre Pauilion of blewe Veluet, richely embrodered with flowre deluces, and on the top of the ſame was ſet a Hart flyeng made all of fyne Siluer winges enameled. Betwene theſe two Campes or enclоſures was appointed a Tent of purple Veluet, for the counſaylours to meete in, and euery parte had an egall number to watch on the night, and to ſee good order on the daye.

A meeting betwene the king of Englande and the Frenche Queene, &c.

When the day of appointment approched, the king of England accompanied with the Dukes of Clarence and Glouceſter his brethren, and the Duke of Exceſter his Uncle, and Henry Bewfort Clerck, his other Uncle, which after was Biſhop of Wincheſter and Cardinall, and the Erles of March and Salſburie, and other to the number of a thouſand men of warre entred into his parke, and tooke his lodging. Likewiſe for the french part, thether came Iſabell the French Queene, becauſe the king her huſbande was fallen into his old freneticall diſeaſe, hauing in her company the Duke of Burgoyn, and the Erle of ſaint Paule: And ſhe had attending vpon her the fayre Lady Katheryn her daughter, and. xxbj. Ladyes & Damoſels, and had

had alſo for her furniture a thouſand men of warre.

After theſe eſtates had repoſed themſelues one night in their Tents, the next daye all ſuche as were appointed, repayred toward the pauilion ordeyned for the conſultation. Where the king of Englande lyke a prince of great ſtomack, and no leſſe good behauiour, receyued humbly the Frenche Queene and her daughter, and them honorably embraced, and familierly kiſſed. The Duke of Burgoyn made lowe curteſie, and bowed to the king, whome the king louingly tooke by the hande, and honorably enterteyned him. After ſalutations and embracings finiſhed, they fell to counſayle within the Pauilion aſſigned, which was kept with a garde appointed by both the parties, that none but commiſſioners ſhould once attempt to enter. After the kings requeſt made, and his demaunds declared: The French Queene and her company tooke leaue louingly of the king of England, and returned vnto Ponthoyſe, to certefie her huſband. And king Henry returned to Maunt. The next day after they aſſembled agayne, and the French parte brought with them the Lady Katheryn, onely to the entent that the king of England ſeing and beholding ſo fayre a Lady, and ſo minion a Damoſell, ſhould ſo be inflamed and rapt in loue, that he to obteyne ſo bewtifull an eſpouſe, ſhould the ſooner agree to a gentle peace and louing compoſition. This company met together eyght ſeuerall times, ſometime the one parte was more, and ſometime the other. And notwithſtanding that the Engliſhe men and french men were lodged no great diſtaunce a ſunder, yet was there neuer fray nor occaſion of tumult or ryot prouoked or ſtirred of any of both the partes.

In this aſſemble many wordes were ſpent and no deedes done, many things required and fewe offered, many arguments made, and nothing concluded. Some write that the Dolphyn to let this treatie, ſent to the Duke of Burgoyn Sir Trauagny du Chaſtell, declaring to him, that if he would let this agreement, he would common with him, and take ſuche an order, that not onely they but the whole realme of Fraunce ſhould thereof be glad and reioyce; But what was the very cauſe of the breache, no man certainely declareth. When none effect enſued of this long conſultation, both parties after a Princely maner departed, the Engliſhe men to Nantes, and the french men to Pounthoyſe.

The king of Englande was nothing pleaſed that this communication came to no better ende: wherefore he miſtruſtyng the Duke of Burgoyn, to be the very let and ſtop of his deſyres and requeſtes, ſayde vnto him before his departing: Fayre Coſyn, we will haue your kinges daughter, and all things that we demaunde with her, or we will driue your king and you out of his realme. Well ſayde the Duke of Burgoyn, before yon driue the king and mee out of hys Realme, ye ſhall be well wearied, and thereof we doubt little.

A treaty concluded betweene the Duke of Burgoyn, and the Dolphyn of Fraunce.

After this departure the Duke of Burgoyn being nobly accompanied, roade to the towne of Melune, where the Dolphyn then ſoiourneyed, and in the playne fieldes they two lyke friendes commoned together, and concluded apparantly an open amitie and ſure friendſhip, which was written by Notaries, and ſigned with their handes, and ſealed with their great ſeales of armes: But as the ſequele ſheweth, heart thought not that tongue talked, nor minde meant not, that hande wrote. This treatie was concluded

ded the firt daye of Julie. 1419. and was proclaymed in Parys, Amyence and Ponthoyse.

When this new alyaunce was declared vnto the king of England, then lyeng at Vaunt, he was therewith sore displeased, and not without cause, for he perceaued that the force of these two princes were much stronger now being united in one, then they were before when they were separated and diuyded. Yet for all this great swozne amitie he went forward with his entended enterprise. Wherefore he sent Captaine Bueffe brother to the Erle of Foys newly created the Erle of Longeuyle, with.xv.hundreth men secretly to the towne of Ponthoyse, which on Trinitie Sunday early in the morning came into the towne, and so sodainely and quickly had set vp their scaling ladders to the wall, that they were entred into the towne, or the watch perceaued them, cryeng, Saint George, Saint George.

The Lorde Lisleadam Captaine of the towne perceauing the walles scaled, and the market place gayned, opened the gate towarde Paris, at the which, he with all his retinue and dyuerse of the townes men, to the number of eyght thousand, fled. For the Englishe men durst not, because their number was small, once diuide themselues or fall to pilfring, till about nine of the clock, at which time the Duke of Clarence came to their ayde with fiue thousand men, and by the way he encountred diuers Burgesses of the towne flyeng with all their substaunce toward Beauuoys, whome he tooke prisoners, and brought them to their olde dwellyng place.

When the Duke was come to Ponthoyse, he much praysed the valyauntnesse of the assaylants, and gaue to them the chiefe spoyle of the towne and Merchaunts, of the which they had a great and riche praye. Then the Duke passed forwarde and came before Paris, and lay before the Citie two dayes, and two nightes without any proffer, eyther of issue by his enimies or of defence if he had the same assaulted, which he could not well do because it was long and ample, and his number small, and for so great an enterprise not furnished, wherefore seing that his enimies durst not once looke vpon him, he returned agayne to Ponthoyse: For the taking of which towne the countrie of Fraunce, and especially the Parisians were sore dismayed and astonied, for now there was no Fortresse left hable to resist or withstande the Englishmen, but that they might come to Paris whensoeuer they would: In so much that the Irishe men ouercame all the Isle of Fraunce, and did to the french men immunerable dammages (as their awne writers affirme) and brought daylie prayes to the English army. And beside that, they would robbe houses, and lay beddes vpon the backs of the kyne and Oxen, and ride vpon them, and carie yong children before them, and sell them to the English men for slaues: which straunge doyngs so feared the french men within the territorie of Paris, and the countrie about, that the rude persons fled out of the Villages with all their stuffe, to the Citie of Paris.

The French king and the Duke of Burgoyn lyng at Saint Dionyse, heeryng of all these doynges, departed in all the hast with the Queene & her daughter to Troys in Champaigne, there takyng great deliberation what was best to be done, leauyng at Paris the Erle of saint Paule, and the Lord Lisleadam with a great puissaunce to defende the Citie. At the same tyme the Duke of Clarence tooke the strong towne of Gysors, and the towne of Gaylard,

Gaylard, and all the townes of Normandie were shortly after eyther taken by force or rendred, except Mount Saint Michell, which because the gaine tyerof was very little, and the losse in assaultyng of it semed to be very much, and also it could do small harme or none vnto the Countrie, therfore the same was neyther assaulted nor besieged.

And thus, as you haue heard, was the Duchie of Normandy reduced again to the right line, which had bene from the tyme of king Edwarde the thirde in the yere of our Lorde. 1255. wrongfully deteyned from the kinges of England.

The wise men of Fraunce sore lamenting the chaunce of their Country, and the miserie of their people, sawe and perceyued that they had puissaunce inough to defende their enemies, if they were at a perfect concorde among themselues. And they sawe also that although there were a peace betweene the Dolphyn and the Duke of Burgoyn, yet they espied no good fruit to come therof: For the Duke eyther for secret displeasure þ he bare to the Dolphyn, or for the doubt that he had of the Englishemen, neuer assayled by himselfe the armie of king Henry, nor neuer sent ayde nor succours to the Dolphyn. Wherefore by meanes of frendes a newe communication was appoynted, to the entent that the corrupt dregges of their olde malice and inwarde grudges might cleerely be expulsed and cast out. The place of this metyng was appoynted at the Towne of Monstrell Faultyou, so called because a small brooke called You runneth there to the ryuer of Seyne. Ouer which riuer was made a Bridge with dyuerse Barres ouerthwart, so that the princes openyng the Barres might embrace eche other, and keeping the barres shut, eche might see and common with other at their pleasure. The day was appoynted when these two great Princes should meete, to the entent that all Ciuile discorde shoulde by this communication be cleere forgotten, or at the least should be suspended vntill the enemies were vanquished and driuen out of their Countries. But this motion succeded worse then the entreators deuised: For whilest euery man was fulfilled with hope of peace and concorde, craftie imagination crept out of cankerd displeasure, and had almost confounded altogether.

A meeting appointed betweene the Duke of Burgoyn, and the Dolphyn.

When the day and place of the solempne Enteruiew was agreed and assigned, Tanagny du Chastell, a man prompt and prone to all mischiefe, calling to his remembrance þ shamefull murder of Lewes Duke of Orleance, (vnder whome he had long bene a Capteine) done and committed by this Duke of Burgoyn, as before you haue heard, determined with himselfe to reuenge the death of his olde maister and Lorde. Some wryte that he was therevnto stirred and prouoked by the Dolphyn (and not vnlike) for the Dolphyn which bare a continuall hatred to the Duke of Burgoyne, imagined paraduenture by this meanes to represse and subdue the whole power and high pride of this Duke, without any suspicion of fraude or reproche of vntruth and villanie. The day came, which was the. xij. day of August, and euery Prince with his number appoynted came to this Bridge. The Duke of Burgoyne beyng warned by his frendes to keepe his Closure, and the Barres on his syde shut, little regarding his frendes monition, as a man that could not auoyde the stroke for him prouided, opened the Barres and Closure, and came to the Dolphyns presence, which was cleane armed, and kneled

kneled downe on the one knee, shewyng to him great reuerence and humilitie. The Dolphyn shewed to him no louyng countenance, but reproued him, layng to his charge much vntruth, and great dishonour: The Duke againe boldely defended his cause, and kneeled still, and his swoorde was at his back, which with often turnyng and mouing was shaken very backwarde, wherefore the Duke chaunced to put his hand backe to plucke his swoorde forward. What, quod Sir Robert de Loyz, will you drawe your swoorde agaynst my Lorde the Dolphyn? When Tanagny du Chastell apperceyued that an occasion was geuen to performe his enterprice, he incontinent strake him with a Hatchet on the head, so that he coulde not speake, and other standyng by shortly dispatched him of his lyfe. Diuerse of his part, not thinkyng him to be dead, began to drawe weapon, amongest whome the Lorde Nouale was slaine, and the other taken. For this murther were condemned (but not apprehended) by Parliament, the President of Prouynce, the Vicont of Narbone, Guilliam Battailler, Tanagny du Chastell, Robert Loyz, and foure other. This was the ende of John called the proude Duke of Burgoyne, which more regarded ciuile warre then his owne life and welfare. And this sodeyn death, as I thinke, came not to him without desert, for shamefully he murtheryng Lewes Duke of Orleaunce, the French kinges brother: such is the iudgement of God, that blood is recompensed with blood, and vnnaturall murther is requited with shamefull death, or sodeine destruction.

John Duke of Burgoyn slaine.

After this heynous murther thus committed, the Dolphyns seruaunts spoyled the Duke of all his garmentes, euen to his shirt, and couered his face with his hosen: But forasmuch as yet this is no part of the Historie of England, I will returne againe where I left.

1419

When Philip Erle of Caroloys, sonne and heyre to this Duke John, and nowe by the murther and death of his father was made Duke of Burgoyne, and Erle of Flaundyrs, was informed of this misfortune, he toke the matter very grieuously and heauily, insomuch that none of his counsail durst once speake vnto him, and inespeciall the Ladie Michell his wife, who was sister to the Dolphin, and daughter vnto the French king, was in great feare to be forsaken, and cast out of his house and fauour: But as all thinges end, so sorrow asswageth. When his grieuous sorowe was somewhat mitigated, he first by the aduice of his counsaile, tooke into his fauour the fayre Duches his wife, and after sent diuerse notable Ambassadors to the king of England, who lay then at Roan, to treat and conclude a peace betweene them both for a certeyn space: To which request, in hope of a better chaunce, king Henry agreed. And after that, he kept a solempne Obsequie for his father at Saint Vaas in Arras. During which tyme the Erle of Saint Paule, and the Parisiens sent to the Duke of Burgoin Ambassadors, to know what they should do, and howe they should defende themselues agaynst the Englishe men. He gently answered, that he trusted shortly by the ayde of God to conclude a peace betwene England and Fraunce.

A peace concluded betwene Philip Duke of Burgoyn and the king of England.

When these Ambassadors were departed, the Duke after long consultation had with his counsaile and nobilitie, sent the Bishop of Arras and two notable persons to the king of England, with certeine Articles which the Duke of Burgoyn offered to him of loue, as he sayde. The king of England considering with himselfe that the Duke of Burgoyne was a conuenient instrument

strument to bring his purpose to passe, did therefore louyngly receyue and honourably entertayn his Ambassadors, saying vnto them, that very shortly he would send his Ambassadors vnto him, that should declare vnto him hys lawfull and reasonable requestes and desyres.

With this message the Dukes Ambassadors departed toward Arras: and incontinent after their departure, king Henry sent the Erle of Warwike, & the Bishop of Rochester with many knightes and squiers, to the Duke of Burgoyn, who when they came to the Duke, declared the effect of their Ambassade. He gently heard their requestes, and some he allowed, and some he augmented, and some he altered and disalowed: But in conclusion the Duke of Burgoyn, and the king of England agreed vpon certeyne Articles, so that the French king and his Commons would assent vnto the same. And shortly after it was agreed that the king of Englande shoulde sende in the companie of the Duke of Burgoyn, his Ambassadors to Troy in Champein, sufficiently authorised to conclude so great a matter. The king of Englande beyng in good hope that all his affayres should prosperously succeede and go forwarde, sent to the Duke of Burgoyn, his Uncle the Duke of Exceter, the Erle of Sarisbury, the Bishop of Ely, the Lorde Fanhope, & Lord Fitz Hugh sir John Robsart and sir Philip Hall, with diuers Doctors, and they were in number fiue hundreth horse, which in the companie of the Duke of Burgoyn came to the Citie of Troys the .xxj. day of March. The Frenche king, the Queene, and the Ladie Katheryn, them receyued and hartely welcommed, shewyng great tokens and signes of loue and amitie. And after a fewe dayes they fell to counsaile, in the which it was concluded, that king Henry of England should come to Troys, and marry the Ladie Katheryn, and the king should make him heyre of his Realme, Crowne, and dignitie, after his departure out of this naturall lyfe, with many other articles which hereafter shall be rehersed.

When all these things were done and concluded, the Ambassadors of England departed toward their king, leauing behind them Sir John Robsart, to geue his attendaunce on the Lady Katheryn. When king Henry had heard his Ambassadors rehearse the articles of the treatie and amity concluded, he condiscended and agreed with all diligence to set forward to Troys, longyng for the sight of the Lady Katheryn his newe spouse. And being admonished by the late mischaunce of John Duke of Burgoyn, he did not rashly presume to aduenture himselfe among his newe reconciled enemies: But when he sawe all things safe and in good order, he being accompanied with the Dukes of Clarence and Glocester his brethren, the Erles of Warwike, Sarisburie, Huntyngdon, Ewe, Tankeruple and Longuple, and xb. thousand men of warre, departed from Rhoan to Ponthoyse, and from thence to saint Dionyce, which is two leagues from Paris, and from thence to Pontcharenton, where he left a garrison of men to keepe the passage, and from thence by Prouynce he came to Troys, where the Duke of Burgoyn accompanied with many noble men receaued him two leagues without the towne, and conueyed him to his lodging and his princes with him, and all his armie was lodged in villages there aboutes. And after he had awhyle reposed himselfe, he went to visite the king, the Quene and the Ladye Katheryn, whome he found in Saint Peters Church, where was an honora-

A peace concluded betweene the French king and the king of England.

King Henry marieth the Ladie Katherin daughter to the French king.

ble meeting and a louing embzacing on both sydes, which was the twentie daye of Maye, and there at the same time were the Lady Katheryn and the king of Englande made sure together, and the thirde daye of June next following, they were with all solempnitie maried in the same Church. At which mariage the Englishmen made such triumphs & reioysing, as though nothing in the wozlde coulde haue chaunced moze happie and honozable.

And when this honourable mariage was solempnized, and the frastes and triumphes of the same finished, then the two kings and their counsayle assembled together dyuers dayes, wherin the fozmer league and treaty was in dyuers pointes altered and bzought to a certainetie, by the deuise of the king of England and his bzethzen, when this great matter was finished, the kings foz their parte sware to obserue the same in all pointes. Lykewise sware the Duke of Burgoyn, and a great number of Pzinces and nobles, which were pzesent, and they were the better perswaded there vnto, foz that they maruelled befoze at the noble actes done by King Henry, of whom they had knowledge onely by repozte, and nowe they moze marueyled when they sawe and beheld the honour and wisedome of his person. And immediatly vpon this agreement, King Henry was pzoclaymed heyze and Regent of Fraunce. And as the french king sent the copie of this treaty to euery towne in Fraunce: So the king of Englande sent the same in Englishe to euery Citie and market towne of Englande, to be published and made knowne, the Copie of which articles here after ensue, wozde foz wozde.

King Henry is pzoclaymed heyze and Regent of Fraunce.

1 First, it is accozded betwixt our father and vs, that foz as much as by the bond of Matrimonie made foz the good of the peace betwene vs, and oure most dere beloued Katheryn, daughter of our sayde father, and of our most dere mother, Isabell his wife, the same Charles and Isabell bene made fether and mother, therfoze them as our father and mother we shall haue and wozship, as it sitteth and seemeth so a wozthy pzince and pzincesse to be wozshipped, pzincipally befoze all other tempozall persons of the wozlde.

2 Also, we shall not distrouble, disseason oz letten our father afozesayde, but that he holde and possesse as long as he lyueth, as he holdeth and possesseth at this time the crowne and the dignitie royall of Fraunce, and rentes and pzoffites foz the same, of the sustenaunce of his estate, and charges of the realme. And our fozesayde mother also hold as long as shee lyueth the state and dignitie of the Quene, after the maner of the same realme, wyth conuenable conuenience parte of the sayed rents and pzofites.

3 Also, that the fozesayde Ladye Katheryn shall take and haue dower in our Realme of England as Quenes of Englande here afoze were wont foz to take and haue, that is to say, to the some of.xl.M. Scutes, of the which two algate shall be wozth a noble Englishe.

4 Also, that by ỳ waies maners and meanes that we may without transgressiō oz offence of other made by vs, foz to kepe ỳ lawes, customes, vsages and rights of our said realme of England, shal doen our laboz & pursute, that the said Katherin also sone as it may be doen, be made sure to take and foz to haue in our sayd realme of England from the tyme of our death ỳ said dower of.xl.M. Scutes yerely, of ỳ which twaine algate be wozth a noble English.

5 Also if it hap the sayde Katheryn to ouerliue vs, she shall take and haue the realme of Fraunce immediatly, from the time of our death, dower to the

the somme of. xx. M. Franks yerely of and vpon the lands, places and Lozdshippes that helde, and had Blaunch sometime wyfe of Philip Boseele to our sayde father.

6 Also, that after the death of our father afozesayde, and from thence fozwarde, the crowne and the realme of Fraunce with all the rightes and appurtenances shall remaine and abide to vs, and been of vs and of our heires foz euermoze.

7 Also, foz as muche as oure sayde father is withholden with diuers sicknesse, in suche maner as he may not intende in hys owne person, foz to dispose foz the needes of the fozesayde realme of Fraunce: therefoze during the life of our sayde father, the faculties and exercise of the gouernaunce and disposition of the publique and common pzoffite of the sayde realme of Fraunce with counsayle and nobles and wise men of the same realme of Fraunce, shall be and abide to vs: So that from henceforth we may gouerne the same realme by vs. And also to admit to our counsayle and assistence of the sayde nobles, suche as we shall thinke meete, the which faculties and exercise of gouernaunce thus being toward vs, we shall labor and purpose vs speedely, diligently and truely to that that maye be and ought foz to be to the wozship of God and our sayde father and mother, and also to the common good of the sayde realme, and that realme with the counsayle and helpe of the wozthy and great nobles of the same realme foz to be defended, peased and gouerned after right and equitie.

8 Also, that we of our owne power shall doe the courte of the parliament of Fraunce to be kept and obserued in his aucthoztie and soueraigntie, and in all that is doen to it in all maner of places, that nowe oz in time comming is oz shall be subiect to our sayed father.

9 Also, we to our power shall defend and help all and euery of the Peres, Nobles, Cities, Townes, commonalties and singuler persons, nowe oz in tyme comming, subiects to our father in their rightes, customes, pziuileges, fredome and fraunchises longing oz due to them in all maner of places, nowe oz in time comming subiect to our father.

10 Also, we diligently and truely shall trauayle to our power, and doe that iustice be administred and done in the same Realme of Fraunce after the lawes, customes and rightes of the same realme, without personalx exception. And that we shall keepe and holde the subiectes of the same realme in tranquillitie and peace, and to our power we shall defende them agaynst all maner of violence and oppzession.

11 Also, we to our power shall pzouide, and to doe our power that able persons and pzofitable bene taken to the offices, as well of Justices and other offices longing to the gouernaunce of the demaynes and of other offices of the sayde realme of Fraunce foz the good, right and peaceable Justice of the same, and foz the administration that shall be committed vnto them, and that they be suche persons that after the lawes and rightes of the same realme, and foz the vtilitie and pzofite of our sayde father shall minister, and that the fozesayde Realme shall be taken and deputed to the same offices.

12 Also, that we of our power so soone as it maye commodiously be done, shall trauaile foz to put into the obedience of oure sayde father, all maner of Cities, Townes and Castels, places, Countries and persons within

the realme of Fraunce, disobedient and rebels to our sayde father, holdyng with them which bene called the Dolphyn or Armiack.

13 Also, that we might the more commodiously, surely and freely doen, exercise and fulfill these things aforesayde. It is accorded that all worthy nobles and estates of the same realme of Fraunce, as well spirituals as temporals, and also Cities, notables and commonalties, and citezens, Burgeis of townes of the realme of Fraunce, that bene obeysaunt at this time to our sayde father shall make these othes that followen.

14 First, to vs hauyng the facultie, exercise, disposition and gouernaunce of the foresayde common profite to our hestes and commaundements they shall meekely and obediently obey and intende in all maner of thing concerning the exercise of gouernaunce of the same realme.

15 Also, that the worthy great Nobles and estates of the sayde realme, as well Spirituals as Temporals, and also Cities and notable communalties and Citezens and Burgesses of the same realme in all maner of things well and truely shall kepe and to their power shall doe to be kept, of so much as to them belongeth or to any of them all, those things that bene appointed and accorded betwene our aforesayde father and mother and vs, with the counsayle of them whome vs lust to call to vs.

16 Also, that continually from the death and after the death of our sayde father Charles, they shall be our true liege men and our heires, and they shall receyue and admit vs for their liege and souereigne and verie king of Fraunce, and for suche to obey vs without opposition, contradiction or difficultie, as they been to our foresayde father during his lyfe, neuer after this realme of Fraunce shall obey to man as king or Regent of Fraunce, but to vs and our heires. Also they shall not be in counsayle, helpe or assent that we leese life or limme, or be take with euill taking, or that we suffer laume or diminution in person, estate, worship or goodes, but if they know any suche thing for to be cast or imagined agaynst vs, they shall let it to their power, and they shall doen vs to weten thereof as hastely as they may by them selfe, by message or by letters.

17 Also, that all maner of conquests that should be made by vs in Fraunce, vpon the sayde inobedients out of the Duchie of Normandie, shall be doen to the profite of our sayde father, and that to our power we shall doe that all maner of landes and Lordships that beene in the places so for to be conquered longyng to persons obeyeng to oure sayed father, which shall sweare for to keepe this present accorde, shall be restored to the same persons to whom they long to.

18 Also, that all maner of persons, of holy Church beneficed in the Duchye of Normandie or any other places in the realme of Fraunce subiect to our father and fauoring the partie of the Dukes of Burgoyne which shall sweare to keepe this present accord, shall enioy peaceably their benefices of holy church in ꝑ Duchy of Normandy, or in any other places nert aforesaid:

19 Also likewise all maner persons of holy Church obedient to vs and beneficed in the realme of Fraunce, and places subiect to our father that shall swere to keepe this present accorde, shall inioy peaceably their benefices of holy Church in places nert abouesayde.

20 Also that all maner of Churches, Vniuersityes, and studies generall, and

and all Colleges of studies, and other Colleges of holy Church, beyng in places nowe or in tyme commyng subiect to our father, or in the Duchie of Normandie, or other places in the Realme of Fraunce subiect to vs, shall enioy their rightes and possessions, rentes, prerogatiues, liberties, and franchises, longyng or dewe to them in any maner of wise in the sayde Realme of Fraunce, sauyng the right of the Crowne of Fraunce, & euery other person.

21 Also by Gods helpe, when it happeneth vs to come to the Crowne of Fraunce, the Duchie of Normandie, and all other places conquered by vs in the realme of Fraunce, shall bowe vnder the commaundement, obeysaunce and Monarchie of the Crowne of Fraunce.

22 Also that we shall enforce vs, and do to our power that recompence be made by our sayde father, without diminution of the Crowne of Fraunce, to persons obeyng to him, and fauouryng to that partie that is sayd Burgoyn, to whome longeth landes, Lordshippes, rentes, or possessions in the sayde Duchie of Normandie, or other places in the realme of Fraunce conquered by vs hethertowarde, geuen by vs in places, and landes gotten, or to be gotten and ouercome, in the name of our sayd father vpon rebelles, and inobedientes to him. And if it so be, that such maner of recompence be not made to the sayd persons by the lyfe of our sayde father, we shall make that recompence, in such maner of places and goodes, when it happeth by Gods grace to the Crowne of Fraunce. And it so be that the landes, Lordships, rentes, or possessions, the which longeth to such maner of persons in the said Duchie, and places be not geuen by vs, the same personnes shall be restored to them without any delay.

23 Also duryng the life of our sayde father, in all places nowe, or in tyme commyng subiect to him, letters of common iustice, and also graunts of offices and giftes, pardones or remissions and priuileges shall be writted and proceede vnder the name and seale of our sayde father. And forasmuch as some singuler case may fall, that may not be foreseene by mannes witte, in the which it might be necessary and behouefull that we do write our letters, in such maner case if any hap, for the good and suretie of our sayd father, and for the gouernaunce that longeth to vs, as is before said, and for to eschewen perilles that otherwise might fall to the preiudice of our sayde father, to write our letters, by the which we shall commaund, charge, and defende after the nature and qualitie of the neede in our fathers behalfe, and ours as Regent of Fraunce.

24 Also that duryng our fathers life, we shall not call ne write vs king of Fraunce, but vterlye we shall abstayne vs from that name as long as our father liueth.

25 Also that our sayd father duryng his lyfe shall nempne, call, and write vs in French in this maner. Nostre trechier filz Henry Roy Dengleterre, heretere de Fraunce, and in Latin in this maner. Præclarissimus filius noster Henricus Rex Anglię, & hęres Frauncię.

26 Also that we shall put none impositions or exactions, or do charge the subiectes of our sayd father without cause reasonable and necessary, ne otherwise then for common good of the realme of Fraunce, and after the saiyng & askyng of the lawes and customes reasonable, approued of the same realme.

27 Also that we shall trauaile to our power to the effect and entent, that by

the assent of the three estates of eyther of the realmes of Fraunce and England, that all maner of obstacles may be done awap, and in this partie that it be ordeyned and prouided, that from the time that we or any of our heyres come to the crowne of Fraunce, both the Crownes, that is to say of Fraunce and England, perpetually be together in one, and in the same person, that is to say, from our fathers lyfe, to vs, and from the terme of our life thencefoꝛwarde, in the persons of our heyres, that shall be one after an other. And that both realmes shall be gouerned, fro that we or any of our heires come to the same, not seuerally vnder diuers kinges in one time, but vnder the same person, which for the tyme shall be king of both the realmes, and souereigne Lord as afoꝛesaid, keppng neuertheleſſe in all maner of other thinges to eyther of the same realmes their rightes, liberties, customes, vsages, and lawes, not makyng subiect in any maner of wise one of the same realmes to the rightes, lawes, or vsages, of that other.

28 Also that hencefoꝛwarde, perpetually shall be still rest, and that in all maner of wise, dissensions, hates, rancoꝛs, enuies, and warres, betweene the same realmes of Fraunce and England, and the people of the same realmes, drawyng to accoꝛde of the same peace, may cease and be broken.

29 Also that there shal be from hencefoꝛward foꝛ euermoꝛe, peace and tranquillitie, and good accoꝛde, and common affection, and stable friendship, betweene the same realmes, and their subiectes befoꝛesaye: the same realmes shall keepe themselues with their Counsaile, helpes, and common assistance, against all maner of men that enfoꝛce them foꝛ to done, or to imagin wꝛonges, harmes, displeasures, or grieuaunce to them, or to eyther of them. And they shall be conuersant, and Marchandisen freely and surely together, paiyng the custome due and accustomed. And they shall be conuersaunt also, that all the confederates and alyes of our sayd father, and the realme of Fraunce afoꝛesayde, and also our confederates of the realme of England afoꝛesayde, shall in. viij. Monethes from the tyme of this accoꝛde of peace, as it is notefyed to them, declare by their letters, that they wyll drawe to this accord, and will be compzehended vnder the treaties and accoꝛde of this peace, sauyng neuertheleſſe eyther of the same Crownes, & also all maner actions, rightes, and reuenues that longen to our sayd father and his subiectes and to vs, and to our subiectes, again such maner of allies and confederacies.

30 Also neyther our father, neyther our bꝛother the Duke of Burgoyn shall begyn ne make with Charles, clepyng himselfe the Dolphyn of Vyennes any treatie oꝛ peace oꝛ accoꝛde, but by counsaile and assent of all and eche of vs thꝛe, oꝛ of other thꝛe estates of either of the sayd realmes aboue named.

31 Also that we with assent of our sayde bꝛother of Burgoyn and other of the nobles of the realme of Fraunce, the which therto ought to be called, shal oꝛdeyne foꝛ the gouernaunce of our sayd father sekerly, louyngly and honestly after the astyng of his royall estate and dignitie by the maner that shall bee to the woꝛchip of God and of our father and of the realme of Fraunce.

32 Also all maner of persons that shall be about our father to do him personall seruice, not onely in office but in all other seruices, aswell the nobles and gentles as other shall be suche as hath bene boꝛne in the realme of Fraunce oꝛ in places longyng to Fraunce, good, wise, true and able to that foꝛesayde seruice. And our sayde father shall dwell in places notable of his obedience and

and no where else. Wherefoꝛe we charge and commaunde our sayde liege subiectes and other beyng vnder our obedience that they keepe and do to be kept in all that longeth to them this accoꝛde and peace after the foꝛme and maner as it is accoꝛded. And that they attempt in no maner wise any thing that may be preiudice oꝛ contrary to the same accoꝛd and peace vpon paine of life and lymme, and all that they may foꝛfeyt against vs. Yoꝛen at Troys the xxi. day of May. 1420. and proclaymed in London the. xx. day of June.

33 Also that we foꝛ the thinges afoꝛesayde and euerye one of them shall geue our assent by our letters patentes, sealed with our seale vnto our said father with all approbation and confirmation of vs and all other of our blood roiall and of all the cities and townes to vs obedient sealed with their seales accustomed. And further our sayde father beyde his letters patentes sealed vnder his great seale shall make oꝛ cause to be made letters approbatoꝛy and confirmacions of the Peeres of his realme and of the Lords, Citezens, and Burgesses of the same vnder his obedience, all which articles we haue swoꝛne to kepe vpon the holy Euangelistes.

So soone as these articles were made and concluded, as afoꝛesayde, the king of England hauing in his company the French king, and the Duke of Burgoyn came befoꝛe the towne of Sene in Burgoyn, which toke part with the Dolphyn. And after that he had destroyed the Countrie about it, within. xb. dayes the towne was peelded. And from thence he remooued to Mounstrell Falt Powe, where the foꝛmer Duke of Burgoyn was slayne, as is befoꝛe mencioned, which towne was taken by assault, and many of the Dolphyns part apprehended befoꝛe they could get to the Castell. And after the getting of the towne, the Castell which was newly replenished with men and victuall, denyed to render, and therefoꝛe it was strongly besieged.

The king of Englande sent certaine of the prisoners that he had taken in this towne to aduise the captain of the Castell to peeld the same: But they obstinately denyed the request, geuing euill speech to the kinges Herault. Wherfoꝛe the king of Englande caused a Gibbet to be set vp befoꝛe the Castell, on the which were hanged. xij. prisoners, all Gentlemen and friends to the Capitaine. When the Lord of Guytry Lieutenant of the Castell perceiued that by no meanes he could be releeued noꝛ succoꝛed, and fearing to be taken by foꝛce, he began to treate with the king of England, which in eyght dayes would take none of his offers. But in conclusion he and his rendred themselues simply, their lyues onely saued: And after fiue weekes siege, the Castell was delyuered, and the Erle of Warwike was made Capitaine of the towne and Castell, which foꝛtefyed the same with men, oꝛdinaunce and artillarie. From thence the king of Englande departed to Molyn vppon Seyn, and besieged it rounde about, in whose company were the French king, the young king of Scottes, the Dukes of Burgoyn, Clarence, Bedfoꝛd and Glouceſter. Molyn vpon Seyn besieged.

The Duke of Barre.	The Erle Marchall.
The prince of Orenge.	The Erle of Warwike.
The Erle of Richе.	The Erle of Woꝛcester.
The Erle of Huntyngdon.	The Erle of Suffolk.
The Erle of Stafford.	The Erle of Jury.
The Erle of Somerset.	The Lord Charles of Nauerre.

The

The Erle of Perche.
The Erle of Moztayn.
The Erle of Ozmond.
The Erle of Desmond.
The Erle of Ewe.
The Erle of Tankeruyle.
The Erle of Longuyle.
The Erle of Saint Paule.
The Erle of Bzayne.
The Erle of Ligny.
The Erle of Uatedenontier.
The Erle of Joiugny.
The Lozde Rosse.
The Lozde Matreuers.
The Lozde Gray of Codnoz.
The Lozde Bourchier.
The Lozde Audeley.
The Lozde Willoughby.
The Lozde Clynton.
The Lozde Deyncost.
The Lozde Clifford.
The Lozde Ferrers Groby.
The Lozd Ferrers of Chartley.
The Lozde Talbot.
The Lozde Fitzwareyn.
The Baron of Dudley.
The Lozde Womerancy.
The Lozde Awbemond.
The Lozde Beauchamp.
The Lozde Furnyuall.
The Lozde Fitz Hugh.
The Lozde Fanhope.
The Lozde Scrope of Balos.
The Lozde Scrope of Uplabe.
The Lozde Canneys.
The Lozde Bardolfe.
The Lozde Scales.
The Baron of Carre.
The Lozde Duras.
The Lozde Delalaunde.
The Lozde Mountferaunt.
The Lozde Louell.
The Lozde Botras.
The Lozde of Castelen.
The Lozde Lisladam.
The Lozde Uergeer.
The Lozde of Crony.
The Lozde Saint Geozge.
The Lozde Pelunes.
The Lozde Daugien.
The Lozde Tremoyle.
The Lozde Jenuale.
Sir John de Lawoye.
Sir John Courcelles.
The Lozde of Barenton.
The Lozde of Jalous.
The Lozde of Bonuyle.
Sir Guy de Barre.
Sir John Fastolffe.
Sir Philip Hall.
Sir Philip Leche.
Sir John Rodney.
Sir Moyzice Bzowne.
Sir Piers Tempest.
Sir Guy Moyle.
Sir John Stanley.
Sir Lewes Mohelwe,
with many other knightes, Esquiers and Gentlemen, that I can not reherse by name.

These valyaunt Pzinces and Noble men besieged the strong towne of Molyn vpon Seyn, as afozesaide, with all their fozce and army, by the space almost of .vij. Moneths. They without made Mynes, cast trenches and shot Gonnes at the walles. And they within, whereof the Lozde Barbason was chiefe, manfully defended the same, during the which siege, the Frenche Queene, and the Quene of Englande, and the Duches of Burgoyn came dyuers times to visite their husbandes, and to see their friends. This siege so long continued, that victualles within the towne beganne to fayle, and pestilence beganne to encrease, so that the Capitayne beganne to treate: And in conclusion the towne was delyuered vpon certaine conditions, whereof one was, that all that were consenting to the death of the Duke of Burgoyn should be deliuered to the king of England, whereof the Lozde Barbason was one, and so they were delyuered to the king, and he sent them vnder the conduyt

conduyt of the Duke of Clarence vnto Paris, and there they were executed. And foozthwith the sayde Duke of Clarence was by the French king made Captayne of Paris, and had in possession the Bastill of Saint Anthony, the Louure, the house of Neele, and the place of Boys de Uyncens.

After the towne of Molyn was yelded, as afozesayde, the king made Capteyne there the Erle of Huntyngdon. From thence he departed with his armie to Cozbell, where the French king and the two Queenes then soiourned. And from thence the two kinges accompanied with the Dukes of Burgoyn, Bedford, Glouceste, and Exceter, and the Erles of Warwike, Sarisbury, and a great number of other noble men, set fozth toward Paris, whom the Citizens receyued ioyfully, in most honourable maner. The next day the two Queenes made their entry into Paris, where also they were receyued with all solempnitie, as was the two kings. Duryng the time that these two kinges lay in Paris, there was a great assembly called, aswell of the Clergie as of the Nobility, in ꝑ which the two kings sate as iudges, befoze whom the Duches of Burgoyn by her aduocate appealed the Dolphyn and .vij. other foz the death and murder of John Duke of Burgoyn her husbande. To the which apeale, the counsaile on the other part made dyuers offers of amends: But this matter was put of vntill an other day. To the Citie of Paris at this tyme resozted the three estates of the Realme, where euery person seuerally sware vpon the holy Euangelistes, to kepe, suppozt, mainteyn, and defend the treatie & peace final which was cõcluded betwene the two Pzinces and their counsayles, & therunto euery noble man spirituall, gouernour, and tempozall ruler set to their seales, which instrumentes were sent to the kinges treasury of his Eschequer at Westminster, sauely to be kept, where they yet remayne. These two kinges soiozned in Paris at the feast of Chzistmasse. The French king lyng at the house of S. Paule, kept no estate noz open court to no man, except to his houshold seruauntes. But the king of England and his Quene, kept such solempne estate, so plentifull a house, so pzincely passyng, and gaue so many giftes, that all the noble men of Fraunce spake honourably of him.

Sone after this feast of Chzistmasse, the king of England tooke vpon him as Regent of Fraunce to redzesse causes, to remoue officers, to refozme thinges that were amisse, and caused a newe coyne to be made called a Salute, wherein were grauen the Armes of Fraunce, and the Armes of England quartered. And to set all thinges in a quietnesse, he ozdeyned sir Gilbert Umfreuile Capteine of Melun furnished with a good number of valyant souldiours. And the Erle of Huntingdon his Cossin Germain he appointed Capteyne at Boys de Uincens. And the Duke of Exceter with fiue hundzeth men of armes, was assigned to kepe the Citie and towne of Parys. The king of England taketh vpon him as Regent of Fraunce.

When the king had thus ozdered his affayzes accozdyng to his deuise, he with the Quene his wife, his Pzinces and Nobles, departed from Paris, and came to the Citie of Roan. But befoze his remouyng, he caused pzocesse to be made agaynst Charles called the Dolphyn, commaundyng him to appere at the Table of Marble in Parys: Where foz lacke of appearaunce, he was with all solempnitie in suche a cause requisite, denounced giltie of the murder and homicide of John late Duke of Burgoyn: And by the sentence of the Court of Parliament he was banished the realme and territozies of Fraunce, and depzined of all honours, names, dignities and pzeheminences which

The Dolphyn of Fraunce cõdemned foz the death of John Duke of Burgoyn.

which he then had or hereafter might haue. Wherefore the Dolphyn went into Languedock, and after to Poyters, gettyng to him such friendes as he could, and especially he obteyned so highly the fauour of the Erle of Armiack, that he not onely tooke his part, but also relieued him with money, ayded him with men, and in his awne person continually serued him agaynst his foes and enemies.

While king Henry soiourned in the City of Roan, he receiued homage of all the Nobles of Normandie: Amongest whome the Erle of Stafford did homage for the Countie of Perche: And Arthure of Britayn did homage for the Countrie of Jury, which the king before had geuen vnto them. He also ordeyned his Lieutenant generall both of Fraunce and Normandie, his brother Thomas Duke of Clarence: and his deputie in Normandie was the Erle of Sarisburie. And thus all thinges beyng set in order, the King and Quene of England departed from Roan to Amiens, and so to Calice, where he tooke shippyng, and hauyng a fayre passage landed at Douer, and came to Eltham, and through London to Westminster: But by the way he was receyued most ioyfully and honourably, namely by the Citezens of London.

King Henry with the Quene hys wife returneth into England.

The Coronation of Quene Katherine.

And shortly after, great prouision and preparation was made for the coronation of the Queene, who was crowned the. xxiiij. day of Febzuary with all solempnitie.

1420

Now while the king was thus occupyed in England, the Duke of Clarence brother to the king, and his Lieutenaunt generall in Fraunce & Normandie, as is aforesayd, assembled together all the garrisons of Normandie at the towne of Berney, & from thence departed into the Countrie of Mayn. And at Pount de Gene, he passed the riuer of Youe, and roade through all the Countrie to Lucie, where he passed the ryuer of Loyze, and entred into Anjowe, and came before the Citie of Angiers, where he made many knightes, that is to say, Sir William Rosse, Sir Henry Godard, Sir Rowland Rider, and Sir Thomas Beaufoord called the Bastarde of Clarence and diuerse other. And shortly after that he had forayed, brent, and spoyled the Countrie, he returned with pray and pillage to the Towne of Beufoorde in the Valley, where he was aduertised that a great number of his enemies were assembled together at a place called Bangie, that is to say, the Duke of Alanson callyng him selfe Lieutenaunt generall for the Dolphyn, who was accompanied with a great number of Erles and other the Nobles of Fraunce.

Andrew Forgusa a false and traiterous Lombard.

At this tyme the Duke of Clarence had a Lombard resortyng vnto him called Andrew Forgusa, which was reteined with the part aduerse, of whom the Duke required the number of his enemies: To whome he reported that theyr number was but small, and of no strength, and farre vnmeete to encounter with halfe the power of his puyssant armie, entisyng and prouokyng him to set on the French men, warrantyng him a famous victorie, and a faire day. The Duke geuyng to much credite to this Traytor, lyke a valyant and courageous Prince, assembled together all the horsemen of his armie, and left the Archers behinde him vnder the order of the Bastard of Clarence, saiyng that he onelye, and the nobles would haue the honour of that iourney. When the Duke was passed a streight and a narrow passage, he espyed his enemies raunged in verye good order of battaile: And the saide aduersaries had

had layd such Buschementes at the streytes, that the Duke by no wayes without battaile could eyther retyre or flie. The Englishmen seeyng no remedy, valiauntly set on their enemies, which were foure to one: The battaile was fierce, and the fight deadly. The Englishemen that day did valiauntly, yet it anayled not, for they were oppressed with the number of Frenchmen. There were slaine the Duke of Clarence, the Erle of Tankeruyle, the Lord Rosse, Sir Gilbert Umfreuile, Erle of Kent, Sir John Lumley, and Sir Robert Uenred, and almost two. M. Englishmen. And the Erles of Somerset, Suffolke, and Perch, the Lorde Fitzwater, Sir John Barkley, sir Raufe Neuile, Sir Henry Inglos, Sir William Bowes, Sir William Longton, and Sir Thomas a Borow, and diuers other taken prisoners. And of the Frenchmen there were slaine aboue. xij. hundreth of their best men. The Bastard Clarence which taryed at Beaufoord was informed of the number of the Frenchmen, wherefore he with all the Archers made hast to succor the duke: But they came to late: for the Frenchmen heeryng of the approchyng of the Archers, fled with their prisoners with all the hast they could, leauing behinde them the bodie of the aforesayd Duke, and the dead carions. When the Archers came and sawe their enemies gone, they lamented not a little the euill chaunce of the deceyued Duke: But seyng no remedie, they tooke the dead bodies and buried them all, sauyng the Dukes corps, which with great solempnitie was sent into England, and buryed at Cauntorbury beside his father. After this, the Englith men brent & spoyled the Countrie of Maine, and so returned to Alaunson, and there departed euery man to his garrison. This battaile was fought at Bawgy in Anjow on Easter Euen in the yere of our Lorde. 1421.

The Duke of Clarence slaine.

The battayle of Bawgye.

King Henry beyng aduertised of this infortunate ouerthrowe, and detestable doyng of the Lombard, and losse of his brother, sent without delay, Edmond Erle of Mortaigne, & brother to the Erle of Somerset into Normandy, geuyng to him like Authoritie and preheminence, as his brother the late deceassed Duke of Clarence had or enioyed. After this, he called hys high Court of Parliament, in the which he declared so wisely the actes that were done in the Realme of Fraunce, the estate of the tyme present and what thinges were necessarye for the tyme to come, (if they would looke to haue that Jewell and high kingdome, for the which they had so long laboured and sought for) that the Commonaltie graunted a fiftene, and the Clergie a double fiftene. And because no delay should be in the kinges affayres for lacke of payment, the Bishop of Winchester his Uncle lent to him. xx. thousande pounde, to be receyued of the same disme or fiftenes.

When all thinges necessarye for this voyage were redie and prepared, he sent his brother John Duke of Bedford with all his armie (which the French men write to be foure thousand men of armes, and. xx. thousand Archers, and other) before him to Calice. And he himselfe shortly after in the middle of May passed the Seas, and arryued there in great triumph, where to him was shewed, that the Dolphyn with. vij. M. men had besieged the towne of Chartiers which was manfully defended by the Bastard of Thyan and other, set and appointed there by the Duke of Excester.

John Duke of Bedford arryueth in Fraūce, with a puyssaunt armie.

King Henry not minding to lose so fayre a towne, departed in good order with all his armie towarde Paris. And at Mounstrell there receaued him

King Henry arryueth in Fraunce.

him the Duke of Burgoyn, which from that place attended vpon the king to Dowaste in Ponthiewe, and so came to Abbeuyle, and from thence to Boys de Vyncens, where he found the French king and Quene, whome he louingly saluted, and they him agayne honorably receaued. And there the king of England and the Duke of Burgoyn determined without delaye to fight with the Dolphyn and to raise the siege before Chartres. The king of Englād with al his power came to the towne of Maunt, & thether repayred the Duke of Burgoin with foure M. men: of whose cōming the king reioyced not a little. But before they departed from thence, they had knowlege & true instruction that the Dolphyn heryng of the puyssaunt army of the king, was reculed with his people vnto Towrzes in Towrzain. Wherfore the king of England incontynent, not onely sent the Duke of Burgoyn into Picardy to resist the malice of syr Jaques Harcourte, which daylie inferred warre, and caused wast and destruction in the same Countrie: But also appointed James king of Scottes to lay siege to the towne of Direx, which so fiercly assaulted the same, that after fire weekes, they rendred the same to the king of Scottes to the behoofe of king Henry his soueregne Lorde, who appointed Captayne there the Erle of Worzester.

The king himselfe remoued from Maunt, and passed ouer the Ryuer of Leyz, folowyng the Dolphyn toward Towers: But the Dolphyn mistrusting his power fled to Burges in Berry, and there determined to tarie vntill fortune would looke more fauourably vpon him.

The king of England with all his puyssaunce so fast folowed the flyeng Dolphyn, that victuall beganne to fayle: wherfore he consydering the daunger and hurte of his awne people, and sawe none aduantage to followe the Dolphyn, did for the safetie of his people returne ouer the ryuer of Leyz, and gate Gasconeyes vpon Poue, and a towne called the kings new towne, and dyuers other whose names were to tedious here to reherse.

The aforesaide towne was no lesse victualled then manned, and as well fortefyed, so that the king of Englande could neyther haue it delyuered vnto him, nor yet gayne it by assault without great losse and detriment. But yet he determined not to departe vntill he had eyther gayned or ouerthrowne the same: And duryng the time of this siege was borne at Wyndsore the kings sonne called Henry, whose Godfathers were John Duke of Bedford, and Henry Bishop of Winchester, and Jaquet Duches of Holland was Godmother, wherof the king was certefyed lyeng at this siege of Meaux, at the which he much reioyced, but when he heard of the place of his natiuity, whether he fantasyed some olde blind prophecie, or else iudged of his sonnes fortune, he sayde to the Lorde Fitz Hugh his Chamberleyn these wordes. My Lorde, I Henry borne at Monmouth shall small time reigne and get much: And Henry borne at Wyndsore shall long reigne and loose all: But as God wyll, so be it.

The birth of king Henry the fift.

After the Quene of England was thus delyuered of her fayre sonne, she returned into Fraunce, first to her husbande, and after to her father and mother, where she was on all partes so honorably receaued and so louingly entertayned and highly feasted, that she appered to be no lesse beloued nor welcommed vnto her noble husbande, then vnto her naturall parents.

1421
10

During the time of the siege last aboue mencioned, Sir Olyuer Manny a baliaunt man of warre of the Dolphyns parte, which before was captaine of the Castell of Falops, and yeelding it by composition, sware neuer to beare armour agaynst the king of Englande, assembled a great number of men of warre, as well of Britons as French men, that is to saye the Lorde Mountburchier, the Lorde Copuon, the Lorde of Chastelgiron, the Lorde of Tyntignace, the Lorde de la Howssaye, and dyuers other which entred into the Country of Constantyne in Normandy and robbed and killed the Englishe men where they migh eyther espie or take them at their aduauntage: But the Erle of Suffolk keeper of those marches hering of their doyngs, sent for the Lorde Scales, Sir John Alston Bailife of Constantyne, Sir Wylliam Hall, Sir John Banester and manye other out of the Garrisons within that territorie, which encountered with their enimies at a place called Le Parke de oeuecque, in English the Bishops Parke. There was a sore and a long fight, and many a proper feate of armes was done that day and many a man was in that place ouerthrowen: The Englishe men onely despyred victorie, and the French men despyred a safe returne: But in conclusion the french men being not hable to resist, began to flie, in the which conflict and fight there were slayne, the Lorde Copuon, the Lorde of Castell Giron and three hundreth other: And there were taken prisoners, the Lord de la Howssay, and syr Olyuer Mannay and .xx. other. The king being aduertised of this good chaunce and happy iourney sent for syr Olyuer Manny to be brought vnto him, he then lyeng at Meaux. And when he sawe him he sayde: Faire father you haue swoine, & promised vnto vs that you would neuer make warre nor beare armour against vs nor our subiectes: ye are an auncient knight, and ought to haue kept your fayth and promise, which you haue vntruly and also vnhonestly broken, and yet we will not (although by the law of armes we might lawfully so doe) put you to death, but graunt to you your lyfe: But we will send you into England to learne you to speake Englishe. And shortly after he was sent to London, where he dyed, and was buried in the white Fryers.

Olyuer Manny taken and sent into England.

The Scottes write (beleue them if ye will) that the king of Englande hering that the Dolphyn had sent for ayde into Scotlande, and that he had retayned them in wages (for of their awne habilitie, they be neyther able to send an army ouer the sea, nor yet of substaunce to beare a continuall warre, for this all their awne Histories declare, and their Chronicles make mencion, and yet the countrie is not so poze, but the people be as prowde) sent one day for James the Scottishe king, and in the presence of his counsayle declared vnto him, what humanitie, what fauour and singuler affection king Henry his Father bare during his naturall lyfe, towarde the sayde king of Scottes: Putting him in remembraunce of the great loue and friendship which he himselfe sith the beginning of his reigne had shewed vnto him, and that neyther he nor his father had negligently omitted any thing that might apperteyn to the office of a friend or to the duetie of a Tutour, which should loue and cherish his Orphane or Pupile, promising him liberty with a great rewarde if he would cause the Scottes which were adherents to the Dolphyn to returne againe into their countrie and native region. To the which request the king of Scottes with a wise and good courage aunswered, sayeng: what your noble father hath done to me, and what fauour or benefite

I haue receyued at your handes, I shall not nor will not when I maye (I assure you, forget: And when my power shall serue, I shall not fayle to recompence your doings with lyke kindnesse. But of your request I meruaile not a little, first considering that I am a prisoner, and haue no possession of my realme: Secondarily that I am as yet neyther sworne to my subiectes, nor they by othe of allegeaunce are bounde to obey my commaundements. Wherefore I desyre you no more to moue me in this thing, which nowe I cannot doe: And yet if I might, I would first foresee whether it were for me honorable, or to my realme honest, to leaue our olde friend in his extreme neede and necessitie without ayde or comfort. With this aunswere the king of England was not content (as the Scottes say) but after that king James was departed from his presence, king Henry sayde, happie shall they be who shall be subiectes to such a king that is indued with suche wit and wisedome at these young yeres.

The king of Englande lyeng still before the towne of Meux in Brye (as you haue heard) and had sore oppressed them within the towne. Whereof hering the Lorde of Offmond with a company of chosen persons, sent by the Dolphyn, came priuely in the night to the walles, and set vp a ladder, and diuers of his company went vp and entred the towne: But as he himselfe passed ouer a planke to haue come to the walles, he fell into a deepe diche. The Englishe men hering this noyes, ranne to the diche, where they tooke the Lorde of Offmound, and slue diuers of his company which stood at defence. The Captaine within the towne perceauing that their succours were taken, playnely iudged that the towne could not long continue: wherfore they caused all the goodes of the towne to be brought into the market place, which was strong and well fortefyed. The king of Englande being hereof aduertised, commaunded in all haste to geue an assault to the towne, which was quickly done, so that the towne by fine force was within three houres taken and spoyled. And the same daye the king besieged rounde about the market place, and tooke the Mill adioyning to the same. The Captaynes perceauing in what case they were, fearing to be taken by assault, began to treate with the king of Englande, which appointed the Erle of Warwike and the Lorde Hungerforde to common with them: And in conclusion a treatie was taken, and so the towne and Market place with all the goodes were deliuered into the king of Englandes handes, the tenth daye of Maye, the yere of our Lorde. 1422.

The Lorde Offmond taken.

The towne of Meux & the Market place taken.

When the deliuery of the strong towne of Meux was published through the Countrie, all the townes and fortresses in the Isle of Fraunce, in Lannoys, in Brie, and in Campeigne yelded themselues to the king of England, which appointed in them baliaunt Captaynes and hartie Souldiours.

After that king Henry had thus taken and possessed the towne of Meux and other fortresses at his pleasure, he returned againe to Boys de Vyncennes, where he found the Frenche king, and the Queene, and his wife, who with all ioy receyued him: And so the .xxx. day of May beyng Whitsonneuen, the two kinges and the Queenes returned to Parys, where the king of England lodged in the Castell of Loure, and the French king in the house of Saint Paule. These two kinges kept great estate with their Queenes at this feast of Pentecost: But the king of England (as Enguerant both confesseth,

The king of England keepeth his Whitsontide in Paris.

fesseth, and diuerse other sayth) kept such glorious an estate, and so costly a Court, that he with his Queene sate at dinner in Parys richely appointed with most riche vestures, adourned with Diademes of Golde, garnished and beset with precious stones, and decked with Jewelles both bewtifull and pleasaunt. Besydes this his Princes and estates, Barons and chiefe Captaynes were set in solempne estate, plenteously serued, and aboundantly feasted, so that the people of Paris which thether resorted to beholde this estate, iudged him to be more lyke an Emperour, then their awne king (which sate solitarily alone) to be like a Duke or a poore Marques: But now againe to returne to our Historye.

The Dolphyn knowyng by his Espyals where the king of Englande and his power lay, came with all his puyssaunce ouer the ryuer of Leyze and besieged the towne of Cosney, or Conny, and sent part of his armie to waste and destroy the confines of the Duchie of Burgoyn. And as he purposed, so it happened, for the Duke of Burgoyne with his power set forwarde to defend his awne lande and dominion, and wrote to the king of England to send ayde to them of Cosney or Conny, which had promised to render their towne to the Dolphyn if they were not reskued by the king of England within ten dayes. King Henry heeryng these newes, aunswered that he would not send one creature, but he would go before himselfe. And so with all diligence came to the towne of Cozbell, and so to Senlys, where, whether it were with the heate of the ayre, or that he with his daply labour was febled or weakned, he began to ware sicke, yea and so sicke that he was constrayned to tary and to send his brother the Duke of Bedford to performe his iourney & enterprise.

The king of Englande is sicke.

The Duke lyke a baliaunt Captayne set forwarde to reskue the towne besieged, whereof heeryng the Dolphyn with all his Captaynes and hardie souldiours departed thence into Barry to his great dishonor and lesse gaine: And so was the Citie of Cosney, or Conny reskued, to the great honour of the Englishe Nation. But in this meane while, king Henry ware sicker and sicker, and beyng layd on a Horslitter, was conueyed to Boys de Vyncennes, to whome shortly after repayred the Dukes of Bedford and Gloucester his Uncles, and the Erles of Sarisbury and Warwike, whome the king most louyngly entertayned and embraced: But when they beheld him (sayth Polidore) lyng in such an extremitie and daunger, they could not refrayne from mournyng and bewaylyng of him. Howbeit the king with a Princely and courageous heart, without any outward shew either of sad countenaunce or sorow, comforted them, and encouraged them to be mery and ioyous. But when he perceyued his sickneesse so sore to encrease, that there was no hope of health or recouery, he rendred to God his most hartie thankes, and chiefely that he called him out of this miserable life, at such tyme as when he was of most perfite remembraunce, both toward God and the world, and also in the tyme of his flourishyng conquest, in the which he neuer receyued one spot of dishonour. And turnyng himselfe to his brethren and other noble personages there present, he sayde vnto them: My naturall brethren and trustie friendes, I see you lament and bewaile my death approchyng at hand, of the which death I am both glad and reioyce, for this short tyme of my mortall lyfe shall be a testimonie of my strength, a declaration of my iustice, and a setting forth of all mine actes and trauayles, and finally shall be the cause that

The wordes of the king in his death bed spoken to hys brethren and others.

I by death shall obteyne fame, glory, and renowne, and escape the reprehension of cowardnesse, and the mote of all infamie, which I might haue chaunced to haue fallen into, if nature had lenger prolonged my lyfe and dayes: for it is commonly sayd, that as tyme chaungeth, so maners and condicions alter, and in long time, all thinges continue not in one state. But as eternitie is the trumpher vpon tyme, so do I trust that after this short life to haue eternall beyng: And after this miserable pilgrimage, myne hope is to enioy the celestiall kingdome, and to come to the Palace of rest, & place of quietnesse.

Nowe as touchyng you (no doubt but this my sodeyne chaunce molesteth you) and not without a cause: You lament the calamitie and mischaunce that is like to fall on your Countrie, because that I in this troubleous time leaue you destitute of a Gouernour and Ruler, which chaunce is the lesse to be moued and regarded, because in all worldly thinges, somethyng euer lacketh, and nothing long endureth: Wherefore, because the olde sayng is, that in the time of necessitie, wit and wisedome is to be experimented, therefore I require you to consult, and to studie and take paine to come to the ende of the iourney, which I in my time haue begon and entered in, and chiefely because I haue euer loued and trusted you aboue all other persons: And therefore I desire you nowe to shewe like loue, and to be as trustie to my sonne that shall be your souereigne Lorde: So that whatsoeuer dutie, allegiaunce, or fauor for my liberalitie or kindenesse to you shewed, was to me eyther of honestie or ciuilitie due or owyng: Let the same for my sake, be extended, shewed and recompenced to mine heyre and successor little Prince Henry. Some persons haue hated the father, and yet loued the childe, and some haue loued the father, and yet murthered the childe, of which sort I neyther recon nor accompt you: But this I say, if you loue me, ye ought to loue my childe, not for hys desert, but for myne. And sith nowe I shall be taken from you before satisfaction or recompence be made vnto me for my manifolde goodnesse and ample benefites to you shewed in my lyfe: I say and affirme, that after my death (except you will be noted with the blot of ingratitude, I will not say vntruth) you ought to render the same to my childe your Nephewe and kinsman: I pray God that ye do not defraude me of the good expectation that I haue euer had of you. And because I will not charge you, I will therefore frendly exhort you, to bring vp my little infant in vertuous liuyng, morall doctrine, and prudent pollecie, to the entent that by your paine he may proue wise, by your instruction he may proue politique, and made able to rule and gouerne a kingdome, and not to be ruled of other: By the which deuoire you shall not onely do your duetie to your Prince and souereigne Lorde, but also deserue thankes of your native Countrie, to the which ye are most specially bounde. Besides this, my peticion is not onely to comfort my most deerest and welbeloued wife the Queene, nowe beyng (as I thinke, the most dolourous and sorowfullest woman liuyng) but also to loue her and honour her, as I haue both loued and honoured you.

The order that king Henry left for the gouernement of his realme.

And as touching the estate of my realmes: First I commaund you to loue and ioyne together in one league or concord, and in one vnfayned amitie, keepyng continuall peace and amitie with Philip Duke of Burgoyn. And neuer make treatie with Charles that calleth himselfe Dolphyn of Vien, by the which any part of the crowne of Fraunce, or of the Duchie of Normandie and

and Guyan may be appayred or diminished. Let the Duke of Orleaunce and the other Princes still remaine prisoners, vntill my sonne come to his lawfull age, least they returnyng home againe, may kindle more fire in one day, then may well be quenched in three. If you thinke it necessarie, I would my brother Homfrey should be Protector of England, during the minority of my childe, prohibityng him once to passe out of the realme. And my brother of Bedford with the helpe of the Duke of Burgoyne, I will shall rule and be Regent of the realme of Fraunce, commaundyng him with fire & sword to persecute Charles callyng himselfe Dolphin, to the entent either to bryng him to reason & obeysaunce, or to driue and expell him out of the realme of Fraunce, admonishing you to lose no tyme, nor to spare no cost in recouerying of that which to you now is offered. And finally whatsoeuer I haue gotten, or you shall obteyne, I charge you kepe it, I commaund you to defend it, and I desire you to nourishe it: For experience teacheth, that there is no lesse prayse to be geuen to the keper, then to the getter, for verely gettyng is a chaunce, but kepyng is wisedome.

Humfrey Duke of Gloucester protector of England.

John Duke of Bedford Regent of Fraunce.

The noble men present promised to obserue his precepts, and performe his desyres: But their heartes were so pensiue and so replenished with dolor, that no one without weppyng could behold the other, and the next day folowyng he ended his life in this world, beyng the last day of August. 1422.

The death of king Henry the fift.

This Prince was the noblest king that euer reigned ouer the realme of England, his famous prowes and martiall actes were suche, as bewtifyed and glorified all this region: But when his death was knowen to the common people, no estate from the highest to the lowest, but cryed out and lamented that most infortunate and vntimely death. For he was beloued of all, and disdeyned nor hated of none, no not of his very enemies, who also spake most honourably of him. But nowe as his death put great feare in the heartes of Englishe men for the atchiuyng of the enterprice of the conquest of Fraunce: So the same did encourage the French enemies that they ensured themselues to gaine, and get againe whatsoeuer before they had lost, as in deede in the sequele of this Historie it will to plainly appere. And the decease and sodeine death of this noble Prince is by diuers writers, diuersly reported: some say he was poysoned, and to say truth, that might be so, for vndoubtedly the French men, namely the Dolphyn, feared the vtter ouerthrow and losse of his inheritance of the realme of Fraunce, as it was most like if God had geuen this Prince longer life, and therefore whatsoeuer the sayde Dolphyn could by any French practise do or attempt for his destruction, it was not left vndone. Some other write it was of a Palsey and a crampe: But other that seemeth herein to write most neere the truth, say that it was of a Pluriſis, which at that tyme was so rare a sickenesse and so straunge a disease, that the same to the most part of men was vnknowen, and Phisitians beyng little acquainted therewith, knewe no present remedy for the same. This king reigned.ix.yeres.v.monethes, and.xxiiij.dayes, & liued not, saith Hall, full.xxxviij. yeres, and Polidore sayth he liued but.xxxvj.yeres. Of stature he was somewhat tall, more than the common sort. Of bodie he was slender, and somewhat leane, well membred, and strongly made, a goodly countenaunce, but somewhat long necked, blacke heared, stoute of stomacke, and eloquent of tongue, and in Martiall affayres so valiaunt, as neuer was there any worthy

The description of king Henry the fift.

of more prayse for his trauayles and victories in so short tyme.

The buriall of king Henry the fift.

His bodie beyng enbawmed was conueighed with all funerall pompe from Boys de Vyncennes to Paris, and so to Rhoan, to Abbeuile, to Calice, to Douer, and so through London to Westminster, where among his noble progenitours he was enterred.

And shortly after this solempne buriall, his sorowfull Queene returned into England, and kept her estate with the yong king her sonne.

Henrye the sixt.



Henry the Prince proclaymed king Henry the.vi.

When certaine knowlege of the death of king Henry the fift, was brought into Englande, then Thomas Duke of Excester, and Henry Byshop of Wynchester, brethren vnto the king deceassed, and Uncles vnto the young Prince, callyng together the other Lordes of the counsayle, did cause their young Nephewe Prince Henry beyng then about the age of.ix. Moneths with sounde of Trumpets openly to be proclaymed king of England, & of Fraunce, the last daye of August. 1422. by the name of king Henry the sixte, to the great comfort and reioysing of all the Englishe Nation.

Humfrey Duke of Gloucester made protector of ỹ realm of England.

Shortly after the Duke of Gloucester returned into Englande, and first of all he called all the Lordes of the counsayle and nobles of the realme, and declared vnto them the last will and Testament of king Henry his brother, and what was his commaundement: By reason whereof he was chosen and named Protectour of the Realme of Englande. Which office when he had taken vpon him, he foorthwith ioyned vnto him as counsayllours the grauest, noblest, and wisest in the realme, and first tooke order for the stay of all things within this realme of England, and then with all speede prouyded for all things necessarie for the warre for the conquest of Fraunce, and appointed baliaunt and expert Captaynes that should be in a readynesse when opportunitie of time required. And besides thys, he by all pollitique meanes, gathered great sommes of money, and left nothing vndone that should aduaunce his pretended purpose.

Charles the French king deceassed.

Whyle these things were thus deuysed within the realme of England, the Duke of Bedford Regent of Fraunce, no lesse studied and tooke paine, to keepe and order the countries and regions by king Henry late conquered and gayned, and also determined not to leaue of from daylie warre and continuall trauayle tyll the time that Charles the Dolphyn (which was nowe a flote, because king Charles his father in the Moneth of October this present yere, was departed to God,) were eyther subdued or brought to due obeysaunce. And surely the death of this king Charles caused many alterations

ons and chaunges in the realme of Fraunce, for a great parte of the nobilitie which then eyther for feare of the puissaunce of the Englishe men, or for to please and folowe the minde and appetite of Charles the Frenche king, toke parte with king Henry against the Dolphin: Hering now of the french kings death, returned from the Englishe parte and adioyned themselues to the company of the Dolphyn, and diligently studied howe to vanquishe and driue awaye the Englishe nation out of the territorie of Fraunce.

An exhortation made by the Duke of Bedford vnto the French men that were vnder king Henries obeysaunce.

The Duke of Bedford beyng greatly moued with these sodaine chaunges, fortefyed his townes both with Garrisons and municions, and assembled together a great armie both of Englishe men and Normans, to whom he made a long Oration, admonishyng them to obserue and keepe their othe and faith (which they had made to the late king Henry and his heires) inuiolate and vnbroken, wylling them in no wise to be the occasioners or counsayllers that yong king Henry should be depriued from his fathers lawful inheritaunce, by the hatred of certayne Traytors Frenchmen, which had renued the olde hatred being of late extinct betwene the realmes of England and of Fraunce, and studied to set all things agayne in a broyle: requiring them also to call to their memorie how that the realmes of England & of Fraunce, the two most famous regions of all Europe, by the benefite of almighty God were of late so united, conuered, & ioyned together in an eternall league and composition, & so strongly established, that no worldly power were able or of puyssaunce sufficient, to resist or withstande the malice of the same: And although sometimes by chaunce of warre the losse might turne on their parte, yet in conclusion the detriment should be recouered, and a surplusage gayned. And if (according to their bounden duties) they would honor, serue and loue young king Henry their souereigne Lorde, and woulde diligently persecute and set on his enimies, they should not onely shew themselues true and faythfull subiects to their true and vndoubted king: But also should for their fidelitie and good seruice receiue of him condigne rewardes, ouer and besydes immortall fame and renowne.

This exhortation stayed the hearies of many of the french Capitaynes, which wyllingly sware to king Henry feaultie and obedience, by whose example the commonaltie did the same. Thus all the people set in an order in the realme of Fraunce, nothing was minded but warre, and nothing was spoken of but conquest.

The Dolphyn proclaimed king of Fraunce by the name of Charles the seuenth.

The Dolphyn which lay at this time in the Citie of Poytiers heering of the death of his parent, had his heart mired both with ioye and sorowe: for notwithstanding that he was sorowfull, as a naturall childe which lamented the death of his father, yet he was ioyous that power and princely estate was nowe to him happened, by the which he iudged that he should be the more able to defende his enemies and recouer more friends: and so callyng together the princes of his faction, caused himselfe to be proclaymed king of Fraunce, by the name of Charles the. vij. And then being in good hope of recouerying his patrimony and expelling his enemies, with a haute courage prepared warre, and assembled together a great armie, and first the warre beganne by light skirmishes, but after it proceeded into mayne battayles. The Dolphyn thinking not to make long delayes in so great a cause, lest the power of his enimies might daylie be augmented, sent the Lorde Granuile

Pount Melance taken by the french.

Granuple to the towne of Pount Melance standing on the riuer of Seyne, which so sodainely came to the same, that he was on the walles or the souldiours within heard of his approche, and so he tooke the towne, and slue a great number of the Englishe souldiours.

Thomas Montacute Erle of Salisburie.

When the Regent of Fraunce was aduertised of thys sodayne enterprise, he appointed the Lorde Thomas Montacute Erle of Salisburie, a man both for his great policie and haute courage, more to be compared to the olde valyaunt Romaynes, then to men of his dayes, accompanied with the Erle of Suffolke, the Lorde Scales, the young Lorde Pounynges, Sir John Fastolffe Mayster of the houshold with the sayde Lorde Regent, and dyuers other to besiege the towne of Pont Melance, which after two Moneths was rendred to the sayde Erle: and the Lorde of Granuille sware to be true to the king of Englande euer after that day, but shortly after he forgetting his othe, returned to his olde Mayster agayne. The Erle of Salisburie appointed Sir Henry Mortimer, and syr Richard Vernon to be Captaines of that towne. And from thence departed into Champaigne, and there besieged the towne of Sens, and tooke syr Guillam Maryn the Captayne and slue all the Souldiours within the towne, and made there Capitaynes Sir Hugh Geddyng, and Sir Richard Awbemond.

Pount Melance recouered agayne by the Englishe men.

The Parisians, which euer like the Wethercoke be variable and inconstant, perceyuing that the Dolphyn daylie begaune to haue more ayde and power, then he was before accustomed, trusting to returne againe vnder his obeysance and subiection (which they both wished and desired) to the entent that it should not appere to come of their desire, and that their fayth and fidelitie should not be put in the Balaunce of diffidence with the English nation, sent diuers Senators of their Citie as Ambassadors to the king of England, desyring him of aide and succour, to whom not onely great thanks were rendred for doyng their duetie of subiection, but also high feastes were made, and promises declared, that if they still continued in due obeysaunce, and were not adherent to the kings enimies, that neyther succour shoulde want, nor cost should be spared for their common comfort, and publike vtilitie. With which aunswere the company outwardly pleased (whatsoeuer they inwardly imagined) departed to Paris. In this season Homfrey Duke of Gloucester eyther blynded with ambicion or doting for loue, maried the Lady Jaquet or Jacomin daughter and sole heire to William of Bauier Duke of Holland, which was lawfull wyfe to John Duke of Brabant then lyuing, which mariage chaunced much to his dishonor. For surely the sweete tast of this pleasaunt mariage, brought after a sower sauce, both to the amorous husbande, and to the wanton wyfe. For John Duke of Brabant, what with force, and what with spirituall compulsaries, neuer left of, till he had recouered his Lady out of the Duke of Glouceſters possession, as after you shall here.

Humffrey Duke of Gloucester marieth Jaquet the wyfe of John Duke of Brabant.

And in this present yere the West gate of London, nowe called Newgate, which before was an vgly and filthy Dongeon, was now newly builded at the charges and expences of Richard Whytingdon, late Alderman and Maiour of London, by the handes of his Executors.

1423

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These chaunces thus happenyng as you haue heard, John Duke of Bedford, Philip Duke of Burgoyn, and John Duke of Britaine, made an

assemble and friendly enteruiewe in the Citie of Amias, where they reuiued the old league and auncient amitie made betweene the noble prince king Henry the fift, and them before concluded: adding thereto these condicions and agreements, eche of them to be to other both friend and ayder, and the enemie of the one to be enemie to the other, and all they to be both friendes and ayders to the king of England, and well wylling to hys well wyllers, and auengers of his aduersaries. And because that affinitie is an embracer of amitie, there was concluded a mariage betweene the Duke of Bedford, and the Ladie Anne sister to the Duke of Burgoyn. When these agreements were finished, the Duke of Bedford departed to Troys in Champain, whether with high pompe was conueyed the Lady Anne of Burgoyn, which in the presence of her brother and her Uncle Duke of Brabant, and of the Erles of Salisburie and Suffolke, and of nine hundred Lordes, knightes and Esquires, she was maried to John Duke of Bedford, with such solempnitie, feast and triumph, as before that time had not bene sene of the Burgonions.

John Duke of Bedford marieth Anne the Sister of the Duke of Burgoyn.

During this triumph, the Parisians thinking to blinde the eyes of the Duke of Bedford wrote to hym, howe diuers Castels and fortresses lyeng round about their territorie, were replenished with his enemies dayly stoppyng their passages, and robbing their marchantes, to their vtter vndoyng, if they by his helpe were not relieued: fraudulently meaning, and falsely entising him to absent himselfe from them, till their craftie conueyed purpose were compassed and atchiued. For diuers of them stubbernly bearing the yoke and subiection of the Englishe nation, perceyuing the Duke of Bedford and the principall Capitaines of the Englishe men to be farre from Paris, employeng themselues to ioy and solace, for the honor of this high mariage, conspired to bring into the Citie, Charles the Dolphyn, callyng himselfe French king. And to the entent that their inuented purpose should succeede, they thereof aduertised the Dolphyn and his counsayle, appoynting the day of his comming, and the time of his entrie. But the Duke of Bedford was informed of all their secret confederacie and sedicious faction, wherefore he meaning not to lose in short time that which in no small space was gayned, put spurres to the horse, and with a great power entered into Paris one day before the fayre was appointed, and two nightes before the looking for of his enimies, who being vnprouided, he sodainely caused to be apprehended and taken, and openly put to execution. After this ieopardie thus escaped, he put diffidence in all the Parisians, trusting little the Nobles, and geuing lesse credite to the cõmons, determined to fortefie the garrisons of his owne nation, and all the Castels neere and adioyning to the Citie, which within small time were abundauntly furnished. And to auoyde all night watchers adioyning to Paris, and the confines of the same, he first tooke into his possession, eyther by assaulte or composition the towne of Trayncil and Bray vpon Seyne, and because two Castels the one called Pacy, and the other called Coursay were also euill neighbors to the Parisians, he sent Sir John Fastolffe great master of his houshold, with a notable armie to besiege the Castell of Pacy, which takyng vpon him that enterprise, so handeled his enimies, that the Capitayne named Guyllam Reymon Esquire, and all the garrison yeelded them simply to his mercy and discretion, whome he sent as prisoners to the City of Paris, and after besieged the Castell of Coursay, which

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to him was shortly rendered vpon like appointment, and so with praye and prisoners he returned to the Lorde of Bedford his Master. In this verie season the Dolphyn sent Lorde Wylliam Stuard, Constable of Scotland, and the Erle of Ventadorne in Auergne, and many other nobles of his parte, to lay siege to the towne of Crauant, in the Countie of Auxerre within the partes of Burgoyn, whereof hering the Lorde Regent, and the Duke of Burgoyn, they assembled a great armie, to the number of. xv. thousand, whereof the Erle of Salisburie was ordeyned Captaine, which came in good array to geue battayle to the besiegers of the towne of Crauant, and because the ryuer of Youne which runneth by the sayde towne, was betweene the Englishe armie and their aduersaries, they coulde not well assaile their enemies, which defended the bankes and passages very strongly, yet notwithstanding both horsemen and footemen of the Englishe parte, courageously put themselues into the ryuer, and with fine force recouered the banke, whome the Burgonions incontinent folowed. When they were all gotten into the playne, the Archers shot, and the Bilmen strake, and long was the fight in indifferent iudgement, but in conclusion the French men not able to resist the force nor puyssaunce of the Englishe Nation, were taken, eyther slayne or discomfited, for in that mortall battayle were slayne and taken to the number of eyght thousand men, whereof was slayne of English men. xvj. C.

The battaile of Crauant.

After this fortunate victorie obteyned, the English men entered into the towne of Crauant, much praysing the doynges of the Capteynes, and the fidelitie of the Citizens, and when they had set all thinges in an order, they returned to Paris, where of the Regent they were ioyously receyued, which there constituted the Erle of Sarisbury (as he was wel worthy) Viceregerent and Lieutenant for the king and him in the Countries of Fraunce, Bry, and Champaine, and Sir John Fastolfe he substituted Deputie vnder him in the Duchie of Normandie on this side the riuer of Seyne, and with that he deputed him gouernor of the Countries of Aniow and Mayne, and assigned able Capteines in euery holde and fortresse. The Erle of Sarisbury which could not sleepe in his great office of trust, layde siege to the towne and Castell of Mountaguilon in Brie, whereof were Capteynes, Pregent of Coyny, and Guille Bourgoys Britons, which valiauntly defended the Castell by the space of fiue monethes, but in conclusion the assaylantes were so fierce that they within for sauegarde of their lyues rendred the holde, and the Capteynes sware neuer to bere armure agaynst the Englishe men on this syde the riuer of Leyre: during which siege, the Erle of Suffolke toke by force the Castell of Coucy: and the strong Castell de la Roche he gat by appoyntment in Moscouoys.

Iames king of Scots being prisoner was released & sent home.

Nowe must I go backe to put you in memorie howe James king of Scottes, beyng both prisoner in the time of king Henry the fourth, and also as subiect to king Henrye the fift his sonne, seruyng him in his warres in Fraunce till he departed out of this transitorie life at Boys de Vincens, and so as chiefe Mourner attended on the Corps of the sayd deceassed king, vnto his buriall, and after at Westminster was released of his Captiuitie, and restored to his realme and possession. For the true knowlege thereof, you shall vnderstand that England demaunded a smal raunsome for so great a prince, as the Scottes accompt their king (and the Scottes were neither able, nor offered

offered no somme conuenient) wherefore the counsaile of the realme of England graunted, and wisely considered, that if by coniunction of mariage, England and Scotland were perfectly knit in one, that the indissoluble bande of amitie betweene the Frenche and Scottishe factions should be shortly broken and dissolued. Wherefore the protector of the realme of England by the consent of the whole Baronage of the same, gaue to him in mariage the Ladie Jane, daughter to John Erle of Sommerset deceassed, not onely sister to John then Duke of Sommerset, but also Cosin Germain removed to the king, and Neece to the Cardinall of Winchester, and the Duke of Exceter.

James king of Scottes maried Jane the daughter of John Erle of Somerset.

The king of Scottes hauyng a great affection to this fayre Ladie, but much more desiryng his deliueraunce and libertie, put in hostages for the residue of his raunsome, because a great part thereof was diminished and abated for the money allowed to him for his mariage, and so was deliuered to depart at his pleasure. Alack, the olde prouerbes be to true: an Ape although she be clothed in purple, will be but an Ape, and a Scot neuer so gently entertayned of an Englishe prince, will be but a dissemblyng Scot. What kindnesse could be more shewed to a prisoner, then to bring him vp in good literature? what loue may be more declared to a captiue, then to instruct him in martiall feates, and warlike affayres? what fauour can be more ascribed to a highe and renowmed prince, then to geue in mariage to his vnderlyng and vassall, his Cosyn and kinswoman of his royall parentage lawfully discended. All these kindnesses suffised not, nor all these gratuities auayled not to make this king James friendly to the realme of Englande. For he notwithstandyng his homage done to the yong Henry king of England, and of Fraunce, at his Castell of Windsore this present yere, before three Dukes, two Archbishops. xij. Erles. x. Bishops. xx. Barons, and two. C. knightes and Esquiers and mo, according to the tenor hereafter folowyng.

The homage of the king of Scottes.

¶ I James Stuart king of Scottes, shall be true and faythfull vnto you Lorde Henry, by the grace of God king of England and Fraunce, the noble and superior Lorde of the kingdome of Scotland, and vnto you I make my fidelitie for the same kingdome of Scotland, which I hold and claime to hold of you, and I shall beare you my fayth and fidelitie of life and lim, and worldly honour agaynst all men, and faithfully I shall knowlege, and shall do to you seruice due to the kingdome of Scotland aforesayde. So God helpe me and these holy Euangelistes.

Neither regardyng his othe, nor esteemyng the great abundaunce of plate and riches, to him by the mother and vncles of his wife liberally geuen; and friendly deliuered (of which sort of richesse fewe or none before that day were euer seene in the Countrie of Scotlande) like a dogge which hath cast vp his stomacke and returneth to his vompt, or like a snake which after hys engendring with a Lamprey, taketh againe his olde poyson: After he had once taken the ayre, and smelled the sent of the Scottishe soyle, became like his fraudulent forefathers, an vntrue Prince, and like his proude progenitors toke the ymage of a braggyng and boastyng Scot, newly alied himselfe with the French Nacion. And yet whatsoeuer he did, his Nation both write and testifie, that by the learnyng which he by the great benefite of the kinges of England duryng his Captiuitie in this realme had obteyned, replenished his

his Countrie with good litterature, and by the nurture the which he was brought vp in Englande, he brought his people to ciuilitie: So that his captiuitie was to his Nacion the greatest liberte that euer they could haue, deliuering them from blinde ignorance, to excellent knowlege, reducing them from bestiall maners, to honest behauiour, and in conclusion rauysing them to knowe vertue from vice, policie from rudenesse, and humaine honestie from wilde and beastly liuyng. This was the deliueraunce and the doynges of James the first of that name king of Scottes, which neither reigned beyng quietly, nor yet euer fauoured Englishe men before the French people: sauyng that he hauyng with him into his countrie a yong Gentleman of Northumberland called Andrew Gray (which duryng his captiuitie was hys companion) promoted him to the mariage of the heyre of the Lorde of Foules in Anguis, of the which the Lord Grayes of Scotland at this day do descende.

1424 Nowe to retourne to the affayres of England. The Duke of Gloucester beyng Protector and Gouernour of the realme, called to him the peeres and nobilitie of the realme, and by their agreementes & deuises sent into Fraunce to the Regent his brother ten thousand men of warre, which were of the same Regent in the Countrie of Paris louyngly receyued, and accordyng to their degrees honestly entertayned. During their lying in Paris, diuers chaunces happened in Fraunce, for euen as Englishmen valiauntly wonne, and victoriously conquered townes and Castels with open warre and apparant conquest: so the Frenchemen fraudulently stale, and couertly obteyned diuerse fortresses and holdes, appertainyng to the Englishe faction; and in especiall the fayre towne of Champaigne, and the pretie towne of Crotoy.

When the Duke of Bedford was aduertised of these craftie tricks and sodeine inuented traynes, he sent forth an armie, first to Compaigne, whereof was Capteine the Erle of Suffolk, accompanied with the Erle of Ligny, and diuerse other Capteines of the English men, which lay on the one side of the riuer of Somme, and on the other syde lay the Lord Lisleadam, sir Thomas Rampston, and the prouost of Paris. The Frenchmen beyng strongly furnished and well victualed, courageously defended the towne against the assailantes. The Englishemen perceiuyng that Guillam Remond otherwise called Mariolayn, had beene the leader of the Souldiours within the towne, which before at Pacis was taken prisoner by sir John Fastolfe, caused him to be sent for to Paris, and so brought him to the siege, and set him in a Chariot with a Halter about his necke, and conueyed him to the Gibbet without the towne, sendyng worde to the garrison within the towne, that if they would not without delay render the towne and fortresse, they would incontinent strangle their olde Capteine and chiefe conductor. The Souldiours within the towne perceiuyng that if Guillam Raymond the onely trust of their reliefe, and the auncient friend in their necessitie should suffer death, that then their hope of all ayde were extinguished: and therefore for deliueraunce of him and sauegarde of themselues, they yelded the towne: so that both he and they might depart with horse and harnesse onely, in sure conduite and safetie: yet long or the towne of Compaigne was deliuered, Sir Philip Hall, which was sent to Crotoy by the Lord Regent, with. viij. hundreth men to beseige the towne, gat it by assault sodeinly, or the Frenchmen had eyther disposed their garrison, or appointed their lodgynges, and tooke all the men of

of warre, & put them to raunsom. And so these two townes cowardly stolen, were manfully recouered, but yet the writers of French fables that do deface the glory of the Englishme, write & say that these townes were yelded to the Burgonians, which neither had the keeping of them, nor were souldiours to any other person but to the king of England. While these thinges were thus doyng in Fraunce, Sir John de la Pole, brother to the Erle of Suffolke, Capteine of Auranches in Normandie, assembled all the garrisons of the base Marches of the Countrie of Aniow, and came before the Citie of Angiers, and brent the suburbes, spoyled and destroyed the whole Countrie, and hauing as many prayes and prisoners as his men might carye, he was encountred by the Erle of Aubmerle, the Vicont Nerbone, and fiue thousand Frenchmen: which findyng the Englishemen out of array because of the cariage of their great spoyle, sodeinly set on them, and slue three hundreth persons, and tooke prisoners the saide Sir John delapoole, Sir John Basset, John Auford Lieutenant of Faloys, John Clifton, Henry Mortimer, and fiue hundreth other. Although the Frenche men gate this day in one place, yet they went not victors away in another, for the Bastard de la Baulme, and the Lorde Craignac Capteines of Courrallon with a great band, made a roade into Vasconnoys, with whome by chaunce met Mathew Gough, and other Englishmen which were scouryng the Countrie, to see and here newes of their enemies, there was a sore conflict, and an hard encounter, the partes in maner beyng of courage and number egal, but after long fight, the French men almost all were slaine and taken, and the Bastard beyng well horsed fled, after whome folowed with the fiercenesse of his spurres Mathewe Gough, and chased him to his Castell gate, and there tooke him as he would haue hid him in the ditch, and presented him to the Erle of Sarisbury, returnyng from Compaigne to Paris, which not only gaue to him the rightes belongyng to the prisoner, but also rewarded him with a goodly Courser, and highly exalted his name and manhoode.

About this season, Arthur brother to John Duke of Britayn commonly called the Erle of Richemond, hauyng neither profite of the name nor of the Countrie, notwithstandyng that king Henry the fift had created him Erle of Eury in Normandie, and gaue him not onely a great pension, but the same towne of Eury: yet because his brother the Duke of Britayne fearyng the Englishemen nowe hauyng Normandie, would smell and desyre to taste the sweete sople of Britayn, was late (contrary to his league and othe) returned to the part of Charles the Dolphyn, he likewise returned and craftely without cause fled into Flaūdrys, and so came to the Dolphyn to Poytiers, which was more glad of his comming then if he had gayned a C. M. crownes, for the Britons which kept the towne and Castell of Eury, hearyng that their maister was ioyned with the Dolphyn, both kept the Castell against the Duke of Bedford, furnishyng it dayly with newe people and munitions, and also vered, spoyled, and robbed the Countrie adioynyng, doyng to the Englishemen the most hurt and hammage that could be deuised or imagined.

The Lorde Regent being aduertised of all these troubles and calamities, assembled a great armie both of Englishe men and Normans, entendyng to serch the Dolphin in euery part, to the entent to geue him battaile in a pitched field, and so to make a finall ende of his intended conquest. So hauing

uing in his company of Erles, knightes and Esquiers to the number (as the Frenche writers testifie) of. xviij. hundred men of armes, and eyght thousand Archers and other, came before the towne of Yury, which was well defended: but the Englishe men beganne to vndermine the walles, so that they within were glad to render the towne vpon condition, which was taken. Howbeit the Capitaynes of the Castell promised to yeelde, if their fortresse were not rescued at a daye assigned by the Dolphyn, with a number sufficient to rayse the siege, and vpon this promise hostages were deliuered into the possession of the Lorde Regent. By his lycence an Herault was sent to the Dolphyn, to aduertise him of the time determined, the which herynge of the distresse that his people and friendes were in, sent incontinent John Duke of Alanson his Lieutenant generall, the Erle Douglas whome at that setting forth he made Duke of Touraine, and the Erle Boughan, whom then in hope of good speede, he made Constable of Fraunce (which office he enioyed not fully an hundred houres,) and the Erles of Aumarle, Vantadoure, Tonnerre, Maulieurier, Forest, the Vicountes of Narbon and Thouars, the Lordes of Granuple, Gaules, Malycorne, Hamp, Ballay, Fountaynes, Mountfort, and many other noble knightes and Esquiers, to the number of. xb. M. French men and Britons, and. v. M. Scottes, whom the Erles of Douglas had transported late out of Scotland, more for meede then for loue.

Thys armie royall approched within two Miles of Yury, and sent. xl. light horsemen to viewe and espie both the number and conduit of the English men. These spies came very nere to the siege, and were espied and chased to their companions agayne, and declared all what they had seene and perceyued. The Duke of Alanson seing that he could not get any auantage of the English men, (although the Dolphyn had geuen him in straight commaundement to fight with the Regent) whether his heart fayled or he thought to wayte a more fortunate season for his purpose and enterprise, retired backe with his whole army to the towne of Vernoyle in Perche, which belonged to the king of Englande, and sent worde to the garrison of that towne, that they had discomfited and slayne all the Englishe armie, and that the Regent with a small number, by swiftnesse of his horse had saued himselfe. The inhabitaunts of Vernoyle geuing to light credence to the Frenche fablers, receyued the Duke of Alanson with all his armie into the towne, and submitted themselues to him, which towne he desyred to haue of the gift of the Dolphyn as his owne inheritaunce and lawfull patrimony. Now approched the day of rescous of Yury, which was the day of our Lady the Assumption, at which day, no rescous appered to syr Gerrard de la Pallier Captaine of the Castell, which beyng in dispayre of all ayde and comfort, presented the keyes to the Duke of Bedford, and shewed him a letter signed and sealed with the handes of. xviij. great Lordes, which the daye before promised to geue the Duke battayle, and to dissolue the siege and raise the assaulte: well sayde the Duke, if their hartes woulde haue serued, their puyssaunce was sufficient once to haue profered, or to haue performed thys saythfull promise. But sithe they disdaine to seeke me, God and saint George willing I shall not desist to folowe the tractes of their horses tyll one parte of vs be by battayle ouerthrowne: and so he gaue a safeconduyt to the Capitayne and other which

which would departe, but many of the Britons within the Castell of Yury, seing the faint hartes, and the false promises of the flattering French men, submitted themselues to the Lorde Regent, and sware to be true to the king and him, whome he gently accepted, and put them in wages.

Then he furnished the Castell and towne with a newe garrison, and incontinent he sent the Erle of Suffolke with fiue hundred horses, to espie where the French men were lodged, which passed by Dampeuile, and came to Brenel, where he heard newes that the French men had taken Vernoile in Perche, and were there yet abyding, whereof with all diligent celeritie, he sent worde to the Duke of Bedford, which not minding to leese his long desired pray, set forward in great haste toward their enimies. The French men hering of his comming, set their people in array, & made all one maine battayle wythout forward or rereward, and appointed certayne Lumbards and horsemen to breake the array of the Englishe men eyther behinde, or at the sides, whereof was Capitayne Syr Stephyn Venoples, called the hier. The Duke of Bedford, not ignorannt howe to order his men, made likewise an entier battayle, and suffered no man to be on horseback, and set the archers (euery one hauyng a sharpe stake) both in the front of the battayle, and on the sides lyke wings, and behinde the battayle were the pages with the Chariottes and cariages, and all the horses were tyed together eyther with the reines of their bridles or by the tayles, to the entent that their enimies should not sodainely surprise or disturbe them on the back behinde: and for to defend the cariages were appointed two thousand archers. The french men at the first sight remembring howe often times in pitched fieldes they had bene ouercome and vanquished of the Englishe nation, beganne somewhat to feare, but when they sawe no remedy but to fight, they tooke good courage to them, and set softely forward. In which marchyng the Duke of Alanson, sytting on horseback, did with many good wordes encourage his Capitaynes and Souldiours to the battayle. The battaile of Vernoyle.

And in lyke maner the Duke of Bedford encouraged his people, and foorthwith they gaue the onset vpon their enimies, cryeng, Saint George, Bedford. And the French men likewise cryed, Mount ioy, saint Denise. Then the arrowes flewe out of the long bowes on the one parte, the quarrels out of the Crosse bowes on the other parte. After they came to hande strokes: great was the fight, and terrible was the battayle, with so indifferent iudgement of victorie, that no Herauld could determine to which parte Fortune most shewed her louing countenaunce. For on both sides men were slayne and wounded, and on both partes some were felled and recouered, thus stil in a doubtfull iudgement the battaile continued about three houres. The Duke of Alanson in the meane season neuer ceased to exhort and pray his people manly to fight, and not to suffer their enimies, (which were at the verie point to be ouercome) by their faint hartes to be victors, and ouercommers. Lykewise the Duke of Bedford rode about his armie, refreshing the weake with freshe men, and encouraging hys people with most pleasaunt wordes: But at the laste, when he perceiued the Frenchmen, what with heate, and with trauayle, to ware wearie and faint, and not to be so freshe as they were before (for surely the nature of the Frenchmen is not to labor long in fighting, and much more braggeth then fighteth) he with all hys strength

strength set incontinent on them with suche a violence, that they bare them downe to the grounde by fine force. The french horsemen that daye did little seruice: for the archers so galled their horses, that they desyred not muche to approch their presence. This battayle was fought the.xxbij. day of August, in the yere of our Lorde. 1425. in the which battayle were slaine.

Of French men.

The Erle of Aumerle.
The Erle of Ventadore.
The Erle of Forestes.
The Erle of Nary.
The Lorde Granville.
The Lorde Gaules.
The Lorde Fountaines.
The Lorde of Amboys.
The Vicount Thouars.
The Lorde Mounteny.
The Lorde of Combreste.
The Lorde of Bzunell.
The Lorde Tumblet.
The Lorde of Poysy, and three hundred knights beside.
The Vicount Nerbon whose bodye was hanged on a Gibbet, because he was one of of the murtherers of the Duke of Burgoyne.

Of Scottes also vvere slaine.

Archibald Erle Douglas made Duke of Tozoyne.
James Douglas hys Sonne Erle of Nigton.
John the Erle of Boughem newly made Constable of Fraunce.
Sir Alexandre Meldzine.
Sir Henry Balglauie.
Sir John Sterlyng.
Sir Wylliam of Homelsdone.
Sir James Gray.
Sir Robert Kanden.
Sir Alexander Lynsate.
Sir Robert Stewarde.
Sir Robert Swinton.
And. xxbij. hundred Scottes of name and armes, besides other.

A great victorie.

In this battayle were slayne by reporte of Monioy king at armes in Fraunce, and the Englishe Heraulds there present, of Frenche men and Scottes. ix. thousand and seauen hundred, and of the Englishe men. xxj.C. but no man of name, sauyng fiue yong Esquiers. And there were taken prisoners, John Duke of Alaunson, the Bastarde of Alaunson, the Lorde of Fayect, the Lorde of Hozmit, Sir Piers Harrison, Sir Loys de Vancorte, Sir Robert Bzusset, Sir John Turnebull a Scot, and two hundred Gentlemen, besides common Souldiours.

After that the Duke of Bedford had thus obtayned the vpper hande of his enimies, and discomfited the onely strength of the Dolphyn. Then he commaunded all the Frenchmen within the towne of Vernoyle, to go out and depart, or else to abide their aduenture. They perceyuing the euill successe of their bosting enterprise, and seing no meane, whereby in so lowe an ebbe they might be ayded, delyuered vp the towne, and went forth out of the same, their lyues saued. Of which towne the Lord Regent constituted Captayne sir Philip Hall, and so departed from thence to the Citie of Roan, where with triumph (and not vnworthy) he was ioyously receyued and honourably feasted. And after all thinges there set in an order, he remooued to Parys.

When this victorie was published through Fraunce: The Dolphyn was driuen out of all ꝑ Countries appertenyng to the crowne of Fraunce, and might resort to no Countries except to Burbonoys, Aluerne, Berry, Poycton, Towrain, a part of Aniow, and Barrain, and Languedoc. And because

cause diuerse of his friendes, which were aduocates in Paris, exiled themselues from the Parliament of Paris, which was with all rightes, and iurisdictions therevnto belonging, kept, and holden in the name of king Henry the first, as lawfull heyre, and very king of the realme of Fraunce: he therefore to shewe himselfe as a king, erected his court of parliament, his Chauncery, and all other Courts in the Citie of Poyctiers, and there established his great seale, with all due circumstaunces therevnto apperteinyng, which there continued by the space of. xiiij. yeres, as you shall after here declared. The Duke of Bedford lying at Paris, entendyng there to bring to obeysaunce Charles the Dolphin, or else to driue him out of his little Conte holes, and small countries, sent the Lorde Scales, Sir John Montgomerey, Sir John Fastolf, with two thousand men, to conquere the Countries of Aniow and Mayne, which without assault had rendred to them the strong Castelles of Beamont le Vicont, Teune, Silly, Osse, Courceriers, Rously, Vasse, Coustemenant, and twentie other, which for prolixitie of time, I thinke necessary to be omitted. For surely the Englishe puyssaunce was so tryed, proued, assayed, and spred abroad throughout all Fraunce, that the Frenchemen thought that in conclusion the Englishemen would haue, or should haue all thinges, whiche they either wished or enterprised. The Duke of Bedford yet thirsting after more good fortune, sent the Erle of Sarisbury, with a great armie accompanied with the Lord Scales, and other approued Capteynes, (whose names you haue heard before) into the Countrie of Aniow and Mayne, which were euill neighbours to the Duchie of Normandie: In which armie were ten thousand men of warre, or there about. These lustie Capteynes entered first into the Countrie of Maine, and besieged the riche and strong Citie of Mauns, the chiefe towne and empery of all that Countrie and region. And although the Citezens, aswell for the sodaine accesse of their enemies, as for the feare of the name of the Erle of Sarisbury (which was both dread of his enemies, and honoured of his friends) were somewhat amased and astoned: yet their Capteynes named sir Baldwyn of Champaigne Lorde of Toute, Sir Guilliam de Narignie, and Sir Hughe de Goos, studied and inuented all wayes possible howe to defend themselues, and to do damage and harme to their enemies: and surely, they had within the towne a crewe and a companie of warlike and practised souldiours. The Englishemen approched as nighe to the walles as they might without their losse and detriment, and shot agayn̄t their walles great stones out of great Goonnes (which kinde of engynnes before that tyme, was very little seene or hearde of in Fraunce,) the strokes whereof so shaked, crushed and rued the walles, that within fewe dayes, the Citie was disspoyled of all her towres and outward defences. The Citizens of Mauns much marueilyng at these newe ozgaynes, both seeyng their destruction immminent, and desperate of all ayde and succour, offered the towne vpon this condicion: that all persons which would tary within the towne might abyde, and all that would depart with horse and harnesse onely, should be permitted: which offers were accepted, and the towne rendred, whereof the Erle made Capteyne the Erle of Suffolke, and his Lieutenant Sir John Fastolfe. After this the sayd Erle of Sarisbury besieged the faire towne of Saint Susan, whereof was Capteyne, Ambrose de Loze, a man of noleste audacitie then pollecie, accompanied with a great number of hardy

Mauns besieged.

Saint Susan besieged and taken.

men of warre. When the Erle of Sarisburie had both viewed and seene the situation and nature of the place, he determined to assault it in that place which was most weake and worne: and so the trumpets blewe to the assault and scalyng Ladders were raysed to the walles, and the Englishe men with great noyse began to clime and ascende. The Souldiours which durst not come out of the towne to encounter with the Englishe armie, manfully ran to the walles to resist and defend the assaylants. And so all that day the assault with many aduentures still continued, and although the inhabitauntes and Citizens were sore wounded, they neuer left off both to defende themselues, and to annoy and hurt their enemies. When the Erle perceyued that by this light assault and sleight skirmishe he lost somewhat, and gayned nothing, he made a wall, and cast a trenche round about the towne: and caused his great ordenaunce to be shot at that part of the wal which was most feeble and slender, and so daily and nightly he neuer ceassed to beate, and breake downe the Wall and Towres: so that within two dayes the most part of the wall was persed and cast downe to the ground. When the Capteine perceyued these newe feates, he began to entreate, and offered for himselfe and his souldiors, two thousand crownes, so that they might depart in their doblets onely, so their lyues were saued (which somme of money) because Winter approched: was taken, and the towne yelded. Of the which towne he made Capteine Sir John Popham, a valiaunt and a circumspect knight. After that, the said Erle besieged the towne and Castell of Mayon le Juhez, wherin was Captaine the Lord of Escotais: which towne after the space of fiue weekes was yelded (the liues of the defenders onely saued.) To the keepyng whereof he appoynted Sir John Montgomery knight. And after the feast of the Purification of our Ladie, he besieged the Castell de lafort Barnard: During which Siege, a sale was made of the towne of Alanson being in the Englishe mens possession by a Gascoyne and one of the Garrison there, for foure hundreth crownes, to Charles de Villiers, Peter le Beuffe, and other french Captaynes. When the day was appoynted of the deliueraunce both of the towne and the money, the Gascoyne opened and discouered the whole agreement to the Erle of Sarisbury: which ordeyned the Lorde Willoughby, and Sir John Fastolfe with two thousand Englishemen to encounter with the byers of the kinges towne of Alanson. At the day appoynted and time assigned, Charles de Villiers chiefe Marchant of this riche enterprise, early in the morning with two hundreth horsemen, and three hundreth footemen approched neere the towne, and abiding for the Gascoyne, he there displayed his banner, thinkyng triumphantly to enter into the towne: but it happened otherwise. For or they were ware, or suspected any rescues, they were enuironed with the Englishe armie, and slaine and taken euery creature, saue Peter Danthenazy, and.xxv. other, which by the swiftnesse of their horses saued themselues.

Mayon and the Castell yelded.

After this conflict ended, the Lorde Willoughby with his companie returned to the Erle of Sarisbury, before the towne le fort Barnard: the Capteines whereof considering that there was no hope of succour to be sente to them, and that their vitaile diminished, and that they were not long able to abyde the harde assaultes of the Englishe Nation, rendered the towne and Castell, reseruing to them their horse and harnesse onely, which towne the Erle

The towne of fort Barnard yelded.

Erle receyued to the vse of the king: But the Regent for the valiaunt seruice done by the Erle, gaue the same Towne to him and to his heyres for euer. Besides this, the Erle partly by assault, partly by composition, toke diuers other townes, as Saint Sales, where he made Captaine Richard Gethyne Esquier, Thanceaux Lermitage, where he made gouernour Mathew Gough, Guerland, of the which he assigned ruler, John Banaster, Malicorne, whereof he made Capteyne, William Glasdale Esquier, Lisle Soubz Boulton, wherof he made Capteine sir Lancelot Lisle knight, Lowpelland, whereof was made Capteyne, Henry Braunche, Mountseur, of the which was made Constable, sir William Oldehall knight, la Suse, was assigned to the keepyng of John Suffolke squier, and beside this, aboue. xl. Castels and Pyles were ouerthrowne and destroyed. When the fame and report of these newes were blowen through Fraunce, some freated, some feared, and some raged for anger: But the veritie of all thinges beyng by the Duke of Bedford declared into England, all men reioyced and were verye glad: not onely for the conquest of so manie townes, but also that God had sent them victorie in a pitched fielde, and in a mortall battaile. Wherefore generall processions were commaunded, to render to God almightie humble and hartie thankes, by whose onely gift, and not by the power of man, these notable victories were gotten and acheued.

A marueilous conquest sodainely obteyned and as sodainely lost.

A parliament.

It is not conuenient that I should talke so much of Fraunce, and omit all thinges done in England: Wherefore, you shall vnderstand, that about Easter this yere, the King called his high Court of Parliament, at his towne of Westminster, and comming to the Parliament house, he was conueyed through the Citie vpon a great Courser with great triumph, which childe was iudged of all men, not onely to haue the very Image, the liuely portraiture, and lonely countenaunce of his noble parent and famous father, but also lyke to succede, and be his heyre in all morall vertues, marciall policyes, and Princely feates, as he was vndoubted inheritor to hys realmes, seignories and dominions. In which Parliament was graunted to the king a subsidie of.xij. pence of the pounde, towardes the maintenaunce of the warres, of all marchandise comming into this realme, or going out of the same, and three shillyngs of euery Tonne of wine, besides other sommes set on other liquor, for the terme of three yeres, & likewise was tared euery sack of wooll, aswell of English men, as of straungers. During which parliament, came to London Peter Duke of Quimber, sonne to the king of Portingale, & Cossin Germaine remoued to the king, which of the Duke of Exceter and the Bishop of Winchester his Uncles, was highly feasted, and liberally rewarded, and was elected into the noble order of the Garter. During which season, Edmond Mortimer, the last Erle of Marche of that name (which long time had bene restrained from his libertie, and finally wared lame) deceassed without issue, whose inheritaunce descended to Lord Richard Plantagenet, sonne and heyre to Richard Erle of Cambridge, beheaded, as you haue heard before, at the towne of Southhampton. Which Richard within lesse then. xxx. yeres, as heyre to this Erle Edmond, in open Parliament claymed ꝑ crowne and scepter of this Realme, as hereafter shall more manifestly appere. In the tyme of which Parliament also, whether it were, either for desert or malice, or to auoyde thinges that might chaunce, according to a prouerbe, which sayeth,

This is the custome whiche we now e paye, called Tonnage and poundage.

Peter Duke of Quimber.

Edmonde Mortimer Erle of Marche deceassed without issue.

Sir Roger Mortimer put to death.

sayeth, a dead man doth no harme. Sir Roger Mortimer, cosyn to the sayde Erle, was attainted of treason and put to execution: of whose death no small slaunder arose among the common people.

After all these actes done in England, and in Fraunce, Humfrey Duke of Gloucester, with the Lady Jaquet his supposed wife, passed the sea, and came to Mons in Henawde, and there by force tooke all suche landes, as John Duke of Brabant her first husbande had in possession of the sayde Lady Jaquet, which doing Philip Duke of Burgoyn, beyng great friend to the Duke of Brabant, muche disdayned, and more frowned at, and thought for the olde loue and familiaritie, that he bare to the Duke of Gloucester, that he woulde by friendly monicion, turne hym from hys vnhoneste and vngodly lyfe, to a reasonable reformation, and brotherly conformitie. Wherfore he wrote louyngly vnto hym, that he should vtterly leaue of any further to folowe the newe attempted enterprise, aduertisyng him and protesting openly, that the vsurping and wrongfull withholding of an other mans possession, was not so vyle and slaunderous, as the defyling of a pure and cleane bed, and adulterously keping the wife of his Christian brother. The Duke of Gloucester being in this case very wilfull, eyther blinded with dotage, or inflamed with couetousnesse of his wyfes possessions, regarding neyther the admonishment of the Duke of Brabant, nor yet the godly aduertisement of the Duke of Burgoyne, sware that he would not leue of to make farther warre, till he had expulsed the Duke of Brabant, out of hys wyfes segniories, territories and dominions. Wherefore the Duke of Burgoyn assembled together a great armie to make warre on the Duke of Gloucester, in the cause and quarell of the Duke of Brabant his friend and Cosyn. The Duke of Gloucester, partely for great affayres, that then were imminent in the realme of Englande, and partely to assemble more people, to resist and withstand the power of the Dukes of Burgoyn and Brabant, lett hys wyfe at Mons in Henaude, with the Lordes of the towne, which sware to hym, to defende and keepe her agaynst all men, till the time of his returne. Wherfore he leauing with her two thousand English men, departed to Calice, and so into Englande.

When he was gone, the Duke of Burgoyne so threatened, so vexed, yea, and almost so famished them within the towne of Mons, that they deliuered into his possession the Lady Jaquet or Jacomyne: which incontinent sent her to Gaunt, where she disguised her selfe in a mans apparell, and so escaped into a towne of her owne in Zeland, called Zirice, and from thence she was conueyed to a towne in Holland, called Tergowe, where she was honorably receyued, and there made her selfe strong to withstande her enemies: And for her succour the Duke of Gloucester sent to her fiue hundred men. The Dukes of Burgoyn and Brabant left her not all in quiet, but brent her townes in Holland, and slue her people in Zelande, to her great detriment and displeasure. But in conclusion, this matter was brought before Martyn the fift Bysshop of Rome: which adiudged the first matrimonie with Duke John of Brabant, to be good and effectuall, and the second Espousall celebrated with Duke Humfrey of Gloucester, to be of no value, force or effect, and that if the Duke of Brabant dyed, it should not be lawfull to the Duke of Gloucester, to mary againe with the Lady Jaquet. The Duke

Duke of Gloucester obeyeng to this sentence, beganne to waxe lothe of his supposed wyfe, by whome he neuer had profite but losse: for whose cause his friends became his enimies, and for whose sake he was openly slaundered. Wherefore he, by wanton affection blinded, toke to hys wyfe Elianor Cobham daughter to the Lorde Cobham, of Sterberow, which before (as the fame went) was his soueraigne Lady and paramour, to his great slaunder and reproche. And if he were vnquieted wyth his other pretenced wyfe, truely he was ten tymes more vexed, by occasion of this woman, as you shall hereafter playnely perceyue: So that he beganne his mariage with euill, and ended it with worse. The Ladye Jaquet after the death of John Duke of Brabant, maried a gentleman of meane estate, called Franke of Burselles, for the whych cause the Duke of Burgoyne imprysoned her husbande, and lefte her in great trouble: suche was the ende of these two mariages.

A little before this time, Sir Thomas Rampstone, syr Philip Branch, Sir Nicholas Burdet, and other Englishe men, to the number of fiue hundred, repaired and fortified the towne of Saint James de Leitron, on the frontiers of Normandy, adioyning to Britain. Arthur Erle of Richemond and Yury brother to the Duke of Britayne, which like an vntrue Gentlemã, sworne and forsworne to the king of England, sodainely fled to Charles the Dolphyn: which much reioysing of his fauour and amitie, gaue to hym the Constablechip of Fraunce, which the Erle of Boughan slayne before at Vernoyl, a small time occupied, and lesse space enioyed. This new Constable not a little ioyfull of his high office, thought to doe some pleasure to the Dolphyn hys Master, and to aduaunce his name at the first entry into his authoritie, he imagined no enterprise to be to him more honorable, nor to his prince more acceptable, then to auoyde and driue out of the towne of Saint James de Beueon, all the Englishe nation. So in hope of victorie he gathered together aboue .xl. M. men, of Britons, Frenchmen and Scottes, and enuironed the towne of Saint James, or Saint Jaques de Beuron, with a strong siege. The Englishe men within, which in number passed not fiue hundred men, manfully defended the daylie assaultes of the fierce frenche men. The Englishe men consulted together what way was best to be taken: and after long debating, they determined to issue out of the towne, and to fight with their enimies. So on a day, when the Britons were wearied with a long assault, towards the euening the Englishe men came out of the towne one part by the posterne of the Castell, and another parte by the gate of the towne, cryeng saint George Salisburie: and set on their enemies both before and behinde. The French men seyng the courage of the Englishe men, and hearing their crie, thinking that the Erle of Salisburie was come to raise the siege, ranne awaye like sheepe, and there were taken slayne and drowned in the water of them foure thousand men and mo. Besides thys, these iolly Gallaunts left behinde them for haste, all their tentes. xiiij. great Gonnes, and .xl. Barrelles of pouder, three hundred pipes of Wyne, two hundred pypes of Bisket and floure, two hundred Frayles of Figges and Reasons, and fiue hundred Barels of Hering.

1425

A great victory happned to the Englishe men.

The French men (beyng thus vanquished) fell in diuision amongest themselues: the one layeng to the charge of the other the losse of their men, and

and the cause of their flyeng. Such is euer the chaunce of the warre, ỹ when victorie is obteyned, the most cowarde and faint harted boy will boste and bragge, and when the battayle is lost, the fault is assigned to the best, and not to the worste. The new Constable was sore dismayed and much ashamed of this discomfiture and shameful flight, but there was no remedy but patience: But to the entent to blot out and deface this shamefull flyeng with a notable victorie, he with a great armie entered into the Countrie of Aniowe, and brent, spoyled and destroyed two or three at the most, little poore thetched villages: which small act done, his malice was quenched, and his olde griefe (as he thought) victoriously reuenged.

A variaunce betweene the Duke of Gloucester, and the Bysshop of Winchester.

In this season fell a great diuision in the realme of England, which of a sparkle was like to growe to a great flame: For whether the Bysshop of Winchester called Henry Beaufort, sonne to John Duke of Lancaster, by his thirde wyfe, enuied the authoritie of Humfrey Duke of Gloucester protector of the realme, or whether the Duke had taken disdaine at the ryches and pompous estate of the Bishop, sure it is that the whole realme was troubled with them and their parte takers: so that the Citezens of London fearing that which might insue vpon the matter, were fayne to keepe daylie and nightly watches, as though their enemies were at hande to besiege and destroy them: In so much that all the shoppes within the Citie of London were shut in for feare of the fauourers of these two great personages, for eche parte had assembled no small number of people. For pacifying wherof, the Archebyshop of Cauntorburie, and the Duke of Quymber, called the prince of Portyngale, roade eyght times in one day betwene the two aduersaries, and so the matter was stayed for that time. The Byshop of Winchester not content with his Nephewe the Lorde Protector, sent a letter to the Regent of Fraunce, the tenor whereof ensueth.

RIght high and mightie prince, and my right noble, and after one, leuest Lorde, I recommend me vnto you with all my heart. And as you desire the welfare of the king our soueraigne Lorde, and of his realmes of Englande and Fraunce, and your awne health and oures also, so hast you hether. For by my truth, if you tarie, we shall put thys lande in aduenture wyth a Fielde, suche a Brother you haue here, God make hym a good man. For your wysedome knoweth, that the profite of Fraunce standeth in the welfare of Englande. &c. Written in great haste on Allhallow euen. By your true seruaunt to my lyues ende. Henry Winchester.

The Duke of Bedford beyng sore greeued and vnquieted with these newes, cõstituted the Erle of Warwike, which was lately come into Fraunce wyth fyre thousand men, hys Lieutenaunt in the French dominions, and in the Duchy of Normandie, and so with a small company, he wyth the Duches his wyfe, returned agayne ouer the Seas into Englande, and the .x. day of January, he was with all solemnitie receyued into London, to whom the Citezens gaue a paire of Basynnes of siluer and gilte, and a thousande Marke in money: and from London he roade to Westminster, and was lodged in the kinges Palayce. The .xxb. day of Marche after hys comming to London, a Parliament begame at the towne of Leicester, where the Duke of Bedford openly rebuked the Lordes in generall, because that they in the tyme of warre, through their priuie malice and inwarde grudge, had almost moued

A parliamẽt holden at Leycester.

moued the people to warre and commocion, in which time all men ought or should be of one minde, harte and consent: requiryng them to defende, serue and dread their soueraigne Lorde king Henry, in perfourming his conquest in Fraunce, which was in maner brought to conclusion. In this Parliament the Duke of Gloucester layed certaine articles to the Bysshop of Wynchesters charge, the which with the aunswers hereafter doe ensue.

The Articles of accusation and accord, betvvene the Lorde of Gloucester, and the Lorde of VVincheſter.

Articles set foorth by the Duke of Gloucester against Henry Bysshop of winchester.

HEre insueth the articles, as the kings counsayle hath conceiued, the which the high and mightie prince, my Lord of Gloucester hath furnished vpon my Lord of Winchester Chauncelour of England, with the answere to the same.

1 First, where as he beyng Protector and defendor of thys lande, desyred the Towre to be opened to him, and to lodge him therein, Rychard Woodeuile Esquire, hauing at that time the charge of the keeping of the Towre, refused his desire, and kept the same Towre agaynst him, vnduely and agaynst reason, by the commaundement of my sayde Lorde of Winchester: and afterwarde in approuing of the sayde refuse, he receyued the sayde Woodeuile, and cherished him agaynst the state and worshyp of the king, and of my sayde Lorde of Gloucester.

2 Item, my sayde Lorde of Winchester, without the aduise and assent of my sayde Lorde of Gloucester, or of the kings counsayle, purposed and disposed him to set hand on the kinges person, and to haue remoued him from Eltham, the place that he was in, to Windsore, to the entent to put him in gouernaunce as him liste.

3 Item, that where my sayde Lorde of Gloucester, to whome of all persones or that should be in the lande, by the waye of nature and byrth, it belongeth to see the gouernaunce of the kings person, informed of the sayde vndue purpose of my sayd Lord of Winchester, declared in the article nexte aboue sayde. And in letting thereof, determynyng to haue gone to Eltham vnto the king, to haue prouided as the cause required. My sayde Lord of Winchester, vntruely and agaynst the kinges peace, to the entent to trouble my sayde Lorde of Gloucester goyng to the king, purposing his death in case that he had gone that way, set men of armes and Archers at the ende of London bridge next Southwarke: and in forbarring of the kings high way, let drawe the cheyne of the Stulpes there, and set vp Pypes and Hardels, in maner and forme of Bulwarkes: and set men in Chambers, Sellers, and Windowes, with Bowes and arrowes and other weapons, to the entent to bring to finall destruction my sayde Lorde of Glouncesters person, as well as of those that then should come with him.

4 Item, my sayde Lorde of Gloucester sayth and affyrmeth, that our soueraigne Lorde his brother, that was king Henry the fift, tolde him on a time, when our sayde soueraigne Lorde beyng Prince, was lodged in the Palaice of Westminster in the great Chamber, by the noyes of a Spanyell there was on a night a man spied and taken behinde a tapet of the sayd chamber, the which man was deliuered to the Erle of Arundell to be examined vpon the cause of his beyng there at that time, the which so examined, at that tyme, confessed that he was there by the stirring vp and procuring of my

my sayde Lorde of Winchester, ordeyned to haue slayne the sayd prince there in his bed: Wherefore the sayde Erle of Arundell let sacke him foorthwith, and drowned him in the Thames.

¶ Item, our souereigne Lorde that was, king Henry the fift, sayde vnto my sayde Lorde of Gloucester that his father king Henry the fourth lying, and visited then greatly with sickneſſe of the hande of God, my sayde Lorde of Winchester sayd vnto the king (Henry the fifth then being prince) that the king his father, so visited with sickneſſe was not personable: and therfore not disposed to come in conuersation and gouernance of the people, & for so much, counsayled hym to take the gouernaunce and crowne of thys land vpon him.

The aunſvvere of the Bishop.

The answere of the Bishop of Winchester vnto the former articles.

HEre ensue the aunsweres to the accusations made by my Lorde of Winchester Chauncelour of England, vnto the causes and matters of heaui neſſe, declared in articles agaynst him by my Lorde of Gloucester.

1 First, as of the refuse made vnto my Lorde of Gloucester, of openyng the tower to him, of his lodgyng therein, by the commaundement of my sayde Lorde of Wyncheſter, he aunswereth: that in the presence of my sayde Lorde of Gloucester, before his commyng out of his Countie of Henaulde, for causes such as were thought reasonable, it semeth lefull that the tower should haue bene notablie stored and kept with vitaile, howbeit, it was not foorthwith executed, and that in likewise after that my sayde Lorde of Gloucester was gone into his sayde Countie of Henawd for sedicious and odious billes and language, cast and vsed in the Citie of London, sounyng of insurrection and rebellion agaynst the kinges peace, and destruction aswell of diuerse estates of this land, as straungers beyng vnder the defence, in somuche that in doubt thereof, straungers in great number fled the land: and for the more sure kepyng of the sayd Tower, Richard Wooduile Esquier, so trusted with the king our souereigne Lorde that dead is (as well ye knowe) and also Chamberlain and Counsailor vnto my Lorde of Bedford, with a certeine number of defensible persons assigned vnto him, was made deputie there, by the assent of the kinges counsayle, beyng that tyme at London, for to abyde therein for safegarde thereof, and straitly charged by the sayde counsayle, that duryng that tyme of his sayde charge, he should not suffer any man to be in the Tower stronger then him selfe, without especiall charge or commaundement of the king by the aduice of his counsaile.

2 Item, that after, sone vpon the commyng of my sayd Lord of Gloucester into this lande from his Countrie of Henawld, the sayde Lords of the kings counsaile were informed, that my sayde Lorde of Gloucester, grudged with the sayd maner of enforcyng the Tower, and let say to them of London, that he had well vnderstand, that they had beene heauily threatned for the tyme of hys absence, and otherwise then they should haue bene if he had bene in thys land, Wherefore he was right euill contented, and especiall of the sayde forcyng of the Tower, set vpon them in maner of a chast vilaine. Considerying the good equitie and truth that they had alwayes kept vnto the king, offring them therupon remedie if they would.

Frier Randolph.

3 Item that after this, Richard Scot Lieutenant of the Tower, by the commaundement of my sayd Lorde of Gloucester, brought vnto him Frier Randolffe, the which had long before confessed treason, done by him agaynst the

the kings person that dead is, for the which knowlege he was put to be kept in the sayde Tower, and straightly commaunded vnder great paine geuen vnto the sayd Scot, to kepe him straightly and surely, and not to let him out of the sayd Tower without commaundement of the king, by the aduice of his counsaile. The which sayd Frier Randolfe, my sayde Lorde of Gloucester kept then with himselfe (not wittyng to the sayd Scot) as he declared vnto my sayd Lord of Winchester. Sone after that he had brought the sayd Frier Randolfe vnto my Lord of Gloucester, saiyng vnto my Lord of Winchester, that he was vndone but he helped hym, and expressed as for cause of the sayd withholdyng of Frier Randolfe: And saiyng moreouer, that when he desired of my sayd Lorde of Gloucester, the deliueraunce of the sayd Frier Randolfe, to leade him againe vnto the Tower, or sufficient warrant for his discharge, my sayd Lord of Gloucester aunswered him, that his commaundement was sufficient warrāt and discharge for him. In the which thing aboue sayde, it was thought to my Lord of Winchester that my sayd Lord of Gloucester, tooke vpon him further then his Auctoritie stretched vnto, and caused him to doubt and dread, least that he would haue proceeded further. And at such time as the said Woodeuile came vnto him to aske his aduice and counsaile, of lodgyng of my sayde Lorde of Gloucester in the tower: he aduised and charged him, that before he suffered my sayd Lorde of Gloucester or any person lodge therein stronger then himselfe, he should purucy him a sufficient warrant thereof, of the king by the aduise of his counsaile.

4 Item, as to the sayd article of the afore sayd causes of heauinesse, my said Lord the Chauncelor aunswereth, that he neuer purposed to set hand on the kinges person, nor to remoue him, or that he should be removed, or put in any maner of gouernaunce, but by the aduice of the kinges counsaile. For he could not conceiue any maner of goodnesse or of aduauntage that might haue growen vnto him thereof: But rather great perill and charge, and hereof my sayd Lord of Winchester is redy to make proofe in time & place conuenient.

5 Item, as to the third article of the forsayd causes and heuinesse, my said Lorde Chauncelor aunswereth, that he was oft and diuers times warned, by diuers credible persons, aswell at the tyme of the kinges last Parliament, holden at Westminster, as before and sithe, that my sayd Lord of Gloucester, purposed him bodily harme, and was warned thereof, and counsayled by the sayd persons, and that diuerse times to abstaine him from commyng to Westminster, as my sayde Lorde of Winchester declared vnto my sayde Lorde of Gloucester.

6 Item, that in the tyme of the sayd Parliament, diuerse persons of lowe estate of the Citie of London in great number, assembled on a day vpon the Wharfe, at the Crane of the Vintrie, and wished and desyred that they had there the person of my Lorde of Winchester, saiyng: that they would haue throwen him into the Thamise, to haue taught him to swim with winges. Whereof billes and language of slaunder, and threatnynges were cast and spoken in the sayde Citie, by my sayde Lorde the Chauncelor, which caused him to suppose, that they that so sayd and did, willed and desyred his destruction, although they had no cause.

7 Item, that after the commyng to London of Sir Raufe Bottiller, and maister Lewes, sent fro my Lord of Bedford, to the rest of the Lordes of the

counsaile, they beyng informed that my sayd Lorde of Gloucester did beare displeasure to my sayd Lord of Winchester: They came to my sayd Lorde of Gloucester to his Inne, the second Sonday next before Allhallowen day, and there opened vnto him, that they had knowledge and vnderstandyng of the sayde displeasure, prayeng him to let them knowe if he bare suche displeasure agaynst my sayd Lorde of Winchester, and also the causes therof. At the whiche time (as my sayd Lorde of Winchester was afterward informed) that my sayde Lord of Gloucester affirmed that he was heauie toward him, and not withouten causes that peraduenture he would put in writyng.

8 Item, that after the Monday next before Allhallowen day last past in the night, the people of the sayd Citie of London, by the commaundement of my sayde Lorde of Gloucester, as it was saide: For what cause my Lorde the Chauncelor wist not, assembled in the Citie, armed and arrayed, and so continued all that night. Amongest diuers of the which (the same night by what excitation, my sayde Lorde the Chauncelor wist not) seditious and heauie language was vsed, and in especiall against the person of my sayde Lorde the Chauncelor. And so the same Monday at night, my sayd Lord of Gloucester, sent vnto the Innes of Court at London, charging them of the Court dwellyng in the same, to be with him vpon the Morow, at eyght of the Clocke in their best array.

9 Item, that on the morowe, beyng Tewesday next folowyng early my sayd Lorde of Gloucester, sent vnto the Maior and Aldermen of the sayd Citie of Londō, to ordein him vnto the number of thre .C. persons on horsback, to accompanie him to such place as he disposed him to ride, which (as it was sayd) was vnto the king, to the entent to haue his person, and to remoue him from the place that he was in, without assent or aduise of the kinges counsail, the which thing was thought vnto my sayde Lorde the Chauncelor, that he ought in no wise to haue done, nor had not bene seene so before.

10 Item, that my sayde Lorde the Chauncelor, considery the thinges aboue sayde, and doubtyng therefore of perilles that might haue ensued therof, intendyng to purney thereagaynst, and namely for his awne surete and defence, according to the lawe of nature, ordeyned to let that no force of people should come on the Bridge of London toward him, by the which he or his might haue bene indaungered or noyed, not intendyng in any wise bodilye harme vnto my sayd Lord of Gloucester, nor to any other person, but onely his awne defence in eschewyng the perill aboue sayde.

11 Item, as toward the fourth and fift of the sayde articles, my Lorde the Chauncelor aunswereth, that he was euer true, to all those that were his souereigne Lordes, and reigned vpon him, and that he neuer purposed treason or vntruth agaynst any of their persons, and in especiall agaynst the person of our sayd souereigne Lorde King Henry the fift. The which considery the great wisedome, truth and manhoode, that all men knewe in him, he would not for the tyme that he was king, haue set on my sayd Lord the Chauncelor so great trust as he did, if he had found, or thought in him such vntruth. The which thing my sayde Lorde the Chauncelor offered to declare and shewe, as it belongeth to a man of his estate to do, requiryng therevpon my Lord of Bedford, and all the Lordes spirituall and temporall in this Parliament, that it might be seene, that there were Judges conuenient in this case, that they would

would do him right, or else that he might haue leaue of the king by their aduise, to go sue his right, before him that ought to be his iudge.

12 And as towarde the letter sent by my Lord of Winchester, vnto my lord of Bedford, of the which the tenor is before reherced, of the which my lorde of Gloucester complained him of the malicious and vntrue purpose of my said lorde of Winchester, as towarde the assembling of the people, and gatherynge of a field in the kings land, in troublyng therof, and agaynst the kings peace: My sayde lorde of Winchester aunswereth, that if his sayde letters duly vnderstand, and in such wise as he vnderstood and meant in the writyng of them it may not reasonably be gathered and taken, that my sayde lorde of Winchester, entended to gather any field or assemble people, in troubling of the kings land, and agaynst the kinges peace, but rather he purposed to acquite him to the king in his truth, and to kepe the rest and peace in the kinges land, and to eschew rebellion, disobedience and all trouble: For by that that in the begynnyng of the sayd letter, he calleth my sayde Lorde of Bedford, his leuest lord, after one, that is the king, whome he ought to accept of dutie of his truth, the which he hath euer kept and will keepe.

13 Moreouer in the sayde letter, he desireth the comming home of my lord of Bedford, for the welfare of the king, and of his realmes of England and of Fraunce, the which stande principally in his keepyng of rest and peace, and prayeth my sayd Lorde of Bedford to speede his comming into England, in eschewyng of ieopardie of the lande, and of a fielde the which he dread him, might haue folowed if he had long tarryed: As toward those wordes, and ye tary we shall put this land in aduenture with a field, such a brother ye haue here, &c. My sayde Lorde of Winchester sayeth, the sooth is: before or he wrote the sayd letter, by occasion of certeine ordinaunces, made by the Maior and Aldermen of London, against the excessiue takyng of Masons, Carpenters, Tilers, Plasterers, and other labourers, for their daily iourneyes, and approued by the kynges aduise and his counsaile, there were cast many heuinesses and seditious billes, vnder the names of such labourers, threatning risyng with many thousandes, and manassyng of estates of the lande, and likewise seditious and euill language sowen, and so continued and likely to haue ensued of purpose and intent of disobedience and rebellion. To the redressyng of the which, it seemed to my lorde the Chauncelor, that my sayd lord of Gloucester, did not his endeuor nor diligence that he might haue shewed, for lacke of which diligence, they that were disposed to do disobeysance, were incouraged and inboldened. So that it was like that they should haue made a gatheryng, and that the king and his true subiectes, should haue bene compelled to haue made a field, to haue withstand them, the which field makyng had bene aduenturyng of this lande: And in tokenyng that it was neuer my sayde lorde Chauncelors intent to gather no field, but as truth most stirred him agaynst such as riotously would make suche assemble agaynst our souereigne Lorde, and the weale of this land. He desired so hastely, the comming of my sayde lorde of Bedford, the which he would in no wise haue so greatly desired, if he would haue purposed him vnto any vnlawful makyng of a field, for he wist well that my sayde lorde of Bedford would most sharpely haue chastised and punished, all those that so woulde any riotous assemble make. When this aunswere was made, the Duke caused this writyng folowyng,

openly to be proclaymed.

An order taken that an othe ſhould be miniſtred.

14 Be it knowen to all folkes, that it is the intent of my lorde of Bedford, and all the lordes ſpirituall and temporall, aſſembled in this preſent Parliament, to acquite him and them, and to procede truly, iuſtly, and indifferently, without any partialitie, in any maner of matters or quarelles, moued or to be moued, betwene my lorde of Gloucester, on that one partie, and my lorde of Winchester, Chauncelor of England on that other partie. And for ſure kepyng of the kinges peace, it is accorded by my ſayd lorde of Bedford, and by my ſayde lordes ſpirituall and temporall, an othe to be made, in forme as foloweth, that is to ſay.

The Othe of the Lordes.

The othe of the Lordes.

THat my ſayde Lorde of Bedford, and my ſayde Lords ſpirituall and temporall, and eche of them ſhall as farre forth as their cunnings and diſcretions ſuffiſen, truely, iuſtly and indifferently, counſayle and aduiſe the king, and alſo proceede and acquite themſelues, in all the ſayde matters and quarrels, without that they, or any of them, ſhall priuely and apertly, make or ſhewe himſelfe to be party or partiall therein, not leauing or eſchewyng ſo to doe, for affection, loue, meede, doubt, or drede of any perſon or perſons. And that they ſhall in all wiſe, keepe ſecrete all that ſhall be commoned by way of counſayle in the matters and quarrels aboue ſayde, in the ſayde Parliament, without that they or any of them ſhall, by worde, wryting of the king, or in any wiſe open, or diſcouer it to any of the ſayde parties, or to any other perſon, that is not of the ſaide counſayle: But if he haue a ſpeciall commaundement or leaue thereto of the king, or of my ſayde Lorde of Bedford. And that eche of them ſhall, with all his might and power, aſſiſt by waye of counſayle, or elſe ſhewe it vnto the king, my Lorde of Bedford, and to the reſt of my ſayd Lords, to put the ſayd parties to reaſon, and not to ſuffer that any of the ſayde parties, by them or by their aſſiſtents, proceede or attempt by way of fight agaynſt the kings peace: nor helpe, aſſiſt, or comfort any of them thereto, but let them with all their might and power, and withſtande them, and aſſiſt vnto the king, and my ſayde Lorde of Bedford, in keepyng of the kings peace, and redreſſing all ſuch maner of proceeding by waye of fight or force.

The Dukes.	Erles.
The Duke of Bedford.	The Erle of Northumberland.
The Duke of Norffolke.	The Erle of Stafford.
The Duke of Exceter.	The Erle of Orford.
Biſhops.	**Lordes.**
The Archebiſhop of Cauntorbury.	The Lorde Hungerforde.
The Biſhop of Carliſle.	The Lord Tiptoft.
The Biſhop of Bathe.	The Lorde Ponynges.
The Biſhop of Landaffe.	The Lorde Cromewell.
The Biſhop of Rocheſter.	The Lorde Borough.
The Biſhop of Chicheſter.	The Lorde Louell.
The Biſhop of Worceſter.	The Lorde Botreux.
The Biſhop of Saint Dauies.	The Lorde Clynton.
The Biſhop of London.	The Lorde Zouche.
The Biſhop of Dureſme.	The Lorde Audeley.

The

The Lorde Ferreis of Groby.	The Abbot of Glauſtinbury.
The Lorde Talbot.	The Abbot of Saint Auguſtines in Cauntorburie.
The Lorde Roos.	The Abbot of Weſtminſter.
The Lorde Grey.	The Abbot of Saint Maryes in Yorke.
The Lorde Grey of Ruff.	The Abbot of Saint Albons, not ſworne, becauſe he was not preſent.
The Lorde Fitzwalter.	
The Lorde Berkeley.	
Abbottes.	
The Abbot of Waltham.	

Which othe in maner and forme aboue rehearſed, all the Lords as well ſpirituall as temporall, being in this Parliament at Leyceſter aſſembled the fourth day of Marche, promiſed vpon their fayth, duetie and allegeaunce, which they owe to the king their ſoueraigne Lorde, truely to obſerue and keepe, according to the true meaning and purporte of the ſame.

The Arbitrament.

The Arbitrement.

IN the name of God, we Henry Archebyſhop of Cauntorburie, Thomas Duke of Exceſter, John Duke of Norffolke, Thomas Byſhop of Dureſme, Phillip Byſhop of Worceſter, John Byſhop of Bathe, Humfrey Erle of Stafford, Wylliam Alnewik keper of the kings priuie ſeale, Rauffe Lorde Cromewell, Arbitratoures in all manner of cauſes, matters and quarrels of heauineſſes and greeuances, with all incidents, circumſtaunces, dependents, or connexes, beyng and hangyng betwene the high and worthy Prince Humfrey Duke of Gloucester, on the one partie, and the worſhipfull father in God, Henry Byſhop of Wyncheſter and Chauncellour of England, on the other partie, by eyther of them for the peaſing of the ſayde quarels and debates, taken and choſen in maner and forme, as it is conteyned more plainly in a compromiſe made therevpon, of the which the tenour ſheweth in thys forme.

Memorandum, the .viij. day of March, in the fourth yere of our ſoueraine Lord the king, Henry the ſixt. The high and mighty prince Humfrey Duke of Gloucester, at the reuerence of God, and for the good of the king our ſoueraigne Lorde in this lande, and namely at the reuerence, and ſpecially at the requeſt and prayer of the mightie and high Prince, my Lorde of Bedford his brother, agreed him to put and putteth all maner matters and quarels in deede, with all their incidents, circumſtaunces, dependentes and connexes, that touchen him and his perſon, that he hath in any wiſe, doe, or feeleth him greeued, or heauie agaynſt my Lorde his Vncle, my Lorde of Wincheſter. Or elſe that my Lorde of Wyncheſter findeth him greeued agaynſt him, in as much as they touch him or his perſon, fro the beginning of the worlde vnto this day: In the aduiſe, ordinaunce and arbitrament of the worthy father in God, Henry Archebiſhop of Cauntorbury, the high and noble prince Thomas Duke of Exceſter, and John Duke of Norffolke, the worſhipfull father in God Thomas Byſhop of Dureſme, Philip Byſhop of Worceſter, John Biſhop of Bathe, The noble Lorde Humfrey Erle of Stafford, the worſhipfull perſons, Mayſter Wylliam Alnewike keeper of the kings priuie Seale, and Rauffe Lorde Cromewell, promiſing and behighting, by the fayth of his body, and worde of his princehood and kings ſonne, to doe, kepe, obſerue and fulfill, for him and his behalfe, all that ſhall be declared, ordey-

ned and arbitred, by the forsayde Archebishop, Dukes, Bishops, Earle, keeper of the prime seale, and Lorde Cromwell, in all matters and quarrels above sayde: Graunting also and promysing ouer that, to be comprehended in the forsayde arbitrement, as towarde putting away all heavynesse or displeasures in any wise, conteyned by my Lorde of Gloucester, agaynst all those that have in any wise assisted, counsayled, or favoured vnto his sayde Uncle of Wynchester, and as towarde any matters, that be touching my Lorde of Gloucester, remitteth it and the gouernaunce thereof vnto the king and his counsayle, they to deme it by the aduise of his counsayle, as him thinketh it to be done. In witnesse of the which thing, to this present compromise, my sayde Lorde of Gloucester, hath subscribed his name with his awne hande Humfrey Gloucester. And in like forme, my Lorde of Winchester in an other compromise, hath subscribed with his awne hande, vnder the worde of Priesthood, to stande at the aduise, ordinaunce and arbitrement of the persons above sayde, Mutatis Mutandis.

A decree or order taken by the kings counsayle for the pacifying of the quarrels and variaunces that were betweene the Duke of Gloucester, and the Bysshop of Winchester.

The causes beforesayde and quarels by vs sene, heard, and diligently examined and decreed, by the assent of the sayde parties, ordeyne and awarde, that my lords of Gloucester and of Winchester, for any thing done or spoken, by that one partie against that other, or by any of theirs, or any other person or persons, afore the. vij. day of this present moneth of Marche, neuer hereafter take causes, quarrels, displeasures or heavinesses, that one against the other, ne neyther agaynst the counsaylers, adherents or favourers of that other, for any thing or things that are past. And that my sayde lorde of Gloucester, be good lorde to my sayd lorde of Winchester, and have him in love and affection as his kinseman and Uncle. And that my sayde lorde of Winchester, have to my sayde lorde of Gloucester, true and sadde love and affection, doe and be readie to doe to him suche seruice, as appertayneth of hone ly to my sayde lorde of Winchester and hys estate to doe. And that eche of them be good Lorde vnto all those adherents, counsaylers and favourers of that other, and shewe them at all times favorable love and affection, as for any thing done by them, or sayde afore the seuenth day of Marche.

And we decree, ordayne and awarde, that my sayde Lorde of Winchester, in the presence of the king our soueraigne Lorde, my Lord of Bedford, and my Lorde of Gloucester, and the residue of the lordes spirituall and temporall, and commons beyng in thys present Parliament, say and declare in maner and forme that foloweth.

The saieng of the bishop of Winchester vnto ỹ Duke of Gloucester

My soueraigne lorde, I have well vnderstande, that I am noysed among the states of your lande, howe that the king our soueraigne lorde that was that time, being prince and lodged in the great chamber at Westminster, by the bayeng of a spanyell, there was on a night taken, behinde a tapet in the same chamber, a man, that should have confessed that he was there by mine excitation and procuring to have slaine the forsayd Prince there in his bed, wherevpon he was sacked, and foorthwith drowned in the Thames. And furthermore I am accused, how that I should have stirred the king that last died, the time also that he was prince, to have taken the gouernaunce of this realme, and the crowne vpon him, lyuing his father the same tyme beyng king: Thorough which language and noysing I feele my name and fame greatly enblemished, in diuers mens opinions. Wherevpon I take first God

God to my witnesse, and afterwarde all the worlde, that I have bene at all times, and am true louer and true man, to you my Soueraigne lorde, and shall be all my lyfe. And also I have bene to my soueraigne lorde, that was your father, all time of his reigne, true man: and for such he tooke me, trusted me, and cherished me to his lives ende, and as I trust no man will affirme the contrary, nor neuer in my lyfe procuring, nor imagining death nor destruction of his person, ne assenting to any such thing, or lyke thereto, the tyme that he was king or prince, or else in other estate. And in likewise, I was true man to king Henry the fourth, all the time that he was my soueraigne lorde, and reigned vpon me: In which matters, in all maner of wise, that it liketh you my soueraigne lorde for to commaunde me, I am ready for to declare me: And furthermore, where, how and when, it shall like you by the aduise of your counsayle to assigne me. Wherfore, I beseech you my soueraigne lorde, as humbly as I can, consydering that there is no grounded processe, by the which I might lawfully in these matters above sayde be conuict, blessed be God, to holde me and declare me, by the aduise of all the lordes, spirituall and temporall, being in this present Parliament, true man to you my soueraigne lorde, and so to have bene vnto my soueraigne lordes that were your father and Graundfather, and true man also, to have bene at all times vnto your sayde father, whilest he was prince, or else in any other estate, the sayde slaunder and noysing notwithstanding. And this same declaration to be enacted, in this your sayde present parliament.

The which words declared in maner as it is above sayd, by my said lord of Winchester, it seemeth to my sayde lords the Arbitratours, that it is meete that my sayde lorde of Winchester draw him aparte, and in the meane tyme, the lordes being present, be singularly examined therupon, and say their aduise: And if it be assented by them, in maner as my sayde lorde of Winchester desireth, let him be called agayne, and that then my lorde of Bedford have these wordes in effect that follow.

Fayre Uncle, the king my lord, by the aduise of his counsayle, hath commaunded me to say to you, that he hath well vnderstande, and considered all the matters which ye have here openly declared in his presence, and therupon ye desire a peticion that he will declare you, and by the aduise and assent of the Lordes spirituall and temporall, beyng in this present Parliament, he declareth you a true man to hym, and that ye have so be to my Lorde his father, and Graundfather, also true man to my Lorde his father whiles he was Prince or else in any other estate, the sayde dislaunder and noysing notwithstanding: And will that the said declaration be so enacted in this present parliament. After the which wordes thus sayde, as before is declared, by the sayd Lordes Arbitratours, that my sayde lorde of Winchester shoulde have these words that foloweth, to my sayd Lord of Glocester.

My Lorde of Gloucester, I have conceyued to my great heavinesse, that ye should have receyued by diuers reportes, that I should have purposed and imagined agaynst your person, honor and estate, in diuers maners, for the which ye have taken agaynst me great displeasure, Sir I take God to my witnesse, that what reportes so euer have beene to you of me, peraduenture of such as have had no great affection to me, God forgeue it them, I neuer imagined, ne purposed any thing that might be hindering or preiudice to

to your person, honor, or estate. And therefore, I pray you that ye be vnto me good lord from this time forth, for by my will I gaue neuer other occasion, nor purpose not to doe hereafter thorough Gods grace.

The which wordes so by him sayde, it was decreed by the sayde Arbitratours, that my lorde of Gloucester should aunswere and say.

Faire Uncle, sithe ye declare you suche a man as ye saye, I am right glad that it is so, and for such a man I take you. And when this was done, it was decreed by the sayd Arbitratours that euery eche of my lordes of Gloucester and Winchester should take eyther other by the hande, in the presence of the king and al the parliament, in signe and token of good loue and accord, the which was done and the parliament was adiourned till after Easter.

When the great fyre of thys discention, betweene these two Noble personages, was thus by the arbitratours to their knowlege and iudgement vtterly quenched out, and layde vnder foorde all other controuersies betweene other Lordes, taking parte with the one partie or the other, were sone appeased and brought to concord. For ioy whereof the king caused a solempne feast, to be kept on whitson Sonday, on the which daye he created Richard Plantagenet, sonne and heire to the Erle of Cambridge (whom his father at Hampton, had put to execution, as you before haue heard) Duke of Yorke, not foreseing before, that this preferment shoulde be his destruction, nor that his seede should be of hys generation, be the extreme ende and finall confusion. He the same day also promoted John Lorde Mowbrey and Erle Marchall, sonne and heire to Thomas Duke of Norffolke, by king Richarde the second exiled this Realme and dominion, to the title, name, and stile of the Duke of Norffolke, during which feast, the Duke of Bedford adourned the king with the high order of Knighthood, which on the same day dubbed with the sworde these knights, whose names ensue.

Richard Plangenet Duke of Yorke.

John Mowbrey Duke of Norffolke.

Richarde Duke of Yorke.	Sir Reignold Cobham.
John Duke of Norffolke.	Sir John Passheleue.
The Erle of Westmerland.	Sir Thomas Tunstall.
Henry Lorde Percie.	Sir John Chedeocke.
John Lorde Butler, sonne to the	Sir Raufe Langstre.
Erle of Ormond.	Sir Wylliam Drury.
The Lorde of Rosse.	Sir Wylliam ap Thomas.
The Lorde Matreuers.	Sir Richard Caruonell.
The Lorde Welles.	Sir Richard Wooduile.
The Lorde Barkeley.	Sir John Shirdelowe.
Sir James Butler.	Sir Nicholas Blunket.
Sir Henry Gray of Tankeruile.	Sir Wylliam Cheney.
Sir John Talbot.	Sir Wylliam Babyngton
Sir Raufe Gray of Werke.	Justice.
Sir Robert Ueer.	Sir Raufe Butler.
Sir Richard Grey.	Sir Robert Beauchampe.
Sir Edmond Hungerford.	Sir Edmond Trafford.
Sir Water Wyngfield.	Sir John Iune chiefe Baron,
Sir John Butteler.	and diuers other.

A subsidie. After this solempne feast ended, a great ayde and subsidie was graunted, for the continuance of the conquest in Fraunce, and so money was gathered

red, and men were prepared in euery Citie, towne and Countrie: During which businesse, Thomas Duke of Exceter the sad, wise, and well learned Counsailer, great Uncle to the king, departed out of this mortall lyfe, at the manor of Greenewiche, and was with all funerall pompe conueyed through London to Bury, and there buried. In which yere also dyed the Ladie Elizabeth his halfe sister, and of the whole blood with king Henry the fourth maried to Lorde John Holland Duke of Exceter, and after to the Lorde Fanhope, buryed at the Blacke Friers of London.

The death of Thomas Duke of Exceter.

While these thinges were thus appointyng and concludyng in England: The Erle of Warwike Lieutenant for the Regent in the realme of Fraunce, entered into the Countrie of Mayne, and besieged the towne of Chasteau de Loyre, the which shortly to him was rendered, whereof he made Capteyne Mathew Gough Esquier. After that, he toke by assault ꝑ Castell of Mayet, and gaue it for his valiantnesse to John Winter Esquier, & after that he conquered the Castell of Lund, and made there gouernor William Gladdisdale gentelman. At which place he was informed, ꝑ the French men were assembled together, in the Countrie of Beausse, wherfore like a valiant Capteine, he with all his power marched thetherward, to encounter with his enemies, and to fight with his aduersaries, which hauing knowlege of his approching, fled, and durst not abide the triall, nor ieopard the aduenture, and in his returning, he besieged the Castell of Montdoublean, wherof was Capteine sir Roberton des Croix, which siege cõtinued thre wekes, but in conclusion ꝑ English men so sore charged them within, ꝑ the capteine with his whole company were content to yelde the Castell, their liues, horse, and harnesse, onely reserued: Which to them was after long consultation had, & many agrements made, frankely graunted. And the sayd Erle of Warwike, leauyng there the valiant Lord Willoughby, returned againe to Paris. During which season, he was ordeyned by the assent of the thre estates of the realme of England, to be gouernour of the yong king, in like maner as the noble Duke of Exceter before his death was appointed & assigned, but yet he taried still in Fraunce, and did there no small seruice as you shall hereafter perceyue.

The Lorde Willoughby made gouernor of the yong king.

1426

The Regent of Fraunce thus beyng in England, meanes was made by the Duke of Burgoyn, for the deliuerie of the Duke of Alanson, which was taken prisoner at the battaile of Uernoyle the last yere. So he for the somme of two hundreth thousand crownes, was deliuered and set at large: but neither for the release of all, or abatement of part of his raunsome, he would in no wise acknowlege the king of Englãd, to be his liege and souereigne lord: Such affection bare he to the Dolphyn, and such truth shewed he to his naturall Countrie. When all thinges were concluded, ordered, and establyshed, both for the conseruation of peate and tranquilitie within the realme of England, and also for the maintenaunce of warre, for the finall gainyng of the region of Fraunce: The Duke of Bedford and his wife, toke their leaue of the king, at Westminster, and landed at Calice, with whome also passed the seas, Henry Bishop of Winchester, which in the sayde towne was inuested with the Habite, Hat, and dignitie of a Cardinall, with all Ceremonies to it apperteynyng. Which degree king Henry the fift, knowyng the haute courage, and the ambicious minde of the man, prohibited him on his allegeance once, either to sue for or to take: meanyng ꝑ Cardinals Hats should not presume

A great praise of the Duke of Alanson.

Henry bishop of Winchester made Cardinall.

sume to be egal with princes. But now the king beyng yong, and the Regent his friend, he obteyned that dignitie, to his great profite, and to the impouerishing of the spiritualtie. For by a Bull Legantine, which he purchased at Rome, he gathered so much treasure, that no man in maner had money but he and so was he surnamed the rich Cardinall of Winchester, and neyther called learned Bishop, nor vertuous Priest.

After that, the Duke of Bedford was returned into Fraunce, the Lord of Rustian Marshall of Briteyn, assembled a great companie of the Britishe nation, which fortefyed and repayred the towne of Pontorson, and after the saide Marshall, with a thousand men entered into the Countrie of Constantyne in Normandie, and came before the towne of Auranches. The English men within the garrison, issued out, and boldely fought with their enemyes: But after long conflict & many strokes geuen, the Britons were ouercome, and the Lorde Rustian taken, and the most part of his people slaine.

The Duke of Bedford heeryng that the towne of Pontorson was newly fortefyed, and strongly defended, sent thether the Erle of Warwike, accompanied with the Lorde Scales, and diuerse other valiaunt Capteynes and Souldiers, to the number of.vij. thousand men to besiege the Towne, which so enuironed it on euery part, that neyther man could steale out, nor beast could passe in. The siege long continuyng, vitaile began to waxe scant in the Englishe armie, wherefore the Lord Scales hauyng in his company, sir John Harpeley Baily of Constantyne, Sir William Brearton Baily of Caen, Sir Raufe Tession, Sir John Carbonell, and three thousand good men of warre, departed from the siege to get vitail, powder, and other things necessary for their purpose and enterprise. And as they were returnyng with their cariages on the sea coast, nere to Saint Michaels Mount, they sodeinly were encountered with their enemies, whereof the chiefe were the Baron of Coloses, the Lorde Dausebost Capteine of the sayde Mount, the Lorde Mountabon, the Lorde Mount bourchier, the lorde of Chasteau Giron, the lord of Tyntygnat, the lorde Chasteau Brian, with.vj. thousande men of warre. The lorde Scales and his companie (seyng that they were compassed on euery syde with deadly daungers, for the sea was on the one syde, and their enemyes on the other, & no meane way to escape or flie) disrended from their horses, and like gredie Lions together in an vnpeaceable fury, set on their enemies. The skirmishe was strong, and the fight was fierce, the Englishe men kept themselues so close, that their enemies coulde haue no aduauntage of them. At the last the lorde Scales cryed Saint George, they flie, with that the Englishemen tooke such a courage, and the Frenchemen that fought before, were so dismayde that they began to flie. The Englishe men leaped againe on horseback, and folowed them, and slue and tooke aboue xj.hundreth persons, amongest whome were taken, the Baron of Coloses, and the Lorde of Chasteau Brian, and.xxx. knightes.

A fierce skirmishe at the siege of Pontoison.

After this victorie, the lorde Scales with his vitayles, prouision, and prisoners, returned to the siege, where he was of the Erle and other noble men ioyously receyued, and for this noble fact, highly magnified and prayse. While the siege thus continued before Pountorson, Chriſtopher Hanson and other souldiours of the garrison of saint Susan, made a road into the Countrie of Aniow, and came to a Castell named Ramfort, which Castell was

was so prinily scaled, that the Capteyne within and his company, were taken or slaine before they knewe of their enemies approchyng. When knowlege of this feate was made open to the Frenchemen, which were assembled to the number of. xx. thousand to rayse the siege, and to breake vp the Campe, lyng before the towne of Pountorson, they left that iourney for a tyme, and returned to the Castell of Ramfort, and besieged the same by the space of ten dayes.

The Englishemen consideryng the multitude of the enemies, and the farre absence of their friendes, began to treate with the French men, and so vpon condicion to depart with bagge and baggage, horse and harnesse, they rendered vp the Castell, and departed with more riches then they brought, which Castell thus possessed by the Frenche men, they forgat the reskue at Pountorson, and brake vp their armie. But soone after, the lorde of Rais, callyng himselfe Lieutenant generall for the Dolphyn, accompanied with the Lorde Mount Jehan, the lorde Beaumanoyre, and the lorde Tussie, and other to the number of three thousand persons, entered into the Countrie of Mayn, and layde siege to the Castell of Malicorne, whereof was Capteyne an Englishe man, called Oliuer Osbatersby, which Castell with the Captein was by force taken and obteyned: in like maner they toke the little Castell of Lude, and therein William Blackeborne, Lieutenant for William Glasdale Esquire, and put him to raunsome, and slue all his souldiors. After this victorie, in the which they muche gloried, the Frenchmen perceyuyng that the Erle of Warwike continued still his siege before the towne of Pountorson, and knowing by their espials, that the Englishmen were determined to geue them battaile, if they once attempted to rayse the siege, and therefore fearing to fight in an open battaile, reculed backe againe to the Dolphyn with little gaine, and small honour. The Frenchmen and Britons beyng straightly besieged within the towne of Pountorson, perceiuyng no likelihood of succors to come, and seyng the Englishe armie daily did encrease, fearyng the sequele thereof, if they by violence should be taken and vanquished, they offered the towne, so that they might depart with horse and harnesse only: which request (after long suite and petition) to them was hardely graunted. The Erle lyke a valyaunt Capteyn, entered into the towne, and there appoynted for gouernours, the Lord Roos, and the Lorde Talbot, and leauyng there a conuenient garrison, returned to the Lorde Regent.

Pountorson recouered by the Englishemen.

After the takyng of this towne, there was a league, and a treatie concluded betwene the Regent and the Duke of Briteyn, by the which agreement both the townes of Pountorson, and Saint James de Beuron were beaten downe to the ground, and clerely defaced. After the Lorde of Rais was departed out of the territorie of Mayn as you haue heard, Chriſtopher Hanson, Philip Gough, Martyn Godfrey called the scaler, and diuerse other of the garrison of Saint Susan, to the number of.xxx. Archers, went out in a Morning to seeke their aduentures, and came neere to the Castell of Saint Laurence de Mortiers (at the same very season) when Sir James de Sepeaulx Capteyne of the same, was gone out of hys Castell with the greatest number of his retinewe, to a Churche directly against the Castell. In the Masse tyme, the Englishemen entered by subtiltie into the gate, and so gat the Dongeon. And when sir James returned from Masse, as he entered into the gate he was taken, and his men fled, and so was the Castell

A league concluded betwene the Duke of Briteyn and the Regent.

Castell furnished with Englishe men, and Capteine thereof was appoynted, Sir William Oldehaule.

The same season, Sir John Fastolfe, gouernor of the Countries of Aniow and Maine, assembled a great puyssaunce of men of warre, and layd a siege before the Castell of Saint Owen Destays, beside the towne of Lauall, whereof was Capteine Sir Guillam Ozenge, which, after ten dayes besiegyng, rendered the Castell, their liues and armure onely except: howbeit, one railyng and slaunderous person was put to terrible execution. And from thence, the sayd sir John remoued to the strong Castell of Grauile, and after .xij. dayes, they within offered to yelde the Castell by a day, if they were not succored by the Dolphyn or his power. The offer was taken, and pledges deliuered, which were Guillam Cordouen, and John de Maillery Esquiers. After these pledges deliuered, sir John Fastolfe returned in post to the Regent, aduertisyng him of this composition and agrement: wherefore the said Lorde raysed a great power, to fight with the Frenchmen at the day appointed, and in his companie were the Erles of Mortaigne, and Warwike, and the Lordes Roos, and Talbot, Sir John Fastolfe, Sir John Aubemond, Sir John Ratclife, and dyuerse other, to the number of .xx. thousand men, and so marched forwarde in hope to meete and ioyne Battaile with their enmies. But their aduersaries which were not farre of, durst not approche, wherefore the Regent sent sir Jhon Fastolfe incontinent to receyue the Castell: but they within (contrary to their promise and appoyntment) had newly vitailed and manned the place, and so forsakyng their pledges and felowes in armes, refused to render the fortresse accordyng to the appoyntmēt: wherfore the pledges were brought before the sight of them within the Castell, and there openly put to death. After this, the Lord Talbot was made gouernor of Aniow and Mayn. And Sir John Fastolfe was assigned to another place: which Lord Talbot, beyng both of noble birth, and haute courage, after his commyng into Fraunce, obteyned so many glorious victories of hys enemies, that his onely name was, and yet is dreadfull to the French nacion, and much renoumed amongest all other people. This toly Capteyn, & sonne of the valiant Mars, entered into Mayne, and slue men, destroyed Castels, and brent townes, and in conclusion, sodeinly tooke the towne of Lauall: but the Lorde Loghac, and dyuerse other, retrayted themselues into the Castell, and there remayned eight dayes. During which tyme, it was agreed, that all Capteynes, Burgesses, and men of warre, which were within the Castell, should depart with bagge and baggages, paying the Lorde Talbot for all thinges, one hundreth thousand Crownes. And the Castell so beyng deliuered, was committed to the keepyng of Gilbert Halsall, which after, was slaine at the siege of Orleaunce, for whom was made Capteine Mathewe Gough, which beyng at the iourney before Senlies, by treason of a Miller that kept a Mill adioinyng to the wall, ỹ Frenchmen entered into the towne, and brought it into their subiection and obeysaunce.

The Lorde Talbot a valyaunt captayne.

The Duke of Alaunson, which, as you haue heard, was late deliuered out of Englande, reuiued agayne the dull spirites of the Dolphyn, and the faint hartes of his Capitaynes, promysing to them great victorie with little trauayle, and much gaine with small labour, wherfore in hope of good luck, he determined to doe some notable feate agaynst the Englishe men. Then happened

happened a chaunce vnlooked for, or vnthought of, euen as they would haue wished or desired, for not onely the Magistrates, but chiefly the spirituall persons of the Citie of Mouns, knowing that the Duke of Britaine and his brother, were reuerted and turned to the French partie, beganne sore to mourne and lament, that they were subiectes and Vassals to the yoke and power of the Englishe men. Wherfore they determined and fully concluded, to aduertise of their mindes and determinations, the Capitaynes of Charles the Dolphyn, (of them called the French king) and so by certain false Friers, thereof wrote humble and louing letters. These newes pleased muche the French Capitaynes, but no lesse you may be sure the Dolphyn himselfe, as a thing discended from heauen, of them vnsought, vnimagined and not deuised. Wherefore to take opportunitie when time serued, and not to leese so great a benefite so honestly offered, the Lordes Delabreth and Fayet, Marshals of Fraunce, accompanied with the Lordes of Wonte Jhon, of Buel Dozuall, Torsye and Beaumanoyre the heire, and Guyllyam his brother, and .v. C. other hardie Capitaynes and valiaunt Souldiers, tooke vpon them this enterprise, sending great thankes and laudes to the Clergie and Citezens, for their assured fidelitie to their soueraigne lord, promising them to be there at the day appointed, not doubting to finde them readye according to their promise, gladly to receiue them.

The Citie of Mouns lost by treason.

When the daye assigned and the night appointed was come, the French Capitaines priuely approched the towne, making a little fire on an hill in the sight of the towne, to signifie their comming and approching. The Citezens which by the great Church were looking for their approche, shewed a burning Cresset out of the Steeple, which sodainly was put out and quenched. What should I saye, the Captaines on horseback came to the gate, and the Traytors within slue the porters and watchemen, and let in their friendes, the footemen entered first, and the men of armes wayted at the barriers, to the intent that if much neede required, or necessitie compelled, they might fight in the open field. And in the meane season, many Englishe men were slayne, and a great clamour and a houge noise was harde through the towne, as is wont and accustomed to be in a towne, by treason sodainly surprised and taken: but what was the cause of the crie, or beginning of the noyse, few except the confederates, eyther knew or perceyued. For the remnaunt of the Citezens beyng no partakers in this faction, imagened that the English men had made hauock in the towne and put all to the swoord. The Englishmen on the other side, iudged that the Citezens had begonne some newe rebellion agaynst them, or else had striuen amongs themselues. The Erle of Suffolk, which was Gouernour of the towne, heryng the clamour and noyse of the people, hauing perfite knowledge of suche as escaped from the walles, in what case the Citie stood in, without any tarying or prolongyng of time, entered into the Castell which standeth at the gate of Saint Vincent, wherof was Constable Thomas Gower Esquire: whether also fled so manye English men, that the place was pestured, & there if they were not rescued, likely to be famished: but surely they were sore assaulted and marueylously hurte, with the shot of the Arblasters and Crossebowes, but they defended themselues so manfully, that their enemies gat small aduauntage at their handes. But all their hardinesse had not serued, nor all their pollicy had not

defended them, if they had not priuely sent a Messenger to the Lorde Talbot, which then laye at Alanson, certefying him in what case they stood, for vitaile had they none, munitions failed, and the Castell was almost vndermined, so that yelding must folowe, and resistaunce could not preuayle. The Lorde Talbot hering these newes, neyther slept nor banquetted, but with all hast assembled together his valiaunt Capitaynes, to the number of .vij. hundred men of warre, and in the euening departed from Alanson, and in the morning came to a Castell called Guyerche two Myles from Mauns, and from thence sent as an espiall Mathew Gough, to espie the gouernaunce of the enemies, and if he might, to shewe to his countreymen that he was at hande, to be their ayde and reskues. Mathew Gough so well sped, that priuely in the night he came into the Castell, where he knewe howe that the French men being lordes of the Citie, and now casting no perilles, nor fearing any creature, beganne to waxe wanton and fell to ryot, as though their enemies could doe them no dammage: thinking that the English men which were shut vp in the Castel, studied nothing but how to escape & be deliuered. When Mathew Gough had knowne all the certainty, he priuely returned agayne, and within a mile of the Citie met with the Lorde Talbot, and the lorde Scales, and made open to them all thinges according to his credence, which to speede the matter, because the day approched, with all haste possible came to the posterne gate, and alighted from their horses, and about fiue of the clock in the morning they issued out of the castell, cryeng Saint George, Talbot. The Frenchmen which were scarce vp, and thought of nothing lesse then of this sodaine approchment; some rose out of their beds in their shirts, and lept ouer the walles, other came naked out of the gates for sauing of their liues, leauing behinde them all their apparell, horses, armour and ryches, none was hurte but such, which eyther resisted, or would not yeelde, whereof some were slaine and taken prison. There were slaine and taken foure hundred gentlemen, and the villaines frankely let go. After this, inquisition was made of the authors of this vngracious coniuration, and there were accused thirtie Citezens, twentie priestes, and fiftene Friers, which according to their desertes were put to execution.

Traytours iustly executed.

The foundation of Louayne.

In thys yere, as sayth Carion, the Uniuersitie of Louayne in Brabant was founded by John Duke of Burgondy.

And here to encourage and moue the worshipfull and good Citezens of London to be thankefull to God, and beneficiall to their poore neighbours, and to the common weale, I thought it good to note vnto you the charitable deede of a worthie Citezen and Alderman of London named John Raynewell, who about this time gaue certayne landes and tenements lyeng in the sayd Citie, to the Chamber of London, for the which the sayde Chamber is bonnd for euer to discharge the inhabitauntes of the wardes of Dowgate, Billingsgate and Algate, of all suche fiftenes as from time to time shall be graunted vnto the king (so that it passe not three fiftenes in one yere.)

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The Citie of Mans again recouered by the Englishe men.

The Citie of Mans thus being reduced into the Englishe mens hands, the lorde Talbot departed to the towne of Alanson. After which marciall feate manfully achieued, the Erle of Warwike departed into Englande, to be gouernour of the yong king, in stead of Thomas Duke of Excester, late departed to God. In whose steede was sent into Fraunce, the lord Thomas Mountacute

Mountacute Erle of Salisburie, with fiue thousand men, which landed at Calice, and so came to the Duke of Bedford in Paris. Where he consulting with the Duke of Bedford, cõcerning the affayres of the realme of Fraunce: seing all things so prosperously succeede on the Englishe parte, beganne meruaylously to phantasie the Citie and countrey of Orliance, standing on the Riuer of Loyre. But because the Citie was well fortefied both by the nature of the situation of the place, and by the pollicie of man, he imagined it not the worke of one day, nor the studie of one houre. Wherefore he remitted it to a farther deliberation, yet he was the man at that time, by whose wyt, strength and pollicie, the Englishe name was much fearefull and terrible to the French nation, which of himselfe might both appoint, commaund and doe all things in maner at his pleasure, in whose power, (as it appered after his death) a great parte of the conquest consisted and was esteemed, because he was a man both painefull and diligent, redy to withstande things perillous and imminent, and prompt in counsayle, and with no labour would be weeried, nor yet his courage at any time abated or appalled, so that all men put no more trust in any one man, nor no singuler person gat more the hartes of all men. After this great enterprise had long bene debated and argued, in the priuie counsayle, the Erle of Salisburies deuise, (although it seemed hard and straunge to al other, and to him as it were a thing predestinate very easie) was graunted and allowed, which enterprise was the finall conclusion of his naturall destiny, as you shall shortly perceyue. Thus he replenished with good hope of victorie, and furnished with artilery, and munitions appertayning to so great a siege, accompanied with the Erle of Suffolke and the Lorde Talbot, and with a valiaunt company, to the number of ten thousand men, departed from Paris, and passed through the countrey of Beause: he toke by assault the towne of Yainuile, but the Frenchmen fled into the Castell, and there continued fiue dayes, at the end wherof they rendered themselues simply: of the sayde number, some were put to death for certaine causes, and some were taken to mercie: he toke also the towne of Bawgency, suffering euery man, which would become vassayle and subiect to the king of Englande, to inherite their landes and enioy their goodes. The townes of Meum vpon Loyre and Jargenau, hering of these treatise, presented to him the keyes of the towne, vpon lyke agreement and equall condicions.

After this in the Moneth of September, he layde his siege on the one side of the water of Loyre, and besieged the towne of Orleaunce, before whose comming, the Bastard of Orleaunce, and the Bysshop of the Citie and a great number of Scottes hering of the Erles intent, made diuers fortifications about the towne, and destroyed the suburbes, in the which were .xij. Parishe Churches, and foure orders of Friers. They cut also downe all the Vines, trees and bushes within fiue leagues of the towne, so that the Englishe men should haue neyther comfort, refuge, nor succour.

Bastard of Orleaunce.

Here muste I a little digresse, and declare to you, what was this Bastard of Orleaunce, which was not onely now Capitayne of the Citie, but also after by Charles the first made Erle of Dunoys, and in great auctoritie in Fraunce, and extreme enemie to the Englishe nation, as by this storie you shall apparantly perceyue, of whose line and stem discended the Dukes of Longuile, and the Marques of Rutylon. Lewes Duke of Orleaunce

murthered in Paris, by John Duke of Burgoyn, as you before haue heard, was owner of the Castell of Concy, on the Frontiers of Fraunce towarde Arthoys, wherof he made Constable the lord of Cawny, a man not so wise as his wife was faire, & yet she was not so faire, but she was as well beloued of the Duke of Orleaunce as of her husband, betwene the Duke & her husband (I cannot tel who was father) she conceyued a child, & brought forth a prettie boy called John, which child being of the age of one yere, the Duke diseased and not long after the mother & the Lorde of Cawny ended their lyues. The next of the kinne to my Lorde Cawny, chalenged the enheritaunce, which was worth foure thousand crownes a yere, alleging that the boy was a bastard: and the kindred of the mothers side, for to saue her honestly, it plainely denied. In conclusion, this matter was in contention before the Presidents of the Parliament of Paris, and there hanged in controuersie till the childe came to the age of eyght yeres olde. At which time it was demaunded of him openly whose sonne he was: his friendes of his mothers side aduertised him to require a daye, to be aduised of so great an aunswere, which he asked, and to him it was graunted. In the meane season his sayde friendes perswaded him to claime his inheritaunce, as sonne to the Lorde of Cawny, which was an honorable lyuing, and an auncient patrimony, affirming that if he sayde contrarie, he not onely slaundered his mother, shamed himselfe, and steyned his blood, but also should haue no lyuing nor any thing to take to. The scholemaster thinking that his Disciple had well learned his lesson, and would reherse it according to his instruction, brought him before the Judges at the day assigned, and when this question was repeted to him agayne, he boldly answered, my hart geueth me, and my noble courage telleth me, that I am the sonne of the noble Duke of Orleaunce, more glad to be his Bastard with a meane lyuing, then the lawful sonne of that coward Cuckold Cawny, with his foure thousand crownes. The Justices much marueyled at his bold answere, and his mothers cosyns detested him for shaming of his mother, and his fathers supposed kinne reioyced, in gayning the patrimonie and possessions. Charles Duke of Orleaunce hering of this iudgement, tooke him into his family, and gaue him great offices and fees, which he well deserued, for (during his captiuitie) he defended his landes, expulsed the English men, and in conclusion procured his deliueraunce.

Orleaunce besieged.

This couragious Bastard, after the siege had continued three weekes full, issued out of the gate of the bridge, and fought with the Englishmen, but they receyued him with so fierce and terrible strokes, that he was with al his company compelled to retire and flie back into the Citie: but the Englishe men folowed them so fast, in killing and taking of their enemies, that they entered with them the Bulwarke of the bridge: which with a great Towre standing at the ende of the same, was taken incontinent by the English men. In which conflict many French men were taken, but mo were slaine, and the keeping of the Towre and Bulwarke was committed to Mylliam Glasdale Esquire. When he had gotten this Bulwarke, he was sure that, by that way neither man nor vitaile could passe or come. After that, he made certain Bulwarkes round about the Citie, casting trenches betwene the one and the other, layeng ordinaunce in euery part, where he sawe that any battery might be deuised. When they within perceyued that they were enuironed with fortresses

tresses and ordinance, they laied Gonne against Gonne, and fortefied towres agaynst Bulwarkes, and within made new Rampires, and buylded newe Mudwalles, to auoyde crackes and breches, which might by violent shot sodainly insue. They appointed the Bastard of Orleance, and Stephyn Veignold called the heire, to see the walles and watches kept; and the bishop saw the inhabitants within the Citie were put in good order, and that vittailes were not wantonly consumed, nor vainely spent.

In the Tower that was taken at the bridge ende, as you before haue heard, there was a high Chamber, hauyng a Grate full of barres of yron by the which a man might loke all the length of the bridge into the City, at which grate, many of the chiefe Capteynes stoode dyuerse times, viewyng the Citie, and deuisyng in what place it was best assautable. They within the Citie perceyued well this totyng hole, and layde a piece of ordinaunce directly agaynst the Windowe. It so chaunced that the .xix. day after the siege layd before the Citie, the Erle of Sarisbury, Sir Thomas Gargraue, and William Glasdale, and diuerse other, went into the sayde Tower, and so into the high Chamber, and looked out at the grate, and within a short space, the sonne of the maister Goonner, perceyuyng men looke out at the Chamber windowe, tooke his matche, as his father had taught him, which was gone downe to dinner, and fired the Goon, which brake and sheuered the yron barres of the grate, wherof, one strake the Erle so strongly on the hed, that it stroke away one of his eyes and the side of his cheeke, Sir Thomas Gargraue was likewise stricken, so that he died within two dayes. The Erle was conueyed to Meum vpon Loyre, where he lay beyng wounded .viij. dayes, and then died, whose bodie was conueyed into England, with all funerall pompe, and buried at Bisham by his progenitors, leauyng behinde him an onely daughter named Alice, maryed to Richard Neuill, sonne to Raufe Erle of Westmerland, of whom hereafter shall be made mention. What detriment, what dāmage, and what losse succeded to the Englishe publike wealth, by the sodeine death of this valiaunt Capteyne, not long after his departure, manifestly appered. For the high prosperitie, and great glorie of the English nation in the partes beyond the sea, began shortly to fall, and little and little to vanishe awaye: which thing, although the Englishe people like a valiaunt and strong bodie, at the first tyme did not perceyue, yet shortly after, they felt it growe like a pestilent humor, which successiuely a little and little corrupteth all the members, and destroyeth the bodie. For, after the death of this noble man, fortune of warre beganne to chaunge, and triumphaunt victorie beganne to be darkned. Although the death of the Erle were dolorous to all Englishmen, yet surely it was most dolorous to the Duke of Bedford, Regent of Fraunce, as he which had lost his right hande, or lacked his weapon, when he shoulde fight with his enemie. But seeyng that dead men cannot with sorowe be called againe, nor lamentation for dead bodies cannot remedie the chaunces of men liuyng: He (like a prudent gouernor and a politike patrone) appoynted the Erle of Suffolk to be his Lieutenant, and Capteyn of the siege, & ioyned with him the Lord Scales, the Lord Talbot, sir John Fastolfe, and diuerse other valiant knightes & squiers. These Lordes caused Bastiles to be made round about the Citie, with the which they troubled their enimies, and assaulted the walles, and left nothing vnattempted, which might be to them any

The Erle of Sarisbury slaine.

aduauntage, or hurtfull to their enemies.

In the tyme of Lent, vitaile and artillerie began to ware scant in the Englische armie, wherefore the Erle of Suffolke appoynted Sir John Fastolfe, Sir Thomas Rampstone, and Sir Philip Hall, with their retinues, to ride to Paris to the Lord Regent, to enforme him of their scarcenesse and necessitie. Which beyng therof informed, without any delay, or prolongyng, prouided vitaile, artillery and munitions, necessary & conuenient for so great an enterprice, and laded therewith manie Chariots, Cartes, and horses: and for the sure conduite, and sauegarde of the same, he appoynted Sir Simon Morhier, Prouost of Paris, with the garde of the Citie and diuerse of hys awne housholde seruaunts, to accompanie Sir John Fastolfe, and his Cōplices, to the armie lyyng at the siege of Orleaunce. The which departed in good order, to the number of fiue hundred men of warre, beside wagoners, out of Paris, and came to Paynuile in Beausse, and in a morning early in a great frost they departed, from the place towarde the siege, and when they came to a towne called Ronuray, in the laundes of Beausse, they perceyued their enemies commyng agaynst them, to the number of. ix. or. x. thousande French men and Scottes: The Capteines whereof was Charles of Clermont, sonne to the Duke of Burbon, then beyng prisoner in Englande, Sir William Stewarde Constable of Scotland, a little before deliuered out of Captiuitie, the Erle of Pardriacke, the Lorde John Vandosme, Vidame of Charters, the Lord of Touars, the Lord of Lohat, the lorde of Eglere, the lorde of Beauiew, the Bastarde Tremorle, and many other valiaunt Capteynes. Wherefore Sir John Fastolfe and his Companions set all their cōpanie in good order of Battaile, and pitched stakes before euery Archer, to breake the force of the horsemen. At their backes they set all their wagens, and cariages, and within them they tied all their horses, so that their enemies could neither assaile them on the backsyde, nor yet spoyle them of their horses, and in this maner they stood still, abiding the assault of their aduersaries. The Frenchmen (by reason of their great number) thinkyng the victorie to be in their handes, egerly lyke Lyons set on the Englichemen, which with great force them receyued, and manfully defended: for it stood them vpon, consideryng the vnequalitie of the number. And after long and cruell fight, the Englichemen droue backe and vanquished the proude Frenchmen, and compelled them to flie. In this conflict were slaine, Lorde William Stewarde Constable of Scotland, and his brother, the Lorde Dozuall, the Lord Delabret, the Lorde Chasteanbrian, Sir John Basgot, and other Frenche men and Scottes, to the number of. xxv. hundreth, and aboue. xj. hundreth taken prisoners, although a French writer affirme the number lesse.

The victorie of the Englishmen at the towne of Ronuray in Beausy.

After this fortunate victorie, sir John Fastolfe and his companie (of the which no man of any reputation was eyther slaine or taken) came with all their cariages, vitaile, and prisoners, to the siege before Orleaunce, where they were ioyously receyued and welcomed of all the Souldiours. This conflict (because the most part of the cariage was Herryng and Lenten stuffe) the Frenche men call the vnfortunate battaile of Herynges.

The battaile of Herrings.

The Erle of Suffolke, beyng thus vitayled, continued his siege, and euery day almost skirmished with his enemies, which, being in dispayre of all succours, began to common amongest themselues, howe they might render the

the towne, to their most honour and profite. After much reasonyng, and long debatyng amongest the Capteines, and the Magistrates of the towne, what way was best to be folowed: Some affirmed it not only to be shamefull and dishonourable, but also vnnaturall and vnreasonable, to yelde the towne to the Englichemen, beyng neither friendes nor fauourers of the Frenche nacion: other, fearyng the victory of the Englichemen, imagined, that if they by force possessed the Citie, they would do to them as tyrantes be accustomed to serue wilfull and obstinate people, and therefore they thought it a great folly and a notable lightnesse, aswell not to beware of the one, as to denie or refuse the other. But when they saw, that their glorie must nedes decline to a shame and reproche, they thought to find a meane way to saue themselues, and their Citie from the captiuitie of their enemies, and deuised to submit their Cyte, themselues, and all theirs vnder the obeysance of Philip Duke of Burgoyn, because he was brought out of the stocke & blood royall of the auncient house of Fraunce: thinkyng by this meanes (as they did in deede) to breake or minische the great amitie betwene the Englische men and him.

After this poynt concluded, they made open and sent to the Duke al their deuises and intentes, which certefied them that he would gladly receyue their offer, so that the Regent of Fraunce would thereto agree and consent. And therypon dispatched certeyn Ambassadors to the Duke of Bedford, to whom these newes were straunge and not very pleasant, vpon which poynt, he assembled a great counsaile. Some thought that maner of yeeldyng to be both honorable and profitable to the king of England, by reason whereof, so great a Citie, and so rich a Countrie, should be brought out of the possession of their enemyes, into the handes of their trustie friendes, without further coste or bloodshed. The Duke of Bedford and other were of a contrary opinion, thinkyng it both dishonourable, and vnprofitable to the realme of England, to see a Citie so long besieged at the costes and expenses of the king of England, & almost brought to the point of yeldyng, to be yelded to any other forein Prince or Potestate, and not to him or his Regent, the example whereof might prouoke other townes hereafter to do the same. This reason tooke place, and the Regent answered the Dukes Ambassadors, that it was not honorable nor yet consonant to reason, that the king of England should beate the Bushe, and the Duke of Burgoyne should haue the birdes: Wherefore sithe the right was his, the warre was his, and the charge was his, he sayde that the Citie ought not to be yelded to no other person, but to him, or to his vse and profite. By this little chaunce, succeded a great chaunge in the Englische affayres, for a double mischiefe of this aunswere arose and sprong out. For first the Duke of Burgoyne began to conceyue a certein priuie grudge agaynst the Englichemen for this cause: thinkyng them to enuy and beare malice agaynst his glory and profite, for the which in continuance of tyme he became their enemie, and cleued to the Frenche king. Secondly, the Englichemen left the siege of Orleaunce, which by this treatie they might haue had to friend, or to haue continued neuter, till their Lorde the Duke of Orleance, or the Erle of Angulosie his brother were deliuered out of the captiuitie of the Englische people. But if men were Angels and forsaw thinges to come, they lyke beastes would not runne to their confusion: but fortune which guideth the destenie of man will turne her wheele as shee listeth, who so euer

sayth

sayth nay.

While this treatie of the Orleaunces was in hande, Charles the Dolphyn daily studied, and hourely laboured, to plucke the fauour and heartes of the Nobilitie of Fraunce, from the Englishe Nation, to the entent, that he might assemble a puyssaunce sufficient, to relieue his friendes, beyng shut vp in the Citie of Orleaunce. While he was studiyng and compassyng this matter, there happened to him a straunge chaunce, of the which I will write a little, because some of the Frenche Aucthours, and especially, Iohn Bouchet writeth of it to much.

Ione a mayde commonly called by the frenchmen la Puzelle de dieu.

For as he and other say, there came to him beyng at Chynon, a mayde of the age of. xx. yeres, and in mannes apparell, named Ione, borne in Burgoyne, in a towne called Dromy beside Vancolour, which was a greate space a Chamberlein in a common Hostrey, and was a Rampe of such boldnesse, that she would course horses, and ride them to water, and do thinges, that other yong maydens both abhorred and were ashamed to do: yet as some say, whether it were because of her foule face, that no man would desire it, either because she had made a vowe to liue chaste, she kept her maydenhed, and preserued her virginitie. She (as a monster) was sent to the Dolphyn, by sir Robert Bandzencort Capteyne of Vancolour, to whome she declared, that she was sent from God, both to ayde the miserable citie of Orleaunce, and also to restore him to the possession of his realme, out of the which he was expulsed and ouercommed: reherslyng to him visions, traunces, and fables, full of blasphemie, superstition, and hypocrisye, that I marueyle much that wise men dyd beleeue her, and learned Clerkes would write such phantasyes. What should I reherse, howe they say, she knewe and called him her king, whome she neuer sawe before? That she had by reuelation a sworde, to her appoynted in the Church of Saint Katheryn, of Fierboys in Torayne where she neuer had bene? that she declared such priuie messeges from God, our Ladie, and other saints, to the Dolphyn, that she made the teares ronne downe from his eyes? So was he deluded, so was he blinded, and so was he deceyued by the Deuilles meanes which suffered her to begin her race, and in cõclusion rewarded her with a shamefull fal. But in the meane season, such credence was geuen to her, that she was honored as a saint of the religious, and beleued as one sent from God of the Temporaltie, insomuch that she (armed at all poyntes) rode from Poyters to Bloys, and there founde men of warre, vitaile, and municions, readie to be conueyed to Orleaunce.

The Englishemen perceiuyng that they within could not long continue for default of vitail & powder, kept not their watch so diligently as they were accustomed, nor scoured not the Countrie enuironed, as they before had ordeyned: which negligence, the Citizens beyng shut in perceyuyng, sent word thereof to the French Capteynes, which with Puzell in the dead time of the night, and in great raine and thunder, with all their vitaile and artillerie entered into the City. And the next day the Englishemen boldely assaulted the towne, promisyng to them that best scaled the walles great rewardes. Then men mounted on Ladders couragiously, and with Gonnes, Arowes and Pikes, beate their enemyes from the walles.

The Frenchmen, although they marueyled at the fierce fighting of the Englishe people, yet they were not amased, but they defended themselues to

to the darke night, on which day no great priuate feate worthy of memorie, was eyther attempted or done. The Bastarde of Orleaunce (seyng the puissaunce of the Englishe nation) beganne to feare the sequele of the matter: wherefore he sent worde to the Duke of Alaunson, aduertisyng him in what case the towne then stoode, and that it could not long continue without hys hasty speede, and quick diligence. Which delaiyng no time, nor deferring no space, came with all his army within two leagues of the City, and sent worde to the Capitaynes, that on the next morowe they should be ready to receiue them. Which thing the next daye they accomplished, for the Englishe men thought it to be much to their auaile, if so great a multitude entered into the Citie, vered with famine and replenished with scarcenesse. On the next day in the morning the Frenchmen altogether issued out of the towne, and assauted the fortresse or Bastile, called the Bastile of Saint Loure, the which with great force, and no little losse they tooke and set it on fyre, and after assauted the Towre at the bridge foote, which was manfully defended. But the French men being more in number, so fiercely assauted it, that they tooke it or the Lorde Talbot could come to succours, in the which Wylliam Gladdisdale the Capitayne was slaine, and the Lorde Morlyns, and the lorde Powynyngs also.

The Frenchmen puffed vp with this good luck, seing the strong Fortresse was vngotten, which was vnder the defence of the lorde Talbot, fetched a compasse about, and in good order of battayle marched thetherward. The lorde Talbot lyke a Capitayne without feare or dread of so great a multitude, issued out of his Bastile, and so fiercely fought with the french men, that they not able to withstand his puissaunce, fled (lyke sheepe before the Wolffe) agayne into the Citie, with great losse of men and small artillerie: and of the Englishe men were lost in the two Bastiles fyue hundred persons. Then the Erle of Suffolke, the lorde Talbot, the lorde Scales, and other Capitaines, assembed together, where causes were shewed, that it was both necessary and conuenient eyther to leaue the siege for euer, or to deferre it till an other time, more luckey and conuenient. And to the intent that they should not seme eyther to flie or to be driuen from the siege by their enimies, they determined to leaue their fortresses and Bastiles, and to assemble in the plaine field, and there to abide all the day, abyding the outcomming and battayle of their enimies. This conclusion taken, was accordingly executed. The French men wered with the last bickering, held in their heades, and durst not once appere: and so they set fyre in their lodgings, and departed in good order of battayle from Orleaunce. The next day, which was the eyght day of May, the Erle of Suffolk, ryding to Jargeaux with foure hundred Englishe men, and the Lorde Talbot with an other company returned to Meum. Which towne after that he had fortefied, he incontinent assauted and wanne the towne of Lauall and the Castell, sore vexing and punishing the townes men, for their hard hartes, and cancarde obstinacie: and leauing there a garrison, reculed to Meum.

The siege of Orleaunce broken vp.

After that the Englishe men were thus retired from the siege of Orleaunce, and seuered themselues in dyuers townes and fortresses, holding on their parte: The Duke of Alaunson, the Bastard of Orleaunce, Ione the Puzell, the Lorde of Gaucort, and diuers other french men, came before the towne

towne of Jargeaux, where the Erle of Suffolke, and his two brethren so-iourned, the twelue day of June, and gaue to the towne a great and terrible assault, which the Englishe men, (being but a handefull) manfully defended on three partes of the same. Poyton of Sentrailes, perceyuing one part of the towne to be vndefended, scaled the walles on that part: and without any difficultie tooke the towne, and slue sir Alexander Pole brother to the Erle, and many other, to the number of two hundred: but they not much gayned, for they lost three hundred good men and more. Of the Englishe men were taken.xl. beside his brother John. After this gayne and good luck, the french men returning towarde Orleaunce, fell in contention and debate, for their captiues and prisoners, and slue them all, sauing the Erle and his brother.

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After the gayning of the towne of Jargeaux, the same armie came to Meum, and tooke the towre at the bridge, and put therein a garrison, and from thence remoued to Bangency. Which garrison being not vittayled rendered the towne, so that they might depart with bagge and baggage, frankly and freely: which desire to them was graunted. At this towne of Bangency met with the Duke of Alaunson, Arthur of Britayne the false forsworne Gentleman to the king of Englande, newely made Constable of Fraunce (as you haue heard) with whom was the Lorde Delabret with.xij. hundred men, to whome daylie repayred freshe ayde out of euery parte, as the Erle of Vandosme, and other to the number of.xx.or.xxiij. thousand men. All these men of warre, determined to go to Meum, and to take the towne, but they were informed, that the Englishe men had left the towne desolate, and were returned to the Lorde Talbot to Jeneuile. Then they concluded to passe towarde that towne. But as they marched forward vpon a Saterday, they had perfite knowlege, that the Lorde Talbot with fiue thousand men, was comming to Meum. Wherfore they intending to stop him a tyde, conueyed their company to a small Village called Patay, which way they knewe that the Englishe men must nedes passe by. And first they appointed their horsemen, which were well and richely furnyshed, to go before, and sodainely to set on the Englishe men, or they were, eyther ware or set in order. The Englishe men comming forwarde perceyued the horsemen, and imagining to deceyue their enimies, commaunded the footemen to enuirone and enclose themselues about with their stakes, but the french horsemen came on so fiercely, that the archers had no leysure to set themselues in aray. There was no remedie, but to fight at aduenture. This battayle continued by the space of three long houres. And although the Englishe men were ouerpressed, with the number of their aduersaries, yet they neuer fled back one foote, till their Captayne the Lorde Talbot was sore wounded at the backe, and so was taken. Then their hartes began to faint, and they fled, in which flight, there were slayne aboue twelue hundred, and taken. xl. whereof the Lorde Talbot, the Lorde Scales, the Lorde Hungerford, and Sir Thomas Rampstone, were the chiefe: Howbeit diuers archers which had shot all their arrowes, hauing onely their swordes, defendyng themselues, and with the helpe of some of the horsemen, came safe to Meum.

A sore shirmish wherein the Englishe men had great losse.

The Lorde Talbot, the lord Scales, and the lorde Hungerford taken.

When the fame was blowen abroade, that the Lorde Talbot was taken, all the French men not a little reioyced, thinking surely that nowe the rule of the Englishe men should shortly asswage and ware faynt: for feare whereof,

whereof, the townes of Jeneuile, Meum, Jort, and dyuers other, returned from the Englishe parte, and became French, to the great displeasure of the Regent. From this battayle departed without any stroke striken, sir John Fastolffe, the same yere, for hys valyauntnesse elected into the order of the Garter: For which cause the Duke of Bedford, in a great anger toke from hym the Image of saint George, and his Garter: but afterward, by meane of friends, and apparaunte causes of good excuse by him alleged, he was restored to the order agayne, agaynst the minde of the Lorde Talbot.

Charles, calling himselfe French king, being aduertised of this victory, thought nowe that all things succeeded, according to his opinion and good hope, which euer was of that high courage and haute minde, that in hys most aduersitie, he neuer dispayred in good lucke at length: so that the Erle of Salisburie being dead, and the Lorde Talbot lying in captiuitie (which were the glory of his enimies) he thought to enterprise great and waighty things, where before he medeled with small and little doings. For fulfilling of his minde and appetite, he determined, first to conquere the Citie of Reynes, to the intent that he being there, might according to the fashion of his progenitors, with all accustomed Ceremonies, be sacred and annoynted king, that all men might see and perceyue, that he was by all lawes and decrees, a iust and a lawfull king. Wherefore he assembling together a great armie, and hauing in his companie Joan the Puzell, whome he vsed as an Oracle and a Southsayer, passed thorough Champaigne by the Towne of Anxer which he besieged, they within sent to him Messengers, prayeng him of certaine dayes of abstinence of warre, in the which (if they were not rescued) they promised to render the towne. He not wylling to recompence with ingratitude the louing hartes of the Citezens, graunted gently to their petition, and leauing there certain persons, to see that they should not iuggle with hym, departed from thence to Troys, being the chiefe Citie of Champaigne, which he besieged twelue dayes. Sir Phillip Hall Captayne there, vnprouyded both of vitayle and men, mistrusting that ayde would not come in time, vpon composition rendered the towne, so that he and his, with all their mouables might in safetie departe the Citie: which demaunde was agreed to. After that Troys was yeelded, the commonalite of Chalons rebelled against sir John Iwbemond their capitayne, and constrayned him to deliuer the towne vpon like composition, which against his will he was faine to doe: and likewise did the citizens of Reins, desiring him to geue safe conduite to all Englishe men, safely to departe.

Anxer besieged.

Troys besieged and yelded to the French men.

Iwbemond deliuered to the French.

Reynes deliuered to the French.

When he had thus conquered Reyns, he in the presence of all the Noble men of his faction, and the Dukes of Lorayne and Barre, was sacred king of Fraunce, by the name of Charles the first, with all tytles and ceremonies thereto appertayning. They of Anxer which were not rescued within the time appointed, brought the kayes to him, and submitted themselues to hys obeysaunce: lykewise did all the Cities and townes adioyning, geuyng thankes to almightie God, which hauyng compassion on their miserie, had restored them to libertie and freedome.

Charles the Dolphyn crowned king of Fraunce.

The Duke of Bedford, hearing that these townes had returned to the parte of his aduersaries, and that Charles late Dolphin had taken vpon him the name and estate of the king of Fraunce, and also seing that daylie Cities and

and townes returned from the English part, and became French, as though the Englishe men had nowe lost all their hardie Chiefetaynes and valyaunt men of warre, espyed and euidently perceyued, that the laste and vttermost point of recouery, was driuen onely to ouercome by battayle, and to subdue by force. By which victorie (as he put his confidence in God) he trusted not onely to scourge and plague the Cities, which were so sodainely chaungeable, but also to asswage and caulme the haute courage of the newe sacred French king and his companions. Wherefore he hauing together ten thousand good Englishe men (beside Normans) departed out of Paris in warlike fashion, and passed through Brie to Monstrell Faultyow, and there sent by Bedforde his Herault letters to the French king, alleging to him that he contrary to the lawes of God and man, yea and contrary to the finall conclusion, taken, concorded, and agreed betweene his noble brother king Henry the fift, and king Charles the fift, father to the sayde nowe vsurper, leauyng all humaine reason and honest communication (which sometime appeaseth debates and pacefyeth strifes) onely allured and entysed by a deuelish Witch, and a fanaticall Enchauntaresse, had not only falsely and craftely taken vpon him, the name, title & dignity of the king of France: but also had by murder, stealing, craft, and deceitfull meanes, violently gotten, and wrongfully kept, diuers Cities and townes, belonging to the king of England, his most best beloued Lorde, and most deerest Nephew. For proofe wherof, he was come downe from Paris with his armie, into the Countrie of Brye, by dent of sworde, and stroke of battayle, to proue his writyng and cause true, willing his enimie to chose the place, and he in the same would geue him battayle.

The newe French kyng, departyng from his solempne ceremonies at Reins, and remouing from thence to Dampmartine, studiyng howe to compasse the Parisians, eyther with money, or with promise, was somewhat troubled with this message, howbeit, he made a good countenaunce, and a French bragge, aunswering to the Herault: that he would sooner seeke hys mayster the Duke, then that the Duke should pursue him. The Duke of Bedford hering his aunswere, marched toward him, and pitched his field in a strong place, and sent out diuers of his raungers, to prouoke the Frenche men to come forward. The French king was in maner determined to abide the battayle, but when he heard saye by his Espialles, that the power and number of the Englishe men were to his army equall in power, he determined that it was more for his profite, to abstaine from battayle without daunger, then to enter into the conflict with ieopardie: fearing least that with a rashe courage, he might ouerthrowe all his affayres, which so effectuously proceeded. And so well aduised, he turned with his armie a little out of the way. The Duke of Bedford perceyuing his faint courage, followed him by Mountaynes and dales, till he came to a Towne in Barre, not farre from Senlis, where he found the French king and his army. Wherefore he ordered his battayle, lyke a man expert in marciall science, setting the Archers before, and himselfe with the noble men in the mayne battayle, and put the Normans on both sides for the winges. The French king also ordered hys battayles, according to the deuise of his Capitaynes. Thus these two armies without any great doing (except a fewe skirmishes, in the which the Dukes light horsemen did very valyaunly,) laye eche in sight of other, by the

the space of two dayes and two nightes. But when the French king sawe, and perceyued, how glad, howe diligent and courageous the Englishe men were to fight and geue battayle, he imagined that by his tarying, one of these two things must nedes chaunce: that is to say, eyther he should fight against his will, or lye still like a coward, to his great rebuke and infamie. Wherefore in the dead of the night (as priuely as he could) he brake vp his campe and fled to Bray. When this flight was perceyued in the morning, the Regent could scarce refraine his people, from folowyng the French army, calling them cowardes, dastardes, and loutes, and therefore, he perceyuing that by no meanes, he could allure the newe French king to abide battayle, mistrusting the Parisians, and geuing no great credite to their fayre, swete, and flattering wordes, returned agayne to Paris, to assemble together a greater power, and so to prosecute his enimies.

In this season, the Bohemians (which belike had espyed the vsurped authoritie of the Bishop of Rome) began to Rebell against his See. Wherfore, Martin the fift, Bishop of Rome, wrote vnto them to absteyne from warre, and to be reconciled by reason, from their damnable opinions. But they (beyng perswaded to the contrary) neyther gaue care vnto him, nor yet obeyed his voyce. Wherefore the Bishop of Rome, wrote to the Princes of Germanie, to inuade the Realme of Beame, as the den of heretykes. Beside this, he appoynted Henry Bishop of Winchester, and Cardinall of Saint Sabie, a man very well borne (as you haue heard) but no better borne then high stomacked, to be his Legate in this great iourney, and to bring out men from the Realme of England, into the Countrie of Beame. And because the war touched religion, he licenced the sayd Cardinall, to take the tenth part of euery spirituall dignitie, benefice and promocion. This matter, was declared in open Parliament in England, and not dissented, but gladly assented to, wherfore the bishop gathered the money, and assembled foure thousand men, and mo, not without great grudge of the people, which daily were with tallages and aydes weried, and sore burdened. And when men, munitions, and money were redie for his high enterprise, he with all his people came to the Sea strond at Douer, redie to passe ouer the Sea into Flaundrys.

But in the meane season, the Duke of Bedford considering, how townes daply were gotten, and Countries hourely wonne in the realme of Fraunce, for lacke of sufficient defence and number of men of warre, wrote to his brother the Duke of Gloucester, to relieue him wyth ayde, in that tempestuous tyme and troubleous season. When this letter was brought into England, the Duke of Gloucester was not a little amazed, because he had no armie redie to sende at that tyme: For by the reason of the Crewe sent into Beame, he could not sodeinly rayse a new armie. But because the matter was of such importance, and might neyther be from day to day differred, nor yet long delayed, he wrote to the Bishop of Winchester, to passe with all his armie toward the Duke of Bedford, which at that tyme had both nede of men and assistaunce, considering that nowe, all stood vpon losse or gaine: which thing done, and to his honor achieued, he might performe his iourney agaynst the Bohemians. Although the Cardinall was somewhat moued with this countermaund, yet least he should be noted, not to ayde the Regent of Fraunce, in so great a cause, and so necessary an enterprise, he bowed from his former iour-

ney, and passed the sea with all his companie, and brought them to his Cosin, to the Citie of Parys.

Charles the Frenche King, hauyng knowlege in the meane season by his espials, which went round about the Country, to intise & sollicite townes and Cities, to returne from the Englishe part, and become French, that the inhabitantes of Champaine, and Beuanoys, ought to him great loue and singuler fauour, and gladly coueted to renounce the subiection of England, and to be vnder his protection, and also offered to open him their Gates, so that they should not thereby, be in ieopardie of their lyues, and losse of theyr goodes, with all hast and diligence remoued towarde Champaigne. The Duke of Bedforde beyng aduertised of his progresse, and hauyng his armie augmented, with the newe ayde, which the Cardinall had of late conducted, marched forward with great speede to encounter and geue battayle, to hys mortall enemie the French king. When the Duke was come to Senlis, the Frenchmen were lodged on the Mountpilioll, betwene Senlis and Champaigne. Euery army knewe of other, and euery host might beholde other. Then the Campes were trenched, and the battayles pitched, and the fieldes ordered.

Thus these great armyes laye two dayes, nothyng doyng but wyth skirmishes, in the which the Normanes sore vexed the French men. Wherefore the Lord Regent, gaue to them many high laudes and praisynges, and determined surely the next day to set on the French king in his Campe, if he would abyde battaile. But while king Charles did polletikely consider, what a variable Lady, Fortune was, and what a sodein and vnthought chaunce of a small thing, might do in a battaile: for the detrimentes and ouerthrowes, that he and his Nacion had taken and tasted by the Englishe men, were to them a learnyng, to auoyd open ioinyng, mutuall conflict, and force to force. And beside that, he had by his searchers and spyes, plaine and perfect knowlege, that many and diuers Cities and townes in Fraunce, abhorryng the English libertie, and aspiryng to the French bondage and natiue seruitude, (accordyng to the nature of Asses, which the more they be charged with, the more they desyre) would (when they saw their tyme) not onely rebell and returne to his faction and part, but also were redie to ayde and assist him, in recouery of his desired realme and auncient dominion, in expellyng also the Englishe nacion out of the territories of Fraunce. And therefore he imagined that the Duke of Bedford, was so hastie to geue him battaile, thinkyng that if he then were ouercome, the game had for the Englishemen bene clerely gotten, and to the Frenchmen, a perpetuall checkmate. Wherefore he determined neuer (except very necessitie compelled or constrayned him) to fight in open battaile with the Englishemen, nor by a field to aduenture his realme with them, of whome his predecessors so often tymes had bene banquished, wherefore like a carpet Capteyne, he in the night, remoued his Campe and fled to Crespie, and yet his number was double to the Englishe armie. The Duke of Bedford seeyng that the French king, was thus cowardly retrayted, and as a man which durst not once assay the stroke of an Englishe arme, shamefully reculed: with all his power and armie, and returned againe to Parys, sore suspectyng the deceptfull fayth of the polletique Parisians. The Bishop of Winchester, after the French kinges flight, went into Beame, and there

there did somewhat, but what it was Authours kepe silence, and so do I: But shortly he without any great prayse, and small gaine, returned into England, more glad of his retraite, then of his aduauncyng forwarde. Sone after the Bishop of Rome without his agreement, vnlegated him, and set an other in his steede and authoritie, with which doyng he was neyther content, nor pleased.

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The coronation of King Henry the first at westminster.

On the first day of Nouember, beyng the day of Saint Leonard, king Henry, in the eight yere of his reigne, was at Westminster with all pompe and honor, crowned king of this realme of England.

But to returne to the troubleous warres in Fraunce. After that the French king was fled from the Duke of Bedford (as you haue heard before) and was come to Crespy in Ualoys, he was credibly informed, how the Citizens of Champaigne, desired greatly to be vnder his gouernaunce and subiection. Wherefore he mindyng not to lese so fayre an offered pray, ceassed not till he came to the towne, where with al reuerence and benignitie, he was receyued and welcommed. And after that, were rendered to him the townes of Senlis and Beauoys. And the Lorde Longuenall tooke by stealth, the Castell of Aumerle, and slue all the Englishe men, and in short space, the Lorde Barbason, which long had bene prisoner in the Castell Gaylard, so muche, what with fayre wordes and large promises, perswaded his kepers, that he not only deliuered his awne person, but also caused the towne, to turne from the English men, to the part of king Charles his mayster. Which king although he much reioyced, at the good successe, that Fortune had to hym sent, yet he was somewhat desperate, how to recouer his countrie from the possession of the English men, except he vnknitted the knot and league, betwene the Duke of Burgoyn and them. Wherefore, he sent his Chauncelor, and diuers Ambassadors to the Duke of Burgoyn, first excusyng himselfe of the death and murther of Duke John his father, and after, declaryng to him, that there could be nothing more foule, more dishoneft, nor more detestable, then, for his awne peculiar cause, and priuate displeasure, to ioyne with hys auncient enimies, and perpetuall aduersaries agaynst his natiue Countrie and naturall Nacion: Not onely requiryng him of concord, peace, and amity, but also promisyng golden Mountaines, and many more benefites, then at that tyme, he was eyther able or could performe. This message was not so secrete, nor the doyng so closely cloked, but the Duke of Bedforde, thereof was plainely enformed. Which, beyng sore troubled, and vnquieted in hys minde, because he sawe the power of the Englishe nacion, dayly ware lesse, he of all thinges first foreseyng, if any losse should of necessitie chaunce, of those townes and Countries, which his noble brother king Henry the fift had conquered, in the very Countrie of Fraunce, for lacke of tuicion or defence: yet for an Anker holde, he determined to kepe, possesse, and defende, the Duchie of Normandie, the olde inheritaunce and auncient Patrimonie of the kinges of England, and from them onely, by force and not by iustice, by violence and not by right, sithe the tyme of king Henry the thirde, (the deuilish deuision then reignyng in the realme) wrongfully deteyned, and iniuriously vsurped. Wherefore, he diligently prouidyng, for thinges that might chaunce, appointed gouernor of the Citie of Parys, Lewes of Lurenborough, Bishop of Turwyne and Ely, beyng Chauncelor of Fraunce, for the king of England,

a man of no lesse wit, then of birth, leauyng with him a conuenient number of Englishmen to defend both the Citie and territorie of Paris, and the Isle of Fraunce, then beyng in the Englishe mens possession and gouernaunce.

The duke of Bedford Regent of fraūce calleth a parliament at Roan.

These thinges thus ordered, he departed from Paris, into Normandie, and called at Roan a Parliament, of the three estates of the Duchie, in the which he declared vnto them, the great liberties, the manifolde priuileges, the innumerable benefites, which they had receyued of the kinges of England, duryng the tyme that they were possessors, and Lordes of the same Duchie, not puttyng in oblyuion, the miserie, bondage, and calamitie, which they had susteyned, by the intollerable yoke, and dayly tributes, continually layde in their neckes lyke Asses, by the cruell and couetous Frenchmen: And puttyng them also in remembraunce, how the kinges of England, were not onely brought foorth and discended of the Normans blood and progenie, but were the very true and vndoubtfull heyres, to the same Countrie & Duchie, lineally succedyng, and lawfully discendyng from Rollo the hardie, first Duke and prince of the same Dominion: Requiryng them further, to liue in loue and amitie amongest them selfes, to be true and obedient to the king their souerigne Lorde, and to kepe their othe and promes, made and swoorne to his noble brother, king Henry the fift, promisyng to them, English libertie, and priueleges royall.

While the Duke of Bedford was thus interteinyng and encouragyng the Normans, Charles the newe French king, beyng of his departure aduertised, longyng and thirstyng for to obteyne Paris, the chiefe Citie & principall place of resort, within the whole realme of Fraunce, departed from the towne of Senlis wel accompanied, and came to the towne of Saint Denise, which he found desolate, and abandoned of all garrison, and good gouernāce. Wherefore, without force and small damage, he entered into the voyd towne and lodged his armie at Mountmartir, and Abberuilliers, nere adioinyng, and lyng to the Citie of Parys. And from thence, sent John Duke of Alanson, and his sorceresse Joan (called the Mayde sent from God) in whom, his whole affiaunce then consisted, with three thousand light horsemen, to get againe the Citie of Paris, eyther by force, or by fayre flatteryng, or reasonable treatie, and after them, he without delay or deferryng of tyme, with all hys power, came betwene Mountmartir and Parys, and sodeinly approched the gate of Saint Honore, settyng vp Ladders to the walles, and castyng Faggots into the ditches, as though he would with a French brag, sodeinly haue gotten the fayre Citie. But the Englishe Captaynes, euery one keppyng his warde and place assigned, so manfully and fiercely, with a noble courage, defended themselues, their walles and Towers, with the assistence of the Parisiens, that they rebutted and draue away the Frenchmen, and threw downe Jone, their great Goddesse, into the botome of the towne ditche, where shee lay behinde the backe of an Asse, sore hurt, till the tyme that she all filthie with mire and durt, was drawen out, by Guyschard of Thienbrone, seruaunt to the Duke of Alaunson. The French king, seyng the great losse, that he had susteyned at this assault, and accompted his pretensed conquest in maner impossible, leauyng the dead bodies behinde him, and takyng with him, the wounded Captaynes, which were of no small number, returned into Berry. But in the meane way, the Citezens of Laignie became his subiectes, and made

Jone the holy mayde ouerthrowne.

made to him an othe, promisyng to continue from thencefoorth to him, both true and obedient.

The Duke of Bedford commendeth the Citizens of Paris.

The Duke of Bedford, beyng in Normandie, and heryng of this sodain attempt, lost no tyme, nor spared no trauaile, till he came to Parys. Where he not onely thanked the Captaynes, and praysed the Citizens for their assured fidelitie and good will, towarde their king and souereigne Lorde, but also extolled their hardinesse, and manly doynges, aboue the Starres, and highe elementes: promisyng to them, honour, fame, and great aduauncementes. Which gentle exhortacion, so incouraged and inflamed the heartes of the Parisians, that they sware, promised, and concluded, to be friendes euer to the king of England and his friendes, and enemies always to his foes and aduersaryes, makyng proclamation by this stile. Friendes to king Henrie, friendes to the Parisians, enemyes to England, enemies to Parys. But if they spake it with their hearts, eyther for feare, that Charles the French king should not punishe them, if he once obteyned the superioritie ouer their Citie and towne, or that they flattered the Englishemen, to put themselues in credite with the chiefe Captaines, you shall plainly perceiue, by the sequele of their actes.

Some after these doynges, came to Parys with a great companie Philip Duke of Burgoyn, which was of the Regent, and the Ladie his wife, honourably receyued, and highly feasted. And after long consultation had, for the recouerying of the townes, lately by the French king stollen and taken, it was agreed, that the Duke of Bedford, should rayse an armie, for the recouerie of the sayd fortresses, and that the Duke of Burgoyn, should be his deputie, and tary at Parys, for the defence of the same. After this great businesse thus concluded, and appoynted, the Duke of Bedford himselfe, without any great resistance, recouered againe the towne of Saint Denise, and dyuers other Castels. And after that done, he sent the Bastard of Clarence, to lay siege to the Castell of Toursie, beyng both by the naturall situation, and mannes pollicie, very strong and in maner vnable to be beaten downe. The siege continued six monethes, but in conclusion, the Captaine discomfited of all releue and succor, rendred the fortresse, the life of him and his souldiours onely saued: which offer was taken, and the Castell rased, and cast downe to the ground. Duryng this siege, Sir Thomas Kiriell knight, with foure hundreth Englishemen, departed from Gourney in Normandie, and rode by Beauoys, spoilyng, robbyng and wastyng the Countrie, to the Suburbes of Cleremount. Whereof, heeryng the Erle of the same towne, assembled all the men of warre, of the garrisons adioyning, to fight with the Englishmen: and so the French men with all diligence set forwarde, and found their enemies in a straight place, nere vnto Beauoys. The Erle of Cleremount seing that he could not hurt them with his men of armes, by reason of the straight, came downe on foote with all his companie, and fiercely set on the Englishe men. The fight was fierce, and the aduauntage doubtfull. But in conclusion, the archers shot so terribly, that the Frenche men not able to abide the smart, and gaules of the arrowes, fled apace, and the Englishemen leauyng the straight, leaped on horsebacke, and folowed the chase. In the which were taken two hundreth prisoners, and thrise as many slaine. The Erle, by the swiftnesse of his horse escaped his enemies, and came to the towne of Beauoys:

uoys: and so Sir thomas Kiriell, with plentie of spoyle and pzisoners, returned to Gouruay, rendzyng to God his hartie thankes foz that good chaunce and happie victozie.

Yet foztune sent not this good luck alone, foz the Erle of Suffolke at that same very season, besieging the towne of Aumarle, whereof was capitaine the Lozde Rambures (after. xxiiij. great assaultes geuen to the foztresse) had the towne and Castell to him simply rendered. Wherefoze, he caused. xxx. of the townes men, foz their vntruth to be hanged on the walles, and all the rest he raunsomed, and sent the Capitayne into England, where he remayned sixe yeres continually, and after by exchaunge was deliuered. After this, the Erle fortified the towne with men, munitions and vytaile, and so by a little and little, the English men recouered agayne many townes which before they had lost, without any great losse of their people. Which thing the Frenche men well consydering, imagined by what meanes, how to get againe the towne of Laual, which the Lozde Talbot (before as you haue heard) gat by scalyng in a night. Wherfoze to possesse their desired pzay, they with money and gay pzomises, first cozrupted a Miller, that kept a Mill adioyning to the wall, so that the Miller suffered the Lozde Homet with three hundzed other, to passe thozough his Mill into the towne, in a very darke night. When they were entered, they slue the keepers of the gate, and let in the Lozde Bertrand de la Ferrier, with fiue hundzed men of armes: which eyther slue oz tooke pzisoners, all the Englishe men within the towne. And shozt ly after, syz Stephin de Vignoles called the Heire, tooke by scaling, the towne of Louiers in Nozmandy, and did much dammage, to all the townes adioyning.

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While these chaunces happened, betwene the Englishe men and French men, Philip Duke of Burgoyne, maried the Ladye Isabell, daughter to John King of Pozt yngall, and great aunt to the King of England. In honour of which mariage, he instituted and beganne an ozder of. xxxvj. knights without repzoche, called the ozder of the golden Fleece, and deuised statuts, Mantels, collers and ceremonies foz the same, much lyke to the ozdinaunces of the noble ozder of the Garter begonne in Englande, almost an hundzed yeres before the inuention of this fraternitie and friendship. On the which wyfe, he begat the hardie Duke Charles, father to Marie, after maried to Maximilian king of the Romaynes, as (when place requireth) shall be hereafter to you declared.

The ozder of the golden fleece.

In thys very season the English men in the colde Moneth of December, besieged the towne of Laigny, in the which was the Puzel and dyuers other good Capitaynes. But the weather was so colde, and the rayne so great and continuall, that they of fozce compelled, not by their enemies, but by the intemperate season, reysed their siege: and in their returne, the Puzell and al the garrison within the towne, issued out and fought with the English men, where (after long fighting) both parties departed without eyther great gaine oz losse. After this enterpzise done, the Duke of Burgoyne accompanied with the Erles of Arundell and Suffolke, and the Lozde John of Lurenbzough, wyth a great puyssaunce, besieged the Towne of Compeigne: which towne was well walled, manned and vytailed, so that the besiegers must eyther by assault oz long taryeng, wearie oz famishe them within the towne.

The towne of Laigny besieged.

Compeigne besieged.

towne. So they cast trenches, and made mynes, and studied all the wayes that they could deuise, howe to compasse their conquest and interpzise. And it happened in the night of the Ascention of our Lozde, that Ponthon of Xentrales, Jone the Puzell, and fiue oz sixe hundzed men of armes, issued out of Compeigne, by the gate of the bzidge towarde Mountdedier, intending to set fyze in the tents and lodgings of the Lozde of Baudo, which was then gone to Marigny, foz the Duke of Burgoyns affayzes. At which time syz John of Lurenbozough, wyth eyght other gentlemen (which had riden about the towne to serche and viewe, in what place the towne might be most aptly and conueniently assaulted oz scaled) were come nere to the lodging of the Lozde of Baudo, where they espyed the French men, which beganne to cut downe tents, ouerthzowe pauilions, and kill men in their beds. Wherefoze shozt ly they assembled a great number of men, as well English as Burgonions, and couragiously set on the Frenche men. Soze was the fight and great was the slaughter, in so much that the French men, not able lenger to indure, fled into the towne so fast, that one letted the other to enter. In which chace was taken, Jone the Puzell, and diuers other: which Jone was sent to the Duke of Bedfozd to Roan, where (after long examination) she was brent to ashes. This witch oz manly woman (called the mayde of God) the French men greatly glozified and highly extolled, alleging that by her Dzleaunce was vitayled: by her king Charles was sacred at Reynes, and that by her, the Englishe men were often times put back and ouerthzowne. O Lozde, what dispzayse is this to the Nobilitie of Fraunce? What blot is this to the Frenche Nation? What moze rebuke can be imputed to a renowmed Region, then to affirme, wzite and confesse, that all notable victozies, and honozable conquestes, which neyther the king with his power, noz the nobilitie with their valiantnesse, noz the counsayle with their wit, noz the commonaltie with their strength could compasse oz obtaine, were gotten and atchiued by a shepherdes daughter, a Chamberlein in an hostrie, and a beggers bzat: which blinding the wittes of the French nation, by reuelations, dzeames and phantasticall visions, made them beleue things not to be supposed, and to geue fayth to things impossible. Foz surely, if credite may be geuen to the actes of the Clergie, openly done, and commonly shewed, thys woman was not inspired with the holy ghost, noz sent from God (as the French men beleeue) but an Enchantzesse, an ozgane of the Deuill, sent from Sathan, to blinde the people, and bzing them in vnbeliefe: as by a letter sent from the king of England may appere: But foz that the same is long, I thought it sufficient to rehearse the effect thereof, which was as followeth.

Jone the Puzell taken and brent.

First that she two yeres and moze, contrarie to Gods lawe, and the honest estate of womanhood, was clothed in mans apparell, and exercised the office of a Capitayne in the warres.

Also, she affirmed that she was sent of God, and that she had spoken personally with God.

Also, she caused her selfe to be honozed and wozshipped of many, as a woman sanctified.

And foz a true declaration of the falsitie and lewdnesse of her doing, she being called before the Byshop and the Uniuersity of Paris, was there with great

great solempnity adiudged and condempned, a superstitious Sorceresse, and a diuelishe Blasphemeres of God, and as an erronyous wretch was consumed with fyre. And at the time of her death, she confessed how the Deuill had deluded and deceaued her.

This letter, the king of England, sent not onely to the Duke of Burgoyne and other Princes, to declare the veritie of the matter, and the administration of Justice, but to admonishe all rude and ignorant persons, in all other countries, to refraine from the credite and beliefe of the sayings, of suche prophane prophecies, and craftie imaginers, as this pieuishe painted Puzell was. Yet notwithstanding, this lawfull processe, this due examination and publike sentence, John Buchet, and diuers French writers affirme her to be a saint in heauen. But because it is no point of our fayth, no man is bound to beleue his iudgement, although he were an Archdeken. But Paulus Emilius, a famous writer, rehersing that the Citezens of Orleaunce, had buylded in the honor of her an Image or an Idole, sayth that Pius Bishop of Rome, and Anthony Bishop of Florence, much maruayled and greatly wondered at her actes and doings. With which saiyng, I can very well agree, that she was more to be maruayled at, as a false prophetisse, and seducer of the people, then to be honored or worshipped as a Saint sent from God into the realme of Fraunce. For of this I am sure, that all auncient writers, as well diuine as prophane, allege these three thinges beside diuers other, to apperteine to a good woman. First shamefastnesse, which the Romaine Ladies so kept, that seldome or neuer they were seene openly talking with a man: which vertue at this day amongst the Turkes, is highly esteemed. The second is pittie: which in a womans hart, abhorreth the spylling of the bloud of a poore beast, or a sely birde. The thirde is womanly behauiour, auoyding the occasion of euill iudgement, and causes of slaunder. If these qualities, be of necessitie, incident to a good woman, where was her shamefastnesse, when she daylie and nightly was conuersant with comen souldiours and men of warre, amongst whome is small honestie, lesse vertue and shamefastnesse least of all exercised or vsed? Where was her womanly pittie, when she taking to her the heart of a cruell beast, slue man woman and childe, where she might haue the vpper hande? Where was her womanly behauiour, when she cladde her selfe in a mans clothing, and was conuersaunt with euery losell, geuing an occasion to all men to iudge, and speake euill of her, and her doings. Then these things, being thus plainely true, all men must needes confesse, that the cause ceasing, the effect also ceaseth: so that if these morall vertues lacking, she was no good woman, then it must needes consequently folow, that she was no saint.

John Buchet.

Paulus Emilius.

Three properties that appertaine to a good woman.

Now leauing this woman, consumed to ashes, let vs returne agayne to the siege of Compeigne, which still contynued. During which tyme, the Regent sent to the Duke of Burgoyne, lyeng at the siege, the Erle of Huntyngdon, sir John Robsert with a thousand Archers, which daylie skirmished with them of the towne, and made suche Bastiles and fortresses, that the towne must nedes be rendered, or else they within famished. But see the chaunce, when victorie was at hande, tydings were brought to the Duke of Burgoyn, that Philip Duke of Brabant, was departed out of this worlde, leauing behinde him no heire of his body: To whome the sayde Duke pretended

tended to be next heyre, wherefore he taking with him, his best Capitaynes, for the recouery of so great a Duchy, departed from the siege, leauing his poore people behinde him, and ordeyned in his place, for his Lieutenaunt, Sir John Luxenborough, which being of small strength and lesse courage, after the Dukes departing, aduised the English men to depart for that time, till the next Sommer: which thereto at the first, would in no wise agree. But there was no remedy, for he was Capitaine generall, and had the ordinaunce vnder his rule, so that without that, they could nothing doe: Wherefore in great displeasure, they returned into Normandy. After whose departure, the Captaine set fire in all the Bastiles, and secretly departed, leauing behinde him diuers peeces of ordynaunce, for lack of of cariage. Wyth which returne, the Dukes of Bedford and Burgoyn, were sore displeased: for if he had continued his siege eyght dayes lenger, the towne had bene rendered, without dent of sworde. For pestilence and famine, had almost consumed all the Souldiours, and left the towne without safegard or defence.

After this siege broken vp, John Duke of Norffolke tooke againe the townes of Dampmartyn, and the Chasse Wongay, & diuers other townes. And the Erle of Staffords tooke the towne of Brie, in Countie Robert, and from thence, forraged all the Countrey to Sens, and after tooke Quesnoy in Brie, Grand Puys, and Rampellon, with many prisoners, as sir Jaques de Willy, and sir John de la Hay. During which time the French men tooke Louiers, and Villuence. And then the towne of Melune rebelled, and had suche ayde of other townes adioyning, that the English Souldiours, were fayne to leaue Melune, Moyret, and Corbell. Thus, according to the chaunce of warre, the one parte gat, and the other lost. Thus the Englishe affayres (as you haue heard) within the realme beganne to wauer, and ware variable, which caused the Englishe Capitaynes to be of diuers opinions. For one part being sorie and pensiue, adiudged the things present, light and of no moment, in comparison of them which they saw likely to folowe: and another sort, adiudged that present time to be most ieoperdous, and perillous: Because they sawe the power of their enemies nowe increased, and their owne strength rather decayed, then conserued. And so euery man studyeng on this businesse, aduised secretly with himselfe, what counsayle was best to be taken, and what way was best to be folowed, to remedie these things, thus wauering in a doubtfull Ballance, did at the last conclude, that it was most apt and mete, for the time present, that king Henry in his royall person, with a new armie, should come downe into Fraunce, partely to comfort and visite his owne subiects there: partly eyther by feare or fauour (because a childe of his age and beautie doth commonly allure to him, the hartes of the elder persons) to cause the Frenchmen to continue in their due obeysaunce towarde him. Wherefore after a great host, conuenient for that purpose, assembled, and money for the maintenaunce of the warre, redy gathered, and the realme set in order, and the Duke of Glocester appointed Gouernour (which during the kings absence, appeased diuers riottes, and punished many offenders) the king with a great power, tooke shypping at Douer, and landed at Calice, and there taried a good space, and from thence, he remoued to Roan, where with all triumph, he was receyued, and there sojourned till the middest of August, hys nobles daylie

King Henry the sixt goeth with an armie into Fraunce.

daylie consulting on their great businesse, and waightie affayres.

1431 10 In the Month of Nouember, he remoued from Roan to Ponthoise, and so to saint Denice, to the intent to make his entrie into the Citie of Paris, and there to be sacred king of Fraunce, and to receyue the Scepter and Crowne of the realme and Countrey.

The coronation of king Henry the .vi. in Paris.

There were in his company of his awne Nation, his Uncle the Cardinall of Winchester, the Cardinall and Archebyshop of Yorke, the Dukes of Bedford, Yorke, and Norffolke, the Earles of Warwike, Salisburie, Oxford, Huntyngdon, Ormonde, Wortayn, Suffolke, and of Gascoynes, the Erle of Longuile, and Marche, beside many noble men of Englande, Guyan & Normandy. And the chiefe of the French nation were the Dukes of Burgoyn, and Lewes of Luxenburgh Cardinall and Chauncellour of Fraunce for king Henry, the Byshops of Beauoys and Neyon, both peeres of Fraunce, beside the Byshop of Paris, and dyuers other Byshops, the Erle of Waudemount, and other noble men, whose names were to tedyous to reherse. And he had in a garde about his person, three thousande strong archers, some on horseback, and parte on foote. And as he was comming, betwene Saint Denice and Paris, he was met at the Chapell, in the meane way, by Syr Simon Norier Prouost of Paris, with a great company, all clothed in redde Satin, with blewe Whoodes, which did to him due reuerence and lowe obeysaunce. After whome came dyuers riche and notable Burgesses of the towne of Paris, all appareled in Crimosyne cloth. After they had done their reuerence, there approched to the king the .ix. worthies, sytting richely on horseback, armed with the armes to them appertayning. Next after them, came the knight of the watch, for the prouost Marchants, and with him, all the officers of the Courte, appareled in blew, and Hattes redde. And in a long space after, came Master Philip de Morullier, chiefe president of the Parliament, appareled in a robe of estate: and all the other Presidentes of the Parliament, clothed in robes of Scarlet, and in lyke robes folowed the Lordes of the chamber of accomptes, and of the finaunce, the Masters of the requestes, the Secretaries, and Regesters, and euery company, as their course came, saluted the king with eloquent Orations and heroicall Uerses, and so conueyed him to the gate of Saint Denice, where the Prouost of the Marchauntes, and the Shriefes of the towne receyued him with a Canapy of blew Ueluet richely embraudred, with flower Delices of Golde, and bare the same ouer him, through the towne, which on euery side was hanged with riche clothes of Arras and Tapissery. And at euery porte and bridge where he passed, was set a Pageaunt of great shew and small cost, which because they were but trifles, I ouer passe, and speake but of one deuise, made before the gate of the Chastelet, where vpon a stage stoode a goodly childe, clothed with habite royall, set full of flower Delices, hauing two crownes on his head, representing the yong king, and on his right hande stoode two noble personages, in the armes of Burgoyne and Flaunders: and on the left side of him, stode three personages clothed in the armes of Bedford, Salisburie, and Warwike, which to him delyuered the sworde of England. This Pageaunt was well regarded, and highly praysed. From thence he departed to the Palace, and offered in the Chapell, and from thence he departed to the house of Tournelles, and there tooke

tooke his repast. And the next day he was conueyed to Boys de Uincennes, where he reposed himselfe till the fiftene day of December: on which daye, he returned to the Palace of Paris. And on the .xvij. of the sayde Moneth, he departed from the Palace in great triumph, honorably accompanyed to our Lady church of Paris: where with all solempnitie he was annoynted and crowned king of Fraunce by the Cardinall of Winchester: (the Bysthop of Paris not being content that the Cardinall should doe such a high ceremonie in his Church and iurisdiction.) At the offering he offered Bread and Wine, as the custome of Fraunce is. When the diuine seruice was finished, and all ceremonies due, to that high estate accomplished, the king departed towarde the Palaice, hauing one crowne on his head, and another borne before him, and one scepter in his hand, and the second borne before him. What should I speake of the honorable seruice, the daintie dishes, the pleasaunt conceytes, the costly Wynes, the sweete Armony, the Musicall instruments, which were seene and shewed at that feast, sithe all men may coniecture, that nothing was omitted, that might be bought for Golde, nor nothing was forgotten that by mans wyt could be inuented. Yet this high and ioyous feast, was not without a spot of displeasure, for the Cardinall of Winchester which at this time, would haue no man to him egall, commaunded the Duke of Bedford, to leaue of the name of Regent, duryng the time that the king was in Fraunce: affirming the chiefe ruler being in presence, the aucthozitie of the substitute was clerely derogate: according to the common saying: in the presence of the high power, the small aucthozitie geueth place. The Duke of Bedford tooke such a secret displeasure with thys doing, that he neuer after fauored the Cardinall, but repugned and disdayned at all things that he did or deuised. And so because the Cardinall would haue no tempozall Lorde eyther to him superiour or with him egall, he set foorth this prouide and arrogant conclusion, thorow which vnhappie diuision, the glorie of the Englishe men beganne first to decay, and bade away in Fraunce.

The next day after this solemne feast, were kept triumphant Justes, and Turneys, in the which, the Erle of Arundell, and the Bastard of Saint Poll, by the iudgement of the Ladies, wan the pryce, and gat the honor. When he had kept open house to all commers, by the space of .xx. dayes, because the ayre of Paris was somewhat contrariant to his pure complexion, he was aduised by his counsaile, to returne to Roan. But before his departure, he caused all the Nobilitie, the Presidents of the Parliament, the Prouostes of the Citie, and of the Marchantes, and the chiefe Burgesses of the Towne and Citie, and all the Doctors of the Uniuersitie, to be assembled in his presence: to whome the Duke of Bedford made a long and solempne Oracion, perswadyng the Frenchmen to the loue and obedience of king Henry, whom he termed theyr naturall souereigne Lorde and Prince, discended from the Ladie Isabell, daughter & sole inheritrice to king Philip (the fayre) French king.

When the Duke had finished and ended his Oracion, the people beyng glad, and reioysyng at his sayinges, cryed: Viue le Roy: Liue king Henry, liue king Henry. After which crie passed, the Noble men, aswell of Fraunce, as of Normandie, did to him homage, and the common people, sware to him fealtie: to whome (although he were a childe) he gaue both pleasaunt and good words, with harty thanks, to the great admiration of the french people. Homage. Fealtie.

After

After he had feasted the Nobles and Commons of Fraunce, within the Citie of Paris, he with a great companie, departed from thence, and by smal iourneyes came to Roan, where he kept with great solemnitie, the high feast of Christmasse. While these noble Ceremonies were thus in doyng, in the Citie of Paris, sundrie chaunces diuersly happened in seuerall places, to the displeasure of the one part, and to the gaine of the other. For Sir Fraunces Surrien Arragoys, a noble Captaine in Normandie, toke by force and pollecie, the towne of Mounterges, with a great pray of treasure and prisoners, and therein he put a garrison, and vitailed the towne, to the great displeasure of the French king. About the same season, the Erle of Arundell, beyng truely informed, that the Lord Bousac, Marshall of Fraunce, was come to Beauoys, intendyng to do some feate in Normandie, assembled the number of xviij. hundreth men, & layd himselfe priuely, in a close place, not farre from the sayd towne, and sent a great number of light horsemen, to ron to the barriers of the Citie. The Frenchmen, like valiant men of warre, issued out, & manfully fought with the Englishmen: which sodainly fled toward the stale. The Frenchemen couragiously folowed, thinkyng the game gotten on their syde: But when they were entered into the straight, the Erle set freshly on them, so that after long fightyng, there were slain and taken, in maner all the french men, saue a few which fled into the towne with the Marshall. Amongest the Captaynes was founde prisoner, the valiaunt Captaine, called Poynton of Sanctrayles, which (without delay) was exchaunged for the Lord Talbot, before taken prisoner, at the battaile of Patay. There was also taken one called the shepherd, a simple man, and a sely soule, whom the Frenchmen reputed, to be of such a holinesse, that if he touched the wall of a towne, of their enemies, that incontinent, it would fall to the ground, and ouerturne. Such false phantasticall fayners, were at that tyme muche regarded, and no lesse beleued in Fraunce.

Richard Beauchamp Erle of Warwike.

This chaunce succeded not fortunately alone: For Richard Beauchamp Erle of Warwike, had a great skirmish before the towne of Gournay, where he discomfited and repulsed his enemies, and besyde the carions which were left dead on the ground, he tooke prisoners, three score horsemen, all Gentlemen of name and armes. Like chaunce of infortune, happened at the same tyme, to Renate or Reyn. Duke of Barre, a great friend to Charles the French king, both in lendyng him money, and also in ministryng to him ayde and succors. This Duke bearyng displeasure to Anthonie Erle of Vaudemont his Cosyn and kinseman, gathered together a great army, and besieged the towne of Vaudemont. The Erle before the Dukes approchyng, to the entent that he would not be enclosed and compassed aboute by his enemies within a wall, leauyng behynde him a conuenient crew of men of warre, to defende the towne for a tyme, with all diligence rode to the Dukes of Bedford, and Burgoyne, beyng then at the great triumph at Paris, whose parte he had euer taken. After long consultacion, it was agreed that Sir John Fastolfe should go with him, hauyng in his companie sixe hundreth Archers, and the Duke of Burgoyn sent to him his Marshall, called Sir Anthonie Doulongon, with. v. hundreth men.

Vaudemont besieged.

The Erle of Vaudemont thus beyng accompanied, marched towarde his enemies. Duke Reine heerynge of his commyng toward him, was somewhat

what dismayed, fearyng least if his enemies should approche to the walles, and be espyed by the garryson within the towne, that at one tyme he should be assayled before, by them that would issue out of the towne, and behind, by the Erle and his armie. Wherefore like a hardie Captein, he brake vp his siege, and met face to face with the Erle and his companie: betweene whome, was a cruell and mortall battaile. The horsemen endured long, but in conclusion, the Englishe Archers so galled the horses, and so wounded the men, that the Barroys and their friendes were compelled to flie: In which chase was taken, the sayd Duke of Barre, the Bishop of Mies, the Lord of Rodemaque, Sir Euerard of Saseberg, the Vicount Darcy, and two hundreth other, besyde three thousand men, which were slaine. In this lucky tyme also, no lesse occasion of victorie, was offered to the Englishe men, beyng in another part, if when the pigge had bene profered, they had opened the poke: For Robert Lord Willoughby, and Mathew Gough, a valiaunt Welcheman, with. v. hundreth Englishemen, layd siege to a towne in Aniow, beyng both by situation and pollecie, very strong and defensible, called Saint Seuerine. The Englishemen assayled it not so couragiously, but they within, with egall audacitie, boldely made defence: so that fortune semed, to way both the parties in egall ballaunce. Charles the French king, beyng thereof aduertised, sent with all speede the Lorde Ambrose de Loze, with many noble and valiaunt personages, to ayde and relieue his friendes, inclosed in the towne by his enimies. This Lorde de Loze, beyng Capteyne of the towne, made much haste to comfort his Deputie and Capteine within the same, and so marched forward with great speede: but fearyng to be sodeinly compassed about, he taryed still at Beaumont, lookyng for the armie and Capteynes that should folowe, and then altogether to set on their enemies, and so to rayse the siege. While he made there his abode, and tooke his leasure, the Englishemen, by their espials were assertayned and aduertised, what progresse their enemies made, and what they intended. Wherefore they politikely prouided, to fight with the one part, before the whole puyssaunce were ioyned. And so a great part of them departed secretly in the night, toward their enemies, and found the watche so out of order, and ouersene, that a thousand men were entered into the campe before they were espyed. But the sleayng of men, and cuttyng downe of Tentes, awaked the Captaynes, whome this sodeine feare, and vnlooked chaunce so greatly abashed, that no man in maner, eyther could here his felowe or himselfe, or could make signe to expulse or driue out their enemies out of their campe. But when the day beganne to appere that all thing might be seene and perceyued, the Englishemen geuen to couetousnesse of spoyle, and desyre of rauine, neither chased, nor folowed their enemies, but beyng content with their pray and gaine, began to retreat towarde the siege againe. But see the chaunce: the French men which were cõmyng after, and heard by the noyse of the people, that some fray was then in hand, put the Spurres to the horse, and set on their enemies, beyng laden with bagges and wallettes, of prayes and spoyles. The other part which before fled, returned againe, and assayled their enemies. The Frenchmen egerly assayled, and the Englishemen manfully defended, which beyng out of order, were compelled to flie, of whome Mathew Gough and diuerse other were taken prisoners, and yet of the other part many were slaine, and a great number taken, amongest

The Duke of Barre taken.

Saint Seuerine besieged.

mongest whom, was the Lorde of Loze, which foz all the battaile, was kept and not delluered.

The Lozd Willoughby, heeryng of this chaunce, rayſed the ſiege and departed, very ſoze diſpleaſed. Therefoze let euery Captain take good heede of victozie, the which as ſhe is harde to obtein, ſo ſhe is quicke to flie away: foz it is dayly ſene, that he which thinketh ſurely, that he hath her in his handes, befoze he can catche her, is deceyued, and ronneth into a great loſſe and daũger: and on the other ſide, when ſhe is gotten, (except good watch be hourely kept) ſhe will ſteale away, with much hurt and detriment, to the firſt gayner. Thus the Engliſhemen, foz the greedie appetite of gayne, loſt the tryumphant victozie, which they had in their handes. While the Engliſhe and French nacion thus ſtroue and contended foz preeminence principally, yea, and foz ỹ ſuperiox power of life, by the vnreaſonable rage of war in Fraunce, the riche men were ſpoyled of their goodes, the ſpirituall perſons were taxed and brought low, the common people were ſlaine, murdzed and troden vnder the foote, women were defyled, virgines were rauiſhed, townes were deſtroyed and waſted, towne dwellers and Citizens were robbed and exiled, bewtifull buyldyngs, were cruelly brent, and nothyng was ſpared, which by fire, blood, oz famine, might be catched oz deſtroyed, beſyde a hundzeth moze calamities, that dayly vexed and troubled the miſerable French nacion.

Although Fraunce were at this tyme thus miſerably afflicted: yet England was not without ſome trouble: foz dayly Engliſhemen, as well noble as meane perſonages, were ſlaine, taken, wounded, oz hurt, their ſubſtaunce were continually exacted, and conſumed foz maintenaunce of the warres, ſo that miſchiefe and calamitie was indifferent to both the nacions, and quietneſſe and gaine, were expulſed and baniſhed from them both: in ſo much that the lamentacion and doloz of both the Countries, were heard thzough the whole weſt part of the wozlde, and of their continuall diſſencion, all Europe and Affrik, had their eares and mouthes full, ſo that all men, not onely marueyled, that Fraunce could ſo much trouble ſo long tyme ſuſtaine, but moze wondered that the realme of Englande, beyng but an Ile, was able ſo to ſcourge, plague, and trouble the large Frenche region, foz which cauſe Eugenie the fourth beyng Biſhop of Rome, intendyng to bzyng this cruell war to a friendly peace, ſent his Legate, called Nicolas, Cardinall of the holye Croſſe, into Fraunce, to the entent to make an amitie, and a concozd betwene the two pzinces, and their realmes. This wiſe Cardinall, came firſt to the French king, and after to the Duke of Bedfozd beyng at Parys: exhoztyng concozde, and perſwadyng vnitie, ſhewyng, declaryng, and arguyng peace to be moſt honourable, and moze profitable to Chziſtian Pzinces, then moztall warre, oz vncharitable diſſencion.

When the Legate had thus perſwaded the Pzinces on euery part, they both gently aunſwered, that they were content to come to a reaſonable ende. But when the firſt communication was moued, and by Commiſſioners treated, their doynges were ſo farre diſagreeable from their wozdes, that not onely reaſonable and honeſt condicions of peace, could be neyther heard noz accepted, but moze frowardneſſe, pertinacye, and malice, was kindled and ſtrong by in their ſtomacks, then befoze that tyme had bene ſeene. The Cardinal being in vtter diſpayze, of concludyng a peace betwene the two realmes (leaſt

(leaſt he ſhould ſeme to depart empty of al things, foz ỹ which he had taken ſo much trauaile) deſyzed a truce foz ſixe yeres to come, which requeſt, as it was to him by both parties hardly graunted, ſo was it of the french men ſone and lightly bzoken after his returne: Foz the Baſtard of Ozleaunce, newly made Erle of Dzunops, tooke by treaſon the towne of Charters from the Engliſhe men: affirming by the lawe of armes, that ſtealing oz biyng a towne, without inuaſion oz aſſault, was no bzeach of league, amity oz truce. In the which towne, he ſlue the biſhop, becauſe he was a Burgonion, thzough which occaſion, new malice encreaſed, and moztall warre began againe to riſe and ſpzing.

A truce taken wyth Fraunce for ſixe yeres.

While theſe thinges were thus doyng in Fraunce: There chaunced in Englande by certeine light perſons (who as ſome wzite bare no good will to pzieſtes) dwellyng in Abyngton, that a tumult and an aſſembly was made, to the diſquietneſſe of the realme, but by wiſedome of the pzotectoz, the ſame was ſone pacified, and the chiefe Auctheur thereof, whoſe name was William Waundeuile, alias John Sharpe, being appzehended, was put to execution, and ſo were ſundzie other. After theſe thinges thus quieted, the Cardinal began to common with the Duke of Glouceſter, cõcernyng the affayzes and buſineſſe of Fraunce: But the Duke of Glouceſter, ſuſpectyng that the treuce would not long continue betwene both the realmes, (as it did not in deede) deuiſed how to ſend moze ayde, and men to the Duke of Bedfozd, and gathered by moze money and treaſure, foz the further maintenaunce of the warres, and reſiſtence of their enemies. Wherebypon the Duke of Glouceſter called a Parliament, in the which money was aſſigned, and men were appoynted. Duryng which Parliament, James the king of Scottes ſent Ambaſſadozs, to conclude a peace with the Duke of Glouceſter, which (becauſe the king was abſent) referred the matter to the thze eſtates. After long conſultacion, not without great argumentes, a peace was graunted and cõcluded, which all men iudged ſhould long continue, becauſe king James was then vexed with ciuile warre, and inteſtine diſſencion, and alſo the Frenche men had taken truce, as you haue heard foz ſix yeres.

A peace concluded with the Scottes.

When this Parliament was finiſhed, the Cardinall well gatniſhed with men & money, departed out of England, & came to Roan to the king, to whom alſo reſozted from Paris, John Duke of Bedfozd, to debate and conſulte of things, not vnlikely to happen and chaunce. Wherfoze a great counſaile was celebzate with the Caſtell of Roan, & many doubts were moued and diſputed.

After this diſputacion, with many argumentes ended, the Dukes of Bedfozd and Yozke, and Edmond late Erle of Mozteyn, and nowe by the death of John Duke of Somerſet, (which died without heire male, leauyng behinde him, a ſole daughter called Margaret, after Counteſſe of Richmõd) erected to the name and tytle, of Duke of Sommerſet, liked and appzoued, the firſt argument, and firſt moued reaſon: affirmyng beſt, that warre muſt be pzouided foz, and that money ought to be diſburſed, and to auoyde all doubtes, that a greater armie, was neceſſary to be gathered together and aſſembled. When all things were agreed, king Henry departed to Calice, and from thence to Douer, and ſo by ealye iourneys he came the. xxj. day of Februarye, to the Citie of London, where he was receyued, not only with great pompe and triumph, but alſo highly pzeſented with giftes and money, as in the Chzonicle of Robert Fabian, you may rede at large, which I ouerpaſſe.

King Henry the ſixt returneth out of Fraunce into Englãd.

After that the king was departed into England, the Duke of Bedford, Regent of Fraunce, and Captaine of Calice, tarryed behinde in the Marches of Picardie: where he was informed, that certein souldiours of Calice, grudgyng at the restraint of woolles, began to mutter and murmure agaynst the king and his counsaile, so that the towne of Calice was like to stand in ieopardie. Wherefore the Duke foreseyng the mischiefe that might insue, and thinkyng it wisedome to withstand the first motion, caused the Chieftaynes of this faction to be apprehended, & after due examinacion had, diuers were put to death, and many banished and exiled the Marches for euer. After that he had purged the towne of that vngracious and seditious companie, and had furnished it with new Souldiours and discrete men of warre, he was determined, first to repayre againe to Parys, but his heart would not serue him: for sith his departure, Ladie Anne his wife and Duchies, was departed to God, and honorably enterred in the Celestins at Paris: by whose death, and for other causes, (as partly you haue heard) the sure loue, and approued fidelitie, betwene the Duke of Burgoyn, his brother in lawe and him began to wax faint and colde. For which cause, he beyng perswaded by the Lorde Lewes of Lurenborough, Bishop of Tyrwine and Ely, and Chauncelor of Fraunce for king Henry, agreed to mary the Lady Jaquet, daughter to Peter Erle of Saint Paule, and neece to the sayd Bishop, and to Lorde John of Lurenborough, to the intent that by this newe affinity the olde acquaintaunce and familiaritie, which he had with the Noble family of Lurenborough shoulde be renued and inforced, and with a more sure knot, knit and confirmed. Whereupon, he departed from Calice to Tirwyne, where he was highly receyued of the Erle of Saint Paule, and his brethren, and there he maryed the fayre and freshe Ladie Jaquet, of the age of .xviij. yeres, with all tryumph and nuptiall solempnitie. After which ceremonie ended, he returned with his new spouse to Calice, and so into England, where he with his wife remayned vntill August next, and then returned againe to Parys. The Duke of Burgoyn, (whose mynde began to incline, a little and little, toward king Charles) was sore grieued and angrie, that the Duke of Bedford was ioyned in affinitie with the noble and famous house of Lurenborough: by the which he sawe, that the power of the Englishemen should be greatly aduaunced. But the mariage was fully ended, and he could find no remedy.

Souldiours of Calice murmour at the restraint of woolles.

Anne wife of the Duke of Bedford and sister to the Duke of Burgoyne deceased.

The Duke of Bedford maried to the Lady Jaquet

This yere the Standard of Chepe (at the charges of John Welles a Citezen and Maiour of London) was buylded.

1432

While these things were doing thus, in other places, the French souldiours lacking wages (and amongst them a great number, which in hope of pray, and desire of spoyle, had cast vp the Plough, and left their labour) beganne priuely (as time serued, and occasion gaue place) to take both English men and Burgonions, and raunsomed and spoyled them at their pleasures. And although they were prohibited thus to doe (during the time of truce and peace) yet in conclusion they spared not openly to rob, spoyle and burne: yea and to steale townes, which they affirmed to be no breache of truce. The Englishe pricked and vexed with these open wrongs and manifest iniuries, prepared for warre, after the first Moneth that the truce was taken and concluded. And by this meanes, the warre was renewed and begonne agayne. The vntrue French men breakers of peace, and not keepers of

of truce, reysed a crewe of men, and sodainely tooke the towne of saint Valerie, standing in Normandy on the Riuer of Some: and another army vnder the conduyt of Sir Ambrose, Lorde of Loze, wasted and destroyed all the Countrie about Caen. The Duke of Bedford not minding to lye still in ydelnesse, sent the Erle of Arundell, the Erle of Warwicks sonne, the Lord Lisle, Adame Marchall of Fraunce for king Henry, and twelue hundred men with ordinaunce and municions, to besiege the towne of Laigny, vpon the riuer of Marne. Which Erle, with the shot of a Canon, brake the Arche of the bridge, and gat from the French men their Bulwarke, and set it on fire. Diuers assaults were attempted, but the towne was well defended: for wythin were shut vp eyght hundred men of armes, beside other meane Souldyours.

Saint Valerie taken by the French men.

The Duke of Bedford being thereof aduertised, gathered an armie of fiue thousand men of warre, and hauing all things necessary, he came to the siege before Laigny. He there made a bridge of Boates, and brought his ordinaunce so neere the towne, that to all people, it seemed not long able to resist. But the Erle of Dunoys Bastard of Orleaunce, with diuers hardie Capitaines, as valyauntly repulsed, as the Englishe men assauted. Thys siege continued, as fyre agaynst flame, and sometime flame against fyre. For although the English men slue the more number, yet they gat neyther pray, nor botie: and although the French men kept valyauntly the walles, and defended the loupes, yet they both lost men and Capitaynes, and were long secluded from their ayde and succors, till Charles the Frenche king perceyuing this towne, to be the three corner key betweene the territories of the English men, the Burgonians, and his awne, and that the losse thereof, should turne him to innumerable dammages and hurtes, sent the Lorde of Rieu, Poyton the Heire, the Lorde Gancort, and fiue thousand men wyth great plentie of vittayles, to the intent eyther to rayse the siege, or to vittayle the towne. The French Capitaynes made a bragge, as though they would fight with the English men within their field and Campe. The English men would not issue out, but kept themselues in good order, euer loking for their entrie and inuasion. The Regent perceyuing, that they approched not, sent to them an Herault of armes, declaring his intent, and the courage of hys company, which nothing more desired then battayle. And to shewe himselfe as a Capitaine, meaning that which he offered, and not dissimuling that which he spake: he incontinent diuided his men into three battayles, no more wisely ordered, then politiquely gouerned: as who would saye, come on French man, if thy hart wyll serue. But hys aduersaies more craftie then hardy, more politique then courageous, framed themselues in suche order of battayle, as they were able to doe all thing, and yet in conclusion (concerning martiall feates) they did nothing. For while they made a proud bragge, and a stoute skirmish with the English men, they appointed diuers rude and rusticall persons, to conuay into the towne .xxx. Oxen, and other small vytayle, but thys swete gayne was sowrely payde, for if the losse with the gaine be pondered in one balaunce, for hauing regarde to .xxx. leane Oxen, in the conflict were slayne, the Lorde Sentrayles brother to Pothon, the valyant Capitayne John, brother to the Lorde Gawcort, and fiftie other noble and valyaunt personages, beside other common people, which bought that bargaine.

gaine, aboue the price of the common Market. The French men perceyuing their infortunate chaunce, and not onely considering, the vnspeakable heate which then wearied their people, being in the beginning, of the hote month of August: but also perceyuing the Englishe men to be planted and setled, in a place vnable to be wonne, and in a grounde both daungerous to inuade, and hard to assayle, like men desperate of gayne, and without hope of victorie, departed to Fort vnder Yerre, where by a bridge of Tomes, they passed into the Isle of Fraunce.

The Duke of Bedford (like a wise prince) not minding to lease the more for the lesse, nor the accident for the substaunce, fearing that Paris and other townes more necessarie to the Englishe men, and of more estimation would returne to his aduersaries, thinking if the greater power were holden, the lesse should be sone obtayned, reysed his siege and returned to Parys, nothyng lesse minding then to try hys quarrell wyth dent of swoorde agaynst his enemies: and so sent Bedford his herault to the Lorde Gawcort, and other Chiefetaynes of his army, offering him battayle, and a pitched field, within a conuenient grounde, where so euer he would, within the Isle of Fraunce, assigne or appoynt. To the which officer of Armes, the Capitaynes answered, that battayle they feared not, nor the Englishe puyssaunce, they not much regarded, but they sayde: that time was to gayne, and time was to lose, of the which two, they doubted not to espie the one, either for their great gaine, or to their apparaunt losse. Wherevpon they sent the Lorde Ambrose de Lore with. vij.C. horsemen to rob and spoyle the poore people, comming to the fayre, on the day of Saint Michaell the Archangell, kept in the suburbes of the towne of Caen. But when Dauy Hall Esquire, Capitayne of the towne for the Duke of Yorke, issued out to fight with him, he departed by slight, without eyther botie or gayne of the fayre. The French men perceyuing, that neyther power, force, nor pollicie could anayle against the Englishe nation, determined to trip and deceyue them, by their accustomed seruaunt called Mayster Treason, and so by money corrupted Piers Audebeuffe, Constable of the Castell of Roan, that the Marchall of Fraunce, and the Lorde Fountaynes, with two hundred persons disguised, entered into the Castel, but they were sone espied, and driuen to the Dongeon, where they were taken and yelded: whereof some were hanged, some headed, and some raunsomed at the pleasure of the Regent: and such ende had the Traytors, which would by treason rather then by battayle, obtayne their praye and desired purpose.

Treason.

Thys Pageaunt played, the Regent sent Peter of Lurenborough Erle of Saint Paule, and Robert Lorde Willoughby, with a competent crewe of men to besiege the towne of Saint Valerie, which the French men a little before had taken. These valyaunt Cappytaines not minding to slepe their businesse, enuironned the towne with a strong siege. Within the towne were Sir Lewes de Vancort, syr Philip de la Toure, and syr Reignold de Versailles Capitaynes, with three hundred good fighting men, which by the space of three weekes, manfully defended the same. But at the.xrj.day, they perceyuing the fiercenesse of the English men, and the weakenesse of themselues (hauing no hope of releefe, nor confidence in any ayde) rendered the towne, their horse and harneis onely saued. The Erle put in the garrison of the

Saint Valery recouered againe by the Englishmen.

the towne freshe and valyaunt Souldiours, and appointed Capitaine there, Sir John Awbemonde: in the which towne sodainely, whether it were by infection of the ayre, or by corrupt vittayle by long lyeng, which the townes men did eate, a great pestilence sprang in the infortunate Countrey. Which after so many calamities and euill chaunces, being two times besieged by the French men, and thryse recouered by the English Nation, was now infected and corrupted with the pestilent plague: whereby two partes of the people, within short space were destroyed and consumed.

A great pestilence.

After this towne gotten, the Erle of saint Paule, and the Lorde Willoughby returned to the Regent, where they were wel welcomed. And after, the saide Erle departed from Paris, to lay siege to the Castell of Monchas, but being encamped nere to the towne of Blangy, he by a sodaine Maladie, finished his dayes, and departed the worlde, leauing hys seignyories to Lewes his sonne and heire. For which dead Erle were solempne obsequies kept, both in Paris and in London, because he was father in lawe to the Regent. In the meane season, the French men entered into the costes of high Burgoyne, and brent, tooke and destroyed townes: for which cause, the Burgonions beyng sore displeased, assembled a great armie, both to reuenge their quarels, and also to recouer agayne the townes, from them vniustly taken: to whom, as to his friends the Duke of Bedford sent Robert Lorde Willoughby, and syr Thomas Kiriell, with a conuenient company of Souldiours, which entering into the laundes of Laonoys, were encountered with a great number of their enemies: Notwithstanding, after long fyght, the French men were slayne and dispersed: wherof were left dead in the field, an hundred and sixtie horsmen, beside prisoners, which after in a furie, were all killed and put to death.

The death of the Erle of saint Paule.

Whyle these chaunces thus happened in Fraunce, John Lord Talbot gathered together a crewe of chosen men of warre in England to the number of eyght hundred, and sayled into Normandie, and passed by Roan towarde Paris, and in his way he toke the strong Castell of Joinge, betwene Beauoys, and Gisors, and caused all the French men within, to be hanged on the walles, and after rased and defaced the Castell, & came to the Duke of Bedford to Paris. The presence of which renowmed Capitayne (a marueilous thing it is to see) so encouraged the hartes of the English nation, that they thought nothing able to resist their puyssaunce, and so discouraged the hartes of the French men, that they were in doubt, whether it were better to fight or to flie. And thys was not without a cause: for surely he was a chosen Capitaine, and in martiall feates a man fully instructed, and hys courage and practise in warre, was fearefull to the French nation, and to his awne Countrymen an especiall hope, and a sure defence. When this hardye Baron, had commoned with the Regent, & agreed what waye he should take, without long delay or prolonging of tyme, he departed from Parys with hys armie, and besieged the Castell of Beaumont vpon Oise, whereof was Capitayne, syr Amadour de Vignolles brother to the Heire. Which Castell was sone rendered vpon condition. After that he regayned without long siege, the townes of Creile, the bridge of Saint Warens, the newe towne in Esmoy, Crespi in Valloys, and Cleremount in Beauoys: and so with great riches and fatte prisoners, he returned agayne to Paris. Thus

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John Lorde Talbot sayleth into Fraunce.

prosperous

prosperous successe happened not to the Lorde Talbot alone: but also the very same season, the Erle of Arundell tooke the Castell of Bomeline, and rased it to the grounde, and after tooke by force the Castell of Dozle, and from thence came to Saint Seleryne, where the Lorde Ambrose of Loze was Capitayne, which issued out and fought with the English men so egerly at the first, that he droue them back an arrow shot by fine force. But the Erle so incouraged his men, that they tooke newe courages to them, and set so fiercely on the French men, that they slue a great number, and droue the remnaunt into the towne.

After this victozie he besieged Louiers, whereof was Capitayne, the Heire and his brother, which rendered the towne, without stroke or assaut. For all this good luck, the Erle forgat not to returne, to the towne of Saint Selerune, but assembled a great armie, and enuironed the Towne about with a strong siege. When he had lien there almost three moneths, euery day attempting or doing somewhat, for the performaunce of his enterprise, in conclusion at the three Moneths ende, he gaue so fierce an assault, that by force he entered the towne, and slue John Allemagne and Guillam sent Aubyne, the chiefe Capitaynes, and eyght hundred other men of warre, and the children of the Lorde Loze were taken captiues: he replenished and fortefied the towne againe with newe men, and munitions, and made there Capitayne Sir John Cornewall. Which act thus accomplished, he departed, and came before the strong towne of Silly, and there pitched hys Campe. The inhabitaunts of the same, somewhat dismaied with the chaunce, that late happened to the towne of Saint Selerune, delyuered to him pledges, vpon this condition: that if they were not rescued within thirtie dayes next insuyng, then they (their lyues saued) should render the towne into his possession: which offer was taken. The Capitaynes within the towne sent a Poste to the French king, to aduertise him of their hard chaunce, which incontinent sent to them Arthur Erle of Richmond (but after some writers, John Duke of Alaunson) with a great company of men. When the Erle sawe the French succours appere, he restored againe the pleges to the Gouernours of the towne, and issued out of his campe, taking a place most mete and conuenient for to abide battayle, for which he sore thirsted and longed. The Duke or the Erle (take which you list) lyeng by a brooke side, which a man might stride ouer, seyng the Englishe men so warlike and strongly embattayled, thought it not for his profite to geue battayle, or to set forwarde: but in the dead time of the night cowardly fled, and with shame returned: although some French writers affirme, that he looked that the Erle of Arundell should haue giuen him battaile, and because he profered not forward, therefore the French men departed. This appereth to be an apparaunt lye, and a French bragge: for if they came to rescue the towne, why did not they geue battayle, and so driue away the English men from the towne? If they came to fight, why departed they without any stroke striken? But it seemeth that they came, to make a French face, and for to doe nothing. For they without skirmishe or succouring the towne, departed in the night secretly (as you haue heard.) When they within the towne knew that their succours fayled, they rendered themselues to the mercy of the Erle of Arundell, which gently receiued them, and leauing a garrison in the towne, departed to Mauns, and

and in the meane way, tooke the Castels of Mellay and saint Laurence. About this time the Lord Willoughby, and Syr Thomas Kirtell, returning with great victories out of the parties of Burgoyne, toke in their waye, the towne of Louiers, and furnished it, both with men and munitions.

Amongest so many good chaunces, some euill are accustomed to fall, and happen, or else the gayners will not know themselues. So it happened, that a great number of rude and rusticall persons in Normandie, dwellyng by the sea coast, eyther prouoked or intised therevnto by the French king, or desyrous of alteracion and chaunge (which thing the common people muche couet and desyre) made an insurrection, and put on harnesse, and by force expulsed certein garrisons out of their holdes, and tooke certeine townes: publishyng and proclaimyng openly, that their onely purpose and intent was, to expell and banishe the whole Englishe Nacion, out of their Countries and coastes. Wherefore it may euidently appere, that the blacke Ethiopian * or the blacke coloured Rauen, will soner turne their colours, then the vniuersall people bred in Fraunce, will hartily loue, and inwardly fauor an Englishe borne childe. And yet the Normans of long tyme, louingly and gently, haue obeyed to the subiection of England, and haue of the Englishe Nacion bene well accepted and regarded, but now they forgetting their dutie, and remembryng theyr hurtes, did not feare to rebell agaynst theyr Prince and souereigne Lorde.

An insurrection in Normandie.

* that is a man of Inde, commonly called a blacke Moryan.

This mischieuous companie, thus frantikely gathered together, with al speede marched towarde Cane, to the intent there, both to assemble a greater number of people, & also to consult what way they should folow in their new begon attemptate. But the Dukes of Yorke and Sommerset, which then were lyng in Normandy, heryng of this vngracious faction, and troubleous commocion, and hauyng knowlege by theyr espyals what iourney they intended to take: incontinent without delay, sent the Erle of Arundell, and the Lord Willoughby, with. vj. thousand Archers, and. xiij. hundreth light horses to stay and kepe them, eyther for settyng foorth, or makyng further progresse, The Erle of Arundell goyng one way, appointed the Lorde Willoughby, with two thousand Archers, and a certaine number of horsemen, to go before him, to lie in watche and stale, secretly by the way, to stoppe the iourney and passage of the rebelles, when they should approche. The Lorde Willoughby, couertly couered himselfe and his companie, sendyng worde to the Erle, of the place where he laye, to the entent that he might make a signe and token (when tyme should be most luckey and fortunate) to inuade and set on their enemies. Which thing done, the Erle folowed at the backe, the ragged route, and mischieuous multitude, as a man, that drawe the Deere before him into the Buckstalle, or the sely Conies into the secrete Hay. When the ignorannt multitude approched nere to the place of the stale, the Erle made a token, and shot a Goon for a signe. Then the Lorde Willoughby, set on them before, and the Erle behinde, shotyng so fiercely, that the dastard people partly amased with the sodaine chaunce, and partly galled and wounded with the shot of the arrowes, threwe away their harnesse, desiryng nothyng but death. The Erle of Arondell (moued with compassion) caused his souldiors to leaue of and stay, from farther murther or bloodsheddyng, and apprehendyng such as he thought to be leaders, and chiefe stirrers of the people, let the

The Rebels flame.

the other returne home frankely and freely: but yet there were a. M. and moze slain, before the souldiozs could be brought again vnder their stãdards.

After this commocion appeased, and the sodeine rage in the beginnyng stayed and brideled, diligent inquirie was made of the malefactozs, and such as were found gilty, by diuers terrible executions (accozdyng to their deserts) miserably ended their trayterous liues. Duryng which rebellion, Peter Rokefozt and his companie, gat by treason the towne of Depe, and dyuers other holdes, therevnto adiounyng. After the Erle of Arondell, had obteyned so many Conquestes, and notable victozies (as you haue heard) he attempted another, which was the last wozke and extreme labor of his luyng dayes. Foz the Duke of Bedfozd, beyng infozmed, that his aduersaries, had sodainly surprised and taken the towne of Rue, and therein had put a garrison, which soze vexed the Countries of Ponthiew, Arthoys, and Bolenoys, sent wozde to the Erle, that he without delay, should besiege the sayd towne. The Erle obeyed to his commaundement, and incontinent, sent foz all the people vnder his gouernaunce, and in his marchyng fozwarde, came to Gouerney, where he heard tell, how that there was a certain Castle, nere Beauoys, called Gerbozye, which eyther by fozce of ralyng, oz violence of weather, was soze decayed and defaced. And because this place was opportune and very necessary, to pzohibite, let and stop the Englishe men, to make sodein runnynges in, oz rodes into the Countrie of Beauoys: Charles the French king commaunded Sir Stephen de Ueignolles, commonly called the Heire, to see the Castell reedefied and foztified. The sayd sir Stephen with a great companie, came to the ground, and lackyng neyther stuffe necessary, noz artificers sufficient, in small tyme erected the Castell, and began to defende the foztresse. The Erle of Arundell, beyng credibly infozmed of their doyngs, and perceiuyng that this newe edification was verye pzeiudiciall to the Englishe part, determined first to take the Castell, supposyng to finde there little oz no resistence, but he was decepued, foz there was the Heire, wyth many good and valeaunt Captaines. The Erle with fiue hundzeth hozsemen, encamped himselfe in a little close, not farre from the Castell: the french men which were three thousand men, perceiuyng that the Erle and his hozses were wery, and that his archers were not yet come, determined foz their aduauntage to set on him, before the commyng of his footemen, which they knewe to be little moze, then a myle behind the Erle. Wherefoze foz a pollecie, they set fozth fiftie hozsemen, as though there were no mo in the Castel. The Erle perceiuyng that, sent fozth Sir Randolfe Standiche, to encounter with them, hauyng in his companie a hundzeth hozses: the Frenchemen fought couragiously a while, and sodainly came out all the remnaunt, and slue Sir Randolfe Standiche, and all his companie, and boldely set on the Erle and his bande, which manfully defended them, so that the Frenchemen gat little aduauntage, foz all their great number. The Heire perceiuyng the courage and defence of the English people, caused thze Culuerines to be shot amongest them, whereof, one strake the Erle on the Ancle, and so brake his legge, that foz paine he fell from his hozse, then the French men entered amongest the Englishe armie, and tooke the Erle beyng on the ground, pzisoner, and Sir Richard Woodusle, and sixe scoze moze, and there were slain almost two hundzeth. The remnaunt saued themselues as well as they might.

The

The Erle was caryed to Beauoys, where, of this hurt he shozтly dyed, and was buried in the Friers Minozs. He was a man of a singuler vertue, constancie, and grauitie, whose death in so troubleous a wozld did soze appall the heartes of his nacion. By this infoztune, Rue was not besieged, noz Gerborie taken, such is the chaunce of warre. The death of the Erle of Arundell.

Abont the Moneth of June, John Duke of Burbon, and Auerne, taken pzisoner at the battaile of Agyncourt, xviij. peres past, (as you before haue heard) nowe paiyng his raunsome, which was. xviij. thousand pound sterlyng, and hauyng redy pzepared all thinges necessary, foz his triumphaunt returne into his countrie, was taken with a most soze and grieuous Feuer, whereof shozтly he dyed, in the Citie of London, on the day appoynted foz his departure into Fraunce: whose cozps was enterred in the Gray Friers of the sayd Citie: So by this, euery creature may see: that man purposeth, and God disposeth. The death of John Duke of Burbon.

I may not forget a chaunce which happened this yere, to the example of Pzinces, and a spectacle foz gouernozs. Foz the deuill himselfe, to set further diuision betweene the Englishe and French Nacion, did apparell certeine Clawpoules & Parasites, commonly called Titiuils, and tale tellers, to sow discozde and discencion, betwene the Dukes of Bedfozd, and Burgoyne, not sayinyng trifles noz phantasies, but thinges of repzoche, repugnaunt to both their honours, estates, and dignities, with the which, eche of them was as well pzicked, as haskely spurred, so that all loue, betwene them ceased, all affinitie was forgotten, and all olde familiaritie was cast by disdaine, into the caue of oblinion. Such a pestilent bzeath hath Flattery, and such mischiefe ensueth of Pzinces light credence. This grudge was percepued, by their mutuall friendes, which by charitable exhoztacion and Godly aduertisement, exhozted them to renue their olde loue and familiaritie, and to mete and entertuen, in some place decent and conuenient. The Duke of Bedfozd gladly condiscended to come to saint Omers, beyng the Duke of Burgoyns towne, and thither accozdyng to his appoyntment, he in honourable estate came and resozted, and likewise did the Duke of Burgoyne. The Duke of Bedfozd, beyng Regent of Fraunce, and sonne, bzother, and vncle to kinges, thought that the Duke of Burgoyn, should fiest haue visited and saluted him: Duke Philip on the other part, beyng Lozde and soueraigne of the towne, iudged it not mete, noz to stand with his honour, to go to him, where he was lodged, but was content by intreatie of friendes, to mete him in a place indifferent, betwene both their harberowes: which offer was not accepted, & so both parties departed discontent, and neuer after saw oz commoned with other. What should I speake of the courage of these two pzowde pzinces, the Duke of Bedfozd mindyng to haue no peere, and the Duke of Burgoyne willyng to haue no superioz, by whose pzowde disdaine, and enuious discozde, shozтly England lost, and Burgoyne gayned not long, as you shall perceyue in thys Historie folowyng. The falling out oz bzeche of friendship betweene the Duke of Bedfozd and the Duke of Burgoyne.

The Bastard of Orleaunce, called the Erle of Dumoys, the Lozde Rochfozd Marshall of Fraunce, with other, in the beginnyng of this. xiij. yere, tooke the towne of Saint Denise by treason, and skirmished with them of Paris, and leauyng behinde him a great garrison, toke the towne of Pow- 1434 13.

done, and the bzidge of Saint Mayence by composition, and at that time

was

was taken the towne of Pount Meulan, by sodeyn scalyng of two fishermen: which entered vpat a common priuie, standyng on the wall. Thus townes vnwalled, were prayes to rauenous men of warre, so that the poore inhabitantes within them (not beyng able to keepe their fidelitie or allegeaunce, when shield and defence lacked) were constrayned and compelled to yelde and render themselues to the more power, and vpper hande: least they being nedy and innocent people, should be vexed and tormented, with the vnreasonable men of warre: So that in all Christendom, no region was more vnquiet, more vexed, more poore, nor more to be pitied, then the Countrie of Fraunce. And although the rude and poore people, suffered many plagues and aduersities: yet the Souldiours prospered not in all thinges. For although pray and spoyle sometyme refreshed their mindes, and did comfort their stomackes, yet at another tyme they were slaine, taken and kicked vp, or they were ware. For euery Prince studied, and circumspectly compassed, how to kepe defend & releue, the Cities and townes, of their seuerall faction, and priuate fidelitie. Wherefore when satietie of slaughters, and abundance of murthers, had replenished the stomackes of both the Nacions, and that both in generall had perceyued their hurtes, pondered their losses, and considered their ruynes, and dayly afflictions: although their stomackes were haute, and their hearts stonie, yet they waxed soft, priuily enclining to peace, and wishyng concorde, and not without an vrgent cause: For all thinges necessarie to mannes liuing, penury shewed her selfe forth, and abundance was hidden in a Caue. The corne fieldes lay vntilled, the medowes were ouertroden, the woodes were spoyled, so that all men went to harnesse, and no man to the Plough. The Churches were seldome vsed for deuotion, but many times spoyled for desyre of gaine. These and such innumerable mischiefes, caused both the people beyng enemies, to desyre peace, and yet the one part disdeyned openly to offer it, or the other priuately to receyue it.

The nature and property of warre.

The crie and noyse of this perillous and insaciable warre, was blasted through Europe, detested through Christendome, and especially at the counsaile of Basill, where then the Emperour Albert, and all the Princes and Potestates of Christendome, or their Deputies were assembled, for the vnion of that vngracious Scisme, in the vsurped Sea of Rome. Wherfore, the Emperour and the temporall Princes, supposyng the exhortacion of discrete fathers, should more profite amongest the two highe stomacked nacions of England and Fraunce, desired Eugeny then Bishop of Rome, to be the auethour and Arbitrer of that great strife & contencion: so that by his meanes, counsaile, and exhortacion, the weapon might be taken out of the handes of two so inuincible nacions, which neuer would yelde or bow, the one to the other, neyther yet once heere of abstinence of fightyng, or refusyng from war: so much were their heartes hardened, and so princely were their stomackes. And one thing put them in good comfort of some good conclusion, because the Duke of Burgoyne was willyng (so that it were not of his awne suite) to returne and reconcile himselfe to Charles, his mortall enemie and auncient aduersarie. Wherfore by auethoritie of this generall Counsaill, two Cardinals came to the towne of Arras in Arthoys, whither were sent for the king of England, Henry Beufort, Cardinall of Winchester, Henry, Archebishop of Yorke, William de la Pole, Erle of Suffolke, and John Holland Erle of Huntyngdon,

Huntyngdon, with diuers other knightes and Esquiers: and for the French king were there present, Charles Duke of Burbon, Lewes Erle of Vandosme, Arthure of Britayne, Constable of Fraunce, the Archebishop of Reyns, and Sir Philip Harcort. There was the Duke of Burgoyn in proper person, accompanied with the Duke of Gelders, & the Erles of Estamps, Lygny, Saint Paule, Vaudemont, Neuers, and Daniell, sonne to the prince of Orange, with a great gard and a galland companie.

Upon the day of the first session, the Cardinall of Saint Crosse, declared to the three parties, the innumerable mischiefes, the multitude of inconueniencies, which had succeded through all christendome, by their daylie discorde and continuall discention: exhorting and requiring them for the honor of God, for the loue that they bare to the setting forth of Christes religion, and for the aduauncement of the publique wealth of all Christendome, that they would laye all rancour aparte, represse all wrath and anger, and conforme themselues to reason, and to godly concorde, by the which, they should receyue honor, profite, and continuall quietnesse, in the worlde, and of God, a reward euerlasting. After which admonition thus to them geuen, and after diuers dayes of communication, euery parte brought in their demaunde, which were most contrary, and hard to come to a good conclusion. The Englishe men required, that king Charles should haue nothing, but at the hande of the king of Englande, and that not as duetie, but as a benefite by him of hys meere liberalitie giuen and distributed, to which the Frenchmen answered that: king Charles would haue the kingdome frankely and freely, without begging it of an other man: requiring the king of England to leaue the name, armes, and tytle of the king of Fraunce, and to be content with the Dukedomes of Aquitayn and Normandy, and to forsake Paris and all the townes which they possessed in Fraunce, betwene the Ryuers of Loyre and Some, being no parcell of the Duchy of Normandy. The English men loth to lese so good a botie as Paris, did not esteme and allow the demaunds of the French Imbassadors, and they on the other side, couetyng and desyring to obtayne agayne the renoumme and glorye of their Region, which was Paris, would in no wise condiscend, to any parte of the Englishe requestes. Thus the pride of the one parte, and the ambition of the other letted concorde, peace, and quietnesse. The Cardinalles seing the frostie hartes, and hardened mindes of both parties, determined not to dispute the titles, but offered to them honest and reasonable condicions of truce and peace, for a season: which articles both parties, eyther for frowardnes, or for disdayne openly refused: In so much as the English men in great displeasure departed to Calice, and so into England. One writer affirmeth, that they beyng warned of a secret conspiracie moued agaynst them, sodainely remoued from Arras, and so sayled into their countrey.

Whiles this treatie of peace was thus in communication at Arras, the Lorde Talbot, the Lorde Willoughby, the Lorde Scales, with the Lorde Lisle Adame, and fiue thousand men besieged the towne of Saint Denise, with a strong bande. The Erle of Dunois hearing thereof, accompanied with the Lorde Lohac, and the Lorde Bueill, and a great company of horsemen hasted thetherward to raise the siege, and in the meane way they encountered with syr Thomas Kiriell, and Mathew Gough, ryding also towarde

S. Denise besieged.

S. Denise, betweene whome was a great conflict, and many slayne on both parties: but sodainely came to the ayde of the Frenche men, the garrison of Mount Melance, which caused the Englishe men to returne without any great harme or dammage, saving that Mathew Gough by sondering of his horse was taken and caried to Mount Melance. During which fight, the towne of saint Denise, was rendered to the Lorde Talbot and the other Lordes, which caused all the walles to be rased, and abated downe to the grounde, saving the walles of the Abbay, and a Tower called Wenyn. After this towne gotten, the Lorde Willoughby left Sir John Ruppelley at Pounthoyse, and departed to goverue Paris, which then began to smoke, and sone after brast out in flame(as you shall shortly perceiue.) After whose departure the inhabitants of Pounthoyse rebelled, and drone out the Englisch men by very force, and rendered themselues subiectes to king Charles. This towne was small, but the losse was great, for it was the very conuenient kay betweene Paris and Normandie, so that nowe the gate betweene them both, was set open and the passage at large.

Let vs now agayne returne to the counsayle at Arras. After the Englische Ambassadors were departed, the French men and the Burgonyons beganne familierly to common of a peace, and talke of an amitie, to the which motion, Philip Duke of Burgoyne, was neyther deafe nor straunge: for he in the beginning of his rule, being much desyrous to reuenge and punishe the shamefull murther done to his father, and to kepe himselfe in his highe estate, and preheminence, beganne to be associate, and to reigne with the English power, and to serue the king of England, thinking that by his amitie and ioyning, he shoulde neither harme nor hurte the common wealth of the Country, wherof at that time he bare the whole rule, nor yet lose one iote or point of his authoritie, or gouernaunce. But when it happened contrary to his expectation, that the king of Englande by the right course of inheritaunce, tooke vpon him the whole rule and gouernaunce, within the realme of Fraunce, and ordered by the aduise of his counsayle, all causes, iudgements, warres and concordes, and that the Duke iudged that he was not had in great confidence, nor in perfite trust, as he thought, because the Duke of Bedford would not suffer the towne of Orleaunce to be rendered to him, (as you before haue heard:) He therefore imagined, and determined with himselfe to returne into the pathe againe, from the which he had strayed and erred, and to take part and ioyne with his awne blond and Nation: so that some honest meane might be sought by other, and not by himselfe, least peraduenture by his awne seeking, he might binde himselfe in conditions hurtfull and sore inconuenientes, to the Frenche king, and also be noted of vntruth and traytorous behauiour toward the king of England and his nation: to whom he had done homage, league, and sworne fealtie. Now this counsayle was to him a cloke for the rayne, as who should say, that he sought not amitie of the french king (which thing in hys hart he most coueted and desyred) but was therevnto perswaded by the generall counsayle, and by the Bishop of Rome, to whome it was reason, in all honest requests that he should submit himselfe, and humblye obey. And so shadowed with this counsayle, wythout long argument or prolonging of time, he toke a determinate peace, and a final conclusion vpon these conditions: that he should haue to him delyuered

uered the Counties of Arthoys, Ponthiew, and Bullonoys, & the townes of Amience, Corby, Mondidyer, Peron, Saint Quintine, and Abbeuile, wyth many other seignories, & superiorities, which be not for my purpose to reherse. Prouyded alway, that the French king paying in redy money to the Duke or hys heyres foure C.M. Crownes, should haue the sayde townes and Countries to be redeliuered againe: and many other things the French king graunted to the Duke of Burgoyne, which after he was not able to performe nor accomplish, for he had no power to make denialI to the Duke, of any demaunde or request, which the Duke eyther phantasied or moued: as who would say, that he thought in himselfe, that such an aduersary which desired so honest, and so reasonable condicions (considering the state of the time, and the occasion of concord, most apparauntly offered to him) ought neyther to be refused nor cast awaye, the which chaunce was to him luckey and fortunate: for surely the thing foreseene and looked for, succeeded and tooke place, as you shall perceyue. This concorde was so pleasaunt to the French king, that he not onely sent for him: but as a Swan that swimmeth after her make, mette hym in proper person, at the Citie of Reynes, and forthwith they entered into a league with perfite amitie and friendship.

A peace concluded betweene the French king and the duke of Burgoyn.

When thys league was sworne, and this knot knit, the Duke of Burgoyne, to set a bayle before the king of Englandes eyes, sent Thoison Dor, his king at armes to king Henry with letters: that he being not only waxed faint, and wearyed, with continuall warre, and daylie conflictes, but also chafed daylie with complaints and lamentation, of his people, which of the french men suffred losse and detriment, embrayding and rebuking him openly, affirming that he onely was the supporter and mainteiner of the English people, and that by his meanes and power, the mortall warre was continued and set forward, & that he more diligently studied, and intentiuely toke paine, both to keepe and maintaine the Englishe men in Fraunce, and also to aduaunce and promote their desires and intentes, rather then to restore king Charles his Cosyn, to his rightfull inheritaunce, by reason of which thyngs and many other, he was in maner compelled and constrayned to take a peace, and conclude an amitie with king Charles, exhorting king Henry when honest and reasonable conditions were offered, to take them, and to make an ende of the warre which so long had continued, to the decaye of both the realmes, and to the effusion of christen bloud, beside the great displeasure of almightie God, which is the author of peace and vnitie: promising him his ayde and furtheraunce in that behalfe, with many glosyng and flatteryng wordes, which I passe ouer.

This letter was not a little looked on, nor finally regarded of the king of England, and his sage counsayle: not onely for the waightinesse of the matter, but also for the sodaine chaunge of the man, and for the straunge superscription of the letter, which was: To the high and mightie prince, Henry by the grace of God, king of England his welbeloued Cosyn: Neyther naming him king of Fraunce, nor his soueraigne Lorde, according as (euer before that time) he was accustomed to doe. Wherfore all they which were present, being sore moued with the crafty doing and vntrue demeanor of the Duke, whom they so much trusted, could neyther temper their passions, nor yet moderate their eye, nor yet bridle their tongues: but openly called him

Traytor, deceyuer, and most inconstant prince. But when the rumor of the Dukes reuerting was published amongst the common people, they lent woordes and went to stripes: for they being moued and pricked with this vnhappie tydings, ran fiercely vpon all the Flemings, Hollanders, and Burgonions, which then inhabited within the Citie of London, and the suburbes of the same, and slue and hurt a great number of them, before they by the kings proclamation could be prohibited to leaue of and abstayne from suche violence and iniurious doing: for the king nothing more minded, then to saue innocent blonde, and defend them which had not offended.

After the letter twise red, and wisely brooked, he willed the officer at armes to tell his mayster, that it was not conuenient, nor honorable for him, to be enimie to the English nation, without cause or occasion geuen: but his duetie, all things considered, was to haue kept his auncient truth and olde allegeaunce rather then to be the occasion of newe warre and freshe discention: aduertising him farther, that it was not the point of a wise man, to leaue and let passe the certaine for the vncertaine, admonishing him also, not to mingle and mire his safetie and sureuesse, with the vnstableuesse and vnsurette of his newe alye and Cosyn king Charles.

When the Messenger was departed, the king of Englande and hys counsayle thought and determined to worke some displeasure to the Duke, and to set some conspiracie against him in his owne Countrey, wherefore by rewardes, they did suborne and corrupt certaine Gouernors and rulers of townes and Cities, within the Dukes countries and dominions (which nations surely be euer procline and readie to commotion and rebellion.) But the Gauntoys, which of that feate euer bare the Bell, and were the common rysers agaynst their souereigne Lords, some of them imagening that the power of the Englishe men was not long lyke to continue within the realme of Fraunce, more for feare then loue of their Duke, sat still and moued not, but let other townes alone, which sore troubled the Dukes wittes, and a great whyle did disquiet and vere his senses.

The death of Iohn Duke of Bedford Regent of Fraunce.

But in this time, and the .xiij. day of September, died Iohn Duke of Bedford Regent of Fraunce, a man as politique in peace, as hardy in warre whose bodie was with great funerall solempnitie buried in the Cathedrall Church of our Lady in Roan, on the North side of the high aulter, vnder a sumptuous and costly monument: which tombe and sepulture, when king Lewes the .xj. sonne to this king Charles, which recouered agayne Normandie did well aduise and beholde, certaine noble men in his company, hauing more youth then discretion, and more enuie in their hartes then considerations of their parents, counsayled him to deface and pluck downe the tombe, and to cast the dead carcasse into the fieldes: affirming that it was a great dishonor both to the king and to the realme, to see the enemy of his father, and theirs, to haue so solempne and riche memoriall. King Lewes

The sayeng of a wise prince.

aunswered agayne, sayeng: what honor shall it be to vs, or to you to breake this monument, and to pull out of the ground and take vp the dead bones of him, whome in his lyfe, neyther my father nor your progenitors with all their power, puissaunce and friendes were once able to make flie one foote backward, but by his strength, wyt, and pollicie, kept them all out of the principall dominions of the realme of Fraunce, and out of this noble and famous

Duchy

Duchy of Normandy: wherefore I say, first God haue his soule, and let his body now lye in rest, which when he was alyue, would haue disquieted the prondest of vs all: and as for the tombe, I assure you, it is not so decent, nor conuenient for him, as his honor and actes deserued, although it were much richer and more beawtifull.

This yere chaunced a maruellous great frost, the which beganne the xxbj. of Nouember and continued vntill the .x. daye of Februarye next following, in the which tyme the Thames was so feruently frosen, that no ship nor other vessell could come within the same. By reason whereof the ships that came from Burdeaux, were forced to vnlade at Douer & other places, and were cõpelled to bring their wines by land ouer choters Hil to London.

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After the death of thys noble prince and valyant Captayne, the Duke of Bedford, the bright Sunne that commonly shone in Fraunce fayre and bewtifull vpon the Englishe men, beganne to be cloudie, and daylie to waxe darker: for the French men seing the chiefe Capitaine taken awaye, beganne not onely to refuse their obedience and loyaltie, which they had swoorne and promised to the king of Englande, but taking swoorde in hande, rebelled, persecuted and openly defyed the English men, yet all these mischaunces, not one point abated the valyaunt courages of the English people: for they nothing mistrusting God, nor good fortune, set vp a newe sayle, and beganne the warre newe agayne, and appointed for Regent in Fraunce, Richard Duke of Yorke, sonne to Richarde Erle of Cambridge, although the Duke of Yorke, both for birth and courage, was worthy of this honour and preferment, yet he was so disdayned of Edmonde Duke of Somerset beyng Cosyn to the king, that he was promoted to so high an office (which he in very deede gaped and looked for) that by all wayes and meanes possible, he both hindered and detracted him, glad of his losse, and sorie of his well doing, causing him to linger in England without dispatch, till Parys and the flower of Fraunce were gotten by the French king. The Duke of Yorke perceyuing his euill will, openly dissimuled that, which he inwardly thought, eche working things to the others displeasure. This cancarde malice, and pestiferous diuision so long continued, in the hartes of these two Princes, till mortall warre consumed them both, and almost all their lines and offsprings, as within fewe yeres you shall perceyue.

Richarde Duke of Yorke made Regent of Fraunce.

The Normans of the Countrie of Caux, beyng somewhat hartened, by the death of the Duke of Bedford, beganne a newe rebellion, and slue diuers Englishe men, and robbed many prettie townes, which were of king Henries faction and part, and tooke the towne of Harflew by assault, and diuers other townes. The Lord Talbot beyng aduertised of this rebellion, sent for the Lord Scales, Sir Thomas Kiriell, and the Lord Hoo, which afflicted and plagued the people of Caux, that they slue aboue fiue thousand persons, and brent all the townes and villages in the countrie, not beyng walled, so that in that part, was neither habitation nor tillage, for all the people fled into Britayn, and all the beastes of the Countrie were brought to Cawdeber, where a good sheepe was solde for an Englishe penny, and a Cow for .xij. pence. Dayly was skirmishing and fightyng in euery part, in so much that the Lorde Scales with foure hundreth Englishmen, discomfited at the Rye beside Roan, the Heire and fiftene hundreth valiaunt Frenchmen, and Sir

The Normans rebell.

Good cheps victuall.

Richard Reignold de Fountaynes, Sir Aleyne Gerond, Alayne de Monsay, and Geoffrey Grame Capteyne of the Scottes, and three hundreth and mo, were taken prisoners, beside seuen faire and pleasant Coursers. But this victorie stayed not the hartes of the French nacion, for their myndes were so full of treason, and their malice so great agaynst the Englishmen, that many townes turned to the part of king Charles, without conquest or deuyse, and diuers were sold for couetousnesse, and many were deliuered by treason, as Depe, Boys de Uincenes, and other.

Thomas Lorde Beamond, which of late was come to Paris with eight hundreth men, issued out of Parys with six hundreth souldiers, onely entendyng to see and vieue the doynges and number of the French armie, but he was sodeinely espyed, and compassed about: so that within a small space, he was discomfited and taken, and with him foure score prisoners, beside two hundreth which were slaine in the fielde, and the remnant chaced to the very gates of the Citie. The Parisians, and in especiall the Master of the Hales, and some of the Uniuersitie, and Michaell Laillier, and many notable Burgesses of the towne (which euer with an Englishe countenaunce couered a French heart) perceiuyng the weakenesse of the Englishemen, and the force and strength of the Frenchmen, signifiyng to the Frenche Captaynes their myndes and intentes, willed them to come with all diligence, to receiue so rich a pray, to them without any difficultie offered and geuen. The Constable delayng no tyme, came with his power, and lodged by the Charterhouse: and the Lorde Lisleadam, approchyng the walles, shewed to the Citizens, a Charter, sealed with the great seale of king Charles, by the which he had pardoned them their offences, and graunted them all the olde liberties and auncient priuileges, so they would hereafter be to him obedient, true, and seruiceable: which thing to them declared, they ranne about the towne cryyng: Saint Denise, liue king Charles. The Englishe men perceiuyng this, determined to kepe the gate of Saint Denise, but they were deceyued, for the Cheynes were drawen in euery strete, & women and children cast downe stones, and scaldyng water on the Englishe mens heades, and the Citizens persecuted them, from strete to strete, and from lane to lane, and slue & hurt, diuers and many of them. The Bishop of Tyrwine, Chauncelor there for king Henry, and the Lord Willoughby, and Sir Simon Morier, tooke great paine to appease the people, and represse their fury: but when they saw that all auayled not, they withdrew themselues, to the Bastile of Saint Anthony, which Fortresse they had well vittayled and furnished, with men and municions.

The Parisians rebell.

Whiles this rumor was in the towne, the Erle of Dumoys and other scaled the walles, and some passed the riuer by Boates, and opened the gate of Saint James, at the which the Constable with his Banner displayed entered, at whose entrie the Parisians were verye glad, and made great ioy. The Bishop and the Lorde Willoughby, with their small companie, defended their fortresse, tenne dayes, loking for ayde, but when they sawe that no comfort appered, they yelded their fortresse, so that they and theirs with certain baggage, might peaceably returne to Roan, which desire was to them graũted. Then as they departed, the Parisians rayled, mocked, and taunted the English men, with the most spitefull wordes, and shamefull termes, that could

Paris is yelded to the French king.

could be inuented or deuised: so that all men may apparauntly perceyue, that their hartes neuer thought, as their tongues vttered.

After this glorious gaine, the French king besieged the towne of Craile, vpon Oyse, whereof Sir William Chamberlain was Captain, which with fiue hundreth Englishmen issued out of the towne, and after long fight, discomfited his enemies, and slue two hundreth, and tooke a great number prisoners: the remnant not likyng their market, departed to Compeigne, and other townes adioinyng. Duryng which season. xij. Burgesses of the towne of Gysors, solde it for money to Poyton of Xantrayles, but he had not the Castell deliuered. Wherfore with all his power, he besieged the same, whereof the Lorde Talbot beyng aduertised, sent for the Lord Scales, and they both with. xviij. hundreth men, rescued the Castell, tooke the towne, and discomfited their enemies, and slue of them aboue foure hundreth persons. Nowe was the olde prouerbes verefied, that he that commeth a day after the fayre, commeth to late, and when the steede is stolen, it is no boote to shut the stable doore. For when Paris, Saint Denise, Saint Germaynes in Lay, and many other townes in Fraunce were taken and betrayed, for lacke of succours and sufficient garrisons, then the Duke of Yorke appointed at the Parliament before to be Regent of Fraunce, and by the disdeyn and enuy of the Duke of Sommerset and other, not till now dispatched, was sent into Normandie, with. viij. thousand men, and in his companie the Erles of Sarisbury, and Suffolke, and the Lorde Fauconbridge, and diuers valiaunt Captaynes. When he was landed at Harflew, the Erle of Sarisburie besieged the Castell of Chamboys, which shortly was to him rendered. Then the Duke remoued to Roan, where he set good orders, and did great iustice in the Countrie, wherefore the Normanes in their Chronicle, highly extoll and much magnifie him, for that point: Howbeit, they say, that he gate by long siege, the towne and Abbey of Fecampe, and did none other notable act, duryng the tyme of his rule and gouernaunce.

Philip Duke of Burgoyne, which (as you haue heard) brake both his othe and promise with the king of England, imagined with himselfe, that the Englishe men were like shortly to be expulsed out of all the townes on that syde the sea, and that they had no certein refuge nor place to resort to, out of ieopardie, but only the towne of Calice. Wherefore he assembled his counsaile, and the heades of the Cities and townes of Flaundyrs, Brabant, Holland, and Zeland, in the towne of Gaunt, where was declared vnto them, the right, title, and interest, that he had to the towne of Calice, and the countie of Guisnes, as a very patrimonie belongyng to his inheritance: shewyng further, that the sayd towne was the golfe and swallower vp of all the golde and siluer of his Countries and dominions, for so much as there was the staple of wooles, tynne, lead, and other marchandise, for the which the Englishe men would take no common current money, but onely gold and siluer, to the great impouerishment of his seignories & Regions: saiyng further, that Calice only was the common stop, betwene his Countries and Britayn, and Spaine, so that Southward, nor Westward, his subiectes could not passe, without the daunger of that towne. Wherefore these detrimentes considered, he determined if they would assent, shortly to recouer and conquere that towne and the Countie of Guisnes. To this purpose all the counsayle, and

common

common people,not onely agreed, but also promised ayde, both of men and money. Lorde howe the Fleminges bragged, and the Hollandyrs craked, that Calice should be wonne,and all the Englishemen slaine, swearyng, and staryng, that they would haue it within three dayes at the most: thinkyng verely, that the towne of Calice, could no more resist their puyssaunce, then a pot of double beere, when they fall to quaffyng.

To tell you what ordenance was new cast, what powder was bought, what engines were deuised,what harnesse was prouided, what vitaile was purueyed for that great enterprice: I will not comber you,in rehersyng euery thyng particularly,,because the Flemynges write, that the prouision was more then tongue could speake,or heart could thinke, yet you may beleue as you list. These doynges were not so priuie,but Sir John Radeliffe Deputy of the towne of Calice, was thereof enformed, and shortly of the same aduertised king Henry, and his counsaile, which incontinent sent thether the Erle of Worcayne,sonne to the Duke of Sommerset, and the Lorde Cammeys, with. xv. hundreth men, and great foyson of vitaile, which issued out of Calice, and came before Graueline, where they were encountered wyth a great number of Flemynges, which were shortly discomfited, and foure hundreth of them slaine,and six score taken prisoners,and caried into Calice. And within two dayes after, the Englishemen drawe by fine force, the Lords of Wauraine and Bado,to the Barriers of Arde,and discomfited the companie,to the number of. xv. hundreth,and slue. vij.valeaunt Captaynes, & toke many Gentlemen prisoners. Philipe Duke of Burgoyn,abidyng still in his high and warlike enterprice, assembled together of Flemynges, Picardes, Hollanders, and Henowiers,a great armie, to the number of. xl.thousand, so well armed,so well vitayled, so well furnished with ordenaunce, and well garnished in all thinges, that they thought in their heartes, and blasted among themselues, that the Calicians, would leaue the towne desolate, and flie for their sauegarde, heeryng onely of the approchyng of the Gauntoys. But they reckned before their host,and so payde more then their shot came to. When this gallant armie was passed the water of Graueline, the Duke entendyng to begyn his great conquest, besieged and assaulted the little and poore Castell of Oye,which hauyng in it but fiftie souldiers, of the which.xij solde their liues derely,the remnant compelled by necessity, yelded themselues simplie to the Duke, which to please the Gauntoys, beyng of the most puyssaunt companie in his armie,liberally gaue to them both the Castell and the prisoners, as a signe and token of good lucke, and fortunate victorie. Which rude and beastly persons, nothyng expert in warre, or lawes at armes,not onely rased and abated the Castell, but also hanged. xxix.of the captiues, and had so done with all the remnant, if the Duke, (disdaynyng their cruelties) had not entreated for the rest.

After this victorie,little honourable, and lesse profitable, the Picardes besieged the Castell of Marke, and three times assaulted it,more to their losse then gaine. The English men within, whereof Sir John Geddyng was Capteyn,set out the banner of Saint George,and rang the belles,to the entent to haue succours from the towne of Calice. But the Captaynes there, myndyng not to lease the more for the lesse, nor the substance for the accident, wished them good luck,& good fortune without any ayde sendyng. For doubt of

of the Dukes great armie and power. The souldiers within Marke, beyng but two hundreth and five,seyng no hope of succour, & desperate of comfort, rendered themselues to the Duke vpon condition that their liues and lunmes should be saued,and so they were conueyed in sure custodie to the towne of Gaunt, and the Castell of Marke was rased and defaced.

Calice besieged by the Duke of Burgoyn.

After this act done, the Duke of Burgoyn, accompanied with the duke of Cleues,the Erle of Estampes, the Lords of Dantoynge,Croy,Cresquy, Humiers, and many other valeaunt Barons, and Knightes, with his great army, came before the towne of Calice,and placed his siege about the same, most to his aduauntage,and to the most displeasure of his enemies. He gaue three great assaultes to the towne,but his people were not so fierce to assaut, but the English men were as quicke to defende, so that he gaynyng so little at these three enterprises, was content to abstaine from further approchyng toward the walles. At the first assault the Heire, which was come to see the Duke of Burgoyn,was sore wounded and hurt. Beside this,the Duke had dayly one great eye sore,which was because that at euery tyde, shippes arriued in the Hauen,out of England,openly before his face,laden with vitaile, municions,and men,and also the Calicians would for the nonce, put out cattaile into the marish, vnder the towne walles, to the entent to prouoke the Fleminges to come within their catchyng and daunger, which beyng coueitous of pray and gaine, often aduentured ,and seldome returned againe: for many by this meanes were taken prisoners, but many mo slaine with ordinaunce. The Duke one day road about, to viewe and beholde the situacion, and the walles of the towne,to the intent to take his most aduauntage,either by assault or shot of ordenaunce. He was quickly espyed, and with the stroke of a Canon, a Trompetor which road nert before him, and three horses in his companie were slaine out of hand. When he sawe that all thinges succeded not to his purpose, he first set the Lorde of Croy, and a conuenient number, to besiege the Castell of Guisnes, where the sayd Captain gat little profite, and did lesse harme: And after deuised howe to stop the Hauen, so that no succours should enter there, and also to prohibite them within the towne to make any egresse or road outward, and so by this meanes to famishe and compell them to yelde and render the towne. This deuice was set forwarde, and nothyng slept: for foure great Hulkes were laded with great square stones,cemented and ioyned together with lead, to the intent that they should lye still like a mount, and not to sinck a sonder. These shippes with the remnant of the Dukes navie were conueyed into the mouth of Calice hauen, and in a full sea by craft and pollecie, were sonke downe to the ground,but whether God would not that the hauen should be destroyed,eyther the conueyers of the Hulkes, knewe not the very Channell,these foure great shippes at the lowe water,lay openly vpon the sandes, without any hurt doyng to the rode or Chanell, which when the souldiers had perceyued, they issued out of the towne, and brake the shippes, and caryed both the stones and the tymber into the towne, which serued them well to their fortificacions. The seconde deuise was also accomplished,which was a strong Bastell, set on a little mountaine, furnished with foure hundreth men and much artillery,which fortresse did let the Englishe men to issue out,when they would,to their great displeasure and disturbance.

Whiles

Whiles these things were in doing, there arryued into the Dukes armie an Herault of Englande called Pembroke, belonging to the Duke of Gloucester, which declared to the Duke of Burgoyne, that the Protectour of England his Mayster (if God would send him wind and weather) would geue battayle to him and hys whole puyssaunce, eyther there, or in any other place within his awne Countrey, where he would appoint: but the day he could not assigne, because of the inconstancie of the winde, and mutabilitie of the aire. The Duke (like a noble man) aunswered the Herault: Sir, say to your mayster, that his request is both honorable, & reasonable, howbeit, he shall not neede to take paine, to seeke me in mine awne Countrey, for God wylling he shall finde me here, till I haue my will of the towne, readie to abide him, and all the power that he can make. After this aunswere made, the Herault was highly feasted, and had a Cup, and a hundred golden Gyldens to him delyuered for a rewarde, and so returned to Calice. After whose departure, the Duke called a great counsayle in the chiefe Paulion of the Gauntoys, and there declared both the Heraults message and his aunswere desyring them to regarde his honor, the estimation of their Countreis, and the honesties of themselues, and like men to receyue their enemies, and balyauntly to defend their aduersaries, promising to them victorie, gaine, and perpetuall glorie.

Whiles this great matter was in consultation, the Calicians, not well contented with the Bastell, which the Duke had newly buylded, issued out of the towne in a great number, part on foote, and part on horseback. The footemen ran to assaut the Bastile, and the horsemen went betwene the armie and the assaylaunts, to stop the ayde and succors which might come. The alarmy was sounded, in so much that the Duke in proper person was comming on foote to releue his people, but by the meanes of the horsemen, he was stayed and kept back a space, in the which delay of time, the Englishe men by fine force gat the place, and slue a hundred and sixtie persons, the remnaunt were taken prisoners, and defaced the fortresse, and set it on fyre: carying with them all the ordinaunce and artilerie into the towne of Calice, to the great displeasure of the Duke and his counsayle. The next day after, there sprang a rumor in the armie (no man could tell how) that the Duke of Gloucester with a great puissaunce was already embarked and shipped, and would arryue at the nert tide, and come downe before Calice, and raise the siege. What was the very cause, I can not truely write: but surely the same night the Duke fled away, and sent in all hast to the Lorde of Croye, to raise his siege before Guysnes, which tydings were to him very toyous, for he neyther got nor saued: so these two Capitaines departed leauing behinde both ordinaunce, vitaile and great riches. The french writers, to saue the honor of the Duke of Burgoyne, say that there was a certaine discord and commocion amongst the Flemings and duche Nation: affirming that the great Lordes and the Picardes, (whome the Frenche men greatly extoll) would betray and sell the Flemings and their friends, and that for the same cause, in a great furie they cried home, home, and would not tarrie, for no request the Duke could make, nor no exhortation that could be geuen: and so by their misgouernaunce, the Duke was enforced to rayse his siege and to departe. The Flemishe authors affirme the contrary, saying: that they were

The Duke of Burgoyne rayseth his siege before Calice and departeth.

were readie to abide the comming of the Duke of Gloucester, but the Duke of Burgoyne fearing to be trapped, betwene the Duke of Gloucesters armie before, and the garrison of Calice behinde, so that he could escape by no way, fled away in the night, geuing to them no warning before. So that for lack of time, and conuenient space, to lade and cary their stuffe, and being commaunded to retire with all speede and diligence, they were compelled to lose, and leaue behinde them their vitayle and tents, to their great losse and detriment. Now it is at your liberties (gentle Readers) whether you will geue credite to the French men (which were absent and no doers in the act) or to the Flemings, which were partakers of the losse and dishonor. But the infallible veritie is, that he fled the .xxvj. day of July in the night, & the nert day in the morning the Duke of Gloucester landed in Calice hauen, and straight went into the Campe, where his enimies the night before were lodged, and there he found many goodly peeces of ordenance, and in especially one called Dygeon, named after the chiefe towne of Burgony, beside pauillions, Wine, Beere, Meale, and innumerable vittayle.

The Duke of Gloucester spoyleth Flaundyrs.

The Duke of Gloucester seing his enemies reculed, hauing in his company .xxv. M. men, entered into Flaunders, burning houses, kylling such as would resist, destroyeng the Countrey on euery parte, setting fyre in the townes of Popyrniche and Baillens, and wasted the suburbes of many faire Cities, and in all this way, they lost no man, nor sawe any creature appere to defend the Countrey. After they passed by Newe Castell, and destroyed Rymefure, & Vallon Chapell, and then entred into Arthoys, to Arques and Blandesques, setting fyre in euery part where they came. Thus they passed by Saint Omers, to Guysnes, and so to Calice at sixe weekes ende, where they were well refreshed: for in all this iorney, they had little plenty of good bread, which caused much faintnesse, and diuers diseases in the armie. When the Duke of Gloucester had sufficiently plagued and wasted the Countreys of the Duke of Burgoyn, and brought great prayes of beastes and spoyle to the towne of Calice, he setting there all things in good order, returned into Englande, where he was aduertised, how James king of Scottes, contrary to his othe, league and promise, had besieged the Castell of Rokesborough, with thirtie thousand men, wherof Sir Raufe Gray was Capitaine which manfully defended it twentie dayes, but the Scottishe king being aduertised, that the Erle of Northumberland was comming to fight with him, fled with no lesse losse, then dishonor to his towne of Edenbrough.

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A truce taken betwene the Duches of Burgoyn and the king of England.

After this daungerous businesse finished, and for a time ended, by meane of friends, and desire of Princes, a truce or abstinence of warre for a certaine time was moued betwene the king of England, and the Duke of Burgoyne, for which cause were sent to Graueling for the king of England, the Cardynall of Winchester Henry Beauffort, John Lorde Mowbrey Duke of Norffolke, Humffrey Erle of Staffort, and dyuers other well learned and honorable personages: and for the Duke there appered the Duches his wyfe, the Bysshop of Arras, the Lorde of Croy, and diuers other. At which treatie, a truce was taken for a small time, and for a lesse space obserued. Which abstinence of warre was concluded betwene the king of Englande, and the Duches of Burgoyne (leauing out the Duke and his name.) Some thinke that the king of England would not enter in league with him, because he

he had broken his promise, worpting and fidelity, written, sealed, and sworne to him, and to his father. Other imagened this to be done by a cautell, to cast a mist before the French kings eyes, to the intent he should beleue, that this feat was wrought by the Duches, without assent or knowledge of the Duke of his counsayle, and so he was not bounde to accomplish anye act or thing done in his wyfes treatie.

Katheryn mother to king Henry the sixt deceassed.

About thys season, Katheryn Quene and mother to the king of England departed out of this transitorie lyfe, and was buryed by her husband, in the Minster of Westminster. Thys woman after the death of King Henry the fift her husbande, beyng young and lustie, followyng more her awne appetite, then friendly counsayle, and regarding more her priuate affection, then her open honour, tooke to husband priuely a goodly gentleman, and a beautifull person, garnished with many goodly giftes, both of nature and of grace, called Owen Tuther, a man brought foorth, and come of the noble linage and auncient lyne of Cadwaleder, the last king of the Brytons, by whome she conceaued and brought foorth three goodly sonnes, Edmond, Jasper, and another, which was a Monke in Westminster, and liued a smal tyme, and a daughter, which in her youth departed out of this transitorie lyfe: After whose death king Henry, because they were hys brethrene of one wombe descended, created Edmond Erle of Richemond, and Jasper Erle of Pembroke, which Edmond engendered of Margaret daughter and sole heyre to John Duke of Somerset, Henry which after was king of thys realme, called king Henry the seauenth, of whome you shall heare more hereafter. This Owen after the death of the Quene hys wyfe, was apprehended and committed to warde, because that contrarie to the statute made in the first yere of thys king, he presumptuously had maried the Quene, without the kinges especiall assent and agreement, out of which prison he escaped, and let out other with hym, and was agayne apprehended, and after escaped agayne.

Owen Tuther maried vnto Katheryn Queene and the late wife of king Henry the fift.

The Duches of Bedford maried to Sir Richard Wooduile.

The Duchesse of Bedford, syster to Lewes, Erle of Saint Paule, minding also to mary, rather for pleasure then for honor, without counsaile of her friendes, maried a lustie knight, called Sir Richarde Wooduile, to the great displeasure of her Uncle the Bysshop of Tyrwyne, and the Erle her brother: but they now could not remedie it, for the chaunce was cast and passed. This Sir Richard was made Baron of Riuers, and after Erle, and had by thys Ladye many noble sonnes, and fayre daughters: whereof one was Lady Elizabeth, after Queene of Englande, maried to king Edward the fourth (as hereafter you shall perceyue.)

Jane the Queene of England deceassed.

Whiles this mariage was celebrating, Jane late Quene of England, and before Duches of Britayne, daughter to the king of Nauerre, and wife to king Henry the fourth, died at the mannor of Hauering, and was buried by her husbande at Cauntorbury, in which tyme disceased the Countesse of Warwike, and Henry Archebishop of Yorke.

And here I may not forget the double dealing, and craftie demeanour, of James king of Scottes: which being (as you haue heard) late prisoner in Englande, not onely was garnished with learning and ciuilitie (which things were rare and straunge before that time, within the realme of Scotland) but also set at libertie, and honorably sent home. And to the intent that his

his amitie might be perpetuall, and that loue might continually succede betwene both the realmes, by his meane and accorde: first, his great raunsome was abridged, and dimished, and after he was ioyned in mariage with one of the blood royall, as before you haue heard: yet this vngentle prince, and forgetfull friend, putting in oblyuion both the duetie of his obeysaunce, towarde his soueraigne and liege Lorde, and the othe and promise that he made to king Henry, when he did to him homage, and fealtie at the Castell of Windsore (as before you haue heard) turned his back to his friend and kinsman and loked to the French parte, which neuer did him honor nor profite, not onely sending into Fraunce daylie ayde and succours, agaynst the Englishe nation, but also by newe alliaunce sought and practised wayes and meanes, how to ioyne himselfe with forrein princes, to greue and hurte his neighbours and adioynaunts of the realme of Englande. And although his awne power were small, to doe them any great damage, yet he thought that he being linked in suche noble houses, should the lesse feare the malice of his enimies: vpon which feeble foundation, he concluded two mariages, the one with Lewes the Dolphin, sonne to Charles the French king, and the other with Fraunces Duke of Britayne. Which mariages were not desired for loue or riches, but onely for ayde to resist and driue out the English men out of Fraunce. For the Lady Margaret maryed to the Dolphin, was of such nasty complexion and euill sauored breath, that he abhorred her compayny, as a cleane creature doth a caryon: wherevpon she conceyued such an inwarde griefe, that within short time after, she ended her dayes. Although this Lady had such impediments (as you haue heard) yet her sister Isabell, maryed to Fraunces Duke of Britayne, lacked neyther exceeding beawtie, nor pleasaunt breath: but as for wyt, womanhood, and ciuile behauior, she neuer had, nor exercised. Wherefore when the Duke before his maryage, was by his counsayle admonished to refuse and forsake so innocent a creature, he more moued with her fayre face, then her womanly wisedome answered: that it was ynough for a Woman to iudge the difference betweene the shyrte and the doblet of her husbande, and to knowe him in the darke from another man.

For these mariages, king James demaunded of his commons a great subsidie or tallage, which was sore grudged at, and in maner denied: so that he maried them with fayre promises, and ayde and succour agaynst the Englishe men, rather then with bagges of money, or Chestes of Plate. Thys forreyn alliaunce little profited or auayled the realme of Scotland, nor this newe amitie defended not king James: for Walter Steward Erle of Athole, which pretended a tytle to the crowne, by reason that he was begotten of king Robert the second, by his first wyfe, and by whose occasion, Robert Duke of Albany, murdered Dauid Duke of Rothsay, elder brother to thys king James (as in the story of king Henry the fourth, you haue heard declared) after the coronation of king James the first in Scotland, ernestly sollicited him to put to death Duke Murdo, and all the offspring of Robert first Duke of Albany, trusting that after he had destroyed that lyne (which was a stop in his way) to inuent some meane how to destroy the king and his children, and so to obteyne the Crowne and preheminence of the Realme. Wherefore he perswaded Robert Steward his Nephew, & Robert Grame

hys Colyn, and diuers other, to murther and slay the king their souereigne Lorde, which thereto by deuilish instigation incensed and procured, came to the towne of Perth (commonly called S. Johns towne) and there entered into the kings priuie chamber, and slue first diuers of hys seruauntes, which made resistaunce, and after kylled the king with many mortall strokes, and hurt the Quene, which in defense of her husband felled one of the Traytors. When this vngracious deede was blowen about the towne, the people rose in great plumpes, and found out the princequellers, and them brought to straight prison, which afterward (according to their deserts) were with most terrible torments put to death and executed.

James king of Scottes murthered in his Chamber

After James the first, succeded James the seconde, his eldest sonne, which fearing sedition and ciuile discord, vexed more his awne nation, then the Englishe people did.

Nowe leauyng Scotland, let vs returne to the businesse of Fraunce. Whiles the Scottes were compassyng how to destroy their king: the Lorde Talbot with a great companie layd siege to the Castell of Tankeruile, which after foure monethes was to him simplie rendred and geuen vp. This towne was no great gaine to the Englishe men: for in the meane season the French king in his awne person besieged the strong towne of Monstreau Faultion, whereof Thomas Gerard was Captein: which more for desyre of reward, then for feare of enemies, solde the towne to the French king, and had of him great giftes, and good chere, which afterwarde was well knowen, to hys shame & reproch. This towne had bene rescued or the French king foughten withall, if one chaunce had not happened: For the Duke of Yorke was discharged of his office of Regent, and the Erle of Warwike preferred to the same, so that the Duke of Yorke lyng at Roan, would haue gladly rescued the towne, if his authoritie had not surcessed, and the Erle could not, for the winde was so clene contrary to him, that he & his armie taryed for the winde aboue ten weekes. And so betwene the discharge of the one, and the charge of the other, this Towne of Monstreau, was deliuered and solde.

The Castell of Tankeruile taken.

The Erle of Warwike made Regent of Fraunce.

This present yere was a Parliament kept at Westminster, in the which were diuers notable conclusions ordeyned and taken, aswell for the preseruation of peace and concorde at home, as for the maintenance of warre, and hostilitie in outward regions: in the which Parliament, (who so will loke on the actes) shall perceyue that one act made, for byyng and sellyng by straungers, was profitable for the publike wealth of this realme, if it were well kept (as a fewe good actes or none be, eyther by the negligence of the gouernours, or by the insolencie and lewdnesse of the people.)

A parliament

Nowe must we speake somewhat of Charles the French king: which after he had gayned againe the Citie of Paris, and diuerse other townes, was so puffed vp with pride, that he thought it but a trifle to conquere Normandie, and expulse all the Englishe nacion out of his Countries and seignories. Wherefore he sent Arthure of Britayne Constable of Fraunce, and John Duke of Alanson, into Normandie with a great army, which besieged the towne of Auranches, standyng vpon the knop of an hill, nere to the Britishe sea, both well walled and well manned. While they lay there long, little gettyng and much spendyng, the Lorde Talbot with a valiaunt companie of men approched nere the French men, and encamped themselues in the face of

of their enemies, to prouoke and intice them to battaile and fight. The french men refusyng this offer, kept themselues within their trenches, dayly fortifyng and repairyng their Campe. The Englishemen perceiuyng their doynges, remoued their armie halfe a Mile farther, geuyng their enemyes rowme to issue out and to fight, but all this little auayled: for the Frenchmen lay still and stirred not. The Lorde Talbot seyng their faint heartes, raysed his field, and in the open sight of them all, entred into the towne, and the next day issued out, and found the French men ridyng abroad, to destroy the plain Countrie, whom he enuironed, bet, and discomfited, slayeng many, and takyng diuerse prisoners.

This yere, sayth Cooper, all the Lions in the Tower of London dyed, which before had liued there a long tyme.

On the first day of Nouember this present yere, the Erle of Warwike as Regent of Fraunce, passed the sea, after he had bene seuen tunes chipped and vnchipped, and landed at Humflew, with a thousand freshe Souldiers, and came to Roan, and then the Duke of Yorke returned into England, neyther wholy pleased, nor half content. For he secretly smelled, that some men priuily disdeyned his aduauncement, and enuied his promocion: yet (like a wise man) he kept his tongue close, whatsoeuer his heart thought. Betwene the chaunge of these two Capteines, the Duke of Burgoyn (which sore enuied the glory of the Englishe men) besieged the Castell of Croitoy with ten thousand men and mo, hauyng with him great plentie of Goonnes, and goodly ordenaunce. The Erle of Warwike heryng of this feate, sent the Lord Talbot, the Lord Fauconbridge, sir Thomas Kiriell, sir John Mountgomery, Thomas Limbrike, Thomas Chandos, Dauy Hall, & diuers other knightes and squiers, and many tall yomen, to the number of fiue thousand men, which passed the riuer of Some, beside the towne of S. Valery: for the passage of Blaunche Taque was very daungerous to go through, because the Duke of Burgoyn had layd there ordinaunce, and other engines, to let, trouble, and stoppe the Englishemen to go ouer at that foord. And yet, where the Lorde Talbot passed, his men went in the water vp to the Chinne, so glad were the men to rescue their felowes. When the Duke of Burgoyn was informed of the approchyng of the Lord Talbot and other, he with all his power sauyng foure which were left in a Bastile, by him there newly buylded, fled to Abbeuile, which Bastile was sone gayned, and the men within eyther slain or taken.

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After this towne recouered, the Lorde Talbot sent worde to the Duke of Burgoyn, that he would vtterly waste and destroy the Countrie of Picardie, except he (like a valiant Prince) would geue him battaile. And according to his promise, he brent townes, spoyled, and slue many people in Picardie, but for all his doynges, the Duke would not appere, but stale away from Abbeuile, & fled to Amias. So the Lorde Talbot was .xx. dayes full in the Countries of Picardie, and Arthoys, destroiyng and brennyng all that they could see or come to, and after departed. And in the meane season, Sir Thomas Kiriell had gotten all the Dukes cariages, and ordenaunce, and left as much vittaile in the towne of Croytoy, as would serue fiue hundreth men a whole yere, and conueyed the remnant in safetie to the Erle of Warwike, which not onely receyued the Capteynes with good semblaunce, and louyng chere, but also highly magnified their actes, and much praysed theyr hardy-

hardynesse.

After this enterprise atchieued, Henry Erle of Mortaine, sonne to Edmond Duke of Sommerset, arriued at Chierburgh with foure hundreth archers, and three hundreth speares, and passed through Normandie, tyll he came into the Countie of Mayne, where he besieged a Castell, called Saint Inyan, in the which were three hundreth Scottes, besyde French men. This Castell he tooke by a strong assault, and slue all the Scottes, and hanged the Frenchmen, because they were once sworne Englishe, and after brake their othe: and after he gat also another Castell, two miles from Saint Julians, called Alegerche, which was shortly after recouered, and the Lord Cameus which came to the rescue of the same, in the meane way was trapped and taken. Thus the victorie flowed sometyme on the one part, and sometyme on the other, but the treason of the Frenchemen farre surmounted in getting, both the pollecy & strength of the English Capteynes: for by the vntruth and falshode of the very Burgesses and inhabitauntes of the townes, of Meaux in Brie, and Saint Susanne, the same yere were solde and deliuered to the French part in the ende of this. xvj. yere.

This yere king Henry caused a solempne obite and terrement to be kept within Paules Church of London, for Sigismond the Emperour, who also was knight of the Garter.

1438 This yere happened many vntemperate stormes, whereof rose such a skarcitie, that wheate was solde at three shillynges foure pence the Bushell, wine at. xij. pence the Gallon, Bay salt at. xiiij. pence the Bushell, and mault at. xiij. shillynges foure pence the quarter, and all other graynes were sold of an excessiue price, aboue the olde custome.

In the Moneth of June, the Erle of Huntyngton (as Stewarde of Guyen) with two thousand Archers, and foure hundreth speares, was sent into Gascoyn, as a supplement to the Countrie, and the Cõmons of the same. For the king of England and his counsaile, were enformed that the Erle of Dumoys, lay on the Frontiers of Tholose, secretely by rewardes and fayre promises, entising and prouoking diuers townes in Guien to become french and leaue the Englishe nacion. Wherefore, this Erle (like a pollitike warriour) altered not onely the Capteynes in euery towne and Citie, but also remoued the Magistrates, and chaunged the officers, from towne to towne, and from rowme to rowme, so that by this meanes at that tyme, the Erle of Dumoys lost both trauaile and cost. In the same moneth also, Sir Richard Wooduile, Sir William Chamberlain, Sir William Peyto, and Sir William Stozie, with a thousand men, were sent to stuffe the townes in Normandie, which surely at that tyme had thereof great neede: for the Englishe Captaynes had small confidence in the Normans, and not to much in some of their awne Nacion. For that harlot bribery, and her felow couetousnesse, ran so fast abroad with French Crownes, that vnneth any creature, (without an especiall grace) could holde either hand close, or purse shut, such a strong percer is monie, and such a gredie glotton is auarice. You haue heard before, howe that king Charles heart by getting of Paris, was set vpon a merye Pinne, and thought dayly that all thinges more and more, would both apply to his purpose, and folow his appetite. Which inuented imagination, sodainly both deceyued him, and also abated his haute courage & prowde stomacke.

Two shrewd companions.

For

For sodainly there arose a straunge storme, and a quick pirie, so mischieuous and so pernicious, that nothing more execrable, or more to be abhorred, could happen in any christian Region. Which seditious tempest, if wise counsaile had not with all speede repressed, no doubt, but king Charles, and the whole publike welth of Fraunce, had bene turned vp, and clene ouerthrowne. For Lewes Dolphin of Vien, and heyre apparant to king Charles, a yong prince of a froward stomacke and euill condicions, desyring libertie, and to be out of warde and rule, with such as were of his nature and condicions, began to conspire agaynst his father, and souereigne Lord. The chiefe of this vngracious faction with him, were John Duke of Alaunson, and John Duke of Burbon. These confederates gathered together a great power, and the Dolphyn tooke vpon him, the rule and gouernaunce of the Realme ordering causes, not in his fathers name, nor by his authoritie, but after his awne will, affection, and phantasie. When king Charles his father, had knowlege of this vnnaturall disobedience, and insolent & prowde doyngs, he was (and no marualle) greatly moued with this sodaine commocion: thinkyng himselfe borne, and predestinate to trouble, remembryng that it was no small thing, in his awne Countrey so many yeres, both with straungers, and with his awne Nacion, to fight and striue for rule and dignitie, but nowe to be constrayned to contend and make warre with his awne sonne, for the Crowne and Regiment of his realme and Dominion. Yet these thinges did not bring him, beyng a man of great wit and counsaile, dayly troubled and vnquieted with calamities and displeasures, into vtter dispayre, or extreme wanhope: but like a pollitike prince, determinyng to withstand and resist the smoke at the beginnyng, before the fyre and flame brast out abroad, called together all such as he had eyther in great confidence, or especiall fauour, communicating to them all his inwarde thoughtes and prime purposes. After long consultacion had, it was agreed by the most part, that this sore was more mete to be cured by politique and wittie handlyng, rather then by force, and dent of sworde. Wherefore, letters were written, and postes were sent to euery Citie and Borough, straightly prohibityng all and singuler persons, either to heere, or obey, any precept or commaundement, set forth or published by the Dolphyn himselfe, or by other, or in his name, and all offences done in that confederacie, were by open proclamacion freely forgeuen and remitted. And besyde this, diuerse graue and sage persons, were sent to the Dolphyn, and his alies, to common and conclude a peace, and reconciliacion betweene the French king and them, declaryng to them, that their ciuile warre, and inward dissencio, was the very meane to cause their enemies, vtterly to plague and destroy their native Country, which was almost desolate, & brought into subiection, by the continuall practised war before. By which meanes and perswasions, the knot of this seditious faction, was losed and dissolued: and the king with his sonne, and other confederates, openly agreed and apparauntly pacified. And so the spring of these mischieuous sect, was stopped and repulsed, or the flood had any thing encreased, or flowen farther.

Lewes Dolphyn of Vien conspired against king Charles the French king beyng his father.

The English men (which euer sought their aduauntage) heryng of this domesticall diuision in the realme of Fraunce, raysed an army, and recouered againe diuers townes, which were stollen from them before by the Frenche nacion: and made great prouision to recouer againe the Citie of Paris, but

when they heard that the Dolphyn was returned againe to his father, and that all his Mates were ioyned with the French king, they left of from that enterprise, and reuoked their purpose.

The conduyt in Fletestrete.

This yere the Conduyt in Fletestrete in London was begon to be builded by Sir William Eastfield knight, and late Maior of London, and the same was finished at his costes and charges, without any charge of the Citie, by the handes of his executors.

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In the Month of Nouember this present yere, there was such a great frost, and after that so deepe a snowe, that all the ground was couered with white, and al the diches hardened and frosen, which weather put the English men in comfort to recouer againe the towne of Ponthoise, by the French king gotten before, by corrupting with money diuers Burgesses of the towne.

The Englishmen take Ponthoyse.

Wherefore the Englishemen being clothed all in white, with John Lorde Cliffords their Capitaine, came in the night to the diches, and passed them without daunger, by reason of the frost, and sodaynely scaled the walles, slue the watche, and tooke the towne with many profitable prisoners. When this towne was thus gotten, Lorde Richard Beauchampe Erle of Warwike and Regent of Fraunce, died in the Castell of Roan, and was conueied into England, and with solempne ceremonies was buryed in his College of Warwike, in a very solempne and sumptuous Sepulture.

The death of the Erle of Warwike Regent of Fraunce.

Then was the Duke of Yorke agayne made Regent of Fraunce, which accompanied with the Erle of Oxforde, the Lorde Burchier, called the Erle of Ewe, Sir James of Ormond, the Lorde Clinton, and diuers other Noble men, sayled into Normandy: Before whose arryuall, the Frenche king beyng sore greeued with the taking of the towne of Ponthoyse, assembled a great army, and besieged the sayde towne himselfe, and made rounde about it Bastiles, Trenches, and diches, and daylie shot ordynaunce, and gaue therevnto diuers great and fierce assaultes. But John Lord Clifford, lyke a valyaunt Capitayne defended the towne with such valyauntnesse, that the French men rather losse then gayned. The Duke of Yorke at his landyng, hauing true knowledge of this siege, sent for the Lorde Talbot, and a great number of souldiours, and so came here to the towne of Pounthoise, and there encamped himselfe, and sent worde to the French king, that he was there, readie to geue him battayle, if he would come out of his Campe and Bastiles. King Charles was ruled by his counsayle, which in no wise would suffer him to aduenture his person, with men of so lowe and base degree: bydding him to remember, what losses he and his auncesters had susteyned, by geuing to the English men battayle: which thing they principally desire, wylling him to keepe his ground still, and to bid them enter at their perill, and in the meane season, to stop the passage of the Riuer of Oyse so that no byttayle could be brought to the Englishe armie by that waye, by which meanes he should not onely obtaine his purpose, but also cause the Englishe men to recule back againe, for lack of bittayle and succours. The Duke of Yorke perceyuing that the French king was nothing minded to fight, determined to passe ouer the ryuer of Oyse, and so to fight with him in his lodging, wherevpon he remoued his Campe, and appointed the Lord Talbot and other, to make a countenaunce as they would passe the Riuer by force at the gate of Beaumont, and appointed another company with boates of

Ponthoyse besieged by the French king.

of timber and leather, and bridges made of cordes and ropes (whereof he had great plentie, caried with him in Chariottes to passe ouer the ryuer benethe the Abbay. While the Lord Talbot made a cry, as though they would assayle the gate, certaine Englishe men passed the water ouer in boates, and drewe the bridge ouer, so that a great number were come ouer, or the Frenche men them espied. When they sawe the chaunce, they ran lyke mad men, to stop the passage, but their labour was lost, and all their paine to no purpose: for the most parte of the Englishe people were sodainely transported, in so much that they chased their enimies by fine force into the towne agayne, and tooke Sir Guilliam de Chastell, Nephew to the Lorde Canehy, and dyuers other gentlemen prisoners. The French men seyng their damnage irrecuperable, returned to the French king, accompting to hym their euill chaunce and vnlucky fortune, which therewith was not a little displeasaunt: and well perceiuyng, that if he taried the comming of the Englishe men he was like to be eyther in great ieoperdy, or sure to sustayne much dishonor and great dammage. Wherefore he remoued his ordinaunce into the Bastile of Saint Martyne, which he had newly made, and leauyng behinde him the Lorde of Cotigny, Admirall of Fraunce, with three thousand men to kepe the Bastiles, dislodged in the night from Maubuysson and came to Poissye: for if he had taryed still in that place, the Lorde Talbot with certaine of his trustie souldiors, which passed the riuer of Oyse in two small leather boates had eyther slayne or taken him in his lodging the same night. The Englishe men the next daye in good order of battayle, came before the towne of Pounthoise, thinking there to haue found the French king, but he was gone, and in his lodging they founde great ryches, and muche stuffe, which he could not haue space to conuey for feare of ỳ sodaine inuasion. Then the Duke of Yorke with his company entered into the towne, and sent for newe bittayle, and repayred the towres and bulwarkes about the towne, and dyuers times assayled the Bastile of the French men, of the which he passed not greatly because they were not of power, eyther to assault, or stop the bittayles or succours from the towne. The Duke lyeng thus in the towne of Ponthoise, was aduertised that the French king and the Dolphin with all the Nobilitie of Fraunce, were lodged in Poysye, wherefore he intendyng once agayne to offer hym battayle, left behinde him there for Capitayne, Syr Gerwayse Clifton, with a thousand souldiours, and remoued his armie, and came before Poysye, and set himselfe and his men in good order of battayle, readie to fight. There issued out diuers gentlemen, to skirmishe with the Englishe men, but they were sone discomfited, and foure valyaunt horsemen were taken prisoners, and dyuers slayne. The Englishe men perceiuyng the fayut hartes, and colde courage of their enemies, which nothing lesse desyred, then to encounter wyth the English nation in open field, dislodged from Poysye, and came to Mant, and sone after to Roan.

When the Regent and the Lorde Talbot, were returned agayne into Normandy, the French king (for all his euill luck) forgat not the towne of Ponthoise, and first he considered what charges he had susteyned, both during the time of the siege, and also in making Bastyles, trenches, and other deuises: and after remembred, that his people, and especially the Parisians (to whome this towne was an euill neighbor) would rayle and say, that he was

Pontho⁹s agayne recouered by the French kyng.

was not able, or lacked courage to get so small a towne, or to discomfite halfe a handefull of amased people. Wherefore these things set in order, he assembled all his puyssaunce, and returned sodainely againe to Pontholse: where he first by assault gat the Church, and after the whole towne, and tooke the Capitaine prisoner, and dyuers other Englishe men, and slue to the number of foure hundred, which deerely solde their lyues: for one French writer affirmeth, that the French king lost there three thousand men and mo, and the whole garrison of the Englishe men, was onely a thousand: so they gayned the towne, but they gat no great bootie of men. When the fame of thys victorie was blowen abroade, the hartes of the townes men waxed faynt, in so muche that Melune, Corbuell, Cureur, and diuers other townes, yeelded and turned at a prowde crake, or a French bragge, without stroke striken, or any blowe geuen.

After these hote rages, the weather beganne to waxe more temperate, for king Henry, and king Charles were agreed to send Ambassadors to common and treate some good peace and conclusion betweene them and their realmes. So the king of Englande sent the Cardinall of Winchester, with diuers other noble personages of his counsayle to Calice, with whome was also sent Charles Duke of Orleaunce, yet prisoner in Englande, to the entent that he might be both the author of the peace, and procurer of his deliueraunce. The French king sent the Archebishop of Reyns, and the Erle of Dunoys: and the Duke of Burgoyne, sent the Lorde Creuecuer, and diuers other, because that the Duke of Orleaunce was passed the sea with the English Ambassadors, they would meete in none other place to common, but in Calice. The french Ambassadors perceyuing their mind, came to Calice, where the Duke of Orleaunce, gently receyued the Erle of Dunoys (his Bastard brother) thanking him hartely for his paine taken, in gouerning his countrey, during the time of his captiuity and absence. Diuers communications were had, as well for the deliueraunce of the Duke, as for a finall peace: in so much, that after much consultyng and little doing, another tyme was appointed for a newe assembly, and euery parte to declare to their soueraigne, the request and desire of the other. So these Ambassadors tooke their leaue and departed, and the Englishe commissioners conueyed agayne the Duke of Orleaunce into England, which had nothing then to pay hys raunsome, and yet he could not be deliuered without payment. The cause why these commissioners did not agree, was (as the French writers saye) that the Englishe men demaunded, not onely to haue and possesse peaceably the two Duchies of Aquitayne and Normandy, to their kinges and princes discharged of all resort, superiozitie, and soueraigntie, frankely and freely, agaynst the realme of Fraunce, the kings and Gouernors of the same for euer: but also required to be restored to all the townes, Cities, and possessions, which they, within thirtie yeres nert before gone and past, had conquered in the realme of Fraunce. The English men thought that they demaunded but right and reason: and the French men, thought their request to be most hurtfull to their realme, and auncient glorie. So both parties, rather minding to gayne or saue, then to lose, departed for that time (as you haue heard). After which diet prorogued for a time, Philip Duke of Burgoyne, partly moued in conscience, to make some amendes and recompence to Charles

Charles Duke of Orleaunce (then being prisoner in England) for the death of Duke Lewes his father) whome Duke John father to this Duke Philip, shamefully slue, and cruelly murdered in the Citie of Paris) as in the time of king Henry the fourth, is plainely mencioned (and partly intending the aduauncement of his niece, Lady Marie daughter to Adolph Duke of Cleue, by the which aliaunce, he trusted surely to knit suche a firme knot, and friendly amitie with the Duke of Orleaunce, that all olde rancor should cease, and all discord should be forgotten: and in their places concord should be stablished, and perpetuall loue embraced) sent messengers into England, to the sayde Duke, declaryng to him his good will, deuise and entent. The which proffer he not onely accepted, but also was most ioyfull thereof. And as some writers affirme, the sayde Duke of Burgoyne payde for his raunsome and delyueraunce foure hundred thousand crownes, but other say three C. M. and so he was deliuered out of Englande into Fraunce at that time, both speaking better Englishe then French, and also swearing, neuer to beare armor agaynst the king of England. After his arriuall in Fraunce, he came to the Duke of Burgoyne his speciall friend, gratifying and thankyng him of his libertie and deliueraunce: and according to his promise and conuention, he maryed the fayre Lady Mary in the towne of S. Omers, on whom he begat a sonne, which after was French king, and called Lewes the xij. After his deliuerance from captiuity he forgat not hys Uncle John Erle of Angolesme, which had bene as a pledge in Englande for the debt of Duke Lewes of Orleaunce his father, sithe the last yere of king Henry the fourth (as in his storie is declared): but made friends, borowed money, and morgaged land, and so set him at libertie, and brought him into his Countrey: This John engendered Charles, father to Fraunces, the first of that name, which after the death of Lewes the. xij. obteyned the crowne of Fraunce.

The delyuerye of the Duke of Orleaunce, who had bene long prisoner in England.

Here is to be noted, that olde rancor newely appeased, will commonly spring out agayne: for although the vnhappie diuision, betwene the two noble families of Orleaunce and Burgoyne, were by this great benefite and mariage, for a time geuen ouer and put in oblimion, and so continued by the space of twentie yeres and more, yet their children and Cosyns, within few yeres after, fell so farre at square, that the house of Burgoyne was spoyled of the fayrest flower of his garlande, as you shall here afterwarde at large declared, and in especiall in the time of king Fraunces the first, the very heire of the house of Orleaunce, which not onely continually vered with mortall warre, Charles the fift, Emperor of that name, lineall successour to Philip Duke of Burgoyne: but also did as much as in him lay, to depriue the sayde Charles of his honor and possessions (as men wryting their lyues, wil hereafter declare.)

In the beginnyng of this .xix. yere, Richard Duke of Yorke Regent of Fraunce, and gouernor of Normandie, remembryng the great charge, and waightie office to him deliuered and committed, determined (after long consultacion) to inuade the territories of his enemies, both by sundrie armies, and in diuers places, to the entent that the French people beyng vered within their awne Countrie and peculiar Dominion, should make no rodes nor enterynges into the Duchie of Normandie, the returnyng whereof, was somewhat suspicious. This deuise for that season, semed both profitable and necessarie,

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necessarie, wherefore, without long delaying of time, he sent Robert Lorde Willoughby, with a great crue of souldiers, to inuade and destroy the Countrie about Amias, and John Lorde Talbot, was appointed to besiege the towne of Depe, and he himselfe, accompanied with Edmond Duke of Sommerset, set forward into the Duchie of Aniow. The Lorde Willoughby, according to his commission, entered into the Countrie to him appointed, and to the entent that his trauaile should not be espyed nor knowen, he straightly forbad and inhibited all maner of fire and burnyng of townes, which is the most open and plaine token of warre and inuasion. By reason whereof the poore paysantes and rusticall people goyng abroade without feare or suspicion of euill, were ouerronne or taken with the horsemen, or they could attaine to any towne, or forcelet: so that innumerable people were slaine, and taken, or they heard any tidynges of their enemies approchyng. The French men in the garrisons adioynyng, astonied at the clamor and crie of the poore people, issued out in good order, and manfully set on their enemies. The fight was sore, and the victorie long and doubtfull: But in conclusion, the French men seeyng their people in the forefront of the battaile, to be killed without mercie, like men desperate turned their backes and fearefully fled, the Englishe men folowed, and slue many in the chase, and such as escaped the sworde were robbed and spoyled, by Lewes Erle of Saint Paule, which was comming to ayde the Englishe nacion. In this conflict were slaine, aboue fiue hundred men of armes, and a greater number taken: so the Lord Willoughby, like a victorious Captein, with riche spoyle and good prisoners, returned againe to the Citie of Roan. The Dukes of Yorke and Sommerset, likewise entered into the Duchie of Aniow, and Countie of Mayne, destroying townes, spoilyng the people, and with great pray and profite, repayred again into Normandie. The Duke of Sommerset, not filled with this gayne, entered into the Marches of Britayn, and tooke by a fierce assault, the towne of Gerche, apperteinyng to the Duke of Alaunson, and spoyled and brent the same, and after that, departed to Bonzay, where he soiourned two monethes, from whence he sent daily men of warre, which destroyed and wasted the Countreys of Aniow, Traonnoys and Chatragonnoyes.

The French king in all hast, sent the Marshall of Loyache, with foure thousand men, to resist the inuasions of the Duke of Somerset, which Capteyne determined to set on the Duke and his people, in the dead tyme of the night. This enterprice was not so secrete, but it was reueled to the Duke, which marched forwarde, and met the French men halfe way, and after long fight, by fine force they were manfully discomfited, and they slue a hundreth personnes and mo, and tooke captiues. lxij. whereof the chiefe were the Lord Dausigny, Sir Lewes de Buell, and all the other almost, were Knightes and Esquiers. After this encounter, the Duke tooke the Towne of Beamot le Vicount, and manned al the forteresses on the frontiers of his enemies, and with riche bootyes, and welthie captiues came againe to the Duke of Yorke.

During these fortunate chaunces and victories, the Lorde Talbot also, the vnwaried Chieftain and manly warriour, enuironed the towne of Depe, with depe trenches, and great mountaynes, and did set vp vpon the Mount de Poulet, a strong and defensible Bastile, at which tyme was Capteyne of the same towne, Charles de Maretz, a man of more force in battaile, then polletike

polletike in defence of a siege: for the Englishemen beyng a small number, had to them deliuered with fayre wordes, and faint strokes, the Castell of Charlemesnyll, and diuerse other fortresses adioynyng to the towne. During the siege, many encounters were had, and many great assaultes geuen, the Englishemen sometime saued, and sometime gayned, but the most losse lighted on the Frenchmen for a while. But of three Capteynes sent forth at one tyme (as you before haue heard) all cannot returne with egall honour, and euen botie. For the Lord Talbot perceiuyng the towne of Depe, to be strongly defended, both with men, vitaile, and ordinaunce, and that he lacked all the sayde furnitures for the accomplishyng of his stout enterprice, deliuered the custodie of the Bastile, with the gouernaunce of the siege, to his Bastard sonne, a valeaunt yong man, and departed to Roan, for ayde, money, and munitions. The French king, was quickly aduertised of the Lord Talbots absence, and of the estate of the Englishe men: wherefore without delay, he meanyng not to lose so great a pray, sent his eldest sonne Lewes Dolphyn of Vien accompanied with the Bastard of Orleaunce, called the Erle of Dumoys, and diuerse other nobles of Fraunce, to the number of. xv. thousand persons, well armed, & no lesse garnished with all thinges necessary for theyr purpose. Three dayes they assayled the Bastile, and so many times they were put back, but poulder fayled in the fortresse, and weapon wherewith to defend, was very scant, so that in conclusion, the Englishe men were vanquished, and the Bastile taken, and in it the Bastard Talbot, Sir William Peytow, and Sir John Repeley, which were shortly after redemed: The other English souldiers seyng the Bastile gayned, stood all day in good order of battaile, and in the night polletikely returned to Roan, without losse or dammage. At this assault, the French men say, that they slue two hundreth Englishemen, and denie not, but they lost fiue hundreth persons, and by this meanes, the one nacion lost the Bastile, and the other saued the towne, to the great displeasure of the Lorde Talbot.

While these thinges were a doyng, Phillip Duke of Burgoyn, hauyng an enuious heart, at the glory and fortunate successe of the Englishe people, intendyng to bereue them of one of their assured friendes, called Lewes of Lurenborough Erle of Saint Paule, made sharpe warre vpon his Countreyes, and tooke diuers townes and fortresses from him, so that in conclusion more for feare, then for loue, he vtterly refused his fayth and promise, made to the Duke of Bedford his brother in lawe, and turned to the Frenche part, and became a like warme enemy to the realme of England. The losse of this friend and necessarie neighbour, not a little grieued king Henry and hys counsaile: Howbeit they made such purueyaunce and prouision, by discrete counsaile, that if he of euill will, would do to them little good, yet he of malice should do to them no great hurt or damage.

Lewes of Lurenborough refuseth the Englishe and returneth to the French.

The Englishe Capteynes beyng in Guyen, hauyng knowledge of the valeaunt doynges of their Countrimen in the realme of Fraunce, determined to do some notable and noble enterprice on the French coastes adioynyng to Aquitain: and so they besieged the strong towne of Tartas, belongyng to the Lorde Delabreth, their olde and auncient enemie. The Capteynes and gouernours of the towne considering their weakenesse, and the force of the Englishe men, tooke this appointment with the Englishe Capteynes, that the

the towne should remaine neuter, and for ỳ assurance therof, they deliuered Cadet the sonne of the Lorde Delabreth in pledge, vpon this condition: that if the Lord Delabreth would not assent to their agreement, then he should signifie his refusall, to the Englishe Capteynes, within three monethes next ensuyng: and he to haue his pledge, and they to do their best. The Frenche king, at the request of the Lordes of Guyen, which were not able to defende themselues, toke this matter in hande, and caused the Lord Delabreth to certifie his disagrement to the Erle of Huntingdon, Lieuetenant for the king of England, in the Duchie of Aquitaine. And to please the great Lordes of Guien, he assembled. ix. thousand men, and came to Tholose, and so to Tartas: to whom the Chieftaynes of the towne, seyng no succours comming, rendered the towne, and Cadet Delabreth, which was left there as a pledge, was deliuered, the French king after the yelding of Tartas, remoued to S. Seuere, a strong towne in Gascoyn, but smally peopled with men of warre, which he toke by force, and slue three hundreth persons, and toke Sir Thomas Rampstone prisoner. After this towne gayned, he with all his power besieged the Citie of Arques, and toke the Bulwarke of the same, which was smally defended, and sone gotten. The inhitauntes of the towne, began sore to be afrayed, and came to the Lorde Mountferrand, Capteine for the king of Englande, requiryng him to haue mercie vpon them, and to render the towne to the French king, vpon some honest couenaunt or composition. The Capteyne perceiuyng the faint heartes of the Gascoynes, and knowyng that without their ayde, he was not able to resist the puissaunce of the Frenche king, toke an agrement, and departed with all the Englishe crue to Burdeaux, where he found the Erle of Longuile, Capdaw of Bueffe, and Sir Thomas Rampston, which was a little before deliuered.

After this, the fortresses of Rioll and Mermandie, yelded them to the French king. Although these townes thus submitted them to him, yet he had them not long, nor made much tariyng in the Duchie of Guien, for the Englishe men not onely prohibited the Gascoynes to minister to his armie vitaile, and sustenaunce, but also gat into their handes, and toke such vitailes as were conueyed to him from Tholose and Poyters: So that in maner constrayned with famine and lacke of prouision, he retired his armie againe into Fraunce. After whose departure, the English Captaines recouered again the Citie of Arques, and the other townes by the Frenche king gayned, and tooke prisoner his Lieutenant, called Reignault Guillam the Burgoyen, and many other Gentlemen, and all the meane Souldiours, were eyther slaine or hanged.

While the Frenche king was in Guien, the Lorde Talbot tooke the towne of Couchete, and after marched towarde Gayllardon, which was besieged by the Bastard of Orleaunce Erle of Dunoys: which Erle heeryng of the Englich mens approchyng, raysed his siege and saued himselfe. A little before this enterprice, the French men had taken the towne of Eureux, by treason of a fisher. Sir Fraunces Arragonoys heeryng of that chaunce, apparelled fiue strong men, like rusticall people with sackes and baskets, as carters of corne and vitaile, and sent them to the Castell of Cornill, in the which diuers Englich men were kept as prisoners: and he with an imbushment of Englishe men lay in a Valey nie to the fortresse. These fiue Companions entered into the Castell, vnsuspected and not mistrusted, and straight came to the Chamber of the Capteyne, and layde handes vpon him, geuyng knowlege thereof to their imbushement, which sodainly entered the Castell, and slue and toke all the French men prisoners, and set at libertie al the Englishe men, which thing done, they set the Castell on fire, and departed with great spoyle to the Citie of Roan. Thus the Ladie victorie, sometime smiled on the Englishe part, and sometime on the French syde. Thus one gayned this day, and lost on the next. Thus fortune chaunged, and thus chaunce happened, accordyng to the olde prouerbe, saiyng: in warre is nothing certaine, and victorie is euer doubtfull.

Nowe let vs leaue the Marciall feates, practised betwene the Englishe and French Nacion, in the Region of Fraunce, and speake a little of a smoke that rose in England, which after grew to a great fire and terrible flame, to the destruction of many a noble man. You haue heard before, howe the Duke of Gloucester sore grudged at the prowde doynges of the Cardinall of Winchester, and howe the Cardinall likewise, sore enuied and disdayned at the rule of the Duke of Gloucester, and howe by the meanes of the Duke of Bedford, their malice was appeased, & eche was reconciled to other, in perfit loue & amitie, to al mens outward iudgements. After which concorde made, the Cardinall and the Archebishop of Yorke did many things without the consent of the king or the Duke, beyng (duryng the minoritie of the prince) gouernor and protector of the realme, wherewith the Duke (like a true harted prince) was neyther content nor pleased: and so declared in writyng to the king, certein articles, wherein the Cardinall and the Archebishop had offended, which articles were here to long to reherse, and specially for that they were neyther regarded nor tooke any effect. 1441 20

A new variance betwene the Duke of Gloucester, and the Bysshop of Winchester.

When the king had read the articles, he committed the hering thereof to his counsayle, whereof the most parte were spirituall persons, so what for feare, and what for fauour the matter was winked at, and dalyed out, and nothing sayde to it: & fayre countenaunce was made to the Duke, as though no displeasure had bene taken, nor no malice borne eyther in heart or in remembraunce agaynst him. But venime will once breake out, and inwarde grudge will sone appere, which was this yere to all men apparaunt: for diuers secret attempts were aduaunced forward this season, agaynst the noble Duke Humfrey of Gloucester, a farre of, which in conclusion came so nere, that they bereft him both of lyfe and lande, as you shall hereafter more manyfestly perceyue. For first this yere, dame Elyanour Cobham, wyfe to the sayde Duke, was accused of treason, for that she by sorcerie and enchaunment, entended to destroy the king, to the entent to aduaunce and promote her husbande to the crowne: vpon thys she was examined in Saint Stephens Chapell, before the Bishop of Canterbury, and there by examination conuict and iudged to doe open penaunce, in three open places, within the Citie of London, and after that adiudged to perpetuall prison in the Isle of Man, vnder the keeping of Sir John Stanley knight. At the same season were arrested as ayders and counsaylers to the sayde Duches, Thomas Southwell priest, and Chanon of saint Stephens in Westminster, John Hum priest, Roger Bolyngbroke, a cunning Nicromancier, and Margery Iourdayne, surnamed the Witch of Eye, to whose charge it was layde, that they

Elianour Cobhã wife to the Duke of Glouester.

Margerie Iordane the Witch of Eye.

they at the request of the Duches, had deuised an Image of waxe, representing the king, which by their sorcery, a little and little consumed, entendyng thereby in conclusion to waste, and destroy the kings person, and so to bring him to death, for the which treason, they were adiudged to dye, and so Margery Iordayne was brent in Smithfield, and Roger Bolyngbroke was drawen and quartered at Tyborne, taking vpon his death, that there was neuer any such thing by them imagined, John Hum had his pardō, and Southwell died in the towre before execution: the Duke of Glouceſter toke all things paciently, and sayde little.

1442 21

The counsayle of England, forgat not the late enterprise of the french king, done in the Duchie of Guien, wherefore to fortifie the countrey, least he peraduenture would attempt agayne a like iorney, they sent thether Syr Wylliam Wooduile, with eyght hundred men, to fortefie the frontiers, tyll a greater armie might be assembled: And farther made publique proclamation, that all men which would transport, or carry any corne, cheese, or other vittayle into the parties of Acquitayne, should pay no maner of custome or tallage, which licence caused that countrey to be well furnished of all things necessarie and conuenient. About this season, the king remembring the baliaunt seruice, and noble actes of John Lorde Talbot, created him Erle of Shrewsourie, and with a company of three thousand men, sent him agayne into Normandie, for the better tuicion of the same, which neyther forgat his duetie, nor forslowed his businesse, but dayly labored and hourely studied, how to molest and dammage his enimies.

John Lorde Talbot created Erle of Shrewsbury

In this yere dyed in Guyen, the Countesse of Comyng, to whome the French king, and also the Erle of Armināke pretended to be heire, in so much that the Erle entered into all the landes of the sayde Lady, as very inheritour to her of right, and toke homage of the people of the countrey. But to haue a Rowlande to resist an Oliuer: he sent solempne Ambassadors to the king of England, offering him his daughter in mariage, not onely promising him siluer hilles, and golden Mountaynes with her, but also would be bound to delyuer into the King of Englands hands, all such Castels and townes, as he or his auncestors, deteyned from him, within the whole Duchy of Acquitayn or Guyen, eyther by conquest of his progenitors, or by gift or deliuery of any French king: offering farther to ayde the same king with money, for the recouery of other Cities, within the sayde Duchye, from him and his auncestors, by the French kings progenitors, the Lorde de Albreth, and other Lordes of Gascoyne, vniustly kept and wrongfully withholden. This offer seemed both profitable, and honorable to king Henry and his realme, and so the Ambassadors, were both well heard, and louingly entertayned, and in conclusion, with a gentle aunswere (not without great rewardes) they departed into their countrey: after whome were sent for the conclusion of the sayde mariage into Guyen, Sir Edward Hulle, Syr Robert Roos, and doctor John Grafton Deane of Saint Seuerines with an honorable company, which (as all Englishe Cronographiers affirme) both concluded the mariage, & by proxie affied the yong Lady. The French king was not ignorant of all these conclusions, wherefore he disdeyning that the Erle of Armināck, should both vsurpe agaynst him the Countie of Coming, and also ioyne himselfe with his mortall enemie the king of England: To recouer

couer his right, and to punishe his rebell, he sent Lewes his eldest sonne Dolphyn of Vyen, into Couergne with a puissaunt army, which sodainely tooke the Erle of Armināck at the Isle in Iordayne, and his yongest sonne, and both his daughters, and by force obteyned the Countries of Armināck, Lonuergne, Rouergne and Moullesson, beside the Cities of Serac and Cadenac, and chased the Bastard of Armināck out of his Countrey, and constituted gouernour of all those seigniories, Sir Theobald de Walpergne, Bailif of Lyon. So by reason of this infortunate chaunce, the mariage concluded was differred, yea, and so long differred, that it neuer tooke effect, as you shall heare more playnely declared.

This yere the Steple of Paules Church in London, was set on fyre by lightning, and lastly quenched by the great labour of many.

1443 22

Thus while England was vnquieted, and Fraunce sore vexed, by spoile slaughter and burning, all christendome lamented the continuall destruction of so noble a realme, and the effusion of so much christian bloud, wherfore to appease the mortall warre, so long continuyng betwene these two puyssaunt kings, all the princes of christendome so much labored and trauayled, by their Orators and Ambassadors, that the frosty hartes of both the parties were somewhat mollified, and their indurate stomachs greatly assuaged. So there was a great diet appointed, to be kept at the Citie of Tours in Tourayne, where for the king of England appered, William de la Pole Erle of Suffolke, Doctor Adame Molyns, keeper of the kings priuie seale, and Robert Lorde Roos, and diuers other: And for the French king were appointed, Charles Duke of Orleaunce, Lewes de Burbon Erle of Vandosme, and great Master of the French kings houshold, Sir Piers de Breſell Stewarde of Poyton, and Bartram Beauriau, Lorde of Prigngye. There were also sent thether, Ambassadors from the Empire, from Spaine from Denmarke, and from Hungary, to be Mediators betwene these two princes. The assemble was great, but the cost was much greater, in so much that euery parte for the honor of their prince, and praise of their countrie, set forth themselues, as well in fare, as apparell, to the vttermost point and highest prick. Many meetings were had, and many things moued to come to a finall peace, and mutuall concorde. But in conclusion, for many doubtes and great ambiguities, which rose on both parties, a finall concord could not be agreed, but in hope to come to a peace, a certaine truce as well by sea as by lande was concluded by the commissioners for. xviij. monethes, which afterwarde agayne was prolonged to the yere of oure Lorde. 1449. if in the meane season it had not beene violated and broken, as hereafter shall be declared.

A truce for xviij Monethes.

In the treating of this truce, the Erle of Suffolke, extending his commission to the vttermost, without assent of his associates, imagened in his phantasie, that the next way to come to a perfite peace, was to moue some mariage betwene the French kings kinswoman, and king Henry his souereigne: and because the French king had no daughter of ripe age, to be coupled in matrimonie with the king his master, he desired to haue the Ladye Margaret, Cosyn to the French king, and daughter to Reyner Duke of Anjow, callyng himselfe King of Sicile, Naples, and Jerusalem, hauing onely the name and style of the same, without any peny profite, or foote of

possession. This mariage was made straunge to the Erle a good space, in so much that he repented him of the first mocion, but yet lyke a bolde man, entending not to take a foyle in so great a matter, ceassed not still daylie to sollicite and aduaunce forward his cause. The wily frenchmen perceyuing the ardent affection of the Erle, towarde the conclusion of the mariage, declared to him that this mariage was not like to come to conclusion, as he desired, because the king his Master, occupied a great parte of the Duchie of Aniow, and the Citie of Mauns, and the whole Countey of Mayne, apperteyning (as they sayde) to king Reyner, father to the damosell.

The Erle of Suffolke (I can not say) eyther corrupted with bribes, or to much affectionate to this vnprofitable mariage, condiscended and agreed to their mocion, that the Duchie of Aniow, and the Countie of Mayne, should be released and deliuered to the king her father, demaunding for her mariage neyther penny nor farthing (as who would say) that this newe affinitie excelled ryches, and surmounted Golde and precious stone. And to the entent that of this truce, might ensue a finall concord, a day of enterueue or meeting was appointed betwene the two kinges, in a place conuenient, betwene Charters and Roan. When these things were concluded, the Erle of Suffolke with his company, thinking to haue brought ioyfull tydinges, to the whole realme of England, departed from Toures, and so by long iorneys arriued at Douer, and came to the king at Westminster, and there openly before the King and his counsayle, declared how he had taken an honorable truce, for the safegarde of Normandy, and the wealth of the realme, out of which truce, he thought, yea, and doubted not, but a perpetuall peace and a finall concorde should shortly proceede and growe out. And much the sooner, for that honorable mariage, that inuincible alliaunce, that godly affinitie, which he had concluded: omitting nothing, which might extoll and set forth the personage of the Ladie, not forgetting any thing of the nobilitie of her kinne, nor of her fathers high stile: as who would say, that she was of suche an excellent bewtie, and of so high a parentage, that almost no king or Emperour was worthie to be her make. Although this mariage pleased well the king, and dyuers of his counsayle, and especially such as were adherents, and fautors to the Erle of Suffolke, yet Humfrey Duke of Gloucester, Protector of the realme, repugned and resisted as muche as in him lay, this newe alliaunce and contrived matrimonie: alleging that it was neyther consonant to the lawe of God nor man, nor honorable to a prince, to infringe and breake a promise or contract, by him made and concluded, for the vtilitie and profite of his realme and people, declaring that the king by his Ambassadors sufficiently instructed and authorised, had concluded and contracted a mariage betwene his highnes, and the daughter of the Erle of Arminack, vpon conditions both to him and his realme, as much profitable as honorable. Which offers and conditions, the sayde Erle sithe his comming out of his captiuitie & thraldome is redy to yelde and performe, saying: that it was more conuenient for a Prince, to mary a wyfe with ryches and friends, then to take a make with nothing, and disherite himselfe and hys realme of olde rightes and auncient seigniories. The Duke was not heard, but the Erles doings were condiscended vnto & allowed. Which fact engendered such a flame, that it neuer went out, till bothe the parties with many other

other were consumed and slayne, to the great vnquietnesse of the king and his realme. And for the performaunce of these conclusions, the French king sent the Erle of Vandosme, great master of his house, and the Archebyshop of Reyns, the first peere of Fraunce, and dyuers other into England, which were ioyously receyued, and friendly enterteyned. Which Ambassadors, after instrumentes on both parties, sealed and deliuered (not vnrewarded) returned into their Countrie. When these things were thus done, the king both for the honour of his Realme, and to assure to himselfe more speciall friendes, he created Lorde John Holland Erle of Huntyngdon, Duke of Excester, as his father was, and Humfrey Erle of Stafford, was made Duke of Buckingham, and Henry Erle of Warwike, was erected to the tytle of Duke of Warwike, and the Erle of Suffolke, made Marques of Suffolke, which Marques with his wife, and many honorable personages of men and women richely adorned, both with apparell and Jewels, hauing with them many costly Chariots, and gorgeous horselitters, sayled into Fraunce, for the conueyaunce of the nominated Quene, into the realme of England. For king Reyner her father, for all his long stile, had to short a purse, to send his daughter honorably to the king her spouse.

This noble company came to the Citie of Toures in Tourayne, where they were honorably receyued, both of the French king, and of the king of Sicile. Where the Marques of Suffolke, as procurator to king Henry, espoused the sayde Lady, in the Church of saint Martins. At which mariage were present, the father and mother of the bride, the French king himselfe, which was Uncle to the husbande, and the French Quene also, which was Aunte to the wyfe. There were also the Dukes of Orleaunce, of Calaber, of Alaunson, and of Britayne, seauen Erles. xij. Barons. xx. Bishops, beside knightes and gentlemen. There were triumphaunt Justes, costly feastes, and delicate banquets: but all pleasure hath an ende, and euery ioye is not continuall. So that after these high solempnities finished, and these honorable ceremonies ended, the Marques had the Lady Margaret to him deliuered, which in great estate, he conueyed through Normandy to Deepe, and so transported her into Englande, where she landed at Portesmouth, in the Moneth of Aprill. This woman excelled all other, as well in beautie and fauour, as in wyt and pollicie, and was of stomacke and courage, more lyke to a man, then a woman. Sone after her arriuall, she was conueyed to the towne of Southwike in Hamshire, where she with all nupciall ceremonies, was coupled in matrimonie to king Henry the sixt of that name. After which mariage, she was with great triumph, conueyed to London, and so to Westminster, where vpon the .xxx. day of May, she with all solemnitie therevnto apperteyning, was crowned Queene of this Noble realme of Englande.

1444
23

A mariage made betweene the Ladye Margaret daughter to Reyner king of Sicill and Jerusalem, and the King of Englande.

This mariage seemed to many, both infortunate and vnprofitable to the realme of England, and that for many causes. First the king had with her not one pennie, and for the fetchyng of her, the Marques of Suffolke demaunded a whole fiftene in open Parliament: also for her mariage, the Duchie of Aniow, the Citie of Mauns, and the whole Countie of Mayne, were deliuered and released to king Reyner her father, which Countries were the very stayes, and backestandes to the Duchie of Normandie. Furthermore

for this mariage, the Erle of Armynacke tooke such great displeasure, that he became vtter enemie to the realme of England, and was the chiefe cause, that the Englishmen were expulsed out of the whole Duchie of Aquitain, and lost both the Countries of Gascoyne and Guyen. But most of all it should seme, that God with this matrimonie was not content. For after this spousage, the kinges frendes fell from him, both in England and in Fraunce, the Lordes of his Realme fell in diuision among themselues, the Commons rebelled agaynst their souereigne Lorde, and naturall Prince, fieldes were foughten, many thousandes slaine, and finally the king deposed, and his sonne slaine, and this Queene sent home againe, with as much miserie and sorowe, as she was receyued with pompe and triumph, such is worldly vnstablenesse, and so waueryng is false flatteryng fortune.

During the tyme of this truce, Richard Duke of Yorke, and diuers other Captaynes, repayred into England, both to visite their wiues, children and friends, and also to consult what should be done, if the truce ended.

All soules College. Barnards College.

This yere, as I finde noted by George Lilye, Henry Chicheley Archbishop of Cauntorbury dyed, who in his life time builded two houses, for studentes in the Universitie of Oxford, the one called all Soules College, and the other Barnard College.

1445
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And nowe to consult for some good order to be taken for Fraunce, the king called his high Court of Parliament, in the which aboue all thinges, it was concluded, diligently to foresee, that Normandie should be well furnished and strongly defended, before the terme of the truce should be expired: for it was openly knowen, that the French king was redie in all thinges, to make open warre, if no peace or abstinence of warre, were agreed or concluded. For which consideracion, money was graunted, men were appointed, and a great armie gathered together, and the Duke of Sommerset was appointed Regent of Normandie, and the Duke of Yorke thereof discharged. In which Parliament, to please the people withal, it was enacted, that when wheate was solde for six shillynges. viij. pence the quarter, and Rie for foure shillynges, and Barlie for three shillynges, it should be lawfull to euery man to cary the sayde kindes of corne into the parties beyond the Sea, without licence, so it were not to the kings enemies or rebelles: which Act king Edwarde the fourth for the vtilitie of his people, approued and confirmed.

The Duke of Somerset made Regent of Fraunce.

The Marques of Suffolk is highly fauoured of the Queene.

The Marques of Suffolke, beyng in high fauour with the king, and in no lesse grace with Queene Margaret, for concludyng the marrage betwene them two, somewhat infected with the seede of vainglorie, and thinking that his proceedynges and doynges in Fraunce (duryng the tyme of his legacion) had as well pleased all men, as they pleased himselfe, the seconde day of June, in the first session of this Parliament, before all the Lordes spirituall and temporall, in the higher house assembled, openly, eloquently, and boldely, declared his paine, trauaile and diligence, which he had taken and susteyned of late tyme, in the realme of Fraunce, aswell for the takyng and concludyng a truce or abstinence of warre, betwene the realmes of England and Fraunce, as in makyng of the mariage betwene the king his souereigne Lorde and theirs, and the noble Princes Ladie Margaret, daughter to the king of Sicile and Hierusalem: Openyng also to them, that the sayde truce should expire the first day of Aprill next commyng, except a finall peace or a further

further truce were concluded in the meane season: aduisyng them to prouide and foresee all thinges necessary for the warre (as though no concord should succeede, nor agreement could take place) least the French men perceiuyng them vnprouided, would take their aduauntage, and agree neyther to reason nor amitie: saiyng vnto them, that sithe he had admonished the king, & them, accordyng to his dutie and allegeaunce, if any thing quayled, or if daunger ensued, he was thereof innocent and guiltlesse, and had acquited himselfe like a louyng subiect, and a faythfull counsaylor, praiyng the Lordes to haue it in remembraunce. Likewise the morowe after, he with certeyne Lordes, discended into the common house, where he declared agayn all the sayd matters, to the knightes, Citizens, and Burgesses, omittyng nothing that might sound to his glorie, nor openyng any thing which might redound to his dispraise: praiyng the Commons for his discharge, that aswell all his doyngs and procedynges in the kinges affayres beyonde the Sea, as also his aduertisement and counsaile, opened to the Lordes and commons now together assembled, might be by the king and them, enacted and enrolled in the Recordes of the Parliament: Wherevpon the morowe after, William Burley, speaker for the Commons, and all the companie of the neyther house, repayred to the kinges presence, sittyng in his throne, amongest his Lordes in the Parliament Chamber, where the sayde William Burley, by the counsaile of the Commons (whether they did it more for feare then for loue, or were thereunto entised by the Marques frendes, as some men doubted) most humblie commended to the kinges highnesse, the foresayd Marques of Suffolke, and all his actes and notable workes, which he had done, to the pleasure of almightie God, the honour of the king, and the vtilitie of the Realme: as in takyng the truce, concludyng the mariage, and the good admonicion geuen by him in open Parliament, for prouision of warre to be made, during the time of truce, least to much trusting of peace, might encourage the Frenche men, the sooner to begin warre and inuasion: beseechyng the kinges highnesse, in the name of the Commons, to imprint in his heart and remembraunce the sayd Marques, and his labors and actes, to his honour and renoume, which should be an example to all other, which the king should call to like seruice, to employ themselues in like endeuor, faythfully and honourably to serue their king and souereigne Lorde: praiyng also the Lordes spirituall and temporal, that they for the consideracions before rehersed, would vouchsafe to make like petition to the kinges Maiestie, and that all the actes and demeanor of the sayde Marques, might by authoritie of Parliament, be to his honour, and perpetuall fame, in the rolles of the same Parliament, recorded and substancially registred.

At which humble intercession, the Lords, aswell spirituall as temporal, rose from their seates, and on their knees made to the king like request and petition, as they of the commons before were desired: wherevpon the king by the mouth of the Archebishop of Cauntorbury his Chauncelor, made answere, that their requestes were so reasonable and so honourable, that he in no wise could but louyngly accept, & gently allowe the same, saiyng also: that their desyres were to him a singuler pleasure, and an especiall comfort, and that he would from thencefoorth accept and take the sayd Marques to his benigne grace, and especiall fauour, as a person which hath done both true, faythfull,

faythfull, and notable seruice to him and to his Realme, to the entent that all men put in like trust, should enforce themselues to do like or better seruice to their souereigne Lorde or Mayster: agreeyng also (accordyng to their requestes and peticions) that the labors, demeanors, diligences, and declaracions of the sayd Marques of Suffolke, and the sayd commendacions and despyes, not onely of the Lordes, but also of the Commons, aswell for the honour of him and his posteritie, as for his acquitall and discharge, should be enacted, and enrolled in the Recordes of the same Parliament, which was so done. This Marques thus gotten vp into fortunes trone, not content with his degree, by the meanes of the Queene was shortly erected to the estate and degree of a Duke, & ruled the king at his pleasure, in somuch that he obteyned the wardeshippes, both of body and landes of the Countesse of Warwike, and of the Ladie Margaret, sole heyre to Iohn Duke of Sommerset, (which Ladie was after mother to king Henry the seuenth) and beside that, caused the king to create Iohn de Foys, sonne to Gaston de Foys, Erle of Longuile, and Capdawe of Buesse, Erle of Kendale: which Iohn had maried his niece, and by his procurement, the king elected into the order of the Garter, the sayd Gaston, and Iohn his sonne, geuyng to the sonne, towardes the maintenaunce of his degre and estate, landes and Castelles in the Duchy of Guien, amountyng to the somme of one thousande poundes by the yere, which landes, name, and stile, the issue and line of the sayd Erle of Kendall at this day haue, and enioy.

The Marques of Suffolke made Duke of Suffolk.

Here a man may beholde, what securitie is in worldly glory, and what constancie is in fortunes smylyng: for this Duke of Suffolke, in open Parliament of the Lords praised, of the commons thanked, and into the kings fauour entierly receiued, within foure yeres after, was in the same place, by the commons of the Realme accused of many treasons, misprisions, and offences, done and committed agaynst the king, and the common welth of his realme, and in conclusion, beyng exiled the realme, he was taken vpon the Sea, and made shorter by the head, which chaunce had not happened to him, if he had remembred the counsaile of the Popyngay, saiyng: when thou thinkest thy selfe in Court most sureste, then is it high tyme to get the home to rest.

These thinges beyng in doyng, the French king seyng that the tovne of Mauns, and diuers fortresses in Mayne, were not to him deliuered, accordyng to the appoyntment made, gathered together a great number of people, for to recouer the same: whereof the king of England beyng aduertised (least the breche of truce should begin by him) caused the towne to be deliuered, without any force.

A combat betweene a Mayster and his seruaunt.

This yere an Armorers seruaunt of London, appeled his Mayster of treason, which offered to be tried by battaile. At the day assigned, the frends of the master, brought him Malmesye and Aqua vite, to comforte him with all, but it was the cause of his and their discomfort: for he poured in so much, that when he came into the place in Smithfelde, where he should fight, both his witte and strength fayled him: and so hee being a tall and hardie personage, ouerladed with hote drinkes, was banquished of his seruaunt, being but a cowarde and a wretch, whose body was drawen to Tiborne, and there hanged and beheaded.

In which yere was a great insurrection in Norwiche, against the Prior of the place, in so much that the Citezens kept the gates, against the Duke of Norfolke, which came thether to appease the matter: but in conclusion, they opened the gates, and submitted themselues. The chiefe offenders, were (according to their desertes) straightly punished, and executed, and the the Maior was discharged of his office, and sir Iohn Clifton was made gouernoure there, till the king had restored the Citezens to their auncient liberties, and franchises. This commocion was for certaine newe exactions, which the Prior claymed and toke of the Citezens, contrarie to their auncient freedoms and vsages: but this was not the dewe meane to come to their right and purpose, and therefore because they erred and went out of the path, they were by punishment brought againe to a very straight trade, and the right way.

An insurrection in Norwiche.

This yeere Symon Eyre Alderman of London, whoe also had beene Maior of the same, builded at his owne costs and charges, the Leaden hall, in the saide Citie, and a faire Chapell ioyning to the same, chefely to haue the same made a store house in Sommer, for Wood and Cole to be bought, and there layd vp, and in the winter to be solde vnto the poore people at a reasonable rate, without gaine, the stocke beyng saued, and he left in stocke there one thousand pounde, which afterward was borowed by King Edward the fourth, and neuer payd againe (as it is said) and so that prouision decayed.

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During the time of this truce or abstinence of warre, while there was nothing to vere or trouble the mindes of men within the Realme, a sodayne mischiefe, and a long discorde, sprange out, by the meanes of a woman: for king Henry, which raigned at this tyme, was a man of a meeke spirite, and of a simple witte, preferring peace before warre, rest before busines, honestie before profite, and quietnesse before labour. And to the intent, that all men might perceiue, that there coulde be none, more chaste, more meeke, more holye, nor a better creature: In him raigned shamefastnesse, modesty, integritie, and pacience to be marueyled at, taking and suffering all losses, chaunces, displeasures, and such worldly tormentes, in good parte, and with a pacient maner, as though they had chaunced by his owne faulte, or negligent ouersight: and he was gouerned of them whome he shoulde haue ruled: and brideled of such, whome he sharpely shoulde haue spurred: He gaped not for honor, nor thirsted for riches, but studied onelye for the health of hys soule: the sauing whereof, he esteemed to be the greatest wisedome, and the losse thereof, the extremest folie that coulde be. But on the other parte, the Queene his wife was a woman of a great witte, and yet of no greater wit, then of haute stomacke, desirous of glory, and couetous of honor, and of reason, pollicye, counsaill, and other giftes, and talentes of nature, she lacked nothing, nor of diligence, studie, and businesse, she was not vnexpert: but yet she had one pointe of a very woman: for often times, when she was vehement & fully bent in a matter, she was sodainly like to a wethercock, mutable and turning. This woman perceyning that her husbande did not frankely rule as he would, but did all thing by the aduise and counsayle of Humfrey Duke of Gloucester, and that he passed not much on the authoritie and gouernaunce of the realme, determined with her selfe, to take vpon her the rule and regiment, both of the king and his kingdome, and to depriue and remoue out of all rule and authoritie the sayde Duke, then called the Lord Protectour

A description of king Henry the sixt.

The description of the wife of king Henry.

Protectour of the realme: least men should say and report, that she had neyther wyt nor stomack, which would permit and suffer her husband, being of perfite age and mans estate, like a yong Scholer or innocent Pupile, to be gouerned by the disposition of an other man.

This manly woman, this corageous Queene, ceased not to prosecute forthwith, her inuented imagination and purpose, and practised daylie the furtheraunce of the same. And although this inuention came first of her awne high minde and courage, yet it was furthered and set forward by such as of long time had borne malice to the Duke, for declaring their vntruth as you before haue heard. Which venemous Serpents, and malicious Tigers, perswaded, incensed and exhorted the Quene, to loke well vpon the expenses and reuenewes of the realme, and thereof to call an accompt: affirming plainely that she should euidently perceyue, that the Duke of Gloucester, had not so much aduaunced and preferred the common wealth, and publique vtilitie, as his awne priuate things and peculiar estate. Beside this, Reyner king of Sicile, wrote to his daughter, that she and her husbande should take vpon them the rule and gouernaunce of the realme, and not to be kept vnder, lyke yong wardes and desolate Orphans. The Queene perswaded and encouraged by these meanes, tooke vpon her and her husband, the high power and auctoritie ouer the people and subiectes. And although she ioyned her husbande with her in name for a countenaunce, yet she did all, she sayde all, and she bare the whole swinge, as the strong Oxe doth, when he is yoked in the plough with a poore sely asse: and first of all she excluded the Duke of Gloucester, from all rule and gouernaunce, not prohibityng suche as she knewe to be his mortall enemies, to inuent and imagine causes and griefes agaynst him and hys: so that by her permission and fauour, dyuers noble men conspired against him, of the which, dyuers writers affirme, the Duke of Suffolke, and the Duke of Buckyngham to be the chiefe, not vnprocured by the Cardinall of Winchester, and the Archebishop of Yorke. Dyuers articles both heynous and odious were layde to hys charge in open counsayle, and in especiall one, that he had caused men adiudged to dye, to be put to other execution, then the law of the land had ordered or assigned: for surely the Duke being very well learned in the law ciuill, detesting malefactors, and punishyng their offences, gat great malice and hatred of such as feared to haue condigne reward for their vngracious actes and mischieuous doyngs. Although the Duke (not without great laude and prayse) sufficiently answered to all things to him obiected, yet because his death was determined, his wisedome little helped, nor his truth small auayled: but of this vnquietnesse of minde, he deliuered himselfe, because he thought neyther of death, nor of condempnation to die: such affiaunce had he in his strong truth, and suche confidence had he in indifferent iustice. But his Capitall enemies and mortall foes, fearing that some tumult or commocion might arise, if a Prince so well beloued of the people, should be openly executed, and put to death, determined to trap and vndoe him, or he thereof should haue knowledge or warning. So for the furtheraunce of their purpose, a parliament was sommoned to be kept at Bury, whether resorted all the peeres of the realme, and amongst them the Duke of Gloucester, which on the second day of the session, was by the Lorde Beamonde then high Constable of Englande,

The Duke of Gloucester remoued from all rule and gouernment.

A parliament kept at Bury.

lande, accompanied with the Duke of Buckyngham and other, arrested, apprehended, and put in warde, and all his seruaunts sequestred from him, and xxxij. of the chiefe of his retinue, were sent to diuers prisons, to ꝑ great admiration of the common people. The Duke the night after his imprisonment, was found dead in his bed, being the. xxiiij. day of Februarij, and his bodye shewed to the Lordes and commons, as though he had died of a palsey or impostume: but all indifferent persons well knewe, that he died of no naturall death, but of some violent force: some iudged him to be strangled: some affirme that a hote spit was put in at his fundament: other write, that he was stiffeled or smoldered betwene two featherbeds. After whose death, none of his seruauntes (although they were arraigned and attainted) were put to death: for the Duke of Suffolke, when they should haue beene executed, shewed openly their pardon, but this doyng appeased not the grudge of the people, which sayde that the pardon of the seruaunts was no amendes for murdreing of their master. The dead corps of this Duke was caryed to saint Albons, and there honorably buryed. Thus thys noble Prince, Sonne, brother, and Uncle to kinges, which had valiauntly and politiquely by the space of. xxb. yeares gouerned this realme, and for his demerites, called the good Duke of Gloucester, was by a bone cast by his enemies, choked and brought to his fatall fine, and last ende. So all men may openly see, that to men in auctoritie, no place, no not the Courte the chiefe refuge of all, nor the dwelling house, nor yet a mans priuie Castell, or his bed ordeyned for his quietnesse, is out of the daunger of deaths dart.

The Duke of Gloucester sodainely arrested of treason.

The Duke of Gloucester sodainely murdered.

This Humfrey Duke of Gloucester, descending of the blood royal, was not onely noble and valyant in all his actes and doings, but sage, pollitique, and notably well learned in the Ciuile lawe. And among other his worthy prayses, this followyng is not to be forgotten, which most liuely and plainely declareth him to be both prudent and wise, & to his great laude and praise is written and set forth by Sir Thomas Moore knight, in a booke of hys, entituled, a Dialogue concerning heresies and matters of religion, and in the. xiij. chapter of the same booke, in this wise followyng. In the time of king Henry the sixt (sayeth he) as he roade in Progresse, there came to the towne of Saint Albons a certayne begger with hys wyfe, and there was walking about the towne begging fiue or sixe dayes before the kinges comming thether, sayeng that he was borne blinde and neuer sawe in all his life, and was warned in his dreame that he should come out of Berwike, where he sayd that he had euer dwelled, to seke Saint Albon, and that he had bene at his Shrine, and was not holpen, and therefore he would go seeke him at some other place: For he had heard some saye sence he came, that Saint Albons body should be at Colyn, and in dede such a contention hath there bene. But of truth as I am certainely informed (sayth Sir Thomas Moore) he lyeth here at saint Albones, sauing some reliques of him, which they there shewe shryned. But to tell you forth, when the king was come, and the towne full of people, sodainely this blind man at saint Albones Shrine had his sight, & the same was solempnly rong for a miracle, and Te deum songen, so that nothing was talked of in all the towne, but this miracle. So happened it then that Duke Humfrey of Gloucester, a man no lesse wise, then also well learned, hauing great ioy to see suche a miracle, called the poore man vnto

vnto him, and first shewyng himselfe ioyous of Gods glorie, so shewed in the getting of his sight, and exhorting him to meknesse, and to no ascribyng of any part of the worship to himselfe, nor to be prowde of the peoples praise, which would call him a good & a godly man therby, at the last he looked well vpon his cien, & asked whether he could euer see any thing at al in all his life before. And when as well his wife as himselfe affirmed fastly, no, then he looked aduisedly vpon his eyen agayne, and sayde, I beleeue you very well, for me thinketh that ye can not see well yet. Yes Sir quoth he, I thanke God and his holy Martir, I can see now as well as any man: yea can, quod the Duke, what colour is my Gowne? Then anone the begger tolde him. What colour quod he is this mans Gowne? he tolde him also without anye staying or stombling, and tolde the names of all the colours that coulde be shewed him. And when the Duke sawe that, he bade him walke *Faytoure, and made him to be set openly in the stockes: For though he could haue seene sodaynely by miracle the difference betwene the dyuers coloures, yet could he not by sight, so sodainely tell the names of all these coloures, except he had knowne them before, no more then he coulde name all the men whome he should sodainely see, thus farre mayster Hooze. And thus much for the noble prowesse and vertue, ioyned with lyke Ornamentes of knowledge and learning shyning in this Duke: For the which as before hath appered, he was both loued of the commons, and well spoken of of all men, and no lesse deseruing the same, being called the good Duke of Gloucester: so neyther yet wanted he backbiters and priuie enuyers, as before hath bene expressed.

*Faytour, is as much to say as lopterer, bagabõd, or begger.

A false miracle wisely found out.

When the rumor of the Dukes death, was blowen through the realme, many men were sodainely amased for feare: many abhorred and detested the fact, but all men reputed it an abhominable cruelties, and a shamefull tyranny. But the publique wealth of the realme of Englande, by the vnworthy death of this pollitique prince, sustayned great losse, and ran into ruine, for surely the whole waight and burden of the realme, rested and depended vpon him, as the experience afterward did declare. For after his death, good and sage men fearing themselues, fled out of the flattering court, into whose places entered such, as desiring their owne promocion, set open the gates to newe factions, which could neuer be extinct, till all the seignories beyonde the sea (except Calice and the Marches) were lost, and king Henry in conclusion spoyled of his realme and lyfe. There is an olde sayde sawe, that a man entending to auoyde the smoke, falleth into the fyre: so here, the Quene minding to preserue her husband in honor, and her selfe in authoritie, procured and consented to the death of this noble man, whose only deth brought to passe that thing, which she would most fayne haue eschewed, and tooke from her that Jewell, which she most desired: for if this Duke had lyued, the Duke of Yorke durst not haue made title to the crowne: if this Duke had lyued, the nobles had not conspired agaynst the king, nor yet the commons had not rebelled: if this Duke had lyued, the house of Lancaster had not bene defaced and destroyed, which things happened all contrary, by the destruction of this good man. This is the worldly iudgement, but God knoweth what he had predestinate, & what he had ordeyned before, against whose ordinaunce preuayleth no counsayle, and agaynst whose wyll auayleth no stryuing.

And

And it is written of this good Duke of Gloucester, that he builded the diuinitie Schole in Oxford, which is a rare pece of worke. And at this time also, William Wanyflet a man of great deuocion, wisedome, and iustice, was made Bishop of Winchester, and Chauncelor of England, who to the furtherance of learnyng, buylded Mary Magdalene College in Oxford.

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In this .xxvj. yere of the reigne of this king: But in the first yere of the rule of the Quene, I finde nothing done worthie to be rehersed, within the realme of England, but that Richard Duke of Yorke, beyng greatly alyed by his wife, to the chiefe peres and potentates of the Realme, ouer and besyde his owne progenie and great consanguinitie, perceiuyng the king to be a ruler not rulyng, and the whole burden of the realme to depende in the ordinaunce of the Queene and the Duke of Suffolke, began secretly to breake to his friends of the Nobilitie, and priuatly declared to them, his title and right to the Crowne, and likewise did he to certeine wise and sage gouernours and Rulers of diuers Cities and townes: which priuie attempt was so pollitikely handled, and so secretly kept, that his prouision was redie, before his purpose was openly published, and his frendes opened themselues or the contrary part could them espie: but in conclusion time reueled truth, and olde hatred openly sprang out, as you shall hereafter both lament and here.

The death of Henry Beaufford Bishop of winchester

Duryng these doynges, Henry Beaufford, Bishop of Winchester, and called the riche Cardinall, departed out of this worlde, and was buryed at Winchester. This man was sonne to John of Gaunt Duke of Lancaster, discended of an honourable linage, but borne in Baste, more noble of blood, then notable in learnyng, haute in stomake, and highe in countenaunce, riche aboue measure of all men, and to fewe liberall, disdainefull to his kinne, and dreadfull to his louers, preferryng money before friendship, many thinges beginnyng, & nothyng performyng. His couetousnes insaciable, and hope of long life, made him both to forget God, his Prince, and himselfe, in his latter dayes: For Doctor John Baker his priuie counsaylor, and his Chapleyne, wrote, that he lyng on his death bed, sayd these wordes. Why should I die, hauyng so much ryches: if the whole realme would saue my lyfe, I am able either by pollicie to get it, or by riches to bie it. Fye, will not death be hyred, nor will money doe nothyng? when my Nephewe of Bedforde died, I thought my selfe halfe vp the wheele, but when I saw mine other nephew of Gloucester diseased, then I thought my selfe able to be equall with kings, & so thought to encrease my treasure, in hope to haue worne a triple Crowne. But I see nowe the worlde fayleth me, and so I am deceyued: prayng you all to pray for me. Of the gettyng of this mans goodes, both by power Legantine, or spirituall bribery, I will not speake, but the kepyng of them for his ambicious purpose, aspiryng to ascend to the Papisticall Sea, was both great losse to his naturall Prince, and native Country: for his hidden riches might well haue holpen the king, and his secrete treasure might haue relieued the Commonaltie, when money was scant, and inportunate charges were dayly imminent.

The fond and folishe talke of the bishop of Winchester

After the death of this Prelate, which was a great stay to the king and the realme, the affayres in Fraunce, were neyther well loked to, nor the gouernours of the Countrie were well aduised. For an Englishe Capteyn, called Sir Fraunces Surrien the Arragonoys, a man for his wit and actiuity,

Fongiers taken.

admitted to the order of the Garter, tooke by scalyng sodainly in the night, a Towne on the Frontiers of Normandie, belongyng to the Duke of Briteyn, called Fongiers, spoilyng the same, and killyng the inhabitauntes to the great destruction of the people, and more displeasure to the Duke of Briteyn, their soueraigne Lorde. The Duke beyng thereof aduertised, sent worde to the French king, declaryng to him that in the tyme of truce (in the which, he as his allye and vassall was comprehended) he was spoyled and bereued of his towne of Fongiers: besechyng the Frenche king, in that cause to see a recompence and amendment: Wherevpon he sent John Haruart his Caruer, and John Colinet one of the Maysters of his requestes to the king of England: and to the Duke of Sommerset, he dispatched Peter de Fountaynes Esquier, and one of the chiefe of his stable, to whome by both the Princes, as it was aunswered, that the fact and enterprice was both done, contrary to their minde, will and knowlege. And for the truce to be kept not onely restitution, but also amendes to be made to the Duke of Briteyn, a day of dyet and assembly was appoynted to be kept at the towne of Louiers. At the tyme appoynted both the parties assembled: the French part demaunded amendes with no little recompence: The English Orators aunswered, that without offence, nothing by iustice ought to be satisfied: affirmyng the doing of Sir Fraunces Surrien, to be his onely act, without the consent or counsaile, eyther of the king of England, or the Duke of Sommerset his Lieutenant and Regent. Duryng this dayly communicacion and long delay, certaine Frenchmen, friendes to the Duke of Briteyn, desiryng to be reuenged of the iniurie done to him at Fongiers, and also imaginyng howe to do some newe displeasure to the Englishemen, were aduertised by a wagoner of Louiers, that the towne of Pountlarche, was but meanly manned and slenderly furnished, & the watch was but negligently loked to: with which saiynges the Frenchmen beyng somewhat encouraged, deuised a way how by pollecie to take the towne: so the wagoner laded his Wagon, and passed forwarde, hauing in his companie two strong varlettes clad like Carpenters, wyth great Axes in their neckes. And for the furtheraunce of their purpose, the Lorde of Bressy with a chosen company of men of Armes, lodged himselfe in a bushement nere to the gate of Saint Andrewe. And Captayn Floquet, accompanied with Sir James of Clermount, and another great companie, priuily lurked vnder a wood toward Louiers. When al things were appoynted, early in the morning in the beginning of the moneth of October, the wagoner came to the gate, and called the Porter by name, prayng him to open the gate, that he might passe to Roan, and returne againe the same night. The Porter (which well knewe the voyce of his customer) tooke little hede to the other two companions, and so opened the one gate, and sent another felowe of his, to open the formost gate. When the Chariot was on the draw Bridge, betweene both the gates, the Chariotmaister gaue the Porter money and for the nonce, let one peece fall to the ground, and while the Porter stouped to take it vp, the wagoner with his Dagger stroke him in at his throte, so that he cryed for no helpe, and the two great Lubbers slue the other Porters, and with their Axes cut the Axeltree of the Wagon, so that the draw Bridge could not be shortly drawen vp. Which thinges done, they made a signe to Captayne Floquet, which without delay or tract of tyme, entered the towne,

A subtile knight.

towne, and slue and tooke the English men, which neyther heard nor thought of any such enterprice: amongest whome the Lorde Fauconbridge, Captein of the sayde towne, was apprehended as a prisoner: by this prette cautele and sleight imposture, was the towne of Pountlarche taken and surprised, which towne was the key and passage ouer the River of Some, from Fraunce to Normandie, beyng distant from Roan, onely foure leagues. Thus wrong was added to wrong, and iniury heaped to iniury, whereby the terme of truce was violated, and mortall warre was reuiued. But because the taking of this fortresse had a certein colour of breakyng of truce: The Duke of Sommerset by Imbassadors, and not by force of Armes, deuised to recouer again this prette towne, & sent for the restitution of the same, diuers Imbassadors to the French king and his counsaile, which made aunswere againe, that if the Englishemen restored to the Duke of Briteyn, the towne of Fongiers with condigne amendes, for the dammages done and committed within the same, the towne of Pountlarche should againe be rendered and deliuered: for the Frenche king and his counsaile beganne nowe to perceyue and smell, that the affayres of England by the death of the Duke of Gloucester, were sore minished and decayed, and that good counsaile began to waxe faint and decay, and sedicion freshly began to spring and rise: By reason whereof they thought that Normandy might sone be conquered and recouered, and that the Englishe nacion out of that region might easely be expulsed and driuen: wherefore they determined to take the good occasion to them openly offered, and to lose no tyme in so good a Bargaine. Wherevpon king Charles diuided his armie into three partes, not doubtyng of victorye, by reason that the fame of the conquest of Pountlarche, was blowen and spread abroad ouer all the Countrie. So after diuers assaultes (not without losse of diuers of his men) he had rendered to him by composicion, the townes of Louiers and Gerborye, whereof William Harper was Captaine. Thus prosperous victorie dayly succedyng to the Frenche kinges armie, he augmentyng hys hoste, determined to get the Towne of Vernoyle in Perche, and gyrde it round about with a strong siege. The inhabitauntes whereof, although with the sodaine chaunce they were somewhat abashed, yet hauyng some succors, and hopyng of more reliefe, toke to them good courage, and manfully defended the towne. But when their ayde tarryed longer then they eyther thought or desyred, they were compelled to compound with their enemies, vpon this condicion: that if the siege were not raysed within .xx. dayes, that then they should depart with bagge and baggage, which condicion was accepted: and because no rescues came, the towne, Castell, and the great Tower, were deliuered. The french Historians affirme, the towne to be taken by assault, and the Castell by composicion, but all writers agre, that the frenchmen obteyned it. This was warre reuiued before the full terme of the truce expired, which was the most detestable and vnprofitable chaunce, that eyther could or might haue happened or come to the realme of England. For by this sodaine dammage and losse, without thought arisyng, the Englishe Captaynes were so busied and vnquieted, that with appeasyng dayly rumors within townes, and what with studie how to recouer Castels lost and taken, that they scarce wist what way to take: for while they studied how to kepe and defend one Citie, foure or fiue other, folowyng fortunes chaunce, turned to the Frenche part,

Pountlarch taken by the Frenchmen.

and became their enemies. The chiefe cause of which reuoltyng and turnyng was this: It was blowen throughout all Fraunce, that the realme of England, after the death of the Duke of Gloucester, by the seuerall faction of Princes, was diuided into two partes, and that William de la Poole, late created Duke of Suffolke, and diuers other, were the occasion of the death of the sayd Duke of Gloucester, which was the very father of the Countrie, and the shielde and defence of the poore Commonaltie, and that the forenamed Duke of Suffolke, onely for lucre of money, vexed, oppressed, and molested the poore people, so that mens mindes were not intentiue, nor geuen to outward affayres and forein Conquestes, but all their studie was, howe to driue backe and defende domesticall iniuries, and dayly wronges done at home: by reason whereof men of warre were vnpayed, and no armie for resistence was eyther gathered or assembled together: which mischiefes whyle the king (as thinges of the worlde, and of no great moment) did neglect and omit, as he which preferred and extolled godly thinges, aboue all worldly affayres and mortall cures, and thought them most to be phantasied and labored: And while Queene Margaret his wife, in whome the whole rule of the realme consisted, beyng a woman of to much credence geuyng to euill and flatteryng counsaylors, that by no meanes after they coulde be eyther ouercome or resisted: so that by this meanes, the French Nacion knewe in what case the state of the realme of England stood in, which elated and encouraged their heartes, and daunted the courages of the Normanes and Gascoynes, so much, that for lacke of ayde and relefe, they turned to the French part, and forsoke their very soueraigne Lorde, the king of England in short space, as you shall after here.

1448 27 A rebellion in Irelande.

It was not enough, the realme of England this season thus to be vexed and vnquieted with the businesse of Normandy, but also a new rebellyon began in Ireland, to the great displeasure of the King and his counsaill: for repressing wherof, Richard Duke of yorke, with a conuenient number of men, was sent thether, as lieutenant to the king, which not onely appeased the fury of the wilde & sauage people there, but also gat him such loue and fauor of the countrey and the inhabitaunts, that their sincere loue, and friendly affection coulde neuer be separated from him and his lignage, as in the sequele of this storie you shall more plainely perceiue.

Englande loseth all that was gotten in Fraunce.

The Frencheimen hauing perfite vnderstanding of the infirmitye and vnreadinesse of the realme of Englande, displayed their Banners, and set forth their armies, and in short space gat by yelding, Constaunce, Eyrous, Castel Gayllarde, Pontean du mere, sainct Lo, Feseampe, Newchastle, Alanson, Tonque, Manleon argenton, Lisiaux argenton, and diuerse other townes in Normandy: Likewise in Guien was the towne of Maulissone rendered to the Erle of Foys. These townes were not yelded voluntarily by the English souldiors, but they were therevnto compelled by the Citezens and the inhabitauntes of the townes, which apparauntly perceiuing, that the great flame of the English force, was extinct and consumed, rose against the Capitaines, & other opened the gates to their enimies, or constrained them to render vpon a composicion. By which enforcement was the rich Citie of Roan delyuered: for surely the Duke of Somerset and the lord Talbot Erle of Shrowesbury, had well kept and defended this Citie, if they had bene no more

Roan delyuered to the French.

more vexed with the Citezens, then they were with their enimies. For after the French king had once by his Herault sommoned the citie, the inhabitants not onely sought wayes and inuented fraude, how to betraye the same, but also put on harnesse and rebelled against their Capitaines, menacing the death, and destruction of all the English people. The captaines perceiuing their vntrouth, and trayterous demeanour, retraited themselues into the Castell or Palaice, where by a certaine space with arowes and handgonnes, they sore molested & vexed the vntrue citezens. But when they considered the great puissaunce of the French king, and that they were in dispaire of all aide or relefe, and that their victaile and artillerie beganne sore to minishe, they thought it better to compounde and agree with their enimies, rather then wilfully to be destroyed or die for famine: and so vpon condicion that all they should safely depart to Caen with all their goods and armure, and that certayne townes shoulde be deliuered by a daye, they were permitted to depart: leauing behynde them for hostages, till the saide townes (which were agreed to be rendred) should be deliuered, the Erle of Shrewsburie and the Lorde Butler, son to the Erle of Ormond, which were sent to the Castel of Eureur, because they sore feared the malice of the Citezens of Roan. The Frenchmen folowing still the steps of victory, & elated with the bruit and fame of getting of Roan, determined, eyther by force or offer to get the towne of Harfliew, & shortly assauted the same, wherof was captain sir Thomas Coneson, a man of a great wit & of no lesse force: which hauing knowlege of the heuy tidings brought from Roan, was therwith nothing abashed, but coragiously set vpon his enimies, & them to their great hurt, manfully repulsed & draue from the walles. The Frenchmen learning wit by this great perill, left their scaling, and deuised dayly, how to batter and breake the walles & fortifications. This siege long continued, to the great losse of both parties. When sir Thomas saw small likelihode of ayd or gayn, but much apparaunce of losse & ieopardy, he toke a conuencion with his enimies, and so departed with all his goods.

1449 28

After which towne rendred, the fortresse of Hunflew, vpon the same composicion was yeelded. Thus you may perceiue that Fortune is euer without measure, for eyther she to much fauoreth or to much hateth, for beside these townes surrendered in Normandy, the Duke of Britaine recouered againe Fongiers, saint John de Buerne, & diuers other townes. In the meane season, the king of England sent into Normandie with a crue of a M.v.C.men, a valiant Capteyn called Sir Thomas Kiriell: a man of great stomach, if he had had a great army, but his power was to small, eyther to recouer ỹ which was lost, either to saue that which yet remayned vngotten: but surely in him lacked neither good will nor corage, for with his small number, he recouered againe the townes of Lyseaur, and Valongnes. After which feate, he ioyned himselfe with Sir Henry Norbery, Sir Robert Veere, Mathew Gough, and other Capteynes, so that they were aboue fiue thousand men of valiaunt heartes, and haute courages. After long consultacion, they determined to fight with the French men, which were goyng to the siege of Cane, but in their iourney, they were encountered at a place called Formigny, betweene Carentyne and Bayeur, by the Erle of Clermont, Lieutenant to the French king, the Steward of Poyton, and the Lord of Rays, Admirall of Fraunce, with sir hundreth men of armes, and sixe thousand other, which skirmished with

with the Englishe men a great season. During which skirmishe, there arryued Arthur Erle of Richmond, highe Constable of Fraunce, James of Lurenbrough, Erle of Lauall, with a great number of horsemen, and fresh footmen. After his comunyng, he and all the Frenchemen set on the Englishmen beyng faynt and wery with the long skirmishe. This battail was sore fought, but in conclusion the Englishe men were discomfited, and put to flight, and of them slaine aboue foure thousand, and .viij. hundreth taken prisoners, wherof Sir Thomas Kiriell, Sir Henry Norbery, and Sir Thomas Dyne were the chiefe, Sir Robert Ueere and Mathew Gough saued themselues. This was the first foughten fielde, that the French men gat on the Englishe men in many yeres, wherefore I blame them not though they of a little make much, and set forth all, and hide nothing, that may sound to their glory. They declare what number they slue, but they write not howe many of them were slaine or destroyed.

A great discomfiture geuen to the Englishmen.

After this victorie obtayned, the French king hearing that the Duke of Somerset was in the towne of Caen, thought that he had nothing done, if he permitted the Duke, still to tarie in Normandy, which by newe ayde and freshe succours might turne the wheele of Fortune into a contrary part, and peraduenture recouer all ỹ hath bene lost, or put the realme of Fraunce in ieoperdie: wherefore like a wise prince, entending to preuent thinges, imminent and at hande, assembled an armie royall, and in his awne person, hauing in his campe Reyner, called king of Sicile, father to the Quene of Englande, the Dukes of Calaber and Launson, the Erles of Cleremont, Richemonde, Mayne, Dumoys, Sent Polle, and Dampmartyne, beside many noble Barons and balyaunt knightes, when all things were readie, as opportunitie of time serued: He caused the towne to be enuironed on euery side, assigning to his Capitaynes seuerall places of the towne to be assauted, and there to proue their manhood. The Erle of Dumoys, with more losse then gaine entered into a bulwarke, and was beaten back. The Englishe men within the towne kept silence, as though they knewe not of their enimies approchyng, but euery man kept his loupe, and euery Capitayne well ouerloked his warde. The French men with querels, morispikes, slynges, and other engines, beganne to assault the walles: but of the Englishe men within, some shot fiercely with long bowes, other cast dartes, and rolled downe great stones and barres of yron: other cast downe Iauelyns, fyrebrandes, hote leade, and blockes with pitch and brimstone, lyke burning fyre flaming: so that neyther courage lacked in the assault, nor manhood, nor policie in the defence: for on the embattlements of the walles were set great rolles of timber, so mouing and vnstedfast, that neyther scaling ladder could take any holde, nor no person that should clime vp, could set any sure footyng. The French king perceyuing that this assault little or naught preuayled him, sent for all his great ordinaunce to Paris, determining neuer to departe, till he had conquered the towne, eyther with swoorde or famine. When the ordinaunce was brought, he daylie shot at the walles, and did some hurt: but to the Castell, which stood on a rock, and in it a dongeon vnhable to be beaten downe, he did no harme at all. In this towne was the Duke of Somerset, his wife and children, but he was not Capitaine, for the Duke of Yorke owner of the towne, by the kings gift, had appointed there his Capitaine

Caen besieged by the French men.

taine generall, Sir Dauy Halle, and of the Castell, Sir Robert Ueer, and of the Dongeon, syr Henry Radford. Daylie the shot was great, but more terrible then hurtfull. Sauing one day, a stone shot into the towne, fell betweene the Duches of Somerset, and her children, which being amased with this chaunce, prayed on her knees her husband, to haue mercy and compassion of his small infants, & that they might be deliuered out of the towne in sauegarde. The Duke more piteous then hardie, moued with the dolour of his wyfe, and loue of his children, assembled the Capitaines and Magistrates of the towne, declaryng to them, the power and puyssaunce of the French king, and their debilitie and weakenesse, perswading them rather to yeeld and render vpon honest conditions, then obstinately to resist, and foolishely to perishe. Sir Dauy Halle, Capitayne of the towne, answered to him, saiyng: my Lorde, although you be the kings Lieutenaunt generall, within thys countrie and dominion, and may by force of your authoritie, deliuer, sell or geue, any of the kings townes, to suche persons, eyther friends or enemies, as shall please you: yet I am sure that you cut your leather to large, to intreate or speake of the rendering of thys towne, apperteynyng to my Lorde and mayster, Rychard Duke of Yorke, which thereof hath geuen me both the charge and custody, with other of my trusty friends and felowes, and which with the helpe of almightie God, I shall well defende, both agaynst the Frenche king and all hys puyssaunce, till the Duke my master come to succour me, for of men, money and municions, I trust I haue sufficient. Why sayd the Duke, am not I here the kings Deputie, representing his person, and may commaunde all thinges accordyng to my discretion? Yea sayde the Capitaine, so that you geue away no mans right but his, whose authoritie you haue for the same: as for this towne, I assure you, without my Lordes assent, you shall neyther render nor yeelde, by my consent or agreement. The Duke was sore moued with thys saying, and so departed, and after sent for the rulers of the towne, and the poorest people of the same, declaring to them, that their lyues and goodes were in the french kings hands, and if they loked not shortly to their sauegarde, of death they were sure, and of mercie farre vncertaine: exhorting them to follow his louing monicion, rather then the hardened hart, of their to hardie Capitaine. The people of the towne thus perswaded (whose harts were rather French then English) beganne to rise against syr Dauy, boldely affirming, that if he tooke no composition within three dayes, they would open the gates, and let in the French king: and of this opinion were all the common souldiours. What should the poore Hare saye, when she is enuironned with a hundred houndes, or the silly Larke crie, when she is in the middle of a hundred Hawks, but take pacience, and seeke a way to escape? so this Capitaine perceyuing, that neyther his wordes serued, nor his truth towarde his Master preuayled, bad the Duke of Somerset doe what he list, for he would in no wise be named in the composition. Then the Duke partly to please the townes men, but more desirous to please the Duches his wyfe, made an agreement with the french king, that he would render the towne, so that he and all his, might departe in sauegarde with all their goodes and substaunce: which offer, the French king gladly accepted and allowed, knowing that by force, he might lenger haue longed for the strong towne, then to haue possessed the same so sone. After

The Citie of Caen yelded to the french.

ter this conclusion taken, Syr Davy Hall, with diuers other of his trustie friendes departed to Chierburge, and from thence sayled into Irelande to the Duke of Yorke, making relacion to him of all these doings: which thing kindled so great a rancour in his harte and stomack, that he neuer lett persecuting of the Duke of Somerset, till he had brought him to his fatall point, and extreme confusion.

After the obtayning of this strong towne of Caen, the Erle of Clermount besieged the City of Lyseux, whereof was Capteyn Mathew Gough, with three hundreth Englishe men. The Capteyne perceiuyng that when Caen was not rescued, that poore Lyseux was in dispayre of all succour, agreed to abandon and deliuer the Citie, so that he and his people might depart to Chierburge, hauyng no yron weapon nor armure, but onely theyr goodes, & whyte staues in their handes. After the deliuerance of this towne, the Frenche men still like good begles, folowyng theyr pray, besieged the towne of Fallayse, appertainyng to the Lord Talbot, Erle of Shrewsbury: whereof were Capteynes for the sayd Erle, Andrew Trollop, and Thomas Cotton squiers, which beyng desperate of succors, and considering the puissaunce of their enemies, agreed to deliuer the towne vpon two condicions, the one was, that the Erle their mayster, which remayned in pledge for certeyne condicions, agreed to be performed at the deliueraunce of Roan, (as you haue heard before) should be dismissed and set at libertie: the other, that if they were not rescued within. xij. dayes, that then they and theirs to depart with armure, and all their goods moueable whether it pleased them. After this agreement at the day prefixed, no rescues came, and so the towne was rendered, and incontinent after, the fortresse of Dampfrode was deliuered vpon like agreement. For the Frenchmen bragged, that they regarded neyther golde nor siluer, but desired rule, glory and fame: With which lightnesse, the other townes of Normandie beyng perswaded, voluntarily rendered themselues, vassalles and subiectes to the Frenche nacion.

All Normandie is lost.

Nowe rested Englishe, onely the towne of Chierburge, whereof was Capteyn, Thomas Gonuile, which surely and valiauntly defended the towne as long as vitaile and municion serued: but when these two handes were spent and consumed, he destitute of all comfort and ayde, vpon a reasonable composicion yelded the towne, & went to Calice, where the Duke of Sommerset and many Englishe men then soiourned: lamentyng their losse, and desperate of all recouery. Thus was the riche Duchie of Normandie lost, the which had continued in the Englishe mens possession. xxx. yeres, by the conquest of king Henry the fift. In the which Duchie were a hundred strong townes and fortresses, able to be kept and holden, beside them which were destroyed by the warres, and in the same was one Archebishoprike, and fiue Bishoprikes. Some say, that the Englishemen were not of puissaunce, eyther to man the townes as they should be, or to inhabite the Countrie, which was the cause that they could not kepe it: according to the Frenchmens adage, which sayth: A man can not long holde that, which he cannot grype. Other say, that the Duke of Sommerset, for his awne peculiar profite, kept not halfe his number of Souldiors, and put their wages in his purse. These be mens imaginations and coniectures, but surely the losse of it, was the domesticall diuision within the Realme, euery great man desiryng rather to

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be reuenged on his foe at home, then on his outward enemie, as you nowe shall manifestly see and perceyue.

For while these conquestes were obteyned in the partes beyond the sea, with sworde, speare, and target, by the aduersaries of the Englishmen, three mischieuous Captaines, set the people of the realme (as well of the Nobility as of the meane sort) in a ciuile warre and intestine diuision: For among the high Princes and peeres, reigned inward grudge: among the Clergie flatterie, and among the Commonaltie disdaine of lasciuious soueraignitie, which the Queene with her Minions, and vnprofitable Counsaylors daily tocke and vsurped vpon them. Wherefore they (not mindyng to be more charged, then their backes would beare, and perceiuyng that by negligent prouision and improuident pollicie, the affayres and businesse in the partes beyonde the sea, daily decayed, and more were like to do) began first to make exclamacion agaynst the Duke of Suffolke, affirmyng him, to be the onely cause of the deliuery of Aniow, and Main, the chiefe procurer of the death of the good Duke of Glocester, the very occasion of ỹ losse of Normandie, the most swallower vp & consumer of the kings treasure (by reason wherof, the warres in Fraūce were not mainteyned) the expeller from the king of all good & vertuous counsailors, and the bringer in & aduaūcer of vicious persons, common enemies, and apparaunt aduersaries to the publike wealth: So that the Duke was called in euery mans mouth a traytor, a murtherer, a robber of the kinges treasure, and worthy to be put to most cruell punishement: By reason of this exclamacion, the Queene somewhat fearyng the destruction of the Duke, but more the confusion of her selfe, caused the Parliament, before begon at the black Friers in London, to be adiourned to Leycester, thinkyng there by force and rigor of the lawe, to subdue and represse all the malice and euill will, conceyued agaynst the Duke and her: at which place fewe of the Nobility would appere, wherefore it was againe adiourned to Westminster, where was a whole companie and a full apperaunce. In the which session, the Commons of the nether house, put vp to the king and the Lordes, many articles of treason, misprision and misdemeanour, agaynst the Duke of Suffolke: the effect whereof, with his aunsweres, hereafter ensueth.

The cōmons exclaime against the Duke of Suffolke.

The parliament adiourned from Westminster to Leycester.

Articles propouned by the commons against the Duke of Suffolke.

1 First, they alleged, that he had traiterously excited, prouoked, and counsayled, John Erle of Dumoys Bastard of Orleaunce, Bertram Lorde Presigny, Willyam Cosynet, enemies to the king, and friendes and Ambassadors to Charles, calling himselfe french king, to enter into this realme, and to leuie warre agaynst the king and his realme, to the entent to destroy the king and his friends, & to make John his sonne king of this realme, maryng him to Margaret, sole heire to John Duke of Somerset, pretending and declaring her, to be next heire inheritable to the crowne, for lack of issue of the kings body lawfully begotten.

2 Item, the sayde Duke, being of the kings priuie and neere counsayle, allured by great rewardes, and fayre promises, made by the foresayde Erle of Dumoys, caused the king to deliuer and set at libertie, Charles Duke of Orleaunce, enemie to the king, and the kings noble father, which deliueraunce, was prohibited by expresse wordes, in the last will of the kings most victorious father.

3 Item, that before the departure of the sayde Duke of Orleaunce, the aforenamed

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aforenamed Duke of Suffolke, traytorously fast cleauing to Charles called the French king, counsayled, prouoked and entised the sayde Duke of Orleaunce, to moue the same king, to make warre agaynst England, both in Fraunce and Normandy: according to which procurement and counsaile, the sayde French king, hath recouerd the whole realme of Fraunce, and all the Duchie of Normandie, and taken prisoners the Erle of Shrewesburie, the Lorde Fauconbridge, and many other valiaunt Capitaines.

¶ These three articles aforenamed he denied either for fact or thought.

4 Farther, it was alleged, that he being Ambassador for the king of Englande, to Charles calling himselfe French king, promised to Reyner king of Sicile, and to Charles Dangiers his brother, enimies to the king, the relese of Angeow, with the deliueraunce of the Countie of Mayne, and the Citie of Maunt or Mauns, without the knowledge of the other Ambassadors, which him accompanied: which promise after his returne, he caused to be performed, to the kings disenheritaunce, and losse irrecuperable, and to the strength of his enemies and feblishement of the Duchy of Normandy.

¶ To this article he answered, that hys commission was to conclude, and doe all things according to his discretion, for the obtayning of a peace, and because without deliuerie of those Countries, he perceyued that truce could not be obteyned, he agreed to the relese and deliueraunce of them.

5 Also, they surmised that the sayde Duke being in Fraunce in the kings seruice, and one of the priuiest of his counsayle there, traytorously declared and opened to the Capitaines and conduiters of warre, appertayning to the kings enemies, the kings counsayle, purueiaunce of his armies, furniture of his townes, and all other ordinaunces, whereby the kings enimies (enformed by his traiterous information) haue gotten townes and fortresses, and the king by that meane depriued of his enheritaunce.

6 Item, the sayde Duke declared to the Erle of Dumoys, to the Lorde Presigny, and Wylliam Cosynet, Ambassadors for the French king, lying in London, the priuities of the kings counsayle, both for the prouision of farther warre, and also for defence of the Duchy of Normandy: by the disclosing whereof, the Frenchmen knowyng the kinges secretes, preuented the tyme, and obtayned their purpose.

7 Item, that the sayde Duke at such tyme as the king sent Ambassadors to the French king, for the entreating of peace, trayterously before their comming to the French Court, certefied king Charles of their commission, authoritie and instructions, by reason whereof, neyther peace nor amitie succeded, and the kings enheritaunce lost, and by his enemies possessed.

8 Item, the same Duke sayde openly in the Starre chamber, before the Lordes of the counsayle, that he had as high a place in the counsayle house of the French king, as he had there, and was as well trusted there as here, and could remoue from the French king, the priuiest man of his counsayle, if he would.

9 Item, when armies haue bene prepared, and souldiours ready waged, to passe ouer the sea, to resist the kings enemies: the sayde Duke corrupted by rewards of the French king, hath restrayned and stayed the sayde armies to passe any farther.

10 Item, the sayde Duke being Ambassadour for the King, compriſed not

not in the league as the kinges Allies, neyther the king of Arragon, neither the Duke of Britaine, but suffered them to be compriſed on the contrary part, by reason whereof, the olde amitie of the king of Aragon, is estraunged from this realme, and the Duke of Britein become enemie to the same: Gyles his brother the kinges sure friend, cast in strong prison, and there like to ende and finishe his dayes.

All these obiections he vtterly denied, or faintly auoyded, but none fully excused. Diuers other crimes were laide to his charge, as enrychyng hymselfe with the kings goods, and landes, gathering together, and making a Monopoly of offricies, fees, wards, and fermes, by reason wherof, the kings estate was greatly mynished and decayed, and he and his kin highly exalted and enriched, with many other pointes, which, because they be not notable, nor of great force or strength, I omit and ouerpasse.

The Duke of Suffolke committed to the Towre.

The Queene which entierly loued the Duke, fearing that some commotion and trouble might rise, if he were let goe vnpunished, caused him to be committed to the Towre, where he was kept with as much pleasure, as he that was at large, and out of all captiuitie. But after that a moneth was expired, she imagening the people to be pacified with this open emprisonment, caused him both to be delyuered, and also to be restored to the Kynges fauour and grace, as much as euer he was before that tyme. But thys doing incensed the furye of the mutable commons, muche more then before: openly denouncing and saying, that it was a shame to all the Realme, to see such a person, infected with so many misdeeds, either to rule aboute a Prince or to be had in honor. Of these wordes sprange dedes, and of this talking, rose displeasure, which had growne to great mischief, if pollitique prouision had not with all celerity resisted the first furye: for the commons in sundrye places of the Realme assembled together, gathered great companies, and elected a Captayne, whome they called, Blew berde: but or they had attempted any enterprise, their heades were apprehended, and so the members sodainely were dispersed, without any hurt committed.

Blew beard a Capitaine of rebels.

After this litle rage was asswaged, a new Parliament was holden at Leycester, whither came the King and the Queene in great estate, and wyth them the Duke of Suffolke, as chefe counsailor. The commons of the lower house, not forgetting their olde grudge, beseched the king, that such persons, as assented to the relese of Angeow, and deliueraunce of Maine, might be extremely punished, and tormented: and to be priuie to this fact, they accused, as principall, the Duke of Suffolke, with John Bishop of Salisbury, and sir James Fynes, Lord Say, and diuers other. When King Henrye perceiued that the cõmons were thus stomacked & bent, against the quenes dearling William Duke of Suffolke, he plainely sawe that neyther glosing woulde serue, nor dissimulation coulde appease the continuall clamor of the importunate commons: Wherefore to begin a short pacification in so long a broyle: First he sequestred the Lorde Say, beyng threasorer of England, and other the Dukes adherentes, from their offices, and authoritie, and after banyshed and put in exile the Duke of Suffolke, for the terme of fyue yeres: meaning by this exile, to appease the furious rage of the outragious people, and that pacified, to reuocate him to his olde estate, as the Queenes chefe frend and counsailer. But fortune would not, that he should so escape, for

William Duke of Suffolke.

for when he was shipped in Suffolke, entending to be transported into Fraunce, he was encountered with a shippe of warre, appertayning to the Duke of Exceter, the Constable of the Towre of London, being capitaine of the same barke with small fight, entered into the Dukes shippe, and perceiuing his person present, brought him to Douer Rode, & there on the one syde of a cocke bote, caused his heade to be striken off, & left his body with the heade vpon the sandes of Douer, which corps was there founde by a Chaplayne of his, & conueied to Wingfelde colledge in Suffolke, and there buryed. This ende had William de la Pole the first Duke of Suffolke, as men iudge by Goddes punishement: for aboue all thinges he was noted to be the very organ, engine, and deuiser of the destruction of Humfrey the good duke of Glouceſter, and so the blood of the innocent man was with his dolorous death, recompensed and punished. But the death of this froward person, brought not the realme to quiet, nor deliuered it from all inward grudge and intestine diuision, which to all Realmes is more pestiferous and noysome, then outward warre, dayly famine, or extreme pestilence. For although Richard Duke of Yorke was in person (as the kinges Deputie) in the realm of Ireland, continually resiant ther: yet his breath puffed, and his winde blewe dayly, in many partes of this realme. For many of the nobilitie, and more of the meane estate, wisely ponderyng the estate and condicion of the Realme, perceiuyng more losse then encrease, ruyne then aduauncemente, daylye to ensue: remembryng also that Fraunce was conquered, and Normandye was gayned by the Frenche people in short space, thought with them selues and imagined, that the fault of all these miserable chaunces happened, either because the king was not the true enherito to the Crowne, or that he or his counsaile were not able of wit, pollecie or circumspection, to rule and gouerne so noble a Realme, or so famous a Region. Upon this coniecture, the friendes, kinsmen, and allies of the Duke of Yorke, which were of no small number, began to practise the gouernaunce of his title: Infusyng and puttyng into mens heades secretly his right to the Crowne, his politique gouernaunce, his gentle behauiour too all the Irishe Nacion, affirmyng, that he which had brought that rude and sauage nacion to ciuile fashion, and English maners, would (if he once ruled in the realme of England) depose euill Counsaylors, correct euill Judges, and reforme all matters amisse, and vnamended. And to set open the flood gates of these deuises, it was thought necessary, to cause some great commocion, and ỹ risyng of people to be made agaynst the king: so that if they preuayled, then had the Duke of Yorke and his complices, their appetite and desyre. And because the Kentishemen be impacient in wronges, disdeynyng of to much oppression, and euer desirous of newe chaunge, and newe fangleneſſe: The ouerture of this matter was put foorth in Kent, and to the entent that it should not be knowen, that the Duke of Yorke or his friendes were the cause of the sodaine risyng: A certaine pong man of a goodly stature, and pregnant wit, was entysed to take vpō him the name of John Mortimer, although his name were John Cade, and not for a small pollicie, thinkyng that by that surname, the lyne and lynage of the assistent house of the Erle of Marche, which were no small number, should be to him both adherent and fauourable. This Capteine not only suborned by teachers, but also enforced by priuie Scholemaisters, assembled

William de la pole Duke of Suffolke beheaded.

Rebellion in Kent, wherof Jack Cade who named himself John Mortimer was Chiefe-teyne.

bled together a great company of tall personages: assuryng them that their attempt was both honourable to God and the king, and also profitable to the common wealth, promisyng them, that if either by force or pollicy they might once take the king, the Queene, and other their Counsaylors, into their handes and gouernaunce, that they would honourably entreat the king, and so sharpely handle his Counsaylors, that neither fiftenes should hereafter be demaunded, nor once any imposicions or tax should be spoken of. These persuasions, with many other faire promises of libertie (which the common people more affect and desyre, rather then reasonable obedience, and due conformitie) so animated the Kentishe people, that they with their Capteine abouenamed, in good order of battaile (not in great number) came to the plain of Blackheath, betweene Eldham and Grenewich. And to the entent that the cause of this glorious Captaynes commyng thether, might be shadowed from the king and his Counsail, he sent to him an humble supplicacion, with louyng wordes, but with malicious entent: affirmyng his commyng, not to be against him, but against diuers of his counsaile, louers of themselues, and oppressors of the poore Commonaltie, flatterers to the king, and enemies to his honor, suckers of his purſſe, and robbers of his subiectes, parciall to their friendes, and extreme to their enemies, for rewardes corrupted, and for indifferencie, nothyng doyng. This prowde Bill, was both of the king, and his Counsaile disdeinfully taken, and therevpon great consultacion had, and after long debatyng it was concluded, that such prowde rebelles should rather be suppressed and tamed, with violence and force, then with fayre wordes or friendly or gentle aunswere.

John Mortymer sheweth the cause of his rebellion.

Whereupon the king assembled a great army, & marched toward them, which had lyen on black Heath, by the space of .viij. dayes. This subtill Capitaine named Jack Cade, entending to bring the king farther within the compaſſe of his nette, brake vp his campe, and retyred backeward to the towne of Seuenock in Kent, and there expecting his pray, encamped himselfe, and made his abode. The Queene, which bare the rule, being of hys retraite well aduertised, sent syr Humfrey Stafforde knight, and William his brother, with many other Gentlemen, to follow the chace of the Kentish men, thinking that they had fled, but verily they were deceaued: for at the first skirmiche, both the Staffordes were slayne, and all their companie shamefully discomfited. The kings armie, being at this time come to black Heath, hearing of this discomfiture, beganne to grudge and murmoure amongst themselues, some wishing the Duke of Yorke at home, to ayde the Capitayne his Cosyn: Some desiring the ouerthrow of the king and his counsayle: other openly cryed out on the Queene and her complices. Thys rumour openly spoken, and commonly published, caused the king and certaine of his counsayle not ledde by fauour, nor corrupted by rewardes (to the intent to appeaſe the furious rage of the inconstant multitude) to commit the Lorde Say, Threasorer of Englande to the Towre of London: and if other agaynst whome like displeasure was borne had bene present, they had likewise bene serued. But it was necessary that one should suffer, rather then all the nobilitie then should periche. When the Kentishe Capitaine, or the couetous Cade, had thus obtained victorie, and slayne the two valyant Staffordes, he appareled himselfe in their riche armure, and so with pompe and

glorie returned agayne towarde London: in the which retraite, dyuers ydle and vacabond persons, resorted to him from Sussex and Surrey, and from other partes to a great a number. Thus this glorious Capitaine, compassed about, and inuironed with a multitude of euill, rude, and rusticall persons, came againe to the plaine of Blackheath, and there strongly encamped himselfe: to whome were sent by the king, the Archebishop of Caunterbury, and Humfrey Duke of Buckyngham, to common with him of his greeues and requestes. These Lordes found him sober in communication, wise in disputyng, arrogant in hart, and stiffe in his opinion, and by no wayes possible, to be perswaded to dissolue his armie, except the king in person would come to him, and assent to all things which he should require. These Lordes perceyuing the wilfull pertinacie, and manifest contumacie of this rebellious Villeyn, departed to the king, declaring to him his stoute and presumpteous requestes. The king somewhat hearing, and more marking the sayengs of this outrageous losell, hauing daylie reporte of the concurse and accesse of people, which continually resorted to him, doubting as much his familier seruaunts, as his vnknowen subiectes (which spared not to speake, that the Capitaines cause was profitable for the common wealth) departed in all haste to the Castell of Kylyngworth in Warwikeshire, leauing onely behinde him the Lorde Scales to keepe the Towre of London. The Capitaine being aduertised of the kings absence, came first into Southwarke, and there lodged at the whyte Hart, prohibyting to all men, murder, rape, or robbery: by which coulour he allured to him the harts of the common people. But after that he entered into London, and cut the ropes of the drawe bridge, striking his sworde on London stone, saiyng: now is Mortimer Lorde of this Citie, and rode in euery streete lyke a Lordly Capitayne. And after a flattering declaration made to the Mayre of the Citie of his thether comming, he departed againe into Southwarke. And vpon the third day of Julij, he caused syr James Fynes Lorde Say, & Threasorer of England, to be brought to the Gylde hall of London, and there to be arrayned: which being before the kings Justices put to aunswere, desyred to be tryed by his peeres, for the lenger delay of his lyfe. The Capitaine perceiuing his dilatorie ple, by force tooke him from the officers, and brought him to the standard in Chepe, and there caused his head to be striken off, and pitched it on a high pole, which was openly borne before him through the streete. And this cruell tyraunt not content with the murder of the Lorde Say, went to Myle ende, and there apprehended syr James Cromer, then Shriefe of Kent, and sonne in lawe to the sayde Lorde Say, and caused him there likewise to be hedded, and his head to be fixed on a Pole, and with these two heades, thys blooddy Butcher entred into the Citie agayne, and in dispite caused them in euery strete, to kisse together.

The Lorde Say Treasorer of England, beheded at the Standerd in Cheape.

Philip Malpas Alderman of London.

After this shamefull murder, succeded open rappyne, and manifest robbery in dyuers houses, within the Citie, and in especiall in the house of Philip Malpas, Alderman of London, and diuers other: ouer and besyde raunsomyng, and fynyng of dyuers notable Marchantes, for the tuicion and securitie of their lyues and goodes, as Robert Horne Alderman, which payed fiue hundreth markes, and yet neyther he, nor no other person was either of life or substaunce in a suretie or sauegarde. He also put to execucion in Southwarke

warke diuers persons, some for enfringyng his rules and preceptes, because he would be sene indifferent, other he tormented of his old acquaintaunce, least they should blase and declare his base birth, and lowsy lynage, disparagyng him from his vsurped surname of Mortimer, for the which, he thought and doubted not, both to haue friendes and fautors, both in London, Kent, and Essex. The wise Maior, and sage Magistrates of the Citie of London, perceiuyng themselues neyther to be sure of goodes, nor of lyfe well warranted, determined with force to repell and expulse this mischieuous heade, and hys vngracious company. And because the Lorde Scales was ordeyned keeper of the Towre of London, with Mathew Gough, the often named Capitaine in Normandie (as you haue heard before) they purposed to make them priuie, both of their entent and enterprise. The Lord Scales promised to them his ayde, with shooting of ordinaunce, and Mathew Gough was by him appointed, to assist the Mayre and the Londoners: because he was both of manhode, and experience greatly renounied and noysed. So the Capitaynes of the Citie appointed, toke vpon them in the night to keepe the bridge of London, prohibityng the Kentish men eyther to passe or approche. The rebels, which neuer soundly slept, for feare of sodayne chaunces, hearing the bridge to be kept and manned, ran with great haste to open that passage, where betwene both parties was a fierce and cruell encounter. Mathew Gough, more expert in Marciall feates, then the other Chiefetaynes of the Citie, perceyuing the Kentish men, better to stand to their tacling, then his imagination expected, aduised his company no farther to procede toward Southwarke, till the day appered: to the intent, that the Citizens hearing where the place of the ieopardie rested, might occurre their enimies and relieue their friendes and companions. But this counsayle came to small effect: for the multitude of the rebels draue the Citezens from the stoulpes at the bridge foote, to the drawe bridge, and begaune to set fyre in dyuers houses. Alas what sorrowe it was to beholde that miserable chaunce: for some desyring to eschewe the fyre, lept on his enimies weapon, and so died: fearefull women with childzen in their armes, amased and appalled, lept into the riuer: other doubting how to saue themselues betweene fyre, water, and sworde, were in their houses suffocat and smoldered. Yet the Captaynes nothing regarding these chaunces, fought on the drawe bridge all the night valyauntly, but in conclusion, the rebels gate the drawe bridge, and drowned many, and slue John Sutton Alderman, and Robert Heysande a hardy Citizen, with many other, beside Mathew Gough, a man of great wyt, and of muche experience in feates of chiualrie, the which in continuall warres, had valyauntly serued the king, and his father, in the partes beyonde the sea (as before you haue heard.) But it is often seene, that he which many times hath vanquished his enimies in straunge Countries, and returned againe as a conquerour, hath of his awne nacion afterward bene shamefully murdered, and brought to confusion, as in this skirmische and bickeryng the sayde Mathewe Gough was. This hard and sore conflict endured on the Bridge till. ix. of the clocke in the morryng, in doubtfull chaunce, and fortunes balaunce: for sometyme the Londoners were bet backe to the stulpes at Saint Magnus corner, and sodainly agayne the rebels were repulsed and driuen backe to the stulpes in Southwarke, so that both partes beyng faynt,

werie and fatigate, agreed to desist from fight, and to leaue battayle till the next day, vpon condition: that neyther Londoners should passe into Southwarke, nor the Kentishe men into London.

After this abstinence of warre agreed, the lustie Kentishe Capitayne, hoping on more friends, brake vp the gayles of the kings Bench and Marchalsea, and set at libertie a swarme of Gallants, both meete for his seruice and apt for his enterprise. The Archebishop of Cauntorbury, beyng then Chauncellor of England, and for his suretie lyeng in the Towre of London, called to him the Bishop of Wynchester, which also for feare, lurked at Haliwell. These two prelates seyng the furie of the Kentishe people, by reason of their beating back, to be mitigated and minished, passed the ryuer of Thames from the Towre, into Southwarke, bringing with them vnder the kings great seale, a generall pardon vnto all the offenders: which they caused to be openly proclamed and published. Lorde, howe glad the people were of this pardon (ye more then of the great Jubile of Rome) and how they accepted the same, in so much that the whole multitude, without bydding farewell to their Capitaine, retired the same night, euery man to his awne home, as men amased and striken with feare. But John Cade desperate of succours, which by the friendes of the Duke of Yorke were to him promised, and seyng his company thus without his knowledge sodainely departe, mistrusting the sequele of the matter, departed secretly in habite disguysed, into Sussex: but all his Metamorphosis or transfiguration little preuayled, for after a proclamation made, that whosoeuer could apprehend the sayde Jack Cade, should haue for his paine a thousande Markes, many sought for hym, but fewe espied hym, till one Alexander Iden Esquire of Kent, founde him in a garden, and there in his defence, manfully slue the caytife Cade, and brought his dead bodie to London, whose head was set on London bridge. Thys is the ende of all rebelles, and thys fortune chaunceth euer to traytors. For where men striue agaynst the streame, their bote neuer commeth to his pretensed porte.

The miserable ende of Jacke Cade.

After this commocion, the king himselfe came into Kent, and there sat in iudgement vpon the offendors, and if he had not mitigated his iustice, with mercie and compassion, more then fiue hundred by the rigor of his lawe had bene iustely put to execution: but he considered both their simplicitie and innocencie, and howe they with peruerse people were seduced and deceyued: and so punished the stubburne heades, and deliuered the ignorant and miserable people, to the great reioysing of all his subiectes.

During this commocion about London, Rauke Bishop of Salisbury, was by his awne tenaunts and seruaunts murdered at Edington, and so from thence forth daylie succeded murther, slaughter, and dissention. And the cause, as some write, was for consenting to the geuing vp of the Duchie of Angeow and Mayne into the handes of the French king.

And about this time Quene Margaret beganne the foundation of the Queenes Colledge in Cambrige.

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These variable chaunces in Englande were not vnknowne to the French king, wherfore he making foundation vpon the Englishe discord, determined to get into his possession, the Duchie of Aquitayne, while the princes of England were in controuersie for their titles and superiozitie: & therfore

fore lyke a speedy Purueior, which slacketh not time, he sent the Erles of Penthieure, & Perigot, with many valyaunt Capitaynes to lay siege to the towne of Bergerac set vpon the ryuer of Dordone, of which towne was capitayne, John Geddyng, which heering of the yeelding of Roan, and conquest of Normandie, considering the puyssaunce of the French armie, vpon reasonable conditions rendered the towne: yet all this notwithstanding, the Lorde Cameyse, syr George Seymour, syr John Arundell, and other valyaunt Capitaines, which had the gouernaunce of this countrie, manned townes, gathered people, and animated the colde stomackes of the fearfull Gascones: requiring them to be constant in their fidelitie, true to their naturall Prince, and vndoubted souereigne Lorde, sending daylie letters to the king of Englande and his counsayle, declaring to him the weakenesse of his subiectes, and the strength of his enimies, asserteyning him for a suretie, that without speedye ayde, and ready succours, the whole Countrey was like to be gotten from his possession. Many letters were sent, and many faire aunsweres were brought, but reliefe neither appered, nor one man of warre was thether shipped. By reason whereof, the Gascoynes perceyuing their enemies at hande, intending as well to destroy the countrey, as to subdue the people, beganne euery man for himselfe, to regarde nothing, but the sauing of their townes, goodes, and corne: neglecting defence, and fearefull of assaultes, least by small resistence, they might receyue more detriment, then after they could recouer agayne, eyther with great force, or much labour. But the Englishe men (whose natures are not to be faynt hearted, euen at the very ieopardie of death) with all their wits studied, both how to repulse and conuince their enemies, and to turne away the euill chaunces which they sawe lykely (if pollicie did not helpe) sodaynely to fall, and shortly to insue. But all their pollicies little preuayled in conclusion, because succours fayled, and force wanted. For after the Frenchmen had the towne of Bergerac to them rendered, the fortresses of Jonsac, of Bonefoy, and dyuers other places, wyllingly and freely yeelded themselues to the French subiection. During which time, the Lorde Dozuall, thirde sonne to the Lorde Delabreth, with a great number of men, as well on horsback as on foote, departed from Balas, to conquere and destroy the Isle of Madoce: whereof heering the Maire of Burdeaux, with a conuenient crewe of men, issued out of the Citie, and encountered with his enimies, betweene whome was a harde fight and a deadly battayle: but the French men more with multitude then with force, banquished the Englishe men, and killed and tooke prisoners aboue fiue hundred English men and Gascoynes, but of the frenchmen which were in double number, aboue their aduersaries (as writers affirme) there were slayne eyght hundred persons. For which cause, the Capitaynes followed no farther the chase, least the Englishe people would agayne returne. Thys slaughter of the Englishe parte, the French writers set foorth with the most, but of their awne losse they speake not one worde. Such indifferency, is in their Chronographiers. This discomfiture so amased the wits, and daunted the harts of the meane Gascons, that they offred many townes to the French parte, before the same were of them demaunded.

After this, the Bastard of Orleaunce, Erle of Dumoys, and Longuile, Lieutenaunt generall for the Frenche king, accompanied with his bro-

ther, John Erle of Angulesme, which had bene long prisoner in England, and many valyaunt Capitaynes, and expert men of warre, belieged the Castell of Montguyon, which to them was rendered. After this, the sayde army besieged the fortresse of Blay, standing on the ryuer of Gyrond, which towne is the very key of the yorte of Burdeaux, and this towne was besieged both by water and by lande, and fiercely assaulted and manfully defended, and in conclusion by very force, for lack of resistence, conquered and gayned. The Bastarde of Kendale Capitayne of the Castell, seeing the towne lost, vpon certayne conditions deliuered his fortresse, into the possession of the Lorde Lieutenaunt.

After this towne gayned, the fortresses of Bourge & Liburne yelded but not without fiue weekes besiegyng. The wittie Captaynes perceiuyng fortunes fauour was not towardes them, thought it necessary to take the tyme while their good planet reigned. Wherefore to preuent the ayde of the Englishe men, whom they dayly looked for to come to the succor of their people: they appoynted foure armies, to make warre in foure seuerall partes. The Lord Charles Delabreth, accompanied with John Lorde Tartas and Aymon, Lord of Dozuall his sonnes, and the Erle of Foys, and the Viscount Lawtrec his brother, and many noble men of Guyen, layd siege to the towne of Arques, in the which be diuers hote bathes. The Erle of Armiacke extreme enemie to the realme of England, for breakyng the mariage concluded betwene king Henry and his daughter (as before you haue heard) besieged with a great puyssaunce, the strong towne of Rien. The Erle of Penthieur, with many noble barons, besieged the towne of Chastillon in Perigot, and the Erle of Dumoys, enuironed with a great puyssaunce the towne of Fronsacke. The Englishemen within this towne, perceiuyng the great ordinaunce on the Frenche part, and the small prouision on their syde, couenanted with the sayd Erle, that if the towne were not succored, & the French men foughte withal, before the feast of the nativity of S. John Baptist next ensuyng, ỳ then the towne of Fronsacke should be yelded to them, which was the strongest fortresse of all that Country, and the very key of Guien, & their Chamber of Burdeaux: and for performaunce hereof, pledges were deliuered, and writynges autentique sealed. This agrement once blowen through the Countrie, the Citie of Burdeaux and all other townes (except Bayon) made like agreement, and deliuered pledges. So did all the noble men and Gentlemen, which were subiectes and vassalles to the Crowne of England. Alacke, alacke, euery day was lookyng for relefe, and euery houre was gaspyng for comfort, but wishyng serued not, nor hopyng nothing helped: for the pestiferous diuision which reigned in England, so inueigled the braynes of the noble men there, that the honour of the Realme was cleerely forgotten, and nothing earthly, but their priuate phantasies looked on and remembred. Now to conclude, the day appoynted came, but succor looked for came not: so that all the townes of Aquitaine (except Bayon) deliuered their keyes, and became vassalles to the frenche Nation, yet the Citezens of Burdeaux, hoppyng of rescues, offered themselues to fight with the Frenchmen, and desyred a day of battaile to be appoynted, which request was to them graunted. But at the day assigned, they beyng in dispayre of all refuge and succor, rendered themselues and the towne, to their aduersaryes, their lyues and goodes

goodes reserued, with licence and safeconduite to all persons which would depart and sayle into England. When the Cities and townes of Gascoyne were set in good order, the Erle of Dumoys and Foys, with great preparacion of vittaile, munition, and men, came before the Citie of Bayon, where with mines and battery, they so dismayed the fearefull Inhabitauntes, that neyther the Captaine nor the Souldiours, could kepe them from yeeldyng: so by force they deliuered the towne, and their Capteyne as a prisoner, offred a great somme of money for the sauegarde of their liues and goodes. Besides these agreementes taken with townes, diuers noble men made seuerall compositions, as Gaston de Foys, Capdaw of Buesh, whom king Henry the fift made Erle of Longuile, and knight of the Garter, whose auncestours were euer true to England, which agreed that he, and John de Foys his son, whome king Henry the first created Erle of Kendale, and made also knight of the Garter, should enioy all their landes in Acquitaine, geuen to them by the kinges of England, or by the Dukes of Aquitaine, And because their entent was still to serue the king of Englande their souereigne Lorde, they agreed, to deliuer into the custodie of the Erle of Foys, their Cosyn, the sonne and heyre of the sayd Erle of Kendale, beyng of the age of three yeres, to the entent, that if he at his full age denied to become subiect and vassall to the French king, or before that tyme deceassed, that then after the death of his father, and grandfather, all the sayde landes should wholy remaine to the next heyre of their blood, eyther Male, or Female, beyng vnder the obeysaunce of the Frenche king, or his heyres. Many noble men, whose hartes were good Englishe, made like compositions, and some came into England, and other went to Calice, and were great officers there: as the Lorde Duras, which was Marshall there, and Monsire Vanclere, which was there Deputie, vnder the Erle of Warwike (as after shall be shewed.) Now haue I declared to you, the losse of Fraunce, Normandie, and Acquitain: wherefore, hauyng no more cause yet to speake of them, I will returne to the great trouble, dissencion and diuision, which long was cloaked, and nowe openly set abrode, and burst out in the realme of England.

1452
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You haue heard before, howe the Duke of Yorke, as heyre to Lionell Duke of Clarence, pretended priuily, a title to the Crowne, and howe hys friendes commoned secretly with diuers persons of that matter, and excited them to set forward, and aduaunce that part to the vttermost: and howe the sayde Duke was sent into Ireland, where he was dayly aduertised by hys assured friendes, of all thinges done in England, and by them knew in what estate he stoode, both with the Nobilitie, and Commonaltie. Wherefore, he mindyng no lenger to dreame in his waightie matter, nor to kepe secrete his right title, returned out of Ireland, and came to London in the Parliament tyme, where he deliberately consulted, with his especiall friendes: as John Duke of Norffolke, Richarde Erle of Sarisbury, and Lorde Richarde his sonne, which after was Erle of Warwike, Thomas Courtney, Erle of Deuonshire, and Edwarde Broke Lorde Cobham, a man of great wit and much experience: requiryng them, both of aduice and counsaile, howe hee might without spot of treason, or colour of vsurpacion, set forth his title, and obteyne his right.

After long consultation, it was thought expedient, first to seeke some occasion

occasion and picke some quarell to the Duke of Somerset, which ruled the king, ordered the realme, and most might doe with the Queene: whome the commons, for the losse of Normandy, worse then a Tode or Scorpion hated, disdained, and abhorred, in so much that diuerse euill ruled persons, brake his house, and spoyled his goods, within the blacke Friers of the Cytie of London: which malefactors, according to their deserues, were iustlye executed and punished. For well knewe the Duke of Yorke and his adherentes, that if the Duke of Somerset sawe or smelled any point of their purposed enterprise, that hee woulde with speare and shielde, with might and mayne, withstande and repell the same, to the extreme point of death, and to their vtter confusion. Wherefore to abridge his power, and to minishe his authoritie, they determined to bringe him into the hatred of the people, and into the disdayne of the Nobilitie. And to be the stronger in the setting foorth of their feate, they, what with rewards and faire promises, and what with declaration of great enormyties, committed by the kyngs counsaylors, agaynst the common wealth, allected and allured to them, lustye bachelars, and actyue persons, of a great number, protesting and declaring, that they neither ment euill, not thought harme, eyther to the kynges person, or to hys dignitie: but that their intent was, for the reuenging of great iniuries done to the publique wealth, and to persecute and reforme diuers rulers about the kyng, which dayly contrary to right and equitie, bered and pilled the englisch people, without reason or measure: so that no man was in suretie, eyther of his owne goodes, or sure of his proper lands, or possessions. These great enormities, they caused to be published to the intent that their chefe purpose shoulde not be espied, or perceiued.

The Duke of Yorke rebelleth, and claymeth title to the Crowne.

When the Duke of Yorke had thus framed the entry into hys long entended iorney, he with helpe of his frendes, assembled a great armye in the Marches of Wales, publishing openly, that the cause of his mocion was, for the publique wealth of the realme, and great profite of the commons: which faire tolde tale, allured to him much people, aswell of the chiualrye, as of the mean sort. The king much astonnied w̄ this sodain commocion, by the aduise of his counsail, raysed a great host, and marched forward toward the Duke: but he being of his approch, credibly aduertised, by his espials, diuerted from the kings wayes, and toke his iorney towarde London: and hauing knowledge, that he might not be suffered with his army, to passe through London, he crossed ouer the Thamese at Kingston bridge, and so set foorth towarde Kent, where he knewe that he had both friends, and good willers, and there

Brent heath.

on Brentheath, a Mile from Dertford, and .x. miles from London, he embattayled himselfe, and encamped his armye very stronglye, both with trenches and artillery. The king being therof aduertised, with great diligēce brought

Black heath.

his army to Blackheath, and there pight his tentes. While both the armies lay thus embattayled, the king by the aduise of his counsaill, sent the bysshops of Winchester and Elie to the Duke, both to know, what was the cause of so great a tumult and commocion, and also to make a concord, if the requestes of the Duke and his company semed to them consonant to reason, or profytable to the people. The Duke hearing the message of the two bishops, eyther doubting the variable chaunce of mortall battaill, or loking for a better occasion, or a more luckey daye, aunswered the prelates, that his comming was

was neyther to dampnifie the king, neyther in honor, nor in person, nor yet any good man, but his intent was to remoue from him certaine euill disposed persons of hys counsayle, which were the bludsuckers of the nobilitie, the pollers of the cleargie, and oppressors of the poore people: amongst whom he chiefly named, Edmound Duke of Sommerset, whome if the king would commit to ward, to answere to such articles as agaynst him in open Parliament should be both proponed and proued, he promised not onely to dissolue hys armie and dispatche his people, but also offred himselfe, like an obedient subiect to come to the kinges presence, and to do him true and faythfull seruice, accordyng to his truth and bounden dutie. When the Messengers were returned with this reasonable aunswere: The king perceiuyng, that without great bloodshed, he could not bridle the Duke of Yorke, nor without war he could not appease the furious rage of the common people, beyng once set on fire, except he folowed their mindes, and graunted their requestes, caused the Duke of Sommerset to be committed to warde, as some say: or to kepe himselfe priuie in his awne house, as other write, till the furye of the people were somewhat asswaged and pacified. Which thing done, the Duke of Yorke the first day of Marche, dissolued his armie, and brake vp his campe, and came to the kinges tent, where beyde his expectacion, and contrary to the promise made by the king, he found the Duke of Sommerset set at large and at libertie, whome the Duke of Yorke boldely accused of treason, of bribrie, oppression, and many other crymes. The Duke of Sommerset not onely made aunswere to the Dukes obiections, but also accused him of high treason towarde the king his souereigne Lorde, affirmyng, that he with his fautors, and complices had consulted together, how to obteyne the Crowne and Scepter of the Realme. By meane of which wordes, the king remoued straight to London, and the Duke of Yorke as prisoner rode before him, and so was kept a while. The king assembled together a great counsail at Westminster, to heere the accusacions of the two Dukes, the one obiectyng to the other, shamefull actes, and detestable crymes. But the Duke of Sommerset, which nowe conceiued in his minde the thing that shortly folowed, incessantly exhorted the Counsaile, that the Duke of Yorke, by compulsion or otherwise might be compelled to confesse his offence, and so beyng attaynted of treason, to be put to execucion, and his children to be taken enemies and aduersaries to their native Countrie: to the entent that by the losse of this onely Prince and his sequele, all ciuile warre, and inwarde diuision might ceasse and be repressed: beseechyng almightie God, that so great an enemie to the king and his blood, might neuer escape punishement, nor continue long in life. The Duke of Sommerset set forth this matter the more vehemently, because he knewe perfectly, that the Duke of Yorke dayly studied, how to get the Crowne, and obteyne the gouernaunce, and to depose and destroy both the king and him. But the necessitie of destinie cannot by any mans deuise, be eyther letted or interrupted: for many thinges (to common iudgements) declared the Duke of Yorkes truth and innocencie in this case. First, his free and voluntary commyng to the king, when he with his power was able to encounter with the kinges puissaunce, which was an open token and manifest argument, that he neyther ment treason, nor yet fraude. Secondarily, his humble submission, his reasonable requestes, and profitable peticions for the poore

One Duke accuseth another.

poore commons, were iudged no poyntes of a man, that desyred soueraignte or rule aboue other, which thinges he did onely for a cautele (as afterwarde openly appered.) While the Counsaile treated of sauyng or losyng of thys Duke of Yorke, A rumor spyang thyroughout London, that Edward Erle of Marche, sonne and heyre apparaunt to the sayde Duke, a yong Prince of great wit and much stomacke, accompanied with a strong armie of Marchemen, was commyng towarde London, which tydinges sore astonyed the Queene and the whole counsaile. Beside this, the same very day came Ambassadors from the heddes and Magistrates of the City of Burdeaux, wherof the chiefe were, the Erle of Kendale, and the Lorde Lespar, which signifyed to the Counsaile, that if they would send an armie into Gascoyn, the Gascoynes would reuert and turne againe to the Englische part: aduertisyng them, that there was in those partes no puyssaunce or garrison of Frenche men, to withstand them, and therefore there was no doubt of the regainyng or reconqueste: requiryng them with all diligent celeritie, to take so fayre a pray so openly to them offered, and to minde nothing before the regainyng of so fruitfull a Countrie. These two thinges sore troubled the heades of the Kinges counsaile, which least this dissencion betwene two persons, might be the let of outward conqueste, they first agreed to set the Duke of Yorke at libertie, and permitted him to returne to his fayre Castell of Wigmore in the Marches of Wales, where he studyed, both howe to displease his enemies, and to obteyne his purpose: And so by meanes of the absence of the Duke of Yorke, which was in maner banished the Court, and the Kings presence, the Duke of Sommerset rose vp in high fauour with the king and the Queene, and his worde onely ruled, and his voyce was onely heard.

1453 31 The Counsayle of Englande, not forgetting the offer of the Gascons, and that they might nowe haue the Citie of Burdeaux, with the Countrie round about, by offer and request, which with great charge and long warre they could scant againe recouer or repossesse, appointed the noble souldiour, and valyaunt Capitayne John Lorde Talbot, and Erle of Shrewsburie, to be Chiefetaine of the armie, which should in all haste be transported and conueyed into Aquitayne. The Lordes of Gascoyne, both well pleased and glad of their answere, returned into their Countrie, in as secret maner as they from thence departed, declaring to their Nation, the Capitaynes and the power, that was to them comming: exhorting euery man to be firme and stable to the king of England and his heyres, vnder whose liberty and freedome they had prospered and reioyced, aboue three hundred yeres, rather then now to fall into the French captiuity: whose taxes were vnreasonable, and whose daylie exactions were to them importable.

When all things were shipped, and winde and weather serued, the Erle of Shrewsbury toke his chaunce, and sayled into Gascoyne, where without resistence, he peaceably arryued in the Isle of Madre, where he reposed his armie, being scant three thousand men, and destroyed all the Countrey, betwene Burdeaux and Blay, and toke the strong towne and Castell of Fronsac, and diuers other townes and fortresses. The inhabitaunts of Burdeaux hearing of the Erles arriuall, sent to hym messengers in the darke night, thanking and congratulating him for his thether comming, and also requiring him to hasten, and speede his iourney towarde their Citie, enforming him,

him, that now the time serued for his purpose: and time not taken, was labor misspent. This auncient Fox, and politique Capitayne lost not one houre, nor spared one minut, till he came before the Citie of Burdeaux. The Citizens glad of his comming, made not the French Capitaynes, which had the gouernaunce of the towne, eyther parties or priuies of their intent: yet some of them would, that the French men, in securitie both of lyues and goodes should departe out of the towne, but their wyll was no will: for the multitude, abhorring the French seruitude, and embracing the Englische libertie, which they and their auncestors of many yeres had tasted, opened one gate, and let in a great parte of the Englische armie. The French Capitaines entending to escape secretly by a posterne, were slayne and taken by the Lorde Lespar, and other of the Englische army. After the regayning of Burdeaux, arriued at Blay the Bastarde of Sommerset, Sir John Talbot Lorde Lisle, by his wyfe sonne to the sayde Erle of Shrewsbury, the Lorde Wolyns, the Lordes Haryngton and Cameys, syr John Hayward, Syr John Montgomerie, syr John Vernon with .xxij. C. men with vittayles and munitions. When the Erle of Shrewsbury was thus according to his entent of all things furnished and adorned: first he fortified Burdeaux with English men and vittayle: after that he rode into the Countrey abroad, where he obteyned Cities, & gat townes without stroke or dent of sworde: for the poore and needie people being wearied with the oppression of their new Landlords rendered their townes, before they were of them requyred, and beside thys the townes and Cities farre distaunt from Burdeaux, sent messengers to the Erle, promising to him both seruice and obeysaunce. And among other the towne and Castell of Chastillon in Perigot, was to him deliuered by the Frenchmen vpon composition, that they might with their liues safely depart: which towne, the Erle strongly fortified both with men and ordinaunce. The French king lyeng at Towers in Towrayne, being of the Erles actes in Gascoyn credibly enformed, was not a little exasperate and quickned: wherfore he minding to resist the first stormc, & repulse the first furge, assembled a great army to the number of. xxij. thousand men, and entering into Aquitayne came to Lusigneum, and from thence accompanied with the Erle of Penthyure, the Lordes of saint Seuere and Boucat, marched towarde Calice in Gascoyn, and with fayre promises obteyned the towne. And after that towne gayned, the French king diuided his armie into two parties, whereof the one was gouerned by the Erle of Cleremont, sonne in lawe to King Charles, and heyre to the Duke of Burbon, in the which were. xb. thousand men, in whom consisted the waight and peyse of the whole enterprise. This army he appointed to take the next way toward Burdeaux: the other armie whereof he was Capitayn and leader himselfe, accompanied with the peeres and noble men of his realme, he kept and reteyned still beside Caleys, and sent the two Marshalles of Fraunce with. xbiij. C. men of armes, beside Archers, to besiege the towne of Chastilon in Perigot, & in going thether, they gat a fortresse, which they manned, and so departed to Chastilon, which they enuyroned with a strong siege, and cast high trenches, and made deepe diches on euery side: and in a place where their enimies must come, they layde ordinaunce both great and small, whereof so great a number was neuer before seene in Fraunce. The Erle of Shrewesbury hearing of these newes,

The Citie of Burdeaux recouered by the Englishmen.

and

and perceyuing that he must of necessitie encounter and fight with two armies, determined with himselfe, first to assay the least power and weaker puissaunce: wherfore without longer delay, he assembled together eyght.C. horsemen, whereof the Lorde Lisle his sonne, the Lorde Molyns, the Lord Cameus, Syr Edward Hull, syr John Hayward, and Syr John Vernon were chiefe, and so marched forward toward Chastylon, appoynting. v. M. foote men vnder the conduyt of the Erle of Kendalle, and the Lorde Lespar to followe him with all spede. In his way he assauted the Towre, which the French men had taken, and by force entered, and slue all that he found within, and by the way he met fiue hundred Frenchmen, goyng a forragyng, of whome he slue the greatest parte, and chased the other to the campe. The french men knowing by these good runners away of the Erles approching, with all diligence left the siege, and retired in good order into the place which they had trenched, ditched, and fortified with ordenaunce. They within the towne seing the siege remoued, sent out worde to the Englishe men that the French men fled. The courageous Erle hearing these newes, and fearing least through long taryeng the birdes might be flowen awaye, not tarying till his footemen were come, set forward toward his enimies, which were in minde surely to haue fled, as they confessed afterward, if the feare of the French kings rebuke, which was not farre of, had not caused them to tarie, and yet in this armie were present, the Marshalles and great Master of Fraunce, the Erle of Ponthyeure, the Seneschal of Poythiew, the Lorde Bellire, and many valyaunt Barons and knights. When the Englishe men were come to the place where the French men were encamped, in the which (as Eneas Siluius testifieth) were three hundred peeces of Brasse, beside diuers other small peces, and subtill engines to the English men vnknowne, and nothing suspected, they lighted all on foote, the Erle of Shrewsburie onely except, which because of his age, rode on a little Hackeny, and fought fiercely with the French men, and gat the entrie of their Campe, and by fine force entered into the same. Thys conflict continued in doubtfull iudgement of victorie two long houres: during which fight, the Lords of Montamban and Humadayne, with a great company of French men entered the battayle, and began a newe fielde, and sodainely the Gonners perceyuing the English men to approch neere, discharged their ordinaunce, and slue three hundred persons, nere to the Erle, who perceyuing the imminent ieopardie, and subtile labirynth, in the which he and his people were enclosed and wrapped, dispising his awne sauegarde, and desiring the lyfe of his entierly and welbeloued sonne the Lorde Lisle, willed, aduertised, and counsayled him to departe out of the fielde, and to saue himselfe. But when the sonne had answered that it was neyther honest nor naturall for him, to leaue his father in the extreme ieopardie of his lyfe, and that he would taste of that draught, which his father and Parent should assay and beginne: The noble Erle and comfortable Capitaine sayde to him: Oh sonne, sonne, I thy father, which onely hath bene the terror and scourge to the French people so many yeres, which hath subuerted so many townes, and discomfited so manye of them in open battayle, and marciall conflict, neyther can here die, for the honour of my Countrey, without great laude and perpetuall fame, nor flie or depart without perpetuall shame and continuall infamy. But because this is thy first

first iourney and enterprise, neyther thy flyeng shall redounde to thy shame, nor thy death to thy glorie: for as hardie a man wisely flyeth, as a rashe person folishely abideth, therefore the flyeng of me shall be the dishonor, not onely of me and my progenie, but also a discomfiture of all my company: thy departure shall saue thy lyfe, and make thee able another tyme, if I be slayne to reuenge my death, and to do honor to thy prince, and profite to his realme. But nature so wrought in the sonne, that neyther desire of lyfe, nor thought of securitie, could withdraw or pluck him from his naturall father: Who considering the constancie of his childe, and the great daunger that they stood in, comforted his souldiours, cheared his Capytaynes, and valiauntly set on his enimies, and slue of them more in number then he had in his company. But his enimies hauing a greater company of men, and more abundaunce of ordinaunce then before had bene sene in a battayle, first shot him through the thighe with a handgonne, and slue his horse, and cowardly kylled hym, lyeng on the ground, whome they neuer durst looke in the face, while he stoode on his feete, and with him there dyed manfully his sonne the Lorde Lisle, his bastard sonne Henry Talbot, and syr Edward Hull, elect to the noble order of the Garter, and .xxx. valyaunt personages of the Englishe nation, and the Lorde Molyns was there taken prisoner with. lx. other. The residew of the Englishe people fled to Burdeaux and other places, whereof in the flight, were slayne, aboue a thousand persons. At this battayle of Chastillon, fought the .xiij. day of Julij, in this yere ended his lyfe John Lorde Talbot, first of his progenie the first Erle of Shrewsburie, after that he with muche fame, more glorie, and most victorie had for his Prince and Countrey, by the space of .xxtiij. yeres and more, valyauntly made warre, and serued the king, in the partes beyonde the sea, whose corps was left on the grounde, and after was found by his friendes, and conueyed to Whitchurch in Shropshyre, where it is intumulate. This man was to the French people a very scourge, and a daylie terror, in so much that as his person was fearefull and terrible to his aduersaries present: so his name and fame was spitefull and dreadfull to the common people absent, in so much that women in Fraunce to feare their yong children, would crie, the Talbot commeth, the Talbot commeth. After this discomfiture, diuers Lordes fled to Burdeaux, but the Erle of Kendall, the Lordes of Montferrant, of Rosayne, and of Dangladas, entered into the Castell of Chastillon, which they by the space of .v. dayes manfully defended, but in conclusion being desperate of all succours rendered the fortresse, and came safe to Burdeaux. After thys towne was yeelded, the townes of Saint Million, Bybourne and all other, which the Erle of Shrewesbury had conquered, rendered themselues to the Frenche obeysaunce, Burdeaux onely except. The which City being the last refuge, and onely consolation of the Englishe people in Gascoyn, the french king in person with all his puyssaunce strongly besieged and daylie assauted, in the which he more lost then gayned: beside thys, the Englishe men issued out, and courageously fought with their enimies: lykewise did the Citezens, which looking for no fauour at the French kings hande, because of their late coniuration agaynst him, manfully defended themselues, and sore noyed and hurt their enimies. But in conclusion both garrisons and the inhabitants oppressed with much penurie, & extreme famine were enforced to render the

John Lorde Talbot Erle of Shrewesbury Quine.

Battaile of Chastillon.

Citie vpon reasonable conditions, to them by the French king sent and offered: the effect whereof was that no offence, before time committed or done by any of the Citezens should hereafter be imputed, or layde to the charge of any of them. Also that all Englishe men and Gascons might safely depart into Englande, or to Caleys with all their substance, and that the Lordes Lespar Duras, and. xxx. other, should neuer vpon payne of death, be found within any of the french kings dominions, which Lord Lesparre after being taken disguised in Gascoyne, was made shorter by the head. When this composition was agreed and sealed, the Englishe men had their shippes and all things necessary for their iourney to them delinered, which, when winde and weather serued, were shortly transported into Englande, in the month of October this present yere.

The losse of the whole Duchy of Aquitaine.

Thus was the Duchy of Acquytaine, which had contynued in the English possession from the yere of our Lorde. M. lb. which is .iii. C. and odde yeres, by the maryage of Elynor, daughter and heyre to Wyllyam Duke of Aquitaine, wife to king Henry the seconde, finallye reduced, and brought agayne to the Frenche obedience and seruitude. The keping of which duchy was neyther costly, nor troublesome to the Realme of Englande, but both pleasaunt and profitable: for by the soueraigne of that country, yong gentlemen learned the experience of warre, & expert men were promoted to many ryche offices, and great liuinges within the same. For within that onelie Duchye, are foure Archebishoppes. xxiiii. Bishoppes. xb. Erledoms, two. C and two Barones, and aboue a Thousande Cappytaine shippes and Baylywickes.

A declaracio of the dignities in ỹ Duchie of Aquitaine.

Although this great losse chaunced, this yere to the English nacyon, yet a greater detryment hapned the same season to the whole flocke of christen people. For Mahomet, called the great Turke, beseged the Citye of Constantynople in Greece, wyth an innumerable number of Turkes, and fiftye daies together gaue to it a continuall assault, and on the fourth daye of June, toke it perforce, sleyng man, woman, and chyldren, except the Emperour Palealogus, and diuers other of the bloode Royall, whome he toke prisoners, and after caused them to be beheaded. If I shoulde write the detestable murder of men, the abhominable and cruell slaughter of children, the shamefull rauishment of women and Virgins, which were perpetrate and done by the vnmercifull Pagans and cruell Turkes, I assure you that your eares would abhorre the hering, and your eyes would not abyde the readyng, and therfore I passe them ouer.

The winning of Constantinople by the great Turke.

The birth of prince Edwarde, sonne to king Henry the fixt.

In this troublous season on the. xiij. day of October, was the Quene delyuered at Westmynster of a fayre sonne, which was christened and named Edward, and after grew to a goodly and perfite man, as you shall here: whose mother sustayned not a little slaunder and obloquye of the common people, sayeng that the king was not able to get a childe, and that this was not his sonne, with many slaunderous wordes, to the Queenes dishonor, which here neede not to be reherced. After the birth of this childe, the king highly aduaunced his two brethren, on his mothers side. For Edmond he created Erle of Richemond, which was father to king Henry the seuenth, and Jasper he created Erle of Penbroke, which died without issue.

The kinges two brethren created erles.

1454

Now when foren warre and outward battailes were brought to an ende, and

and finall conclusion: domesticall dyscorde, and ciuill discencion began againe to renewe and aryse, within the Realme of Englande, for when the care of outwarde hostilytie (which kepte the myndes of the Princes, in the realme occupied, & in exercise) was taken away and vanished, desire of souereintie & ambicion of preheminence, sodainely sprang out so farre, that the whole Realme was diuided into two seuerall factions, and priuat parts. For kyng Henry, discended of the house of Lancastre, claimyng the croune from king Henry the fourth, his graund father, first author of this diuision: and Richarde Duke of Yorke, as heire to Lionell, the thirde sonne to kyng Edwarde the thirde, wrestled for the game, and stroue for the wager. By reason whereof, the Nobles, aswell as the common people, were into parts diuided, to the destruction of manye a man, and to the great ruyne and decay of this regyon. For whyle the one parte studyed to banquithe and suppresse the the other, all common wealth was set aside, and iustice & equitie was cleerelye exiled. For the Duke of Yorke, which sore gaped and more thirsted for the superioritie and preheminence, studied, deuysed, and practised all wayes, and meanes, by the which he myght attayne to hys pretensed purpose, and long hoped desire. And amongest all imaginations, one seemed most necessarye for his purpose, which yet againe was to stirre and prouoke the malyce of all the people, against the Duke of Somerset, who onely ruled the King, and ordered all things at hys pleasure and will: Imaginyng, that he beyng made out of the way, his purpose shoulde shortly come to a good conclusion. Wherefore, to the nobles of the Realme he complayned, & lamented the miserable state and daply ruine of this noble countrey: noting and affirming, the Duke of Sommerset to be the very roote, & cause of the same, whome he named, and called, an vniust man, a mischeuous person, a tirannicall gouernor, and a couetous counsailor: layyng also great offences to king Henry, saiyng, that he was a man, neyther of wit, nor stomacke, neyther meete to be a king, nor apt to gouerne a common wealth, and therefore it was the dutie of the noble men, and great Princes, not onelye to thinke on this weightie matter, but speedely to prouide a remedy, and to set the Realme in an other stay. By which complaints, and persuasions, the Duke of Yorke, so altered the minds of many persons of highe estate, that they liked not the worlde, as it then wanered, nor approued the actes of the king or his counsaile. And because that ambicion and auarice was newly entred into their hartes, they studied sodainly to chaunge all things, and tourne the worlde vpsedowne. When the Duke saw mens appetites, and felt well their mindes, he chiefly entertayned two Richardes, and both Neuelles, the one of Salisburye, the other of Werwike beyng Erles, the first the father, the second the sonne. This Erle of Salisburie was second sonne to Raufe Neuell, Erle of Westmerland, whose daughter the Duke of Yorke had maried, and the sayde Richarde was espoused to Lady Alice, the only childe and sole heire of Thomas Montacute Erle of Salisburie, slaine at the siege of Orleaunce (as before I haue declared) of which woman he engendered Richard, John and George: Richarde the eldest sonne espoused Anne, the sister and heire of the entire blood to Lorde Henry Beauchampe Erle, and after Duke of Warwike, in whose right and tytle he was created and named Erle of Warwike, and not by his awne progeny or parentage. This Richard was not only a man of excellent

The diuision betwene the two houses of Lancaster and Yorke.

qualities, but also from his youth, by a certaine practise or naturall inclination, to set himselfe forwarde with wittie and gentle demeanour, to all persons of high and of lowe degree, that among all sortes of people, he obteyned great loue, fauour and credence: which things daylie more and more encreased, by his abundant liberalitie, and plentifull house keeping, then by his riches, authoritie, or high parentage: by reason of which doings, he was in suche fauour and estimation amongst the common people, that they iudged him able to doe all things, and that without him, nothing to be well done. For which causes his authoritie shortly so fast increased, that which way he bowed, that way ranne the streame, and what parte he aduaunced, that side gat the superioritie.

1455 33 The Duke of Sommerset arrested of Treason.

When the Duke of Yorke had fastened his Chaine, betwene these two strong pillers, he with his friendes, so seriously wrought, and so politiquely handled his businesse, that the Duke of Sommerset was arrested in the Quenes great Chamber, and sent to the Towre of London, where he without great solempnitie kept a heauie Christmasse: agaynst whome in open Parliament, were layd diuers & heynous articles of high treason, aswell for the losse of Normandie, as for the late mischaunce which happened in Guien. The king at this tyme was sicke at Clarendon, and so conueyed to London, by reason whereof, no finall determination proceded, in this great & waightie cause, but it was put in suspence, till the next assemble of the high Court of Parliament. During which tyme the king either of his awne minde, or by the Queenes procurement, caused the Duke of Sommerset, to be set at libertie: by which doyng, grewe great enuy and displeasure, betwene the king and diuers of his Lordes, and in especiall, betwene the Duke of Yorke and the kinges linage. And to aggrauate more the malice newe begon, the Queene, which then ruled the rost, and bare the whole rule, caused the Duke of Sommerset to be preferred to the Captainship of Calice, wherewith, not onely the Commons, but also many of the Nobilitie, were greatly grieued and offended, saiyng: that he had lost Normandie, and so would he doe Calice. The Duke of Yorke and his adherentes perceiuyng, that neyther exhortacion serued, nor accusement preuayled agaynst the Duke of Somerset, determined to reuenge their quarrell, and obteyne their purpose, by open warre and Marciall aduenture, and no lenger to slepe in so waightie a businesse. So he beyng in the Marches of Wales, associate with his speciall friendes, the Erles of Sarisbury, and Warwike, the Lorde Cobham, and other, assembled an army, and gathered a great power, and like warlike persons, marched toward London. The Londoners, heeryng of so great a multitude, commyng toward the Citie, were greatly astonied and much abashed: for euery person considered his awne part, that eyther with holdyng with the one side, or beyng contrariant to the other, or medlyng with no part, he should incurre indignacion or displeasure. The king beyng credibly enformed, of the great armie commyng toward him, assembled an host, intendyng to mete with the Duke in the North part, because he had to many friendes aboute the Citie of London, and for that cause with great speede and small lucke, he beyng accompanied with the Dukes of Sommerset and Buckingham, the Erles of Stafford, Northumberland, and Wilshire, with the Lorde Clifford, and diuers other Barons, departed out of Westminster, the. xx. day of May, toward

The Duke of Sommerset againe released.

toward the towne of Saint Albones: of whose doynges the Duke of Yorke beyng aduertised by his espials, with all his power coasted the Countries, and came to the same towne, the third day next ensuyng. The king heryng of their approchyng, sent to him messengers, straightly chargyng and cõmaundyng him, as an obedient subiect, to kepe the peace, and not as an enemie to his naturall Countrie, to murder and slea his awne Countrimen and proper Nacion. While king Henry, more desyrous of peace than of warre, was sendyng foorth his Orators, at the one ende of the towne: the Erle of Warwike with the Warcheimen, entered at the other ende of the towne, and fiercely set on the kinges forwarde, and them shortly discomfited. Then came the Duke of Sommerset, and all the other Lordes with the kinges power, which fought a sore and cruell battaile, in the which many a tall man lost his life: but the Duke of Yorke sent euer fresh men, to succor the werie, and put newe men in places of the hurt persons, by which onely pollicie, the kinges armie was ouerthrowne and dispersed, and all the Chieftaynes of the fielde almost slaine and brought to confusion. For there dyed vnder the signe of the Castel, Edmond Duke of Sommerset, who long before was warned to eschew all Castelles, and beside him, lay Henry the second Erle of Northumberlande, Humfrey Erle of Stafford, sonne to the Duke of Buckingham, John Lord Clifford, and. viij. thousand men and more. Humfrey Duke of Buckingham beyng wounded, and James Butler Erle of Wilshire and Ormond, seyng Fortunes lowryng chaunce, left the king post alone, and with a great number fled away. This was the ende of the first battaile at Saint Albones, which was fought on the Thursday before the feast of Pentecost, beyng the xviij. day of May. In this .xxxiij. yere of the kinges reigne, the bodyes of the noble men were buried in the Monasterye, and the meane people in other places. This Edmond Duke of Sommerset left behinde him three sonnes, Henry, Edmond, and John, which to the extremitie of death, tooke part with the line of king Henry.

The first battayle at S. Albons.

After this victorie obteyned by the Duke of Yorke and his companions, he remembred that he had oftentymes declared and published abrode, the only cause of his warre to be, for the aduauncement of the publike wealth, and to set the realme in a more commodious estate, and a better condicion. Wherfore, he vsyng all lenitie, mercie, and bountefulnesse, would not once touch or apprehende the body of King Henry, whome he might both haue slaine, and vtterly destroyed, considering that he had him in his warde and gouernance. But with great honour and due reuerence conueyed him to London, and so to Westminster, to the which place was sommoned and appoynted a great assemble of the three estates, commonly called a Parliament, which beganne the. ix. day of July, in the which session, the Duke of Gloucester was openly declared a true Prince, both to the king and the realme. Besyde this it was enacted, that no person should eyther iudge or reporte, any poynt of vntruth, of the Duke of Yorke, the Erles of Sarisbury, and Warwike, for commyng in warlike maner agaynst the king at Saint Albones, considerynge that their attempt and enterprice, was onely to see the kinges person in safegarde and sure keepyng, and to put and alene from him, the publique oppressors of the common wealth: by whose misgouernaunce, his life might be in hazard, and his authoritie hang in a very small threede. In which Parliament also the

A parliament holden at Westminster.

Duke of Yorke was made Protector of the Realme, and the Erle of Sarisbury was appoynted to be Chauncelor, & had the great Seale to him deliuered: and the Erle of Warwike was elected to the office of the Capteyne of Calice, and territories of the same. As this deuice was pollitiquely inuented and so was the sequele therof to the first aucthors, both honourable and profitable, if fortunes ship had sayled all one way. For by this practice, the rule and regiment of the whole realme, consisted onely in the heades and orders of the Duke and the Chauncelor, and all the warlike affayres and businesse, rested principally in the Erle of Warwike, and so among them it was agreed that king Henry should stil reigne, in name & dignity, but neyther in dede, nor in auctholitie: not myndyng eyther to depose or destroy the sayde king, least they might sodainely prouoke and stirre the fury and yre of the common people against them: which for his holinesse of life, and abundant clemencie, was of the simple sort much fauoured, and highly estemed. After which auctholitie geuen, these three persons ruled the realme, and did all thinges after their awne discrecions (which without battail or manslaughter, might haue easely depriued the sayde king both of life and land.) And first they amoued from the priuie counsaile, all such persons as the king loued, or the Queene fauored, puttyng in their places men of their sect and confederacie, & chaunging officers throughout the realme at their will and disposition: so that the olde spoken prouerbe here tooke place: New Lordes, newe lawes: such lippes, such lettuce. And yet in all their rule, I finde no mencion made of differryng iustice, or of their pollyng, or their bribery, as was openly proued by suche as gouerned before their time: sauyng that they toke out of ꝑ Sanctuary of Westminster, John Holland Duke of Exceter, being repugnant to the order taken and concluded, in the last Parliament, and conueyed him to Pomfret Castell. Which takyng out, was accoumpted an execrable and a dampnable offence, of diuerse of the spiritualtie, and especially of the Abbot of Westminster, and his Monkes, and this is the most spot that was (as I could read) euer most to be cast in the Dukes fame, duryng his Protectorshippe, or of his counsayle.

1456 34 But that venemous wourme, that dreadfull Dragon, called disdaine of superioritie, which hath consumed the blood of so many noble Princes, and destroyed the linage of so many gouernors, in all Realmes and kingdomes, aswell Pagan as Christian, could not abstaine from incensyng the hartes of Lorde Henry Beaufort, newly come to the Duchie of Sommerset, by the death of Duke Edmond his father, which at the battaile of Saint Albons, (as you haue hearde before rehersed) lost his life, and of Humfrey Duke of Buckingham, whose sonne and heyre named Humfrey, Erle of Stafforde, tasted the same cup, at the forenamed conflict, and of other Lordes and men of authoritye, fauouryng and folowyng the part of king Henrye, whiche not onely bewayled and had compassion of the vnsure condicion, and wauerying estate of hys rule and Lordeshippe, perceiuyng openly, whereunto the cloaked gentlenesse, and suborned fashion of the Duke of Yorke tended and crept vppe: But also thought it necessarye and conuenient, to puruey for a remedy, or the mischiefe happened. Wherefore with open mouthes and fierce courages, they came to Quene Margaret, informing her that it was not honorable, but a reproche and infamy to the king, to haue one

one to be a Protector and gouernor of him and his realme, as who woulde say: that he was eyther a childe, which had neede of a Norice to feede him with pappe, or an innocent creature, which must be ruled by a Tutor, asserteyning her father, that the Duke of Yorkes onely intent was, vnder the colour of his Protectorship, sodainely to destroy and depose the king, when he least thought of it, and therefore willed her in so quick a mischiefe, to prouide a hastie remedie, if she loued the safegarde of her husbande, or the tuition of her selfe. The Quene hauing a wit, more then the common sort of women haue, and considering the estate of her husband, the condition of her selfe, and the perill of her onelye sonne, thought it necessarye to plucke the sworde of auctholitie out of their handes, which vnder colour of rulyng vnder others, desired to be gouernors, and superiors themselues. Wherfore, a great counsaile was called at Grenewich, where the Duke of Yorke was discharged of his Protectorship, & the Erle of Sarisbury also, was dismissed of his office: which malicious mutacion among the Nobilitie, caused sodaine alteracions and seditious commocions to spring and aryse in the commonaltie, and in especiall within the Citie of London.

For a yong Merchaunt, which before tyme had bene in diuers Cityes, within the Countrie of Italy, and there prohibited by the Magistrates and rulers, to vse or weare any weapon, eyther inuasyue or defensiue, chalenged an Italian in Chepeside, for wearing of a dagger, confutyng him with the lawes of his awne Countrey, which like a colerick knaue and presumpteous person, so disdainefully and with suche tauntes and checkes aunswered the Marchaunt, that he not wylling to suffer so open a reproche, in so publique a streete, and that of so proude a villeyne, toke by force from him his dagger, and with the same a little cut his crowne, and cracked his pate. This Italian in great haste, complayned to the Mayre of this offence, which at the next Courte, holden at the Guyldhall, by the consent of the whole senate, sent for the offender, and declaryng to him his cryme, commaunded him to warde, whereof diuers other light Marchauntes within the Citie, sore abhorring the Italian nation, for licking the fat from their beardes, and taking from them their accustomed lyuing, by reason that the sayde straungers imported and transported into and out of this realme, all such marchaundises, commodities, and necessaries, as the Englishe men onely were accustomed to doe, assembled together in great plumpes, and by force compelled the Maior to deliuer the prisoner out of Newegate: and yet this multitude, with thys doyng nothing saciate nor appeased, like madde persons and frantique foles, ranne to the seuerall houses of dyuers Venecians, Lucases, and Florentines, and them spoyled, robbed and rifled, without reason or measure. The Mayre perceyuing this great enormitie, assembled a great number of substantiall & graue Citezens, which not without great bloodshed, & mayming of sundrie persons, finally appeased their rage, and caused the people to depart to their houses. The beginner of this commocion, and sodaine vprore, eyther perswaded by his friendes or fearing his chaunce, which for his first fact might sodainely ensue, departed to Westminster, and there regestred himselfe as a sanctuary man. The Quene which ruled all things, hearing of this great riote and vnlawfull misdemeanour, sent the Dukes of Exceter and Buckyngham, accompanied with many other noble men to London, with

A lewde riot in the Citie of London.

with a commission of oyer and determiner, for the punishement of thys outragious offence, and seditious crime. When the Maior of the Citie, the two Dukes, and the two chiefe Justices, were set in Guyldhall for the performance of their commission, and began to call the empanels for the enquirie, as the vse and order is, diuers light witted, and lesse brayned persons of the citie, priuely armed them, and by the ringing of Bow bell, thought to assemble together a great multitude of their minde and opinion, and so by force and might to take from the kepers all such prisoners, as were before apprehended, for the late committed robbery and riot, as they were going to their triall or arreignment. But thys great tumult and sodaine furie was by discreete and sage Citezens a little and little appeased, and finally quenched, but in the meane season, the Dukes and other commissioners, beyng vntruely aduertised, that they were in ieopardie of their lyfes, sodaynely departed from the Guyldhall, and left their inquirie for that day. The Maior on the next day perceyuing how the grudge rose, called a common counsaile, whereof the number was, one hundred, foure score and odde persons, and by authoritie of the same, ordeyned that all Wardeyns of misteries should assemble their felowship in their particuler Halles, where they should exhort them to the obseruation of the kings peace, and keeping of good order within the Citie: and if they espied any man, eyther prone or redie to rayse a rumour or desirous of the deliueraunce of such as were accused, and in captiue custody, that their names should be secretly written, and couertly deliuered to the Lorde Maior: which politique doyng, finally ended the outragious doing of the insolent people, after which appeasing the commissioners returned to the Guyldhall, where many of the robbers were attainted, and after condignely put to execution, beside diuers great fynes and raunsomes payde, which were set vpon many Marchaunts, for winking at these doings, or assenting to the same.

1457
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The French nacion, hearyng of this domesticall diuision, and ciuill dissencion, within the realme of Englande, much desiryng to be reuenged of old displeasures, and great damages, which they had so many yeres borne, and sustayned by the englishe people, appointed two Nauies to inuade and destroy the townes and portes, adioyning to the riuage of the Sea. The Capitayne of the one armye was William Lorde Pomiers, and of the other, sir Piers Bzelly, a great ruler in Normandy. These two Captaynes, when opportunitie of wether serued, set vp their sayles at the mouth of Sayn, & there seuered themselues, the one Westward, & the other Eastward, which was sir Peter de Bzelly. This lusty captayne sailyng al the cost of Sussex, and Kent, durst not once take lande, till he arriued in the downes, and there hauing by a certayne espial perfite notice, that the towne of Sandwich was neyther peopled, nor fortifyed, because that a little before, the chiefe rulers of the towne, were fromthence departed, for to auoyde the pestilenciall plague, which sore there infected, and slew the people, entred the hauen, spoyled the towne, and after such poore stuffe as he there founde, riffled and taken, he fearing an assemble of the countrey, shortly returned. The Lorde Pomiers likewise toke his course Westwarde, and by night brent certayne houses in Foulnay, and with a little pillage retired into Brittayn. These two aduentures and fortunate chaunces, which to them in comparison of their great expences, in their iorneys

The French men inuade the coastes of England.

iorneys were scant worth one poore mite, or single farthing: The Frenche writers delate, setforth, and paint with penne, as thoughe they had gotten Cresus riches, and Alexanders kingdoms: forgetting how manye hundred thousande pounds they had lost in few yeres before preceding, as to all men, being indifferent readers of this History, playnely appereth. But verelye some breade is better to the hungrye persone, then no breade, and a small gayne of him, which desireth recouery, is a great pleasure, and therefore the French authors make of a litle, much, and yet their much, (all things considered) is in effect nothing at all.

The Scottes also not degenerating from their olde mutabilitie, nor altering their auncient conditions, from their accustomed and vsuall vntruth, entered into Northumberland, king James the second, then beyng there in person, and burned small houses, & little cotages: but in the very middes of their great enterprise, they hearing of the Duke of Yorke, marching towarde them with a great armie, with much paine, and no gaine in all haste reuerted to their Countrey. Let vs passe ouer for a time all outward inuasions, and returne to our owne domesticall debate and daylie discorde.

The Scots inuade England.

First not forgetting, that whyle forreyn enimies inuaded the outwarde partes, and extreme confines of thys troublous realme, a great conflict was attempted betweene the Lorde Egremond, and the sonnes of the Erles of Salisburie: in the which fray, many persons were slayne, and a great number hurt. The Lorde Egremond in thys great tumult could not escape, but by force was taken and brought before the kinges counsayle, and there the king and the Quene to shew themselues to all persons indifferent, adiudged him to pay to the Erle of Salisburie a great summe of money, and for his heynous offence, done agaynst the kinges lawes, he was committed to the Gayle of Newgate, within the citie of London, out of the which prison, by helpe of his fautors, he secretly escaped, and sodainely departed, to the great vexation of the Shrieues of London, at the time being.

Quene Margaret whose breath ruled, and whose word was obeyed aboue the king and his counsayle, wythin the realme of Englande, entending the destruction of the Duke of Yorke and his friendes, which deuise shee thought not meete to be practised neere to the Citie of London, because she well perceyued the Duke of Yorke to be had in more estimation among the Citezens and commonaltie, then the king her husband, or her owne person: caused the king to make a progresse into Warwikeshire, for hys health and recreation, and so with Hawking and hunting, came to the Citie of Couentrey, where were diuers wayes studied priuely, to bring the Queene to her hartes ease, and long desired purpose: which was the death and destruction of the Duke of Yorke, the Erles of Salisburie and Warwick. And for the furniture of thys matter, all these three noble men were sent for to Couentre by the kings letters vnder his priuie seale, to which place the foresayde Lordes, suspecting no treason, nor putting diffidence in any creature, obediently resorted, but in the Serpent lurcking vnder the grasse, and vnder sugred speeche, was hid pestyferous poyson, so that if these noble men admonished by their friends, had not sodaynely departed, theyr lyues had bene shortned, but by secret admonicion of their good wyllers (to whom no earthly treasure is comparable) they auoyded this net, and narowly escaped the snare,

snare, wherevpon for the securitie and tuition of their lyues, the Duke of Yorke departed to Wygmore in the Marches of Wales, the Erle of Salisburie resorted to his tayre Castell of Middelham in the Northcountrie, and the Erle of Warwike sayled to the towne of Caleys. Although the bodies of these noble personages were by this seditious and fraudulent meanes a sunder separated as ye haue heard: yet their hartes were knit and coupled in one, neuer forgettyng, but dayly studyeng, both howe to be reuenged of the olde dispites and malicious attempts, agaynst them committed and imagened, and also howe to compasse their purposes, and to get the superioritie and ouer hand aboue their euill wyllers, and apparaunt enemies: for which causes their letters neuer ceased, their messengers neuer slept, nor their pursses were at no time shut, what for entertayning of olde friends, and obtayning of newe confederates, till king Henry and his alyes were driuen away, and expelled clerely out of this realme, as after shall appere.

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Because you haue bene long troubled with reding of diuers diuisions and seditions win the realme, among the temporalty, I will now a little digresse from my continued purpose, to declare to you an ouerthwart iudgement geuen among the fathers of the spiritualtie agaynst Reynolde Pecocke, then Bishop of Chichester. This man somewhat learned, but better stomacked, began to moue questions, not priuately, but openly in the Vniuersities, concerning the Annates, Peterpence, & other iurisdictions and authorities, apperteinyng to the Sea of Rome, and not onely put foorth the questions, but declared his minde and opinion in the same: wherefore he was for this cause abiured at Paules Crosse, and all his bookes brent, and he himselfe kept in his awne house, duryng his naturall lyfe. Some say that his opinion was that spirituall persons by Gods law, ought to haue no temporall possessions. Other write, that he sayd, that personall tythes were not due by Gods lawe: But whatsoeuer the cause was, in suche sorte as before I haue declared, he was vsed. Thus much Hall.

Reynold Pecock, bishop of Chichester, abiured at Paules Crosse.

King Henry and his adherentes, perceiuyng that the Duke of Yorke lay still, and made no open apparaunce of assemble or commocion, returned to London, and there called a great counsaile, openly declaring how the French king perceiuyng the realme of England vexed, and troubled with ciuile dissencion, and mutuall discord, was not afeard to sende his Admiralles on the coastes of Kent, and Deuonshire, and there to spoyle townes, burne houses, and murder the Englishe people: which cause also animated the Scottes to make Rodes and incursions, into the confines and Marches of the realme, to the great losse and detriment of the kinges liege people: which two Nacions were set continually to grieue and vexe this his realme of Englande, till they perceyued a perfite concorde, and an vnfayned amitie to be concluded and knit together, betwene him and his consanguinitie, and the other sort of the contrary part and confederacie. And to the entent that he would be the chiefe author of peace, and principall styrrer of this vertuous concorde, he promised so gently to entertaine the Duke of Yorke, and his fautors, that all olde grudges, beyng not onely inwardly forgotten, but also outwardly forgeuen, should be the cause of perpetuall loue, betwene them & their friendes: of which concorde should ensue familiaritie among the Lordes, and concorde among the Commons, which to all vtter enemies shoulde be an inwarde grudge,

The deuise for the concord and vnitie of the realme.

grudge, and to this realme a great glorie and profite. This deuice was of all men present well taken and adiudged, both honourable to the king, and profitable to his realme. Wherevpon diuers graue and sad persons were sent to the Duke of Yorke, and al other the great estates of the realme, which sence the battaile of Saint Albones neuer met, came, nor commoned together, commaundyng them for reasonable causes, and great considerations, to resort vnto the kinges Palayce, without delay. At this commaundement came to London Richard Duke of Yorke, and Richard Erle of Sarisburie, accompanied with a great number of meniall seruauntes, and friendes, least peraduenture they for lacke of ayde, might haue bene betrapped, or they had knowlege, or were warned. After them came from Calice to London, the Erle of Warwike, whose seruitures were apparailed in red Cotes, embrawdered with white ragged staues. These three Lordes were lodged within the Citie: the Duke, at Baynardes Castell, the Erle of Sarisbury at the Herber, and the Erle of warwike at his place beside the Gray friers. About the same season, with no lesse companie of men, came to the Citie, the yong Duke of Sommerset, the Erle of Northumberland, and the Lord Clifford, whose fathers were slain at S. Albons: and after them resorted the Dukes of Exester and Buckingham, the Lorde Egremond, and most of all the nobilitie of this realme. The Duke of Yorke and his mates were lodged within the Citie, and the Duke of Sommerset and all his friendes, soiourned without Temple barre, Holborne, and other places of the Suburbes: as who sayde, that as the Iewes disdayned the company of the Samaritans, so the Lancastrians abhorred the familiaritie of the Yorkishe linage. After the commyng of these Lordes to the Citie, the king, the Quene, with all their familie shortly folowed, & were lodged in the Bishoppes Palayce of London. These Lordes had such great companies attendyng on them (for one had fiue hundreth, other had fiue hundreth, and diuers foure hundreth persons in a band) that continuall watch was kept by the Maior and senate of London, aswell by day as by nyght, for the preseruacion of the peace, and continuance of good order. The Lordes which lodged within the Citie, kept a dayly counsaile at the black Friers, within the Citie. The other part soiournyng without the walles, assembled likewise in the Chapter house of Westminster. Thus euery part both studyed his awne profite and aduauncement, and also howe to reuenge thinges done to them, by their foes and aduersaryes. But the Archebishop of Cauntorbury, and other vertuous prelates, so exhorted, applyed, and perswaded both the parties (although a great while they were neyther heard, nor regarded) that in conclusion, they brought them to a communicacion, where after long altercation, aswell of olde iniuries, and newe displeasures, by the one faction, agaynst the other comitted, the feare of outward hostilitie, and forein invasion so mollefyed their indurate hearte, that they outwardly promisyng to forget all olde rancors, and auncient displeasures, sealed and signed writynges, the one euer after to be friend to the other, and altogether to be obedient to the king, and fauorers to his friendes, and enemies to his enemies. This concorde was so ioyfull to the superiors, and so embraced of the common people (who euer beare the burthen when Princes be at controuersy) that for the open apparaunce, and demonstracion of this godly concord, publike Processions were appointed, to be solempnly celebrate

The mortall hatred betwene the two images of Lancaster and yorke.

celebrate within the Church of Saint Paule, in the Citie of London, on the day of the Conception of our Ladie, in the Moneth of Marche. At which solempne feast, the king in habite royall hauyng his Diademe on his heade, kept his estate in Procession, before whome went hande in hande, the Duke of Sommerset, the Erle of Sarisburie, the Duke of Exceter and the Erle of Warwike, and so one of the one faction, and another of the other sect, and behinde the king the Duke of Yorke led the Queene, with great familiaritie to all mens sightes: But wo worth dissimulacion, and false flattering countenaunce: fye on double entendement, and cloked adulacion, which hath bene the common seruitures in all Palaces, both Emperiall, and Regall, and by their onely pestiferous venime, and secrete malice, hath bene the destruction of many a noble man, and the confusion of a great number of true meanyng and faythfull persons. But the wise man, whiche sayth: Wo to the that hast a double heart, meant, that dissimulacion once espyed, should be the arrowe wherewith the dissembler should be wounded. As by this cloked Pageant, and dissemblyng Procession, hereafter shall plainely be declared. For their bodies were ioyned by hande in hand, whose heartes were farre asunder: their mouthes louingly smyled, whose courages were enflamed with malice: their wordes were swete as suger, and their thoughtes were all enuenomed: but all these dissimulyng persons, tasted the bestell of wo, as the wise man sayd: and fewe or none of this companie were vnblotted, or vndestroyed by this dolorous drinke of dissimulacion. But this cancard worme and pestiferous Coccatrice, not onely at this tyme reigned in England, but also did much harme in the Court of Fraunce: for Iohn Duke of Alaunson, which before had bene prisoner, and well enterteyned in the realme of England, and after Captain generall of the warres in Fraunce against the Englishe men, highly fauoured, and of great estimacion in the Frenche kinges house, was by such as he most trusted, and vsed most familiaritie withall, and whom he had greatly promoted, and highly exalted, accused of high treason, as enemie to his king, and traytor to his Countrie, allegyng that he long before that tyme had conspired with the Englishe men, to cause them once againe to recouer the Duchie of Normandie: wherevpon by the order of the lawe, he there suffered death very vniustly, as diuers Authours affirme, whereof one sayth: that kinges seekyng treason, shall finde lande, and the denial of a princes desyre, was the inuented destruction of the innocent Naboth. Well let vs now leaue the cloked collusion, that remayned in Fraūce, and returne to the open dissimulacion, which now appered in England.

A generall procession at Paules by the king, and ỹ Peres of the realme.

A dissimulyng procession

Iohn Duke of Alaunson executed in Fraunce.

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As fier being enclosed in a straight place, will by force vtter his flame, and as the course of water astricted and letted, will flow and brust out in continuance of tyme: so this cancard Crocodile, and subtile serpent, could not long lurke in malicious heartes, but in conclusion she must (according to her nature appere and shewe her selfe. For after this apparant concord (according to the very nature of dissimulacion) diuerse noble men of birth, but not stable of worde, puttyng from them honour, truth, and honestie, forgat their oth, and brake their promise, and aduaunced forth the Banner of displeasure, and the flagge of malice. So a man may see, that such persons regarde neyther their awne peculiar profite, nor the publique wealth of their native Countrie, nor yet passe of an othe, or promise breakyng, to whome dis-

corde is pleasant, and dissencion is dilectable. For not long after this dissimuled amitie, a certeine fray, eyther by chaunce, or of a thyng prepensed, was made vpon a yoman of the Erles of Warwike, by a seruiture of the kings, in the which the Assaylant was sore hurte, but the Erles man fled. The kings meyniall seruauntes, seing their felow hurt, and the offendor escaped, assembled in great number, and watched the Erle, returnyng from the Counsaile towarde his Barge, and sodainly set on him the yomen with swordes, and the Blacke garde with spittes, and fyre forkes. After long fight and many of the Erles men maymed and wounded, by helpe of his friendes, he toke a Whirry, and so escaped to London: whome the Queene incontinent commaunded to be apprehended, and as a captiue and prisoner, to be sent to the Tower of London, where (if he had bene then taken) he had shortly ended his dayes. By this vnhappy fray, and sodaine chaunce of malice, there arose such dayly and terryble warre, that euery man was in trouble, and no person was in quiet. For after this displeasure done to the Erle, and the Queenes good minde toward him, by his secrete friendes priuily reueled, he with all diligence, tooke his iourney to Warwike, and after into Yorkeshire, where he found the Duke of Yorke, and the Erle of Salisbury, declaryng to them the assault of the Kinges seruauntes, and the pretensed purpose of the fraudulent Queene. After which complaint made, he fearyng least by long absence, he might be deposed or defrauded of his Captainship of Calice, wyth great speede embarked himselfe, and sayled thither, dayly expectyng and lokyng, what waye the Duke of Yorke would take, for atchieuyng his long intended purpose. After whose departure, the Duke of Yorke, and the Erle of Salisbury, somewhat styred and moued with this double dealyng, began to grudge and murmure: affyrmyng that in the Queene rested nothing but fraude and feminine malice, which rulyng the king at her pleasure and will, studyed nothing so much, as the destruction of the nobilitie, and peeres of the realme. After long consultacion had, it was agreed, that the Erle with a warlike company, should march toward the king, & complaine both to him of the manifest iniury done to his sonne, and also of the vnkinde breache of the swoorne amitie and late agreement, in which suite, if he did preuaile, he then should not omit the occasion to him geuen, in reuengyng the displeasures to him done, by the Queene and her sinister Counsaylors, which euill and vngodly ordered the subiectes of the whole Realme.

A fray made vpon the Erle of Warwikes seruaunt.

After this deuise made and concluded, the Erle of Salisburye remoued from Middelham castell, accompanied with foure or fiue thousand men, and toke his way through Lancashire, and Shropshire, towarde London. In the meane season the Queene, which was assisted and ruled, by the Dukes of Somerset and Buckingham, hauing the vigilant eie and circumspect braine, of a politique gouernor: imagyned that the Erle of Warwicke had kindeled this fire, and begun this tumult, to the entent (according to his pretensed purpose) to set the Duke of Yorke in the siege royall, and high throne of the realme: For which causes, she beyng a woman of no small wit, nor litle pollecie, conceiuyng in her opinion, that it was no boote to make any farther concord or league with her aduersaries, and hearyng of the Erle of Salisburies setting forwarde, wyth a company of armed men and archers: assembled together a great counsail, to prouide a remedie, for that imminent mischiefe, and

(as in a multitude often times it happeneth, so many heades, so many wits) so diuers were in opinion, that neyther people nor weapon should be stirred, till the Erle approched: doubting whether he came to demaunde warre or peace, or to aske iustice, and to reforme wrong. Other, otherwise thought, and were of a contrary opinion, making the foundation of their argument, that the raysing of people, and assemble of Souldiours by him, could signifie no peace, nor treatie of concorde: except a man should saye, that intreating for fauour with naked sworde in hande, were an humble submission and a meeke request: which onely consideration, moued them to say, that as force with force, ought to be repelled, so he with a great power, or he came into the middest of the realme, should of necessitie be encountered and (if fortune would serue) vtterly destroyed. This sentence toke place, and without delay, Syr James Twichet Lorde Audeley, because his seignorie and power lay in those partes, where the Erle should passe, was appointed to meete with him, and to geue him battayle, if he sawe cause or place conuenient, and the Queene followed after. The Lorde Audeley, according to his commission, assembled aboue ten thousand men, and knowyng by his Espials, which way the Erle kept, approched neere to him on a faire plaine, called Blore heath, within a myle of the towne of Drayton, in the countye of Salope, commonly called Shropshire. The Erle perceyuing by the liuerie of the Souldiours, that he was circumuented and likely to be trapped with the Queenes power, determined rather there to abide the aduenture with fame and honor, then farther to flie, with losse and reproche: and so encamped himselfe all the night, on the side of a little brooke, not very brode, but somewhat deepe. In the morning early, beyng the day of Saint Tecle, he caused his Souldiors to shoote their flightes, towarde the Lorde Audeleys company, which lay on the other syde of the sayd water, and then he and all his company made a signe of retraite. The Lord Audeley, remembryng not onely the trust that he was put in, but also the Queenes terrible commaundement, (which was to bring to her presence the Erle of Salisbury, quicke or deade) blew vp his trumpet, and did set forth his vaward, and sodainely passed the water. The Erle of Salisbury which knewe the sleightes and policies of warlike affayres, sodainly returned, and shortlye encountered with the Lorde Audeley and his chiefe Captaynes, or the residue of his armie coulde passe the water. The fight was sore and dreadfull. The Erle desiryng the sauyng of his lyfe, and his aduersaryes couetyng his destruction, fought sore for the obteinyng of their purpose, but in conclusion, the Erles army, as men desperate of ayde and succor, so egerly fought, that they slue the Lorde Audeley, and all his Captaynes, and discomfited all the remnant of his people. In this battaile were slaine .xxiiij. hundreth persons, but the greatest plague lighted on the Chesshire men, because one halfe of the shire, was on the one part, and the other on the other part, of the which number were sir Thomas Dutton, sir John Dunne, & sir Hugh Venables. But the Erles two sonnes, the one called sir John Neuell, and the other sir Thomas, were sore wounded, which soberly iourneyng into the North Countrie, thinkyng there to repose themselues, were in their iorney apprehended by the Quenes friendes, and conueyed to Chester: but their kepers deliuered them shortly, or else the Marche men had destroyed the Gayles. Such fauour had the Commons of Wales,

Bloze heath field.

Wales, to the Duke of Yorkes band and his affinitie, that they could suffer no wrong to be done, nor euill worde to be spoken of him or his friendes.

Also this yere one named Johannes Fauscius, a Germain, first found out the noble science of Imprintyng in the Citie of Mentz. But Polidore sayth, it was first inuented by one Johannes Euthenlergius, a knight, who also within .cvj. yeres after did inuent the pinke which the Printers now vse. Printing.

After this battayle, the Duke of Yorke not only perceyuing that the destruction of him and his friendes was intended (as by this last conflict was apparauntly declared) but also remembring, that al his counsailes and priuie intents, were nowe opened to the king and the Quene, thought it meete neyther longer to dissimule, nor farther to keepe silence: did therefore with a courageous hart, as well for the obteyning of the crowne, as for the tuition and safegard of him & his friendes, determine no longer to sleepe in hys den, but with all diligence to set forth his businesse and auaunce forth his banner. And therefore sending for the Erle of Salisbury his felow and compere in all his doings, counsailes, and fortunes (after long communication had of the Queenes misgouernaunce, and how she without their assent, did all things at her will and pleasure) determined to raise a great armie, and by fine force eyther to die or win their purpose. What should I say, men were assembled, friends were sent for, and a puyssaunt armie was gathered, both of Northren men and Welchmen, which in good order came into the Marches of Wales, adioyning to Shropshire, where they determined eyther to abide their enimies, or to meete them if they marched forward. 1460 38

The king was not ignorant of this assemble, nor yet vnaduertised of the Dukes intent: wherefore to resist the mischiefe at the beginning, he caused commissioners to be made, and sent into euery parte of the realme, where he suspected eyther to haue assured friendes, or indifferent fauorers, for men and money: by reason of which commaundement, a great number was assembled. Many for the loue they bare to the king, but more for the feare that they had of the Queene, whose countenance was so fearefull, and whose looke was so terrible, that to all men, agaynst whome shee tooke a small displeasure, her frowning was their vndoing, and her indignation was their death. The king accompanied with the Dukes of Sommerset & Excester, and other of the lyne of Lancaster, determined cleerely to set on the Duke of Yorke and his confederates, and them by force eyther vtterly to banquishe, or by pollecie to attrap, and bring to confusion, whereupon in hope of good luck, the king with his armie by long marching, came neere to the Duke of Yorke, which was strongly incamped, a little from the towne of Ludlow, neere adioyning to the confines of Wales, to whome not long before, was come his trustie friend Richarde Erle of Warwike, with a great number of expert men in marciall feates, whom he had brought with him from Calice, wherof two were men of approued pollecy, in the warres of Normandie and Guyen, the one called Andrew Trollop, and the other John Blunt. These armies thus lyeng, the one in the vewe and sight of the other, studied all meanes and pollecies, how to take aduauntage eche of other, and how with lesse ieoperdy, the one might set on the other. The Duke perceyuing by reason of his expert Capitaynes, away how he might easely dampnifie and discomfite his enemies, thought no longer to sleepe his purpose,

pose, but manfully to geue the onset and so with his secret friends and Captaines, determined the next morning early to beginne the battayle, and set on the king and his armie, or he were readie or in aray. But of this deuise succeeded nothing, nor of this imagination proceded any effect: For Andrew Trollop and other the Calicians, which were men of great knowlege and of much experience, and had liued by the kings wages, more then a few yeres, perceyuing now ỳ they should fight agaynst their souereine Lorde himselfe (whose friend they esteemed before that time, the Erle of Warwike euer to haue bene taken and reputed, and not his enemie or destroyer) in the dead of the night, before the day of battayle secretly departed from the Dukes Campe, & submitted themselues to the king, admonishing him of all things prepared and deuised, for his losse and destruction. If these auncient Capitaynes were welcome to the king, or if he ioyously them receyued, I referre that to all men, which haue reliefe in their destresse, or haue a sodaine good chaunce, when they thinke least vpon it. When the Duke of Yorke was aduertised of their departing, no maruayle though his senses were moued, and his wittes disturbed, as a man that sodainely ryseth out of a traunce, woteth not what to doe or say: For he first considered the power and authoritie of the king, and sawe that Andrew Trollop of his friend was sodainely transformed into the image of his extreme enemie, whose force and pollecie, as muche nowe discomforted hym, as by the trust which he put in hym, he was before incouraged: wherefore he euydently perceyuing, that all his counsayle and purpose, was by the fore named Andrewe, reueled and disclosed thought it better for him and hys to depart in surety, then to abide the chaūce, of mutable Fortune, which turneth the wheele at her wyll and pleasure: wherupon he with his yonger sonne Edmond Erle of Rutlande, secretly departed into Wales, and so passed into Irelande, where he was with all ioy and honor gladly receyued. The Erle of Marche, sonne and heire apparant to the foresayde Duke, accompanied with the Erles of Salisbury and Warwike, and syr John Wenlock, stale away the same night, and came into Deuonshire: where by the meanes of John Dinham Esquire (which after was high Treasorer of Englande, in the time of king Henry the. viij.) they bought a ship, which rost. C. x. Markes at Exmouth, and sayled to Gernsay, and after came to Calice, and were let in at the posterne, and ioyfully welcomed of their friendes.

The next day in the morning, the king beyng aduertised of the departing of the Duke of Yorke and his partakers, caused all his horsemen to follow them by euery passage, but they were neyther seene nor espied, as they that folowed made report. The king perceyuing that the Lordes were escaped, pardoned all the poore souldiours, sauing certaine Kyng leaders, whereof some he punished and fined, and some he hanged and quartered. After this, he remoued to Ludlowe, and there dispatched his hoste, and spoyled the towne and the Castell, and sent the Duches of Yorke, with her two yonger sonnes, to be kept in warde, with the Duches of Buckyngham her sister, where she continued a certayne space. After this, he proclaymed these Lordes traytors to him, enemies to their Countrie, and rebels to the Crowne: confiscating all their landes, goodes and offices, committing the gouernaunce of the Northy partes, to the Erle of Northumberland, and the Lorde

Lorde Clifford, as to his trustie and most faithfull friends, and of his towne of Calice, he made Capitaine Henry the newe Duke of Sommerset: but the olde husband man sayeth, that as to hastie sowing often time deceaueth, so to late, neuer well proueth. For in this businesse, protracting of time onely, hurted and harmed the king and his sequele. For if he at the beginning, had dispossessed his aduersaries of that refuge and hold, no doubt but that he had eyther tamed or banquished them, with little labor and small daunger.

The Duke of Sommerset, reioysing much in his newe office, elected dyuers hardie and valyant souldiours, and with great pompe sayled toward Calice: and when he thought surely to haue entred into the Hauen, the artilerie shot so fiercely, both out of the towne and Risebanke, that he suffering there a sore repulse, was faine to lande at Whitsandbay, and sent worde to the Capitaynes of the towne, to receyue him as the kings Lieuetenaunt, and shewed to them his letters patents, but neyther he nor hys wryting was once regarded or loked on: so of necessitie he resorted to the Castell of Guysnes, daylie skirmishing with the garrison of Calice, more to his losse than gaine. After his arriuall, as is afore sayde, diuers of his Mariners, owyng more good wyll to the Erle of Warwike, than to this yong Duke, conueyed their shippes into the Hauen of Calice, and in them diuers of the Erle of Warwickes enemies, as Ianyn Fendill, John Felowe, and dyuers other, and presented them to the sayde Erle, which incontinent caused their heades to be striken off. Thys daylie conflict, still continuing betweene the Lordes, which soiorned at Calice, and the Duke of Sommerset, lyeng at Guisnes, no small number of the commonaltie, daylie resorted to the Erle of Marche and his confederates: by reason whereof, although they daylie lost people, and had slaine many, yet their number was restored, and the gap euer filled, which was the continuall losse, and daylie detriment to the Duke of Sommerset. Yet he like a valyant Prince, nothing lesse minding, then for lacke of ayde to be expelled from the great office and renounced authoritie, which the king had to him giuen, in the partes beyonde the sea, sent letters to the king, and messengers to the Queene, desiring of them ayde and succor, in defence of the quarell and lawfull assistance. His postes were not vnheard, nor hys requestes vnpromided. For without delay Richarde Lorde Riuers, and syr Anthony Wooduile his valyaunt sonne, which after was Lorde Scales, accompanied with foure hundred warlike persons, were appointed to passe the Seas, and to be coadiutors to the Duke of Sommerset. These martiall Capitaynes endeuoring themselues to the point, for the which they were assigned came to the Porte of Sandwiche, and there abode the winde and the weather, which obeyeth neyther king, nor serueth Emperour.

The Erles of Marche and Warwike, and other being at Calice, had knowledge of all these doings, and secret conuenticles: wherfore to preuent the Dukes purpose, they sent John Dinham the valyaunt Esquire, with a small number of men, but with a multitude of courageous hartes, to the towne of Sandwiche, which sodainely entred the same, and tooke the Lorde Riuers in his bed, and his sonne also: robbing houses, and spoyling shippes of great ryches and marchaundise, and beside this, they tooke the principall ships of the kings nauy then lyeng at the Port, wel furnished with ordinance & artilerie, but not without the fauor of the Mariners, which fauored more

The towne of Sandwich with certeine Lordes is taken.

the one parte then the other. But although John Wynham, Capitaine of the Lordes parte, was sore hurt and maymed on his legge, by reason whereof he euer after halted, and somewhat limped: yet his courage and pollecy was so much, that he vanquished his enimies, and brought the shippes royall laded with pray and prisoners, to the towne of Calice, and them presented to the Erle of Marche, not knowyng then that the Lorde Riuers daughter should be the Erles wife, which then had an husband lyuing, nor thinking that her father for her sake, should after be destroyed. But who can knowe the secrets of God, or without him, declare the chaunce that after shall ensue.

After this bootie gotten, and good luck obteyned, diuers of the best ships taken in the hauen of Sandwich, were wel victualled and manned, and with them the Erle of Warwike, transfreted and sayled into Ireland, to common with the Duke of Yorke, of his great affayres and businesse. The weather was so fayre, and the winde so fauourable to the Erles purpose, that within lesse then .xxx. dayes, he passed and repassed from Calice to Deueline, and asserteyned the Erles of Marche and of Salisbury, what was the Duke of Yorkes deuise and intent, both for his entrie and theirs, into the realme of England. The Erle of Warwike had come to short home to tell these tydings, if the Duke of Exceter, which being admirall of the sea, laye in the west Countrie to stop the Erles passage, might haue had his awne will: but the Capitaines of his Nauie murmoured agaynst him, and the Mariners displaysed and disdayned him, glad to heare of the Erle of Warwikes good successe, by which occasion he neyther would nor durst once meddle or cope with the Erles Nauie.

A Parliament holden at Couentry.

During thys tyme, the king called a Parliament, in the Citie of Couentre, in the which the Duke of Yorke, and all his confederates were attaynted of high treason, and their goodes and landes confiscate and forfeted: and to prohibite their landing in al portes, hauen townes were watched, and the sea costes were garnished with Bekons. And syr Simon Montfort with a great crew was appointed to keepe the downes, and the fiue Portes, and all men passing into Flaundyrs, were vpon payne of death prohibited to passe by Calice, least the Lordes there should borowe of them any money, as they did prest of the Marchaunts of the staple .xviij. M. pound late before, which was a great displeasure to the king, and a more corrosey to ỳ Quene. The Lordes lying at Calice were not ignorant of all these doynges and prouisions, but dayly were assertayned what was done in the kings priuy chamber: wherefore first they sent a companie to Sandwiche, which conquered the towne, and apprehended sir Simond Mountfort, and brought him with all his Mates to the hauen of Calice, where incontinent he with .xij. of his chiefe felowes, lost their heades on the sandes, before Risebanke. After the kinges nauie gayned, and his Captaines on the arriuall of the Sea taken and destroyed, the Lordes lying at Calice, hopyng in their friendes within the Realme, determined to passe the sea, and to lande in England. And after they had put the Castell and towne of Calice, in sure and safe custodie to their onely vse, they passed the sea and landed at Sandwiche. And so passyng through Kent, there came to them the Lorde Cobham, John Guildeffordе, William Peche, Robert Horne, and many other gentlemen, which conueyed them to the Citie of London. But the fame of their landyng once knowen, gentlemen

gentlemen repayred, and yomen resorted out of all the South partes of the Realme: vpon which rumor, Thomas Lorde Scales, a man in great fauor with the king and Queene, accompanied with the Erle of Kendall a Gascoyne, and the Lord Louell, resorted to London, with a great company of armed men: declaryng to the Maior of the Citie, that their repayre onely was to defende, and kepe the Citie, from the spoyle and robbery of such traytors, as the king was credibly informed, would thether make accesse: to whome the Maior aunswered, that he well knewe both his otye, and bounden dutie towarde his souereigne Lorde and Prince, and neded neither of prompter, nor yet of coadiutor, eyther to defende or gouerne the Citie, to him committed in charge. With which aunswere, the Lorde Scales and his associates not a little displeased, entered into the Towre of London, dayly with new inuencions, doyng displeasures and domages to the Citizens of the Citie, whome they fore suspected, rather to fauor then to hate, the Erles of March, and Warwike, and other of their band and affinitie. Which Erles with a great armie came shortly to London, and were of the Maior and Citezens ioyously receyued, to whome resorted the Archbishop of Cantorbury, the Bishops of London, Ely, and Exceter, with many Prelates and religious persons. These Lordes nothing slackyng the purpose, that they came for, dayly consulted and assembled together in the house of the gray Friers within the Citie. And after long debating, and secret consultacion had, it was agreed, that they with theyr whole puissance should marche forward, toward the king: determining eyther by force or fayre meanes, to bring their purpose to a conclusion. When this counsaile was dissolued, the Erles of Marche & Warwike, Thomas Lord Fauconbridge, Henry Lord Borchier, called Erle of Ewe, with a great nũber of men, which came out of Kent, Esser, Surrey & Sussex, to the number as some writers affirme of .xxb. M. persons departed from London, toward the king, lyng at Couentre, then called the Queenes secrete arbor, leauyng behinde them to kepe the Londoners in their fidelitie, from reuertyng from theyr part the Erle of Sarisbury, the Lorde Cobham, and Sir John Wenlocke: which Lorde Cobham, with certaine Aldermen of the Citie so kept the West syde against the Towre, and Sir John Wenlocke with other, so vigilantly watched the East part toward Saint Katherynes, that no person eyther could issue out, or enter in, to the great displeasure of the Lorde Scales and his companie, which dayly shot their ordenaunce out, and had likewise great ordenaunce shot at them, to the hurt, and no pleasure of both partes. The king not ignorant of all these doynges, assembled a great armie, and accompanied with the Duke of Sommerset, which was lately come from Guisnes, and the Duke of Buckingham, and diuers other great Lordes of his part and faction, came to the towne of Northhampton, where the Queene encouraged her friendes, and promised great rewardes to her helpers: for the king studied nothing but of peace, quiet and solitarie lyfe.

The battaile of Northhampton.

When the kinges hoste was assembled, and that the Queene perceyued that her power was able to matche with the force of her aduersaries, shee caused her armie to issue out of the towne, and to passe the riuer of Sene, and there in the newe fielde, betweene Harsyngton and Sandiforde, the Capitaines strongly emparked themselues with high bankes, and depe trenches. The Erle of March beyng lustie, and in the flower of his couragious youth, lyng

lying betweene Towceter and Northampton, determined to set on the kings armie, without longer protractyng of tyme. And in the night season he remoued his campe towarde Northampton, and in marchyng forwarde set hys men in good order of battaile, whereof the vawewarde was conducted by the Erle of Warwike, which either by strenght or stealth Wauger the Lord Beamond, which kept a straite goyng towarde the kinges campe, entred frechely, and began the battaile about. vij. of the clocke, the. ix. day of Julye. After whome folowed the Erle of Marche, with the banner of his father. This fight continued in doubtfull iudgement, till the houre of nine, at which tyme the kinges armie was scattered, and discomfited, and of the same slain, and drowned in the riuer, fewe lesse then ten thousand tall Englishe men, and the king himselfe left alone disconsolate, was taken and apprehended, as a man borne, and predestinate to trouble, miserie, and calamitie. At this battaile were slaine, Humfrey Duke of Buckingham, John Talbot Erle of Shrewesbury, a valiaunt person, and not degenerating from his noble parent: Thomas Lorde Egremond, John Viscont Beaumond, and Sir William Lucie, which made great hast to come to part of the fight, and at his first approche was striken in the head with an Axe. Diuers other Gentlemen were slaine in this ciuil battaile, whose names are not remembred nor published by any author that I haue read. Beside these dead persons, many were taken prisoners, because they left their horses, and discended to fight on foote. The Duke of Sommerset and other, which narowly escaped, fled with the Quene and prince Edward, into the Bishoprike of Durham, in which place they determined to gather a newe armie and power, and if no hope were of recouery, then they agreed to flie into Scotland: there to abide a time of better lucke. The Erles beyng victors in this bloody battaile, conueyed the king that night againe to the towne of Northhampton, and the next day with great solemnitie and small comfort, they set forwarde the king, and by easie iourneys brought him to London the. xvj. day of July, where he was faintly receyued, and feebly welcomed, and was lodged in the Bishops Palace. After whose comming to the Citie, the Tower of London was deliuered to the Erle of Marche, vpon a certaine composicion. But the Lorde Scales, suspectyng the sequele of the deliuery of the same, tooke a Whirry priuily, entendyng to haue fled to the Queene. But he was espyed by diuerse watermen belongyng to the Erle of Warwike, which wayted for his foorthcomming on the Thamys, and sodainly taken, and shortly slaine with many dartes and daggers, and his bodie left all bloody and naked at the gate of the Clynke, which after was buryed in the Church adioinyng. Then were dyuers persons apprehended, and endited of treason, whereof some were pardoned, and some executed: But Thomas Thorpe, seconde Baron of the Exchequer, great friend to the house of Lancaster, and extreme enemie to the familie of Yorke, was taken disguysed in a Monkes apparell, with a shauen crowne, and so brought to the Erle of Warwike, which sent him to the tower of London, where he long remayned. Duryng this trouble was a Parliament sommoned to begin at Westminster in the moneth of October next folowyng. Before which tyme, Richard Duke of Yorke beyng in Ireland, by swift currers, and flyyng postes, was aduertised of the great victory, gayned by his part at the fielde of Northhampton, and also knewe that the king was nowe

A parliament holden at westminster.

nowe in case to be kept, and ordered at his pleasure and will: Wherefore losyng no tyme, nor sluggyng one houre, he sayled from Deuelyn to Chester with no small compane, and by long iourneys came to the Citie of London, which he entered the friday next before the feast of Saint Edward the Confessor, with a sworde borne naked before him, and tooke his lodgyng in the kinges awne Palace, wherupon the common people babbled, that he should be king, and that king Henry should no longer reigne. Duryng the time of this Parliament, the Duke of Yorke, with a bolde countenaunce, entered into the Chamber of the peeres, and sate downe in the trone royall vnder the cloth of estate (which is the kinges peculier seate) and in the presence aswell of the Nobilitie, as of the spiritualtie (after a pause made) sayde these wordes in effect. My singuler good Lordes, maruaile not that I approche vnto this throne. For I sit here as in the place to me by verye iustice lawfully belongyng, and here I rest, as he to whome this Chayre of right apperteyneth, not as he, which requyreth of you fauor, partialitie, or bearyng, but egall right, friendly indifferencie, and true administracion of iustice: for I beyng the partie grieued, and complaynant, can not minister to my selfe the Medicine, that should helpe me (as expert Leches and Chirurgians may) except you be to me both faythfull ayders, and also true Counsaylers. Nor yet this noble realme, and our naturall Countrie shall neuer be vnbuckeled from her dayly feuer, except I (as the principall Phisition, and you as true and trusty Appothecaryes) consult together, in makyng of the potion, and trie out the cleane and pure stuffe, from the olde, corrupt and putrifyed drugges. For vndoubtedly, the roote and bottome of this long festured canker, is not yet extirpate, nor the feble foundacion of this fallible buyldyng, is not yet espyed, which hath bene, and is, the dayly destruction of the Nobilitie, and the continuall confusion of the poore Commonalty of this realme and Kingdome. For all you knowe (or should knowe) that the high and mightie Prince King Richard the seconde, was the true and vndoubted heyre, to the valiant Conquerour, and renowmed Prince King Edward the thirde, as sonne and heyre to the hardy knight and couragious Captain, Edward prince of Wales, Duke of Aquitain and Cornewall, eldest sonne to the said king Edward the thirde, which king was not onely in deed, but also of all men reputed and taken, as the very true and infallible heyre, to the wise and politique prince king Henry the thirde, as sonne and heyre to king Edward the second, sonne and heyre to king Edward the first, the very heyre and first begotten sonne of the sayde noble and vertuous prince, king Henry the thirde. Which king Richarde of that name the second, was lawfully and iustly possessed of the Crowne, and Diademe of this Realme and Region, till Henry of Darby, Duke of Lancaster, and Herforde, sonne to John of Gaunt Duke of Lancaster, the fourth begotten sonne, to the sayde king Edward the thirde, and yonger brother to my noble auncester Lyonell Duke of Clarence, the thirde begotten sonne of the sayde king Edward, by force and violence, contrary both to the duetie of his allegiaunce, and also to his homage, to him both done and sworne, raysed warre and battaile, at the Castell of Flynt in Northwales agaynst the sayde king Richard, and him apprehended and imprisoned within the Tower of London. Duryng whose life and captiuitie, he wrongfully vsurped and entruded vpon the royall power, and high estate of this realme and region, ta-

The Duke of Yorkes Oracio made to all the Lords of the Parliament.

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kyng on him the name, stile, and aucthoritie of king & gouernor of the same. And not therewith satisfied and contented, compalled and accomplished the death and destruction of his naturall Prince, and most worthy souereigne Lord, not as a common homicide and butcherly murderer, but as a regicide and destroyer of his king. After whose piteous death and execrable murder, the right and tytle of the Crowne, and superiozitie of this realme, was lawfully reuerted and returned to Roger Mortimer, Erle of Marche, sonne and heyre to Lady Philip, the onely childe of the aboue rehearsed Lionell, Duke of Clarence, to which Rogiers daughter called Anne, my most derest and welbeloued mother, I am the very true and lyneall heyre, which discent all you cannot iustly gayne say, nor yet truely denie. Then remember thys, if the tytle be mine, why am I put from it: if I be true heyre to the crowne (as I am in deede) why is my right witholden: if my clayme be good, why haue I not iustice: for surely learned men of great science and knowledge, say and affirme, that lyneall discent, nor vsurped possession can nothing preuayle, if continuall clayme be lawfully made, or openly published. For auoyding of which scruple & ambiguity: Edmond Erle of Marche, my most welbeloued Uncle, in the time of the first Usurper, in dede, but not by right, called king Henry the fourth by his Cosyns, the Erle of Northumberland, and the Lorde Percy, he being then in captiuitie with Owen Glendore, the rebell in Wales, made his tytle and righteous clayme, to the destruction of both the noble persons. Likewise my most deerest Lorde and father, so farre set forth that right and tytle, that he lost his lyfe and worldly ioye, at the towne of Southampton, more by power, then indifferent iustice. Sithe whose death, I comming to my full age, haue neuer desisted to pursue my tytle, and require my right, which by meanes of sinister counsaile and iniust detention, I can neyther obteyne nor recouer. So that of fine force, I am compelled to vse power in stede of prayer, and force in stede of request (not as I sayde before) for my priuate emolument and peculiar profite, but to restore peace, loue, and quietnesse to this our naturall region: which euer sythe the first vngodly vsurpation of the forenamed Henry, vntruely called king Henry the fourth, hath bene cleerely banished, and out of the same iniustly exiled. What murders and manslaughters hath bene perpetrated and committed within this Countrey, sythe the beginning of that vngracious vsurpation: what number of noble men haue beene slayne, destroyed, and executed, sithe that vnfortunate day: it is to lamentable and to manifest. For although Henry of Lancaster Erle of Derby, tooke vpon him the Scepter and the crowne, and wrongfully beare the name and style of a king, and was not much tyckeled with mine Uncle, the Erle of Marche, at that time being within age: Yet was hee neuer in suretie of himselfe, nor had, or enioyed any perfite quietnesse, eyther in minde or in body: for surely a corrupt conscience feeleth neuer rest, but looketh when the sworde of vengeaunce will discend and strike. His sonne also called king Henry the fift, obteyned notable victories, and immortall prayses, for his noble actes done in the realme of Fraunce: yet God for the offence of his vntrue parent sodainely touched him, vnbodying his soule in the flower of his youth, and in the glorie of his conquest. And although he had a fayre sonne, and a yong apparant heyre: yet was this Orphan suche a one, as preachers saye, that God threatned to sende, for a punishment,

nishment, to hys vnrulye and vngracious people: saiyng by his prophet Esay: I shall geue you children to be your princes, and infaunts without wisdome, shall haue the gouernaunce of you. The prophet lyed not, if you note all things in an order: For after this Henry the fift (whose fame no man can iustly reproue or deface) succeded his sonne whom all we haue called our naturall prince, and obeyed as his heyre: in whose time and wrongfull reigne, I require you diligently to consider, with what great torments and afflictions God hath whypped and scurged this miserable Isle, yea, with such and so many scourges and plagues, as no nation (the Egyptians onely except) were euer tormented, or afflicted withall. I will not speake of rebellious murders and oppressions, which of late haue bene done, and exercised here among vs: but I will declare and manifest to you how the crowne and glorie of this realme, is by the negligence of this silly man, and his vnwise counsayle, minished, defaced, and dishonored. Is not Normandy, which his father gat, regayned and conquered agayne, by the insolencie of him, and his couetous counsayle? Is not the whole Duchy of Acquitayne by two hundred and odde yeres, peaceably possessed by the kings of this realme, in one yere and a little more, gotten out of our hands and seigniorie? What should I speake of Angeow & Mayne, or the losse of the Isle of Fraunce, with the riche Citie of Paris. Alas it is to apparaunt, neither will I molest you with the recitall of all the perticulers thereof: But nowe in the middes of this affliction, and to make an ende of the same, God of his eneffable goodnesse, looking on this countrey, with his eyes of pitie and mercie, hath sent me in the truth to restore againe his decayed kingdome, to his auncient fame and olde renoume. Whereof here in open parliament, according to my iust and true title, I haue and do take possession of this royal throne, not putting diffidence, but firme hope in Gods grace, that by his deuine ayde, & the assistance of you the peeres of this realme, I shall bewtifie and maintaine the same, to the glorie of hym, honor of my blood, and to the publique wealth, as well of you all here present, as of all the poore commons and subiectes, of thys kingdome and Regiment.

When the Duke had thus ended his Oration, the Lordes sate still lyke Images grauen in the wall, or dumme Gods, neither whispering nor speaking, as though their mouthes had beene sowed vp. The Duke perceyuing none answere to be made to his declared purpose, not well content wyth their sober silence, aduised them well to digest and ponder the effect of that which he had sayde, and so neyther fully displeased, nor all pleased, departed to hys lodgyng in the kings Palace.

Whyle he was thus declaryng his tytle in the Chamber of the Peres, there happened a straunge chaunce in the very same time, amongst the commons in the nether house, then there assembled: for a crown which did hang in the middle of the same to garnishe a braunche, to set lights vpon, without touch of any creature or rigor of winde sodainely fell downe, and at the same time also fell downe the crowne, which stoode on the toppe of the Castell of Douer: as a signe and pronostication that the crowne of the realme should be deuided and changed, from one line to another, such was the iudgement of the common people.

The Lordes of the realme, forgate not the Dukes demaunde, nor long protracted

protracted the time, to see some good ende, in so waighty a cause: wherfore diuers Lordes, as well spirituall as temporall, with many graue and sage persons of the commonalty daylie assembled at the black Friers and other places, to treate and common of this matter, being of no small importaunce. During which time, the Duke of Yorke, although he and the king, were both lodged in the Palace of Westminster, yet for no prayer or intercession, he would once visite or see the king, till some perfite conclusion were taken, in this great and waighty purpose, saiyng and affirming, that he was subiect to no man, but onely to God, and he was his Lord and superior, and none other, I will a little space leaue the Lordes consultyng together, and speake of outward attemptes and forreyn doings.

This ciuill discention within the realme of Englande, did much animate and incourage James the seconde of that name, king of Scottes, to make warre on the Englishe nation, partly for the displeasure which he conceyued for the death of Edmond Duke of Sommerset hys mothers brother, and partly to shew himselfe amongst his people, to be both valyaunt and courragious. Thys king James from his first rule, beganne to enter into suspition with Wylliam Erle Douglas, a man both of great kinne and more power, euer mistrusting that he nothing more desyred, then to deprive hym from his authoritie, and to vsurpe the same. This cancard suspicion was so rooted in the kings harte, that sodainely it branched out, in so much that the king sending for the Erle (which trusting on his owne innocencie, humbly came to his presence) caused him shamefully to be slayne and murdered, with which iniury, his two brethren, Archibald Erle of Murrey, and Hugh Erle of Ormount, not a little pricked and incouraged with the Erles of Angus and Northone, being all of one line and surname, made open warre on the saide king James: but in conclusion he preuailed, and suppressed the great power of the Douglasses. And then thinking himselfe a king, without eyther peere or fere, assembled a great armie, and entred into the Marches of Northumberlande, and besieged the Castell of Rorbrough, and there caused his newe Bumbard lately cast in Flaunders, called the Lyon and dyuers other peeces to be shot agaynst the Castell, whereof one being weake and slender, brake in peeces, and one of the fragmentes slue the king, standing amongest a great companye of his people, and wounded the Erle of Angus. The Scottes not dismayed with the death of their King, seyng the Castell easie to be wonne, manfully assauted and with much paine gat it, and the same long defended, till Richard Duke of Glouceſter it conquered and destroyed. This king James of Queene Mary his wyfe left three sonnes, James which succeeded him, Alexander Duke of Albany, and John. This yong king James, was put vnder the tuition of James Kenede, Bysshop of Saint Andrewes, which during his noneage, ruled the realme to the kings great honor, but more to his owne profite and peculiar gayne: For he made sumpteous houses, and builded Colleges, which this yong pupill king James, neyther could, nor was able to do.

William Erl. Douglas murdred.

King James of Scotland slayne with a peece of a Gonne.

The death of Charles the french King.

About this very season, and during this vnnaturall controuersie within the Realme of Englande: Charles the French king, which onely by trouble and calamitie gat to him a perpetuall name, and amongst his Nation aboue the starres exalted, ended the point of his fatall fine, which Prince in hys

his youth, neuer regarded wanton pastyme, nor lasciuious dalliaunce, for his wittes were set, and his industrie onely applied, to recouer agayne hys Princely inheritaunce: So that more plainely then in a Glasse, all men may perceyue that paine often profiteth, and labor commonly auayleth, but ydlenesse seldome, and dalliaunce neuer. To this Charles succeeded king Lewys, of that name the.xj. of whose doings you shall heare after: and shall both wndy and marueile, at the straungenesse of his demeanor, and the craftie policie of his secret compasses. Now I will returne to the great counsayle of the Lordes, celebrate about London, for the Duke of Yorkes claime.

After long arguments made, and deliberate consultation had among the Peeres, Prelates, and commons of the realme: vpon the vigile of all Saintes, it was condescended and agreed, by the three estates, for so much as king Henry had beene taken as king, by the space of .xxxviij. yeres and more, that he should enioy the name and tytle of king, and haue possession of the realme, during his life naturall: And if he eyther died or resigned, or forfeited the same, for infringing any point of this concorde, then the sayde Crowne and authoritie royall, should immediatly dissende to the Duke of Yorke, if he then lyued, or else to the next heyre of his line or linage, and that the Duke from thencefoorth should be Protector and Regent of the land. Prouided alway, that if the king did closely or apertly studie or go about to breake or alter this agreement, or to compasse or imagine the death or destruction of the sayde Duke or hys bloud, then he to forfeit the crowne, and the Duke of Yorke to take it. These articles with many other, were not onely written, sealed and swoorne by the two parties: but also were enacted in the high court of Parliament. For toy whereof, the king hauing in his company the sayde Duke, rode to the Cathedrall Church of saint Paule, within the Citie of London, and there on the day of all saintes, went solempnly wyth the Diademe on his head in procession, and was lodged a good space after in the Bishops Palace, nere to the sayd Church. And vpon the Saturday nert ensuyng, Richard Duke of Yorke, was by the sound of a trumpet, solempnly proclaimed heyre apparaunt to the crowne of Englande, and Protectour of the realme.

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Articles of agreement betweene king Henrie the sixt, and Richard Duke of Yorke.

After thys, the Parliament kept at Couentry the laste yere, was declared to be a deuilishe counsayle, and onely celebrate for the destruction of the nobility, and no lawfull Parliament, because they which were returned, were neuer elected, according to the due order of the law, but secretly named by them, which desired more the destruction, then the aduauncement of the publique wealth and common profite. When these agreements were done and enacted, the king dissolued his parliament, which was the laste parliament that euer he ended. Such was the pleasure of almightie God, that king Henry beyng a good and verteous man, which had tasted innumerable aduersities and calamities of the worlde, should be deprined of his terrestriall crowne, to be recompensed with an heauenly garlande, and a ioyfull place: for surely a perfite good man, although he be plagued with a thousande displeasures cannot be but blessed.

The Duke of Yorke well knowyng, that the Queene would spurne and impugne the conclusions, agreed and taken in this Parliament, caused her and her sonne, to be sent for by the king: but the being a manly woman, bsing

to rule and not to be ruled, and thereto counsayled by the Dukes of Excester and Sommerset, not only denyed to come but also assembled together a great armie, intendyng to take the king by fine force, out of the Lordes handes, and to set them to a newe schoole. The Protector lying in London, hauyng perfite knowlege of all these doynges: assigned the Duke of Norffolke and the Erle of Warwike, his truste friendes, to be about the king, and he with the Erles of Salisbury, and Rutland: with a conuenient companie, departed out of London the second day of December, Northwarde, and sent to the Erle of Marche his eldest sonne to folowe him with all his power. The Duke by small iourneys came to his Castell of Sandall, beyde Wakefielde on Christmasse eue, and there began to assemble his tenantes and friendes. The Queene beyng therof asserteyned, determined to couple with him while his power was small, and his ayde not come: And so hauyng in her companie, the Prince her sonne, the Dukes of Excester and Sommerset, the Erle of Deuonshire, the Lorde Cliffords, the Lorde Rosse, and in effect all the Lordes of the Northpart, with. xviij. thousande men, or as some write, xvij. thousand, marched from Yorke to Wakefield, and had base to the Duke, euen before his Castell, he hauyng with him not fully fiue thousand persons, determined incontinent to issue out, and to fight with his enemies, and although sir Davy Hall, his olde seruaunt and chiefe Counsayloz, aduised him to kepe his Castell, and to defend the same with his small number, till his sonne the Erle of Marche were come with his power of Marchmen and Welshe soldiors, yet he would not be counsayled, but in a great fury sayde, a Davy, Davy, hast thou loued me so long, and nowe wouldest haue me dishonoured? Thou neuer sawest me kepe forteresse when I was Regent in Normandie, when the Dolphyn himselfe, with his puyssaunce came to besiege me, but lyke a man, and not lyke a birde inclosed in a Cage, I issued and fought with mine enemyes, to their losse euer (I thanke God) and to my honour: If I haue not kept my selfe within walles, for feare of a great and strong Prince, nor hid my face from any man liuyng, wouldest thou that I for dread of a scoldyng woman, whose weapon is onely her tongue, and her nayles, should enclose my selfe, and shut my gates? Then all men might of me wonder, and all creatures may of me report dishonour, that a woman hath made me a dastard, whom no man euer to this day could yet proue a coward: and surely my mind is, rather to die with honor, then to liue with shame, for of honour commeth fame, and of dishonour ryseth infamie: Their great number shall not feare my spirites, but encourage them, for surely I thinke that I haue there, as many friendes as enemies, which at ioinyng, will eyther flie or take my part: Therefore auaunce my Banner, in the name of God and saint George, for surely I will fight with them, though I should fight alone. The Erle of Salisbury and other his friendes, seyng his courage, resolued themselues to his opinion, and ordered their men, and set them forth in warlike fashion, for their most aduauntage. The Duke of Sommerset and other of the Quenes part, knowyng perfectly, that if the Duke gat the victorie, their dayes were minished, and their liuyngs left bare, like men quickned and pricked forwarde, for the safegarde of their lyues, and defence of their goodes, determined to abide the chaunce, and to espie their most aduauntage and so appointed the Lorde Cliffords to lie in the one stale, and the Erle of Wilshire

Wilshire in the other, & they themselues kept the maine battaile. The Duke of Yorke with his people, discended downe the hill in good order and array, and was suffered to passe forwarde, towarde the maine battaile: but when he was in the plaine ground, betwene his Castell and the Towne of Wakefielde, he was inuironed on euery syde like a fishe in a Net, or a Deere in a Buckstall: so that he manfully fightyng, was within halfe an houre slaine and deade, and his whole army discomfited, and with him dyed of his trusty friendes, his two bastard Uncles, sir John and sir Hugh Mortimer, sir Davy Hall his chiefe Counsayloz, sir Hugh Hastyngs, sir Thomas Neuel, William and Thomas Aparre, both brethren, and two thousand and eight hundreth other, whereof many were yong Gentlemen, and heyres of great parentage in the South part, whose liuages reuenged their deathes, within foure Monethes next and immediately ensuing. In this conflict was wounded and taken prisoner, Richard Erle of Salisbury, syr Richard Limbrike, Raufe Stanley, John Harow, Capitaine Hauson, and diuers other. While this battaile was in fightyng, a priest called Sir Robert Aspall, Chaplaine and Scholemaister to the yong Erle of Rutland, the second son to the abouenamed Duke of Yorke, scarce of the age of.xij. yeres, a fayre Gentleman, and a maydenly person, perceiuyng that flight was more sauegard, then tarying, both for him and his Mayster, secretly conueyed the Erle out of the field, by the Lorde Cliffordes bande, towarde the Towne, but or he could enter into a house, he was by the sayde Lorde Cliffords espyed, folowed, and taken and by reason of his apparell, demaunded what he was. The yong Gentleman dismayde, had not a worde to speake, but kneeled on his knees crauyng mercy, and desiryng grace, both with holdyng vp his handes, and makyng a dolorous countenaunce, for his speeche was gone for feare. Saue him sayd his Chapleyn, for he is a Princes sonne, and paraduenture may do you good hereafter. With that worde, the Lorde Cliffords marked him and sayde: by Gods blood, thy father slue mine, and so will I do thee and all thy kinne, and with that worde, strake the Erle to the hart with his Dagger, and bad his Chapleyn beare the Erles mother and brother worde what he had done and sayde. In this act the Lorde Cliffords was accompted a tyraunt, and no gentleman, for the propertie of the Lion, which is a furious and an vnreasonable beast, is to be cruell to them that withstand him, and gentle to such as prostrate or humiliate themselues before him. Yet this cruell Cliffords, not content with this, came to the place where the deade corps of the Duke of Yorke lay, and caused his head to be striken off, and set on it a Crowne of Paper, and so fired it on a pole, and presented it to the Queene, not lyng farre from the fielde, in great despite and muche derision, saiyng: Madame, your warre is done, here is your kinges raunsome, at which present was much ioy, and great reioysing, but many laughed then, that sore lamented after, as the Queene her selfe, and her sonne: And many were glad then of other mens deathes, not knowyng that their awne were nere at hande, as the Lorde Cliffords, and other.

The battaile of wakefield.

The duke of Yorke slaine.

But surely, mans nature is so fraile, that thinges passed be sone forgotten, and misthiefes to come, be not foresene. After this victorie by the Quene and her part obteyned, she caused the Erle of Salisbury, with all the other prisoners, to be sent to Pomfret, and there to be behedded, and sent all their

heddes, and the Dukes head of Yorke, to be set vpon poles, ouer the gate of the Citie of Yorke, in despyte of them, and their linage: whose children shortly reuenged their fathers quarrell, both to the Queenes extreme perdition, and the vtter vndoyng of her husband and sonne. This ende had the valiant Lorde, Richard Plantagenet Duke of Yorke.

The Erle of March so commonly called, but after the death of his father in dede and in right very Duke of Yorke, liyng at Glouceſter, heeryng of the death of his noble father, and louyng brother, and trusty friendes, was wonderfully amased, but after comfort geuen to him, by his faythfull friends and sure allyes, he remoued to Shrewesbury, and other townes vpon the Riuer of Seuerne, declaryng to them the murder of his father, the ieopardie of himselfe, and the vnstable state and ruyne of the Realme. The people on the Marches of Wales, which aboue measure fauored the linage of the Lorde Mortimer, more gladly offered him their ayde and assistance, then he it eyther instantly requyred, or hartily desyred, so that he had a puyssaunt armie, to the number of.xxiij.thousand, redy to go agaynst the Queene, and the murderers of his father. But when he was settyng forwarde, newes were brought to him, that Jasper Erle of Penbroke, halfe brother to king Henry, and James Butler, Erle of Ormond and Wilshire, had assembled together a great number, both of Welshe and Irishe people, sodainly to surprise and take him and his friendes, and as a captiue to conuey him to the Queene. The Duke of Yorke called Erle of Marche, somewhat spurred and quickned with these nouelties, retired backe, and met with his enemies in a fayre plaine, neere to Mortimers crosse, not farre from Herford East, on Candlemasse day in the morning, at which tyme the Sunne (as some write) appered to the Erle of Marche like three Sunnes, and sodainely ioyned all together in one, and that vpon the sight thereof, he tooke such courage, that he fiercely set on his enemyes, and them shortly discomfited: for which cause, men imagined that he gaue the Sunne in his full brightnesse for his Cognisaunce or Badge. Of his enemyes were left deade on the ground, three thousand, and viij. hundreth. The Erles of Penbroke and Wilshire fled, and Sir Owen Tewther, father to the sayde Erle of Penbroke, which Owen had maryed king Henryes mother (as you haue heard before) with Dauid Floyde, Morgan ap Reuther, and diuers other were taken and behedded at the Citie of Harfforde. Duryng this season the Queene was greatly encouraged with the victory, obteyned late at Wakefielde, partly because the Duke of Yorke, her vtter enemie was rid out of the worlde, and partly, because she perceyued the Lordes of the North Countrie to adhere and cleue to her part and faction: Wherefore with a great multitude of Northren people, she marched toward London, of whose approche the Londoners were nothyng glad: For some affirmed that she brought that rustie companie, to spoyle and rob the Citie: other sayde that she would be reuenged, of such as fauoured the Duke of Yorke. So the poore Citizens hangyng betwene the water and the fire, were much amased, but the Magistrates and gouernours caused great watches to be kept, and good order to be obserued. The Queene still came forwarde with her Northren people, entendyng to subuert and defaict all conclusions and agreementes, enacted and assented to, in the last Parliament. And so after her long iourney, she came to the towne of Saint Albones: whereof

Mortimers Crosse.

where of the Duke of Northfolke, the Erle of Warwike, and other whom the Duke of Yorke had left to queene the king in his absence, beyng aduertised, by the assent of the king, gathered together a great host, and set forward toward Saint Albons, hauyng the king in theyr company, as the heade and chieftain of the warre, and so not mindyng to deferre the tyme any farther, vpon Shrouetuesday early in the morning, set vpon their enemies. Fortune that day so fauored the Queene, that her part preuayled, and the Duke & the Erle were discomfited, and fled: leauyng the King accompanied with the Lorde Bonuile, and Sir Thomas Kiryell of Kent, which vpon assuraunce of his promise, tarryed still and fled not, but theyr trust them deceyued. For after the victorie obteyned, and the king brought to the Queene, they two were deteyned as prisoners, and so continued till the Kinges departing from that towne. In this battaile were slaine.xxiij. hundreth men, and not aboue, of whom no noble man is remembred, saue Sir John Gray, which the same day was made knight, with.xij. other at the Village of Colney. Happy was the Queene in her two battayles, but vnfortunate was the king in all hys enterprises, for where his person was present, there victorie euer fled from him to the other part, and he commonly was subdued and banquished. When Queene Margaret had thus well sped, first she caused the king, to dubbe Prince Edward his sonne knight, with.xxx. other persons, which in the morning fought on the Queenes syde, against his part. After she sent to the Maior of London, cõmaundyng him without delay, to send certaine Cartes, laden with Lenten vitail, for the refreshing of her and her army. The Mayor, incontinent made prouision, laded Cartes, and sent them towarde the Queene. But the moueable Commons, which fauoured not the Queenes part, stopped the Cartes at Cripplegate, and boldely sayd, that their enemies which came to spoyle and robbe the Citizens, should neyther be relieued, nor victayled by them. And notwithstandyng gentle aduertisement to them geuen, of the mischiefes which might ensue of their doyngs: yet they remayned still in one obstinate minde and wilfull will, not permittyng the carryages to passe or go forwarde. Duryng which controuersie, diuerse of the Northren horsemen came and robbed in the Suburbes of the Citie, and would haue entred at Creplegate, but they by the Commoners were repulsed, and beaten backe, and three of them slaine: wherevpon the Mayor sent the Recorder to the kinges Counsaile to Barnet, to excuse the matter, and the Ducheſſe of Bedford, and the Ladie Scales, with diuers sad fathers of the Spiritualtie, went to the Queene to mollifie her rancor, and asswage her melancoly, which she had conceyued agaynst the Citie. At this humble request, the Queene and her Counsaile appoynted certaine Lordes and Knightes, with foure hundreth tall persons, to ryde to the Citie, and there to viewe, and see the demeanor and disposition of the people: and diuers Aldermen were appoynted to mete them at Barnet, and to conuey them to London. But whatsoeuer man purposeth, God disposeth: for al these deuises were shortly transmuted into an other forme, because true report was brought, not onely to the Citie, but also to the Queene, that the Erle of Marche had vanquished the Erles of Penbroke and Wilshire, and that the Erle of Warwike, in whome rested the chiefe trust of that faction, after the last conflict had at Saint Albones, had met with the sayde Erle of Marche at Chippyng Norton, by

The battaile of Saint Albons.

Cottesolde, and that they with both their powers were commyng towarde London. These true tales turned the Queenes purpose, and altered all her long deuised entents, insomuch that the little trustyng Esser, and lesse Kent, but London least of all, with her husband and sonne, departed from Saint Albones, into the Nozth Countrie, where the roote and foundation of her ayde and refuge onely consisted. But at the day of her departyng, she caused the heades of the Lozde Bonuile, and Sir Thomas Kiriell, to be cut of, in the presence of her sonne, contrary to the minde and promise of her husband, but amongest men of warre, fayth oz othe, seldome is perfozmed.

The Duches of Yozke, seyng her husbande and sonne slayne, and not knowyng what should succeede of her eldest sonnes chaunce, sent her two yonger sonnes, Geozge and Rychard ouer the sea, to the Citie of Utrechte in Almayne: where they were of Philip Duke of Burgoyne well receyued and feasted, and so there they remayned till their bzother Edwarde had obteyned the realme, and gotten the regiment. During which time diuers Marchaunts mistrusting the mutation of the wozlde, fled out of the realme, amongst whome, one Philip Malpas a man of great ryches, sailyng into Flaunders, was taken by John Columme a French man, and payde foure thousand Markes foz his raunsome. The Erles of Marche and Warwike, hauing perfite knowlege, that the king and Quene with their adherentes, were departed from saint Albones, determined first to ryde to London, as the chiefe key and common spectacle to the whole realme, thinking there to assure themselues of the East and West parte of the kingdome, as king Henry and his faction nesteled and strengthened him and his alies, in the Nozth partes: meaning to haue a bucklar against a swozde, and a southzene Bull, to counteruayle a Nozthzen bastard. And so these two great Lozdes, resoluyng themselues vpon thys purpose, accompanied with a great number of men of warre, entred the Citie of London, in the first weeke of Lent. What should I declare how the Kentishmen resozted: howe the people of Esser swarmed, and how the Counties adioyning to London, daylie repayzed to see, ayde, and comfozt this lustie Pzince and flower of Chiualrie, as he in whome the hope of their ioy, and the trust of their quietnesse onely then consisted. Thys wise and pzudent noble man, percepuing the most parte of the Realme, to him friendly and adherent, minding to take time when time serued, called a great counsail both of Lozdes spirituall and tempozall, and to them repeated the tytle, and right that he had to the realme, and dignitie royall: rehersing the articles of the agreement, not only concluded betwene king Henry, and hys Noble father, Rychard Duke of Yozke, by their wzitings signed and sealed: but also cozrobozated and confirmed by aucthozitie of the high Courte of Parliament: the bzeaches whereof, he neither fozgat, noz omitted vndeclared. After the Lozdes had considered and weighed his tytle and declaration, they determined by aucthozitie of the sayde counsayle, foz as much as king Henry contrary to his othe, honoz and agreement, had violated and infringed the ozder taken and enacted in the last parliament, and also because he was insufficient to rule the realme, and vnpzofitable to the common wealth, he was therefoze by the afozesayde aucthozitie, depziued and deiected of all kingly honoz, and regall souereintie. And incontinent, Edwarde Erle of Marche, sonne and heyze to Richarde Duke of Yozke, was

Philip Malpas taken.

was by the Lozdes in the sayde counsayle assembled, named, elected, and admitted, foz king and gouernour of the realme: on which day, the people of the Erles parte being in their muster in saint Johns field, and a great number of the substantiall Citezens there assembled to beholde their ozder: sodainely the Lozde Fawconbzidge which tooke the Musters, wisely declared to the multitude, the offences and bzeaches of the late agreement done and perpetrated by king Henry the first, and demaunded of the people, whether they would haue the sayde king Henry to rule and reigne any longer ouer them: To whome they with a whole voyce, aunswered nay, nay. Then he asked them, if they would serue, loue, and obey the Erle of March, as their earthly pzince, and souereigne Lozde. To which question they aunswered, yea, yea, cryng king Edward, with many great showtes and clapping of handes. The Lozdes were shoztly aduertised of the louing consent which the commons frankely and freely of their free will had geuen, wherupon incontinent, they all with a conuenient number of the most substanciall commons, repaired to Baynardes Castell, making iust and true repozte to the Erle of their election and admission, and the louing assent of the faythfull commons. The Erle after long pausing, first thanked God of his great grace and benefite, then to him declared and shewed, and the Lozdes and commons also, foz their hartie fauoz, and assured fidelitie, and notwithstanding that like a wise pzince, he alleged his insufficiencie foz so great a rome and weyghty a burden, as lacke of knowlege, want of experience and diuers other qualities to a gouernour appertayning: yet in conclusion he beyng perswaded by the Archebishop of Cauntozbury, the bishop of Excester and other Lozdes, then being pzesent, graunted to their petition, and toke vpon him the charge, and vpon the next day, beyng the fourth day of Marche, he as king rode to the Church of Saint Paule, and there offered. And after Te deum song, with great solempnitie, he was conueyed to Westminster, and there sat in the Hall, with the Scepter royall in his hand, where to all the people which there in great number were assembled, his tytle and claime to the crowne of England was declared by two maner of waies: the first, as sonne & heyze to Duke Richard his father, right enheritoz to the same: the second, by aucthozitie of Parliament and fozfeiture committed by king Henry. Wherupon it was againe demaunded of the commons, if they would admit and take the sayde Erle as their pzince and souereigne Lozde, which all with one voyce cryed, yea, yea. Which agreement concluded, he entred into Westminster Church vnder a Canapy, with solempne pzocession, and there as king offred and after the homages taken of all the nobles there pzesent, he returned by water to London, and was lodged in the Bishops Palace: daylie making pzouision to go Nozthwarde agaynst his aduerse faction and open enemies, and on the mozow he was pzoclaymed king, by the name of king Edwarde the fourth, throughout the Citie. While these things were in doyng in the Southpart, King Henry being in the Nozthcountrie, thinking because he had slayne the Duke of Yozke, the chiefe Capitayne of the contrary lynage, that he had bzought all thing to purpose and conclusion as he would, assembled a great armie, trusting with little paine, and small losse, to destroy the residewe of his enemies, whome he esteemed to be of no fozce. But he was foze deceyued: foz out of the dead stock, sprang a strong and mighty bzaunch, which

King Edwarde the fourth pzoclaymed king of England.

which by no meanes could either be broke, or made fere: which was this king Edward the fourth, which was so beloued and fauored of the people, that no man was spoken of, no person was remembred but onely he: for he was so much estemed, both of the nobility & commonalty, for his liberality, clemency, integrity, and courage, that above all other, he was extolled & praised to the very heauen. By reason wherof men of al ages & of all degrees to him daylie repayred, some offering themselues and their men to ieopard their lifes with him, & other plenteously gaue him money, to support his charges and maintaine his war. By reason wherof, he assembled together a puyssant army, to the intent to geue to his enimies a fierce and a sharpe battaile, & so in one day to obtein his purpose, & make an ende of al his trouble. When his army was redy, & al things prepared, he departed out of London the .xij. day of March, and by easy iourneis came to the Castel of Pomfret, where he rested, apointing the Lord Fitzwater to kepe ỹ passage at Ferybridge, with a great number of talle personages. Let no man thinke or yet imagine, ỹ either the counsayle of king Henry, or his vigilāt Quene, either neglected or forgat to know or serch what their enimies did, but they prepared to their power al the men, that they eyther could perswade or allure to their purpose to take their part, And thus thinking themselues furnished, cōmitted the gouernance of the armie to the Duke of Somnerset, the Erle of Northumberland, & the Lorde Clifford, as men desiring to reuenge ỹ death of their parents slain at the first battaile of S. Albons. These noble Captaines, leauing king Henry, his wife & sonne, for their most safegard in ỹ City of Yorke, passed the riuer of Wharfe with all their power, entending to prohibite king Edward to passe ouer the riuer of Ayre, & for the more expedition & exploit of their purpose (after many comparisons made betwene the Erle of Northumberland, and the Lorde Clifford, both being in lusty youth, & of franck courage) the Lord Clifford determined with his light horsemē, to make an assay to such as kept the passage of Ferybridge, & so departed from the great armye on the Saturday before Palmsonday, & early or his enimies were ware, gat the bridge, and slue the kepers of the same, & all such as did withstand him. The Lord Fitzwater hering the noise, sodainly rose out of his bed, and vnarmed, with a Pollax in his hand, thinking that it had bene a fray amongst his men, came down to appese the same, but or he eyther began his tale, or knew what the matter ment, he was slaine, & with him the bastard of Salisbury, brother to the Erle of Warwike, a valiant yong gentleman, & of great audacity. When the Erle of Warwike was informed of this feat, he like a man desperate mouted on his hackney, & came blowing to king Edward, saiyng: syr, I pray God haue mercy of their soules, which in ỹ beginning of your enterprise haue lost their liues, and because I see no succours of the world, I remit the vengeance & punishment to God our creator and redemer, & with that lighted down and slue his horse with his sword, saiyng: let him flie ỹ wil, for surely I will tary with him that wil tary with me. The lusty king Edward, perceiuing the corage of his trustie friend the Erle of Warwike made proclamation that al men, which were afraid to fight, should incontinent depart, & to al them that taried the battaile, he promised great rewards with this addition, that if any Souldiour, which voluntaryly would not abyde, & in or before the conflict flye, or turne his back, that then he that coulde kyll hym, shoulde haue a great rewarde, and double

wages.

wages. After this proclamacion ended, the Lorde Fawconbridge, sir Water Blont, Robert Horne wyth the forward, passed the ryuer at Castelforde three myles from Ferebridge, entendyng to haue enuironed, and enclosed the Lorde Clyfforde, and hys company, but they being thereof aduertised, departed in great haste towarde kyng Henryes armye, but they met with some that they looked not for, and were attrapped or they were ware. For the Lorde Clyfforde, eyther for heate or payne, putting of his Gorget, sodaynely wyth an arrowe (as some say) wythout an hedde, was striken into the throte and incontinent rendered his spirite, and the Erle of Westmerlandes brother and all his company almost were there slayne, at a place called Dintingdale, not far from Towton. This ende had he which slew the yong Erle of Rutlande, kneelyng on his knees: whose yong sonne Thomas Cliffords, was brought vp with a Shepperd, in poore habite, and dissimuled behauiour euer in feare, to publish his linage or degree, till king Henry the. vij. obtayned the Crowne, and gatte the diademe: by whome he was restored to hys name and possessions. When this conflict was ended at Ferebridge, the Lorde Fawconbridge, hauing the forewarde, because the Duke of Northfolke was fallen sick, valiauntly vpon Palmsunday in the twylight, set forth his army, and came to Sarton, where he myght apparauntlye perceyue the host of his aduersaryes, which were accompted .lx. M. men, and thereof aduertised kyng Edwarde, whose whole armye, they that knewe it, and payed the wages, affirme to be, xlviij. M. vj. C. and .lx. persons, which incontinent with the Erle of warwike set forward, leauyng the rereward vnder the gouernaunce of Sir John Wenlock, and Syr John Dynham and other. And first of all he made proclamation, that no prisoner should be taken, nor one enemie saued. So the same day about nine of the clock, which was the .xxix. day of Marche, beyng Palmesunday, both the hostes approched in a plaine fielde, betweene Towton and Sarton. When eche parte perceyued other, they made a great showte, and at the same instant time, there fell a small snute or snow, which by violence of the winde was driuen into the faces of them which were of king Henries parte, so that their sight was somewhat blemished and minished. The Lord Fawconbridge, which led the forward of king Edwardes battayle (as before is rehersed) being a man of great pollecie and of much experience in marciall feates, caused euery archer vnder his standard, to shoote one flight (which before he caused them to prouide) and then made them to stand still. The Northren men feeling the shot, but by reason of the Snowe, not well bewyng the distaunce betwene them and their enimies, like hardy men shot their sheafe arrowes as fast as they might, but all their shot was lost, and their labor vaine, for they came not nere the Southren men, by. xl. Taylors yardes. When their shot was almost spent, the Lorde Fawconbridge marched forwarde with his archers, which not onely shot their whole sheues, but also gathered the arrowes of their enimies, and let a great parte of them flie agaynst their awne Maisters, and another part they let stande on the ground, which sore noyed the legges of the owners, when the battail ioyned. The Erle of Northumberland, and Andrew Trollop, which were chiefetaynes of king Henries Vawgard, seyng their shot not to preuayle, hasted forward to ioyne with their enimies: you may be sure the other parte nothing slacked, but valyauntly fought with their enimies.

The conflict at Ferrebridge.

The conflict at Sarton on Palme sonday.

This

This battaile was sore foughten, for hope of lyfe was set on side on euery parte, and taking of prisoners was proclaimed as a great offence, by reason whereof euery man determined, eyther to conquere or to die in the field. This deadly battayle and bloudy conflict, continued ten houres in doubtfull victorie. The one part sometime flowing, and sometime ebbing, but in conclusion king Edwarde so courageously comforted his men, refreshing the weerie, and helping the wounded, that the other part was discomfited and ouercome and like men amased fled toward Tadcaster bridge to saue themselues: but in the meane way there is a little brooke called Cock, not very broad, but of a great deepenesse, in the which, what for haste of escaping, and what for feare of followers, a great number were drent and drowned, in so much that the common people there affirme, that men alyue passed the ryuer vpon deade carcasses, & that the great riuer of Warfe, which is the great sewer of that brooke, & of all the water comming from Towton, was coloured with blood.

The battaile of Towton or Sherborne.

The chase continued all night, and the most parte of the next daye, and euer the Northren men, when they sawe or perceyued any aduauntage, returned againe and fought with their enemies, to the great losse of both parties. For in thys three dayes were slayne (as they that knew it wrote) on both partes xxxbj.M.bij.C.lx. and.xbj. persons, all Englishe men and of one Nation, whereof the chiefe were the Erles of Northumberland and Westmerland, and the Lorde Dakers, the Lorde Welles, syr John Neuel, Andrew Trolop, Robert Horne, and many other knightes and Esquiers, and the Erle of Deuonshire taken prisoner, but the Dukes of Sommerset and Excester fled from the field and saued themselues. This conflict was in maner vnnaturall, for in it the sonne fought agaynst the father, the brother agaynst the brother, the Nephew agaynst the Uncle, and the tenaunt agaynst hys Lorde, which slaughter did sore and much weaken the puyssance of thys realme, considering that these dead men, when they were liuyng had force ynough to resist the greatest princes power of all Europe: But also gaue a courage to outward enimies, and forreyn Potentates, to inuade and make warre in this realme, which thing was not vnlikely to haue ensued, if eyther Lewys the french king had beneat this time quiet in his realme, or James king of Scottes had bene of age and Maister of himselfe, yet thanked be God, for although the gate of a conquest were opened, yet it was shut againe or it was espyed.

A great slaughter of Englishmen.

After this great victorie, king Edwarde rode to Yorke, where he was with all solempnitie receyued: and first he caused the heades of his father, the Erle of Salisbury, and other his friendes to be taken from the gates, and to be buried with their bodyes. And there he caused the Erle of Deuonshire and three other to be behedded, and set their heades in the same places. After that, he sent out men on light horses, to espie in what part king Henry lurked, which heering of the discomfiture and losse of his friendes, departed incontinent with his wyfe and sonne, to the towne of Barwike, and leauing the Duke of Sommerset there, came to the Kinges Court of Scotland, requiring of him and his counsaile, ayde, succour, relefe and comfort. The yong king hauing compassion on the miserable fate and great mischance of this sorowfull man, not onely comforted him with fayre wordes and friendly promises, but also assigned to him a competent pencion to liue on, during the

the time of hys abode within the Realme of Scotland. King Henry considering the great humanitie, shewed to him by the Scottish king, in whome onely nowe consisted the whole hope and especiall trust of his ayde and succour, thought to binde the sayde king with some great benefite to his parte, and for ỳ cause deliuered to him the towne of Barwike vpon Twede: which towne the Scottes manye yeres had desired, but yet they neyther by force nor fayre promises, could obteyne their desire or purpose before that time. Some writers affirme that he not voluntarily, but constreyned by necessitie, rendered the same towne, or else he coulde not be permitted once to enter, or haue any succour in the realme of Scotlande. But whatsoeuer the cause was: after king James had taken possession of the towne, he friendly entertayned and faythfully supported the part and faction of king Henry, and concluded a mariage betweene his sister and the yong prince of Wales, which mariage, Philip Duke of Burgoyne, enemie to Quene Margarets father, labored much to breake and interrupt: but by the consent of both the friends the matrimony was agreed, but it was neuer solempnised, as after you shal heare. When king Henry was somewhat setteled in the realme of Scotland, he sent his wyfe and hys sonne into Fraunce, to king Reyner her father, trusting by his ayde and succour to assemble a great armie, and once agayne to possesse his realme and dignitie, and he in the meane season determined to make his abode in Scotlande, to see and espie, what waye his friendes in Englande woulde studie or inuent for his restitution and aduauncement. But whether it were his destinie or his follie, he so imprudently demeaned himselfe, that within short space, he came into the handes of his mortall enimies. Quene Margaret thus being in Fraunce, did obteyne and impetrate of the yong French king, that all fautors and louers of her husband and the Lancastreall bande, might safely and surely haue resorte into any part of the realme of Fraunce, prohibityng all other of the contrary faction, any accesse or repaire into that Countrie.

King Henry the vi. deliuered the towne of Barwike into the handes of James king of Scotlande.

Thus you haue heard the variable chaunce and lamentable history of king Henry the sixt, which had reigned ouer this realme .xxxbiij. yeeres and odde Monethes, which the tenth yere after his deposicion, was agayne erected to his throne and estate royall, as after shall be declared. Now leauing kyng Henry with the Princes of his faction, consultyng together in Scotland, and Queene Margaret his wyfe gathering men together in Fraunce, I will returne to the actes of King Edwarde.



1461
1

After this great victory by King Edward obteyned at the battaile of Towton, as afore sayde, he returned lyke a triumphant Conquerour, with great pompe vnto the Citie of London, where, the fourth day of Marche. 1460. by sound of Trumpet he was proclaymed king of this Realme, and the. xxix. day of June next folowing, he was at Westminster with all solempnitie crowned, and annoynted king, by the name of king Edward the fourth.

And in this yere he called his high court of Parliament, whereby the estate of the Realme was wholy set in good order, and specially such thinges as appertayned to the common wealth, which before were to much neglected and decayed. During the tyme of this ciuill and intestine warre, he caused all statutes and ordinaunces made by king Henry the sixt, (which eyther touched his title or his profite) to be adnihilate and frustrate. In the which Parliament the Erle of Orkoze farre stricken in age, and the Lorde Awbrey Veer his sonne and heyre, whether it were for malice of their enemies, or they were suspected, or had offended the king, they both, and diuerse of their counsaylors, were attainted and put to execution, which caused John Erle of Orkord euer after to rebell. And afterwarde he created his two ponger brethren Dukes, that is to say: Lorde George, Duke of Clarence, Lorde Richard, Duke of Glouceſter, and Lord John Neuell brother to Richard Erle of Warwike, he first made Lorde Mountacute, and afterwardes created him Marques Mountacute. Beside this, Henry Bourchier, brother to Thomas Archebishop of Cauntorbury, was created Erle of Essex, and William Lorde Fawconbridge, was made Erle of Kent. To this Lord Henry Bourchier beyng a noble man in martiall actes, highly approued and renoumed, Richarde Duke of Yorke, long before this tyme, had geuen his sister Elizabeth in mariage: Hauyng a firme hope, and a sure confidence, that he and his generation should be a perpetuall ayde to the Duke and his sequele, aswell in prosperitie as aduersitie, associate together in all chaunces of fortune, which trust he did not defraude, as afterward appered to this king Edward the fourth, sonne to the sayde Duke Richard, which for his assured fidelitie, made him Erle of Essex: to the ende that both he the father, and his sonne should euer be to him, both an ayde and a bulwarke. This Erle Henry, begat of Ladie Elizabeth his wife, foure sonnes, William, Thomas, John, and Henry, and one daughter named Isabell, which liued but a small season. In the which sonnes, in compassyng and bringyng great thinges to passe, there lacked no industrie, nor prouidence: and they were hardye, strong, and courragious: But in Lorde William, the eldest sonne of Henry, all these vertues were surely planted and ingrauen: Which William espoused Ladie Anne Woodwile, discended of an highe parentage, whose mother Jaquet was daughter

The Erle of Orkorde and his sonne put to death.

George duke of Clarence and Richard Duke of Glouceſter.

daughter to Peter of Luxenborough, Erle of Saint Paule, by whom he had Lorde Henry afterwarde Erle of Esser, and Cicile, and Isabell, which dyed vnmaryed: Cicile was maryed, to Walter Lord Ferrers of Chartley. But nowe to returne to the purpose.

Ye haue heard before in the. xxxviij. yere of the reigne of king Henry the sixt, that the Lordes borowed of the Marchantes of the Staple. xviij. thousand pound, the which money the Staplers did nowe sue for vnto king Edwarde to be repayed vnto them, for that they sayde they disbursed the same in his affayres: But their suite was finally regarded, and shortly after they were willed to silence and to demaunde it no more.

And this yere in the ende of September, the king sent the Erle of Kent and other into Britayn, who shortly after wonne the Isle of Conquet.

1462
2

The duke of Sommerset and sir Raufe Percy submit theselues vnto king Edward the fourth.

When all these chaunces thus luckily happened to king Edwarde, and all thinges in maner were framed as he would haue them: Henry Duke of Sommerset, sir Raufe Percie, & diuers other, beyng in dispayre, and out of hope of all good chaūce, that might happen to king Henry the sixt came humbly & submitted themselues, whome he gently enterteined & louingly receyued. Of which dede, the duke shortly repented him, & so did some of the other.

All this season was king Henry the sixt in Scotland, which to haue the more ayde and comfort of the Scottishe king, he deliuered vnto him the towne of Barwike, (as you before haue heard) which had bene continually in the possession of the English men, from the tyme of king Edward the first, which with hardie courage, manfull assaultes, and slaughter of many thousandes of Scottes, valiantly conquered the same. This same season also, Queene Margaret beyng in Fraunce, by the meanes of her father & friends found such friendship at the French kings hands, that she obteyned a crue of fiue hundreth Frenchmen, which was but a small number for her purpose, and yet a greater number then her husband or she were able to enterteyne in wages, of their awne Coffers. She thus beyng accompanyed, with these boastyng Frenchemen, of whome syr Piers Bracy, a Britepne Knight was Capitaine, set vp her sayles, and with a prosperous winde arryued in Scotland, where she and her company were welcome to her husband and sonne. Then the Queene and her company thinkyng to doe some great enterprise, sayled towarde New Castell, and landed at Tinmouth. But whether shee were afrayed of her awne shadowe, or that the Frenchemen cast to many doubtes, the truth is, that the whole army returned to their Shippes, and a tempest rose so sodainly, that if she had not taken a small Carnel, and arriued safe at Barwike: she had neuer bered king Edward after, as she did with a new inuasion, nor yet she had not liued all her olde age in misery, wretchednesse, & calamity, as she did, lesyng both her husband, her sonne, her realme, and her honor. And although at that tyme fortune was so fauorable to her, yet her companie were with stormie blastes driuen on the shore before Bamborough Castell, where they set their shippes on fyre, and cowardly fled to an Iland, called holy Iland, where they were so assayled by the bastard Ogle, an Esquier called John Manners, with other of king Edwardes retinue, that many of them were slaine, and almost foure hundreth taken prisoners, and put to raunsome. But the Captain Bracy more coward then corageous, happened by chaunce of a fisherman, and so came to Barwike to Queene

Queene Margaret with her cōpanie arryueth at Tinmouth.

Margaret his Mistres: whether she gaue him thankes or no, I doubt, but sure I am, he none deserued, yet she made him Capiteyn of Alnewike Castel, which he with his freshe men kept till they were rescued. This chaunce little amased the Queene, nor in any thing abated her haut courage. For incontinently she obteyned a great companie of Scottes, and other of her friendes and so bringyng her husband with her, and leauyng her sonne called Prince Edward, in the towne of Barwike, entred Northumberland, and tooke the Castell of Bambrough, and stuffed it with Scottes, and made therof Capitaine syr Raufe Grey, and came forwarde towarde the Bishoprike of Durham. When the Duke of Sommerset heard these newes, he without delay refused king Edward, and rode in poste to his kinsman king Henry the first: verifyng the olde prouerbe: kinne will creepe where it may not go: Refusyng the surety of his estate, which king Edward did promise him, for the uncertaine gaine which he hoped to get, by supportyng king Henry: with him fled also syr Raufe Percye, and many other of the kinges friendes, but many mo followed him, for couetousnesse of spoyle and rapyne: insomuche that the puyssaunce of king Henry, was thought to be of as muche force, as the strength & armie of his enemy king Edward. The which armie was iudged to be the greater, because he spoyled, & burned townes, and destroyed fieldes wheresoeuer he came. King Edward (as you coulde not blame him) was with these doyngs nothing content: wherefore like a wise Prince, intending to stop the gut of king Henryes power, or it made any further issue: prepared all munitions, conuenient for the warre, rig ed and apparailed a great nauye of shippes, of which some were vitayled at Lyn, and some at Hull, and they were furnished with Souldiors. When his army by the sea was thus warlikely set forward: he sent the Lorde Montacute (whome both for his hardinesse and sage conduite in marciall affayres, he much trusted and beleued) into Northumberland, there to rayse the people to withstande his enemies. And after this, he in his royall person, accompanied with his brethren, and a great part of the nobilitie of his Realme, not without a great and puyssaunt armie, marched towarde his enemyes, and came to the Citie of Yorke, sendyng a great quantitie of his faythfull subiectes, to the ayde of the Lorde Montacute, least paraduenture he geuyng to much confidence to the men of the Bishoprike and Northumberlande, might by them be deceyued and surprised. The Lorde Montacute, forgat not the office of a good Capitaine, and beyng well furnished with such as he knewe would neyther flye backwarde, nor stande still lookyng on, thought no lenger to tract the tyme, but with a valiant courage marched forwarde towarde his enemies, and encountered with the Lorde Hungerford, the Lorde Roos, syr Raufe Percye, and diuers other, at a place called Hegely Moore. Where sodainly the sayde Lordes, in maner without stroke strikyng fled, and onely syr Raufe Percy abode, and was there manfully slain, with diuers other, saiyng, when he was dying: I haue saued the birde in my bosome: meanyng that he had kept, both his promise and othe to king Henry the first. The Lorde Montacute seyng fortune thus prosperously leadyng his sayle, was aduaunced with hardie courage towarde his enemies, and then in passyng forwarde, he had by his espialles perfect intelligence, that king Henry with all his power, was encamped in a fayre plaine called Linels, on the water of Dowill in Exhamshire.

The duke of Sommerset refuseth king Edward and flieth vnto king Henry.

Hegeley Moore.

shire. It was no neede to bid him haste haste, as he that thought not to leese the occasion to him so manifestly geuen, & therfore in good order of battaile, he manfully set on his enemies in their owne campe, which like desperate persons, with no small courage receiued him. There was a fore fought field, and no partie by a long tract, could get any aduauntage of the other, till at the last, the Lorde Montacute cryng on his men to do valiauntly, entred by plaine force the battaile of his enemies, and brake their array, which like men amased, fled hether and thether, desperate of all succor. In which flight and chase, were taken Henry Duke of Sommerset, which before was reconciled to king Edward, the Lorde Roos, the Lorde Molyns, the Lorde Hungerford, syr Thomas Wentworth, syr Thomas Huse, syr John Finderne, and many other. King Henry was this day the best horseman of his company: for he fled so fast that no man could ouertake him, and yet he was so nere pursued, that certaine of his Henchmen and folowers were taken, theyr horses beyng trapped in blew veluet: whereof one of them had on his head, the said king Henryes Helmet. Some say his high Cap of estate, called Abococket, garnished with two riche Crownes, which was presented to king Edward, at Yorke the fourth day of May. The Duke of Sommerset, was incontinently for his great mutabilitie and lightnesse, behedded at Exham, the other Lordes and knightes were had to Newe Castell, and there after a little respite, were likewise put to execution. Beside these persons, diuers other to the number of. xxv. were executed at Yorke, and in other places: whereby other fautors of king Henryes partie, should be out of all trust of all victory, considering that theyr Capitaines had hopped hedlesse. From this battaile escaped king Henry the first, syr Humfrey Neuell, William Taylboys, calling himselfe Erle of Kent, syr Raufe Grey, and Richard Tunstall, and diuers other, which beyng in feare of taking, hid themselues and lurked in dennes and holes secretly. They were not so closely hid, but they were espyed: For the Erle of Kent was taken in a close place in Riddesdale, and brought to Newcastell, and there with an Axe lost his head. Sir humfrey Neuell after long lurkyng in a Caue, was taken in Holderneſſe, and at Yorke behedded. Thus euery man almost that escaped, was after taken and scorged: so that it should seeme that God had ordeyned all such persons as rebelled agaynst king Edward, to haue in conclusion, death for there rewarde.

The battaile at Linels, or the water of Dowill in Exham shire.

Exham field.

The duke of Sommerset behedded.

After this battaill called Exham fielde, King Edwarde came to the cytie of Durefme, to the intent to be more neerer to his enemies, if they would make any farther attempt: and sent from thence in Northumberlande the Erle of Warwicke, the Lorde Montacute, the Lordes, Fawconbridge and Scrope, and diuers other, to recouer such Castels and fortresses as his enemies, there helde, and wyth force defended. These Lordes first besieged the castel of Alnewike, which sir Piers Bracy and the Frenchmen, by force and strong hande kept, & in no wise would yelde, sending for ayde to the Scots, wherevpon sir George Douglas, Erle of Angus, with .xiij. M. men well chosen, in the day time rescued the Frenchmen out of the castell, the Englishmen looking on, which thought it much better to haue the castel, without losse of their men, then to leese both the castel and their men, considering the power of the Scottes, and their small number: and so they entred the castell and manned it, and after the sayde lordes, besieged the castel of Dunstanbrough,

and by force tooke it, and John Goys, seruaunt to the Duke of Sommerset capytaine of the sayde castle, was taken and brought to Yorke: where, wyth a Hatchet he was behedded. These Lordes also tooke by force, the strong Castle of Bamberough, & in it sir Raufe Gray, which was before sworne to King Edwarde, for the which periurie to both the Princes, he was disgraded of the high order of knighthoode at Dancastre, by cuttyng of his guylt spurres, rentyng his Cote of armes, and breaking his sworde ouer his hed: and finally, there his body was shortned, by the length of his hed.

The disgrading of a knight.

After this victory, king Edwarde returned to Yorke, where, in despite of the Erle of Northumberlande, which then lurked in the realme of Scotlande, he created syr John Neuell, Lorde Montacute, Erle of Northumberlande, and in reproofe of Jasper Erle of Penbroke, he created William Lord Herbert Erle of the same place: but after when by mediacion of friends the Erle of Northumberlande, was reconciled to his fauor, he restored hym fully to his possessions, name, and dignitie: and not intending therby to dimynish the honor of his friend, he preferred sir John Neuel, to the stile of Marques, Mountacute, & so by that meanes, he was in estate and degree higher, then the Erle of Warwicke his elder brother, but in power, pollecie, and possessions, farre baser and lower.

1463 3

Although king Edwarde might now thinke, all things to be in a good case, and himselfe also to be of puissance sufficient against all his enimyes, (for that he had obtayned so great a victory:) yet did he prouide with all dyligence, that neyther king Henry, nor Queene Margaret his wife, shoulde by any meanes remayne in Englande: least the sight, with the perswasions of them, and especially, with olde friendes and alies, might alter and chaunge the mindes, and also wynne the hartes of the mutable commonaltie. Wherefore he edifyed bulwarkes, and builded fortresses on euerie side and parte of his realme, where might be any place apt and meete, for an armie to arriue or take lande. Beside this, he wrote to all them in the South partes of his realme, that in no wyse they shoulde receiue the sayde Queene, nor any thing should helpe or minister to her: and if any did presume or attempt, priuatly or openly, to infringe his wil and cõmaundement, the offendors should be taken as his aduersaries, and punished as his vtter enemyes. And on that part that marcheth vpon Scotlande, he layde watches and espyalles, that no person shoulde go out of the realme, to king Henry and his company: which then lay soiorning in Scotlande. But whatsoeuer ieoperdy or perill myght be construed or deemed, to haue ensued by the meanes of kyng Henrye: all such doubtes, were now shortly resolued and determined, and all feare of his doings were clerely put vnder and extinct. For he himselfe, whether he were past all feare, or was not well stablished in his perfite minde, or coulde not long keepe himselfe secret, in a disguised apparell, boldely entred into Englande. He was no soner entred, but he was knowen and taken of one Cantlowe, and brought towarde the king, whome the Erle of Warwicke met on the way, by the kings commaundement, and brought him thyrough London, to the towre, and there he was layde in sure holde. Queene Margaret hys wife hearing of the captiuitie of hir husband, mistrusting the chaunce of her sonne, all desolate and comfortlesse, departed out of Scotlande, and sayled into Fraunce, where she remayned with Duke Reyner her Father, till shee tooke

King Henry the sixt taken and committed to the Tower of London.

tooke her infortunate iorney into Englande agayne: where she lost both husbande and sonne, and also all her welth, honor, and worthy felicitye. The new Duke of Sommerset & his brother John, sailed into Flaunders, where they also lyued in great miserye, till Duke Charles, because he was of their kinne, and discended of the house of Lancastre by his mother, succored them with a small pencion, which to them was a great comfort. The Erle of Penbroke went from countrye to country, not alwayes at his hartes ease, nor in securitie of lyfe, or surety of lyuing. Such an vnstable and blynde goddesse is fortune: for when he that sitteth highest on the wheele falleth to the ground all that be vnderneth fall also, and can neyther haue ayde nor helpe of her, nor yet of themselues.

After the taking of king Henry the.vj. and the departing of his wife, this Realme was in more quietnesse, and tranquilytie, because that men of the contrary part and faction, durst not once attempt nor yet moue any new tumult or conspiracie, considering that both the hed was fallen, and the chiefe members fled, and banquished. Wherefore king Edwarde, beyng clerely out of doubt, of all hostilitye and daunger, set all his minde the whole foure yeres folowing, for both amending things preiudiciall to the common welth and also for stablishing of things, meete and necessarye, for the people of hys Realme and dominion. And first of all, folowing the olde auncient adage which sayeth, that the husbandman ought first to taste off the newe growen fruite: he destributed the possessions, of such as tooke part with king Henry the.vj. to his souldiors and capitaynes, which he thought had well deserued it. And beside, he left no poynt of lyberalitie vnshewed, by the which hee might allure to him, the benevolence and louyng hearte of his peoples: and in especiall to his nobilitie, he gaue both large and precious giftes and rewardes. And because that he would gladly haue the loue of all men, aswell noble as ignoble, aswell of riche as of poore, he shewed himselfe more familier, both with the Nobilitie & the Commonalty, then (as some men thought) was conuenient eyther for his estate, or for his honor: which gentlenesse and friendly familiaritie he euer after vsed. The lawes of the realme, in part he reformed, and in part he newely augmented. The coyne both of Gold & of Siluer, which yet at this day is currant, he newly deuised and deuided: For the Golde he named Royals, and Nobles, and the Siluer he called Grotes, and halfe grotes. After this he caused open Proclamation to be published, that all persons which were adherent to his aduersaryes part, and woulde leaue their armure, and submit themselues wholy to his grace and mercye, should be clerely remitted, pardoned, and released: and they that obstinately would so refuse, should haue such paynes, as by the lawe to suche transgressors was assigned and appoynted. What profite this gentle entertaynyng of his people brought him to, and what good will and fired hearte of the people, he obteyned by this kinde and friendly handlyng, all men may easely coniecture. For onely by the fauor and ayde of the people, euer after in all his warres, he was a victor and a conqueror: so that all enterprises afterwarde agaynst him attempted, had eyther euill successe, or were soone repelled, as afterward you shall perceyue. When he had brought his realme into thys estate, he surely thinkyng, and no lesse trustyng, but that he was set in the sure stall, stable throne, and vnmoueable Chayre of the crowne of his realme

The liberalitie of king Edwarde.

King Edwarde the fourth deuised & named of the coynes

and kingdome, was not onely desyrous of himselfe, beyng a prince of haute courage, yong, lustie, and sanguine of complexion, to haue a wyfe, but was also dayly solicited, requyred, and mocioned of the peeres and nobilitie of the realme, to ioyne with such a Make, as should be both to his honour, and contentacion, and also for the securitie and establishment of the royall succession, and continuance of his progenie, in his newe possessed Countrie, and late recouered kingdome. Wherevpon like a wise and circumspect Prince, very desyrous of a Quene, but more thirstyng for such a Make, by the ayde of whose parentes, allyes, and confederates: he beyng ioyned with them in perfect affinitie, might little or nothyng doubt the attemptes of his aduersarie king Henry, nor yet the malice of his secret friendes and priuie fautors. This matter (as it was of great waight and importaunce) hangyng long in consultacion: Amongest other it was moued, to sende to Iames the thirde king of Scottes, for the obteinyng of the fayre Ladie Margaret his sister, to the entent, that on that syde, king Henry his aduersarye, should be destitute of all ayde, refuge, succor, and comfort: but whether it were for a priuie sickenesse, or an open impediment, to him and his Counsaile declared, or by them spyed, this mocion vanished, and tooke no farther effect. Then (as many men haue sayde, and fewe or none haue written) it was farther consulted, that the Ladie Elizabeth, sister & heyre apparant, to Done Henry king of Castell (which afterward was his heyre in deede, and maryed to Done Fernando, king of Aragon) was a maryage for him most conuenient, and them that should lineally succeede him, considering that if he might obteyne the kingdome of Castell, of the which his great Grandmother was one of the heyres, as daughter to Done Peter, late king of Castell, (by the valiaunt knight, Edward Prince of Wales, restored to his Seigniorie, Realme, and kingdome) then were he in case, not only able to defend himselfe and his realme of England, agaynst all forayn enemies, and bitter inuasions, but also he should be of puyssance sufficient to inuade, and likely to recouer the Duchie of Guien, yea and whole Acquitain, beyng his awne true and lawfull inheritaunce, with the ayde onely of the Castillians, putting the Englishe men to little trauaile and lesse charge. This mocion thus set forwarde, seemed highly to redounde, both to the honor of the king, and the high aduauncement of, the estate of the Realme: Considering the high parentage of the woman. And this mariage agreed vpon (which seemeth more likely to be intreated of then cõcluded.) The Erle of Warwike was sent into Spain, well instructed, & no lesse accõpanied for the cõclusion of the said mariage. But who so wil diligently consider, the youth and appetite of king Edward, & the tender age & minority of this noble Damosell: may euidently perceyue, ỹ it was neyther decent nor conuenient for him nor his realme, to abide and tarie the maturitie and decent full age of this noble princes, nor that he being a prince, wel cherished, of lusty courage, and apt to generation, would or could liue sole & vnmaried without a wyfe, till she were of age, meete and conuenient for his bed. For it appereth on her goodly Sepulture, in the Citie of Granado (where she is buried) and also diuers famous and notable Historiographers, both of Spain and other regions write and affirme, that she changed this transitorie lyfe, in the yere of our Lord. 1506. being fiftie yeres of age, one moneth lacking. By which report she should be borne in the yere of our Lord. 1456.

And

And when the Erle of Warwike was sent for the mariage of king Edward, in the beginning of the thirde yere of his reigne, the yere of our Lord was 1463. so that then she was sixe and not fully seuen yeres, at which time king Edward had fully accomplished. xxiiij. yeres and more. The treaty of which mariage although it be not vnpossible, yet for the causes aforesayde, it seemeth not a little vnlikely. But admit that this mariage was mooued, as it peraduenture might be, and that the Erle of Warwike sayled into Spaine (as he did not in deede) of lykelihood his legation was frustrate, and came to none effect: but sure it is that the same yere, he came to king Lewys the xj. then being French king, lying at Tours, and with great honor was there receyued, and honorably enterteyned: of whome, for king Edward his mayster, he demaunded to haue in mariage the Lady Bona, daughter to Lewys Duke of Sauoy, and sister to the Lady Carlot then French Quene, being then in the French court. This mariage seemed politiquely deuised, and of an high imagination to be inuented, if you will well consider the state and condition of king Edwards affayres, which at this time had king Henry the sixt in safe custodie, in the strong Tower of London, and the most parte of his adherentes, he had as he thought, eyther ouerthrowne or destroyed, Quene Margaret onely except, and Prince Edward her sonne, which were then soiorneyng at Angiers with olde Duke Reyner of Aniow her father, wryting himselfe king of Naples, Scicile, and Jerusalem, hauing as much profites of the letters of his glorious stile, as rentes and reuennes out of the sayde large and riche Realmes and dominions (because the King of Arragon tooke the profites of the same, and would make no accompt thereof to Duke Reyner.) King Edward therefore thought it necessary to haue affinitie in Fraunce, and especially by the Queenes sister: trusting that by the sayde Mariage, Queene Margaret whome the same Queene Carlot little or nothing regarded, although her father was called a king & she a Quene, and none of both hauing subiectes, profites nor dominions, should haue no ayde, succour, nor any comfort of the French king, nor of none of his friends nor alies, wherefore Quene Carlot much desirous to aduance her bloud and progenie, and especially to so great a prince as king Edward was, obteyned both the good will of the king her husband, and also of her sister, so that the matrimony on that side was cleerely assented to, and the Erle of Dampmartine appointed with other to sayle into Englande, for the cleere finishing of the same. After these things thus concluded, the Erle of Warwike was dismissed and highly rewarded, and for the great and noble courage that was in him, he obteyned such fauor of the king, the Queene, and the Nobles of Fraunce, that when he fled out of England, he was there honorably receyued, friendly mainteyned, and louingly succoured, as you shall perceyue hereafter.

The treatie of a mariage for king Edward the fourth.

The mariage concluded for King Edward the fourth.

But now consider the old prouerbe to be true that saith: that mariage is destiny. For during the time ỹ the Erle of Warwike was thus in Fraunce, and had concluded a mariage for king Edward: The king being on hunting in the Forest of Mychwood beside Stonystratford, came for his recreation to the manor of Grafton, where the Duches of Bedford soiorned, then wife to Syr Richard Wooduile, Lorde Ryuers, on whome then was attending a daughter of hers, called dame Elizabeth Grey, Wydow of syr John Grey knight,

knight, slaine at the battayle of Saint Albons, by the power of king Edward. Thys wydow hauing a sute to the king, eyther to be restored by him to some thing taken from her, or requiring him of pittie, to haue some augmentation to her lyuing, found such grace in the kings eyes, that he not onely fauored her sute, but much more phantasied her person, for she was a woman more of formall countenaunce, then of excellent bewtie, but yet of such bewtie and fauour, that with her sober demeanour, louely loking, & feminine smiling, (neyther to wanton nor to humble) beside her tongue so eloquent, and her wit so pregnant, she was able to rauishe the minde of a meane person, when she allured and made subiect to her, the hart of so great a king. After that king Edward had well considered all the liniaments of her body and the wise and womanly demeanour that he sawe in her, he determined first to attempt, if he might prouoke her to be his souereigne Ladye, promising her many giftes and fayre rewardes, affirming farther, that if she would therevnto condiscend, she might so fortune of his paramour and Concubine, to be chaunged to his wyfe and lawfull bedfelow: which demaunde she so wisely, and with so couert speeche aunswered and repugned, affirming that as she was for his honour farre vnable to be his spouse and bedfelowe: So for her awne pore honestie, she was to good to be eyther is Concubine or souereigne Ladie: that where he was a little before heated with the dart of Cupydo, he was now set all on a hote burning fire, what for the confidence that he had in her perfite constancie, and the trust that she had in her constant chastitie, and without any farther deliberation, he determined with himselfe clerely to mary with her, after that asking counsaile of them, which he knew neyther would, nor once durst impugne his concluded purpose.

King Edward falleth in loue with the Duches of Wedforddes daughter, and after married her.

But the Duches of Yorke his mother letted it as much as in her lay, alleging a precontract made by him with the lady Lucy, and diuers other lettes: all which doubtes were resolued, and all things made clere and all cauillations auoyded. And so priuily in a morning he maryed her at Grafton, where he first phantasied her visage.

1464 4

And in the next yeere after, she was with great solempnitye crowned Queene at Westminster the .xvj. day of May. Her father also was created Erle Riuers, and made high Constable of Englande: her brother Lord Antony, was maried to the sole heire of Thomas Lord Scales, and by her hee was Lorde Scales. Syr Thomas Grey, sonne to Syr John Grey, the Queenes first husbande, was created Marques Dorset, and maryed to Cicilie, heire to the Lorde Bonuile. Albeit this mariage, at the first apparance was very pleasaunt to the king, but more ioyous to the Queene, and profitable to her blood, which were so highly exalted, yea, and so sodainly promoted, that all the nobilitie, more maruayled then allowed, this sodayne rising. Yet who so will marke the sequele of this Story, shall manifestly perceiue, what murther, what mystery, and what trouble ensued by reason of this marrage, for it cannot be denied, but for this mariage king Edwarde was expulsed the Realme, and durst not abyde: And for this mariage was the Erle of Warwicke, and his brother miserably slayne: By this mariage were king Edwardes two sonnes declared bastardes, and in conclusion priued of their lyues: And finally by this mariage, the Queenes blood was confounded and in a maner vtterly destroyed.

Incommodities that sprang of king Edwardes mariage.

The

The French king and his Queene were not a little discontent (as I can not blame them) to haue their sister first demaunded, and then graunted, and in conclusion reiected and apparauntly mocked, without any cause reasonable. Wherefore shortly to appese her dolor, they maried her to John Galence, Duke of Millayne, where she lyued in great felicitie. But when the Erle of Warwike had perfite knowledge by the letters of his trusty friends, that king Edward had gotten him a newe wyfe, and that all that he had done with king Lewys in his ambassade for the coniopning of this newe affinitie, was both frustrate and vaine, he was earnestly moued and sore chafed with the chaunce, and thought it necessarie that king Edwarde should be deposed from his crowne and royall dignitie, as an inconstaunt Prince, not worthy of suche a kingly office. All men for the most part agree, that this mariage was the onely cause, why the Erle of Warwike bare grudge, and made warre on king Edward. Other affirme that there were other causes, which added to this, made the fyre to flame, which before was but a little smoke. For after that king Edwarde had obteyned his kingdome (as it was then thought) by the only helpe and meane of the Erle of Warwike, he beganne to suspect, yea, and to doubt him, fearing least he being in such authority and estimation of the people, as he well might worke him pleasure or displeasure, when he therevnto were minded, wherefore he thought it conuenient a little, & a little to pluck away and minishe the power and authozitie, which he and his predecessors had geuē to the Erle, to the entent that he then might doe at his pleasure, both at home and in outwarde parties, without feare or dread, without check or taunt, whatsoeuer to his awne mind seemed most conuenient. By thys a man may see that often it chaunceth, that friends for one good turne will not render another, nor yet remember a great gratuitie and benefite in time of necessity to them shewed and exhibited: But for kindnesse they shewe vnkindnesse, and for great benefites receyued, with great displeasure they doe recompence. Of this the Erle of Warwike was nothing ignorant, which although he looked for better thankes and greater benefites at king Edwards handes: yet he thought it best to dissimule the matter tyll such a tyme were come, as he might finde the king without strength, and then to imbrayd him with the pleasure that he had done for him. And farther it erreth not from the truth that king Edward did attempt a thing once in the Erles house, which was much against the Erles honestly (whether he would haue deflowred his daughter or his Neece, the certaintie was not for both their honors openly knowne) but surely such a thing was attempted by king Edward. But whether the iniurie that the Erle thought he had taken at king Edwardes handes, or the disdayne of authozitie that the Erle had vnder the king, was the cause of dissolution of their amitie and league, truth it is, that the priuy intentions in their harts brake into so many small peeces, that England, Fraunce, and Flaunders, could neuer ioyne them agayne, during their naturall lyues.

The displeasure betweene king Edwarde the fourth, and the Erle of Warwike.

The Erle of Warwike being thus mooued, inflamed, and set agaynst the king, least in hys furie, hys purpose might be espyed and brought to nought, determined hymselfe, couertly dissimulyng, so long to suffer all such wrongs and iniuries, as were to him done, tyll he might spie a time conuenient, and a worlde after hys awne appetite, for the setting foorth of his enterprise,

terprise, and accomplishyng of hys purpose: wherupon he sayled into Englande, and with reuerence saluted the king, as he was wont to doe, and declared hys Ambassade & the exployt of the same, without any spot of grudge to be perceyued, as thoughe he were ignorant of the newe matrimonie. And when he had taried in the Court a certaine space, more for to shew that he was the same person, and of the same good minde toward the king, as he was before the time of his Imbassade, then for any great affection that he bare, eyther to the king or to the Queene, he obteyned licence of the king to depart to his Castell of Warwike, both for his helth and recreation, whether with great honour he was accompanied with diuers of the kings familier seruitors, as though none inwarde grudge or couert dissimulation had bene hidden betwene them, where he remayned tyll all his priuie imaginations were made open, and all hys enterprises were readie to be set forward. And in the ende of thys yere, that is to say, the .xj. daye of Februarie, the Quene was delyuered of a yong and fayre Lady, named Elizabeth, which afterward was wyfe to the noble Prince king Henry the seauenth, and mother to king Henry the eyght.

The birth of the Lady Elizabeth wife to king Henry ỹ seuenth and mother to king Henry the eyght.

1465
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When king Edward had reigned thys, full the terme of fiue yeres, not all in pleasure, nor yet so in displeasure, but eyther by pollicie or friendship, he euer was superiour, and had the vpper hande of his enemies: He daylie studied and applyed hys whole minde with all labor and diligence to obteyne the loue, fauour, and amitie of outward princes. First to haue a Rowlande for an Oliuer, for the French king whome he knew not to be his friend, by reason of the refusall of his Quenes sister, he procured an amity with Henrie, king of Castell, and John king of Arragon. At the concluding of which amitie he graunted licence and libertie for certayne cotsolde Sheepe to be transported into the Countrie of Spayne (as people report) which haue so there multiplyed and encreased, that it hath turned the commoditie of Englande muche to the Spanische profite, and to no small hynderaunce of the lucre and gayne which was before times in Englande, raysed of Wolle and fell. Beside this to haue an amitie with his next neighbor the king of Scots, he wyncking at the towne of Barwyke, was content to take a truce for fiftene yeres.

King Edward licenced a certaine number of Sheepe to be transported into Spaine.

But Lorde what happie chaunce and good luck had king Edward, for beside these newe friendes and confederates (of the which, some were more farther off, then he could call to for helpe with a Whistell, when he stoode in most daunger and distresse) Fortune beside all his expectation prouided him euen at his elbowe, a brother in lawe, a perpetuall ally and friendly neyghbour: which offered allyance and newe amitie, if he had eyther refused or missed, surely of all his other supposed friends, for al their league, in his extreme necessitie, had cleerely left him without comfort. This happie chaunce came by this occasion. In this same season was Lorde and Prince in Flaunders, Brabant and Zelande, and other the lowe Countries there about, Philip Duke of Burgoyne, a man as he was of great age and yeres, so was he had in muche honor, great estimation and high reuerence amongst all kings and Princes in his dayes: which Duke as you haue heard before, was enemie mortall to king Henry the sixt. This Duke had onely one sonne legitimate, called Charles Erle of Charoloys, a man of such haute courage and audacitie,

Philip Duke of Burgoyn.

citie, as fewe or none was in his time: For how he discomfited king Lewys the .xj. then the French king at the battayle of Montleherrie, the Frenchmen hath not yet forgotten. The lande of Luke also hath in freshe memorie his sore scourge and cruell plague. This Erle Charles was at thys time a widower, hauing only a sole daughter, & no sonne, wherfore both by his father and himselfe and the companions of the order of the golden fleece, being of their counsayle, it was thought not onely expedient but much more necessarie, that he should take a wyfe, yea and in such a place, as they might by that matrimony haue both alliaunce and ayde against all their outward enemies, and especially agaynst the French king, whome they knew daylie to wayte, and watch lyke a Serpent, how he by fraude might swalow or catch them or their possessions: vpon which communication it was declared by certain, there being present, that king Edwarde of Englande had a fayre Virgin to his sister, called Lady Margaret, a Lady of excellent bewtie, whose good qualities, beside the giftes of nature, grace and fortune, were so seriously set forth to Duke Philip, and the Erle of Charoloys his sonne, that both the father and the childe iudged that mariage to be the most meetest matrimony in Christendome, not onely for the excellent vertues imprinted in the person of the noble Virgin, but also for the great profite, allyaunce and continuall friendship that should growe and rise betwene the realme of England, and the Dukes landes.

1466
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After this mariage was fully resolued vpon, the Duke appointed his bastard sonne Lord Antony, commonly called the bastard of Burgoyn, chiefe Imbassador for this purpose: a man of great wit, courage, valiantnesse and liberalitie, which beyng richly furnished of plate, and apparell, necessary for his estate, hauyng in his companie gentlemen and other expert in all feates of chiualry, and martiall prowesse, to the number of foure hundreth horses, (as the Brabanders write) tooke his ship, and with prosperous winde arriued in England, where he was of the Nobilitie receyued, and with all honorable entertainement conueyed to the kinges presence, which like a Prince, that knewe what appertayned to his degree, louyngly welcomed, and familiarly embraced him, and other Nobles that came with him. And after his Commission seene, and his message declared, the king gaue to him a gentle aunswere for that tyme, and so the Imbassadors departed to their lodgyng, where they kept a great houshold, and made triumphant cheare. You may thinke that king Edward was not so vnwise, nor yet so vnpurueyed of counsaile, to forsake this benificiall alliaunce, thus frankely to him profered and graunted, but that he and all his counsaile endeuoured themselues to bryng the same to passe (the Erle of Warwike onely except) which bearyng his hartie fauour to the French king by euill reportes, did as much as in him lay to hinder this mariage and affinitie, of whose good will the Erle Charles was well enformed.

Anthony the Bastarde sonne of Philip Duke of Burgoyne.

But for all his opinion at a certain day, the king sent for the Imbassadors, and there declared to them how he gladly did both accept & graunt theyr louyng request & demaund, promising them in the word of a prince, ỹ he would be duryng his lyfe friend to the friendes of the Duke and the Erle, and enemie to their aduersaryes and enemies, which wordes much pleased the Burgonions. After this he caused the Ladie Margaret his sister to be sent for, which

which beyng richly apparelled, accompanied with a great multitude of Ladies and gentlewomen, entered into the kinges great Chamber with so sober a demeanour, so fayre a visage, so louyng a countenance, and so princely a port, that she was esteemed for her personage and qualities, both of the Burgonions and other, not to be vnworthy to matche in matrimonie, with the greatest Prince of the worlde. And after the king, she and the Ambassadors, had commoned a good tract of tyme, the Lorde Anthonie Bastard of Burgondie, contracted openly the sayd Lady Margaret, for and in the name of his brother the Erle Charles, and there in the name of the Duke his father, and the Erle his brother, he presented to the Ladie Margaret a riche and a costly Jewell, which she ioyously receyued with great thankes geuen, both to her father in law, and her newe contracted husband.

A mariage concluded betweene Charles the son of Philip Duke of Burgoyne and Ladye Margaret sister to king Edward the fourth.

A Chalenge.

After this mariage thus concluded and contracted. The Bastard of Burgoyne, a man of a haute courage, chalenged Anthonie Lorde Scales, brother to the Queene, a man both egall in hart and valiauntnesse with the Bastard, to fight with him both on foote and on horseback, the Lord Scales gladly receyued his demaunde, and promised him on the othe of a Gentleman, to aunswere him in the field at the daye appoynted: Like chalenges were made by other Burgonions, to the gentlemen of England, which were not refused. The king entendyng to see this martiall sport, and valiant chalenge performed, caused listes royall for the Champions, and costly Galleryes for Ladyes to looke on, to be newly erected in West Smithfield in London. And at the daye by the king assigned, the two Lordes entred within the Listes well mounted, richely trapped, and curiously armed. On which day they ranne together certaine courses with sharpe Speres, and so departed with egall honor. The next day, they entred the fielde, the Bastarde sittyng on a baye courser, beyng somewhat dimme of sight, and the Lord Scales had a graye courser, on whose schaffron was a long and a sharpe pyke of steele. When these two valiaunt persons coped together at the Toxnay, the Lorde Scales horse by chaunce or by custome, thrust his pike into the nosethrilles of the horse of the Bastard, so that for very paine he mounted so high, that he fell on the one syde with his maister, and the Lorde Scales roade rounde aboute him, with his swoorde shakyng in his hande, till the king commaunded the Marchall to helpe by the Bastard, which openly sayd, I cannot holde by the Clondes, for though my horse fayled me, surely I will not fayle my counterpanion. And when he was remounted, he made a countenaunce to assaile his aduersary, but the king eyther fauouryng his brothers honour then gotten, or mistrustyng the shame which might come to the Bastrad, if he were againe foyled, caused the Heraulde to crie, a Lostel, and euery man to depart. The Morowe after, the two noble men came into the fielde on foote, with two Polaxes, and there fought valiauntly like two corragious Champions, but at the last, the poynt of the Axe of the Lorde Scales happened to enter into the sight of the helmet of the Bastard, and by fine force might haue plucked him on his knees, the king sodainly cast downe his warder, and then the Marchalles them seuered. The Bastard not content with this chaunce, very desirous to be reuenged, trusting on his cunnyng at the Polaxe (the which feate he had greatly exercised, and therein had a great experiment) required the king of iustice, that he might performe his enterprice: the Lord Scales not

not refused it. The king sayde he would aske counsaile, and so callyng to him the Constable, and Marshall, with the officers of Armes, after long consultacion had, and lawes of armes rehersed, it was declared to the Bastarde for a sentence diffinitiue, by the Duke of Clarence, then Constable of England, and the Duke of Norffolke Erle Marshall, that if he would prosecute farther hys attempted chalenge, he must by the lawe of Armes be deliuered to hys aduersary in the the same case and lyke condicion, as he was when he was taken from hym, that is to saye, the poynt of the Lorde Scales Axe to be fixed in the sight of his helme, as depe as it was when they were seuere. The Bastarde heeryng this iudgement, doubted much the sequele, if hee should so proceede againe, wherefore he was contented to relinquishe his chalenge, rather then to abyde the hazarde of his dishonour. Other Chalenges were done, and valiauntlye atchieued by the Englishe men, which I passe ouer. When all these couragious actes were thus wyth ioye accomplished, sorowfull tidynges were brought to the Bastard, that Duke Philip his father was passed this transitorie lyfe, of which tidynges he was not a little sorowfull, and therupon takyng hys leaue of king Edward and his sister, the newe Duches of Burgoyne, liberally rewarded with Plate and Jewelles, with all celeritie he returned to the newe Duke Charles his Nephew, accompting to him what exployt he had made in his Ambassade & message, which aunswere was to the great contentacion and accomplishement of the desyre of the sayde Duke, and thereof most hartily thanked the Lady for her consent, as for the thing that he most desyred, not forgettyng to gratifie king Edward for his preferment and furtherraunce in his louyng requeste.

Philip duke of Burgoyn dead.

Now to returne to Charles Duke of Burgoyn, which with great victory, and triumph, returned from the conquest of the land of Luke to Bruseles, he not forgettyng the contract, which his bastard brother the Lorde Anthony had made in his name, wyth the noble Princesse Lady Margaret, sister to Edwarde King of Englande, deuised alwayes howe he might with all honor and royalty, haue her receyued into his countrey. And first he wrote to the king of Englande, to sende her ouer the sea with all dilygence, according to the pact and league betwene them concluded, which being nothing slacke, and especially in such a cause, as so highly magnifyed his blood, prepared shippes and all things necessarye, for the honorable conduite of her and her company, and so accompanied with the Dukes of Exceter, and Southfolke, and their wifes, being both her sisters, and a great company of Lords, and Ladies, and other to the number of fiue hundred horsses, and in the beginnyng of June departed out of London to Douer, and so sayled to Sclues, where shee and her company were receyued, and from thence conueyed to Bruges, where mariage was celebrate and Solempnized. 1467

After the departure of this Lady Margaret, Sir Thomas Cooke late Mayor of London, which before had bene accused of treason by a seruaunt of the Lorde Wenlockes, called hawkins, and at the request of the saide Ladye Margaret, was suffered vpon suretie to go at large, was nowe arested, and sent to the Tower, and his goods sealed by the Lorde Riuers, then treasorer of Englande, and his wife put out of his house, and she was committed to the charge of the Mayor, where she laye a great while after. And after the

the sayde Syr Thomas was brought from the Tower to the Guildhall and there arreigned of treason, and was quit by sondry enquestes, and yet after was committed to the Counter in Bredstrete, and from thence to the Kings bench in Southwarke, where he lay vntill his friendes did agree with Sir John Brandon, then keper of the sayde prison, to take him home to his place, where to his great charge he remayned prisoner long after. In which time he lost great riches, and two places, the one in the country, the other in London, besides a great value of Jewelles, Plate, and money, with sondry riche merchaundises, as cloth of Gold, Syluer, Veluet, Satten, and other silkes. And finally after many persecutions, and losses, he was compelled by a fyne set vpon him for misprision of treason to paye vnto the king eyght thousande pounde, and so set a large. But shortly after he was newlye troubled by the Queene, who demaunded of him of euery thousande pounde that he paide to the king for his fine, one hundreth marke that was due to her, for the which he was compelled also to agree, to his exceeding charges, beside his great and long veration.

But now let vs returne to the History of the Erle of Warwicke, who at his returne from beyonde the sea, for the continuall grudge that lurked in his stomacke, towarde king Edwarde, ye must thinke that of very necessitye it would at length eyther burst the vessell, and by some meanes issue out, as it did now euen at this tyme: he beyng at his towne of Warwicke, accompanied with his two brethren the Marques Mountacute, and the Archebishop of Yorke, framed communication to make them mery and to passe foorth the time two or three dayes, at the last hauyng occasion to speake of the king and his doings and procedings, he then first moued and excited them by all waies possible to helpe and ayde, and to restore king Henry the first, to the Crowne and royall dignitie againe.

And after the Erle of Warwicke had vttered a number of flattering and glosing wordes, the Archebishop consented vnto him, but the Lorde Marques could by no meanes be reduced to take any part against king Edwarde, till the Erle had both promised him great rewardes and high promotions, and also assured him of the ayde, and power of the greatest Princes of the Realme. Euen as the Marques vnwillingly, and in maner constrayned, gaue his consent, to this vnhappy conjuration, at the intisement and procuring of the Erle, so wyth a faynt harte, and lesse courage, he alwayes shewed himselfe enemy to king Edwarde, except in his last day: which luke warme hearte, and double dissimulation, was both the destruction of him, and hys brethren. The Erle of Warwicke beyng a man of a great wit, farre castyng and many things foreseing, eyther perceyued by other, or had perfite knowledge of himselfe, that the Duke of Clarence, bare not the best will to kyng Edward his brother, (as he did not in deede) thought first to proue him a far off, as it were in a probleme, and after to open to him (if he saw him flexible to his purpose) the secret imaginations of his stomake: thinkyng that if he might by pollicie, or promise, allure the Duke to his partie, that king Edward should be destitute, of one of his best Hawkes, when he had most neede to make a flight. So at tyme and place conuenient, the Erle began to complayne to the Duke, of the ingratitude and doubleneſſe of king Edward, saiyng that he had neither handled him like a friend, nor kept promise with him, according

according as the estate of a Prince required. The Erle had not halfe tolde his tale, but the Duke in a great fury aunswered, why my Lorde, thinke you to haue him kind to you, that is vnkind, yea, and vnnaturall to me beyng his owne brother, thinke you that friendship will make him keepe promise where neyther nature nor kindred, in any wise can prouoke, or moue him, to fauour his owne bloode? Thinke you that he will exalte and promote his Cosin or Allie, which little careth for the fall or confusion, of his owne line and lynage? This you know well enough, that the heyre of the Lorde Scales he hath maried to his wiues brother, the heyre also of the Lorde Bonuile and Harrington, he hath geuen to his wiues sonne, & the heire of the Lord Hungerford, he hath graunted to the Lord Hastings: three mariges more meter for his two brethren and kynne, then for such new foundlings, as he hath bestowed them on. But by sweete Saint George I sweare, if my brother of Gloucester woulde ioyne with me, we woulde make him knowe, that wee were all three one mans sonnes, of one mother, and one linage distended which shoulde be more preferred and promoted, then straunges of his wyfes bloode.

When the Erle of Warwicke had harde the Dukes wordes, he had that which he both sore thursted, and lusted for, and then began boldly to disclose to the Duke, his intent and purpose, euen at the full, requiring him to take parte with him, and to be one of the attempted confederacy. And least the Duke might thinke, that the matter was lightly, and vncircumspectly begun, he declared to him, how warily, howe secretly, how speedilye all things concerning this purpose, had beene compassed, studied, and foreseene, requiring him in so great, and vrgent a cause both to take paine and trauayle, and also to study with all circumspection and foreseyng, how these things thus begun might be brought to a certayne and finall conclusion. And the rather to wyn the Dukes hart, the Erle beside diuers and manye fayre promises made to the Duke, offered hym his eldest daughter (beyng of ripe age, and elegant stature) in mariage with the halfedele of his wiues inheritaunce. The Duke at the perswasion and request of the Erle, promised to doe all thinges which he woulde or coulde, in any manner require, or desyre. After that the Duke and the Erle had long consulted, conceernyng their straunge and daungerous affayres, they fyrst determined to sayle to Calice, of the which towne the Erle was chiefe captaine, where his wife and two daughters then soiorned, to come to visite, the Duke of Clarence beyng in amoures had no small affection. But the Erle continually remembryng the purpose that he was set on, thought to begyn and set forwarde the same, before his departyre: wherefore he appointed his brethren the Archbishop, and the Marques that they shoulde by some meane in his absence, stirre vp some newe Commotion or Rebellion, in the Countie of Yorke, and other places, nere therabouts, so that this ciuill warre should seeme to all men, to haue begun without hys assent or knowledge, he being in the partes beyonde the Sea.

The Duke of Clarence entreth into a confederacie agaynst his owne brother King Edwarde.

When all these thinges were thus determined, and in graue counsaile allowed, the Erle and the Duke sayled directly to Calice, where they were solempnlye receyued, and ioyfullye interteined of the Countesse, and of her two daughters. And after that the Duke had sworne on the Sacrament to kepe his promise and pact inuiolate, made and concluded with the

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Erle of Warwike, he maried the Ladie Isabel, eldest daughter to the sayde Erle, in our Ladie Church at Calice, with great pompe & solempnity. After which mariage so solemnized, the Duke & the Erle consulted sadly together, by what meanes they should continue the warre, (which as it was by them appoynted) was quickly and within fewe dayes begon in Yorkeshire, not without great rumor and disturbance, of all quietnesse in that Countrie.

Insurrection. The mother of this pernicious commocion, was uncharitie, or very impietie, for there was in the Citie of Yorke, an olde and a riche Hospitall, dedicated unto saint Leonard, in the which Almosehouse the poore and indigent people were harbored and refreshed, and the sick and impotent persons were comforted and healed. For this good purpose and charitable intent, all the whole prouince of Yorke, gaue yerely to this Hospitall certeine measures of corne, in maner as an oblacion of the first fruites of their newe grayne, thinkyng theyr gyft geuen to so good a place, and for so good a purpose, should be to them meritorious, and before God acceptable. Certaine euill disposed persons, of the Erle of Warwikes faction, entendyng to set a broyle in the Countrie, perswaded a great number of husbandmen, to refuse and denie to geue any thing to the sayde Hospitall, affirmyng and saiyng, that the corne that was geuen to that good intent, was not expended on the poore people, but the Maister of the Hospitall ware riche with such almose, & his priestes ware fat, and the poore people lay leane without succor or comfort. And not content with these saiyngs, they fell to doyngs, for when the Proctors of the Hospitall, accordyng to theyr vsage went about the Countrie, to gather the accustomed corne, they were sore beaten, wounded, and very euill intreated. Good men lamented this vngodly demeanor, and the peruerse people much at it reioyced, and tooke such a courage, that they kept secret conuenticles, and priuie communications, insomuche that within fewe dayes, they had made such a confederacie together, that there were assembled to the number of. xv. thousand men, euen redie prest to set on the Citie of Yorke. When the fame of this commocion and great assemble, came to the eares of the Citizens of Yorke, they were first greatly astonied: but leauyng all feare aside, they were in a great doubt and uncerteinty, whether it were best for them to issue out of theyr walles, and to geue battaile to the rebelles, or to keepe theyr Citie, and repulse the violence of theyr enemies, by the manfull defendyng of theyr walles and portes. But the Lorde Marques Mountacute, gouernor and president of that Countrie for the king, did shortly put the Citizens out of all feare and suspicion of invasion, for he takyng spedie counsaile, considerying the opportunitie of the tyme, with a small number of men, but well chosen, encountered the rebelles before the gates of Yorke: where after a long conflict, he tooke Robert Hylderne theyr Capitaine, and before them commaunded his heade there to be smitten off, and then he caused all his souldiors (because it was darke, to enter into the Citie of Yorke) and after theyr long labor to refreshe them.

Robert Hylderne a rebell beheaded.

Here is to be marueyled why the Marques thus put to death, the Captayne and ruler of the people, stirred and raysed vp by him, and the felowes of his confiteration and conspiracy. Some saye he did it to the intent, that he would seme faultlesse and innocent of all hys brothers doings and priuie imaginations: But other affirme and saye, that he for all his promise made to his

his brother, was then fully determined to take part with king Edwarde, with whome (as it shall after appere) he in small space entred into great grace and high fauour. The people beyng nothing abashed at the death of their Capitayne, but rather the more eger and fierce, by fayre and gentle speeche and craftie perswasions: founde the meanes to get to them Henry, sonne and heire to the Lorde Fitz Hugh, and Sir Henry Neuell, sonne and heire to the Lorde Latimer, the one being Nephew, and the other Cosyn Germaine to the Erle of Warwike. Although that these yong Gentlemen, bare the names of Capitaynes, yet they had a Tutor and gouernour called Sir John Conyers a man of suche courage and valiauntnesse, as fewe was in his dayes, in the North partes. And first considering that they could not get Yorke for want of ordinaunce and artilerie, which they did lack in deede, they determined with all speede to marche toward London, intending by the way to rayse suche a phantasie in the peoples hartes, that they should thinke that king Edwarde was neyther a iust Prince to God, nor profitable to the common welth of the realme.

Sir John Conyers a chiefe Captayne of the rebelles.

When king Edward (to whome all the doings of the Erle of Warwike and the Duke his brother were manifest) was by diuers letters sent to hym, certefied that the great armie of the Northren men, were with al spede comming toward London. Therfore in great haste he sent to William Lord Herbert, whom within two yeres before, he had created Erle of Penbroke, that he should wythout delay encounter with the Northrenmen, with the extremitie of al his power. The Erle of Penbroke, commonly called the Lord Herbert, was not a little ioyous of the kings letters, partly to deserue the kings liberalitie, which of a meane gentleman, had promoted him to the estate of an Erle, partly for the malice that he bare to the Erle of Warwike, beyng the sole obstacle (as he thought) why he obteyned not the Wardship of the Lorde Bonuiles daughter and heire, for his eldest sonne. Wherupon he beyng accompanied with his brother Sir Richard Herbert, a valyaunt knight, and aboue fiue or seauen thousand Welchmen well furnished, marched forward to encounter with the Northren men. And to assist and furnish him with archers, was appointed Humffrey Lorde Stafforde of Southwike (named, but not created) Erle of Deuonshire, by the king in hope that he valyantly would serue him in that iorney, and with him he had eight hundred archers. When these two Lords were met at Cottisshold, they made diligent inquiry to here where the Northren men were, and so by their espials they were asserteyned, that they were passing towarde Northampton, wherevpon the Lorde Stafforde, and Sir Richard Herbert with two thousand well horsed Welchmen, sayde: they would go bewe and see the demeanour and number of the Northren men, and so vnder a woodes side, they couertly espied them passe forward, and sodainely set on the rereward: but the Northren men with such agillitie so quickly turned about, that in a moment of an houre the Welchmen were cleane discomfited and scattered, and many taken, and the remnaunt returned to the armie with small gaine.

King Edward being nothing abashed of thys small chaunce, sent good wordes to the Erle of Penbroke, encouragyng and bydding hym to be of good chere, promising him not al only ayde in short time, but also he himselfe in person royall, would folow him with all his puyssaunce and power. The

Yorkeshire men beyng glad of this small victory, were well cooled and went no farther Southward, but tooke there way toward Warwike, looking for ayde of the Erle, which was lately come from Caleis, with the Duke of Clarence his sonne in lawe, and was gathering and raysing of men, to succour his friends and kinsfolke. The king likewise assembled people on euerie side, to ayde and assist the Erle of Penbroke and his company. But before or any part receyued comfort or succour, from his friend or partaker, both the armies met by chaunce, in a fayre playne, nere to a towne called Hedgecot, three myle from Banbery, wherein be three hils, not in equall distaunce, nor yet in equall quantitie, but lyyng in maner, although not fully triangle: the Welshmen gat first the West hill, hoping to haue recouered the East hill: which if they had obteyned, the victorie had bene theirs, as their vnwise prophesiers promised them before. The Northren men incamped themselues on the South hill. The Erle of Penbroke and the Lorde Staffordе of Southwike, were lodged at Banbery the day before ỳ field, which was S. James day, and there the Erle of Penbroke, put the Lord Stafford out of an Inne wherein he delighted much to be, for the loue of a damosell that dwelled in the house: contrarie to their mutuall agreement by them taken, which was, that whosoeuer obteyned first a lodging, should not be deceyued nor remoued. After many great words and crakes, had betweene these two Cappitaynes, the Lorde Staffordе of Southwyke, in great despite departed with his whole company and band of archers, leauing the Erle of Penbroke almost desolate in the towne, which with all diligence returned to hys hoste, lyyng in the field vnpurueyed of archers, abiding such fortune as God would sende and prouyde. Sir Henry Neuell sonne to the Lorde Latimer, tooke with him certaine light horsemen, and skirmished with the Welshmen in the euening, euen before their campe, where he did diuers valyaunt feates of armes, but a little to hardy, he went so farre forward that he was taken & yelded, and yet cruelly slayne: which vnmercifull act, the Welshmen sore rued the next day or night. For the Northren men being inflamed and not a little discontented, with the death of thys noble man, in the morning valyauntly set on the Welshmen, and by force of archers caused them quickly to desende the hill into the valey, where both the hostes fought. The Erle of Penbroke behaued himselfe like a hardy knight, and an expert Capitaine, but his brother syr Richard Herbert so valiauntly acquited himselfe, that with his Pollax in his hande (as his enemies did afterward report) he twise by fine force passed through the battaile of his aduersaries, & without any mortall wound returned. If euery one of his felowes and companions in armes, had done but halfe the actes, which he that day by his noble prowes achiued, the Northren men had obteyned neyther safetie nor victorie.

Banbery field.

Beside this, beholde the mutabilitie of fortune, When the Welshemen were at the very poynt, to haue obteyned the victorie (the Northren men beyng in maner discomfited) John Clappam Esquire, seruaunt to the Erle of Warwike, mounted vp the syde of the East hill, accompanied onely with fiue C. men gathered of all the rascall of the towne of Northampton & other Villages about, hauyng borne before them the standard of the Erle, with the white Beare, cryng a Warwike a Warwike. The Welshmen thinking that the Erle of Warwike had come on them with all his puyssaunce, sodainly as men

men amased fled: the Northren men them pursued and slue without mercy, for the crueltie that they had shewed to the Lorde Latymers sonne. So that of the Welshemen there were slaine aboue fiue thousand, besyde them that were fled and taken.

A great slaughter of Welshemen.

The Erle of Penbroke, syr Richard Harbert his brother, and diuers Gentlemen were taken, and brought to Banbery to be behedded, much lamentacion, and no lesse entreatie was made to saue the lyfe of Syr Richard Herbert, both for his goodly personage, which excelled all men there, and also for the noble chiualrie, that he had shewed in the fieldes the day of the battaile, insomuch that his brother the Erle, when he should lay downe his head on the blocke to suffer, sayde to sir John Coniers, and Clappam: Maisters, let me die, for I am olde, but saue my brother, which is yong, lustie, and hardie, mete and apt to serue the greatest prince of Christendome. But syr John Coniers and Clappam, remembryng the death of the yong knight syr Henry Neuell, cosyn to the Erle of Warwike, could not heare on that syde but caused the Erle and his brother, with diuers other Gentlemen, to the number of ten, to be there behedded. The Northamptonshyre men, with diuers of the Northren men by them procured, in this fury made them a Capitaine, and called him Robin of Riddisdale, and sodainly came to the manor of Grafton, where the Erle Riuers, father to the Queene then lay, whome they loued not, and there by force toke the sayd Erle, and syr John his sonne, and brought them to Northampton, and there without iudgement stroke off theyr heddes, whose bodies were solempnly interred in the blacke Friers at Northampton. When king Edward was aduertised of these vnfortunate chaunces, he wrote in al haste to the Shyrieues of Sommersetshyre, and Deuonshyre, that if they could by any meane take the Lord Stafford of Southwike, that they vpon paine of theyr lyues, should without delay put him in execution, which accordyngly to the kinges commaundement, after long inquirie and serche made, found him hid in a village in Bzentmarche, called

Robin of Riddesdale.

where he was taken and brought to Bzidgewater, and there cut short by the head. This was the order, maner, and ende of Hedgecot field, commonly called Banberie fielde, foughten the morow after Saint James day, in the. viij. yere of king Edwarde the fourth, the which battaile euer synce hath bene, and yet is a continual grudge betwene the Northren men, and the Welshemen. After this battaile the Northren men resorted towarde Warwike, where the Erle had gathered a great multitude of people, which Erle gaue high commendacions to syr John Coniers, and other Capitaines of the North much reioysyng, that they had obteyned so glorious a victory, requiryng them to continue as they had begon. The king likewise sore thyrsting to recouer his losse late sustayned, and desyrous to bee reuenged of the deathes and murders of his Lordes and friendes, marched toward Warwike with a great armie, and euer as he went forward his company encreased, because he commaunded it to be noysed and published to the common people, that his onely intent was to destroy, and vtterly to confound the vnhappy stock of such pernicious persons as would disturbe and bring in thraldome, the quiet commons and peaceable people. The Erle of Warwike had by his espials perfect knowledge how the king with his armie was bent toward him, and sent in all haste possible to the Duke of Clarence (which was

Hedgecote fielde commonly called Banbery field.

not

not farre from him with a great power) requiryng him that both their hostes might ioyne in one, for as farre as he could imagine, the tyme of battail was very neere. The Duke heeryng these newes, in good order of battaile, came and incamped himselfe with the Erles host. When all things were redie prepared to fight: by the meanes of friends, a meane was found how to common of peace, for the which letters were written from eche parte to the other, declaryng their griefes and the very bottomes of theyr stomackes: Heraldes spared no horsefleshe in ridyng betwene the king and the Erle, nor in returnyng from the Erle to the King: The king conceiuyng a certeine hope of peace in his owne imagination, toke both lesse heede to himselfe, and also lesse feared the outward attemptes of his enemies, thinkyng, and trustyng truely that all things were at a good poynt, and should be well pacified. All the kinges doyngs were by espyals declared to the Erle of Warwike, which like a wise and politique Capitaine entendyng not to leese so great an aduauntage to him geuen, but trustyng to bring all his purposes to a finall ende and determination, by onely obteinyng this enterprise: in the dead of the night, with a chosen companie of men of warre, as secretly as was possible set on the kinges fielde, killyng them that kept the watche, and or the king were ware (for he thought of nothing lesse then of that chaunce that happened) at a place called Wolney, foure mile from Warwike, he was taken prisoner, and brought to the Castell of Warwike. And to the entent that the kinges friendes might not knowe where he was, nor what was chaunced of him, he caused him by secrete iourneys in the night to be conueyed to Middelham Castell in Yorkeshire, and there to be kept vnder the custodie of the Archebishop of Yorke his brother, and other his trustie friendes, which entertayned the king, like his estate, and serued him like a Prince. But there was no place so far off, but that the takyng of the King was shortly knowen, which newes made many men to feare, and greatly to dread, and many to wonder and lament the chaunce.

King Edward the fourth taken prisoner by the Erle of Warwike.

King Edward beyng thus in captiuitie, spake euer fayre to the Archebishop, and to the other kepers (but whether he corrupted them with money or fayre promises) he had libertie diuers dayes to go on huntyng, and one day, on a plain there met with him sir William Stanley, sir Thomas of Borough and diuers other of his friendes, with such a great band of men, that neither his kepers would, nor once durst moue him to returne to prison againe.

King Edwarde escapeth out of prison.

Thus as you haue heard was king Edward deliuered: Some say that he was set at large by the Erles consent and commaundement, as who say I had him in my keeping, and might haue destroyed him, but yet of mine owne freewill and gentlenesse, without pact or raunsome, I am contented to set him at libertie and to deliuer him. This doing might seeme to be some countenaunce of truth, if the Erle after this had left of from prosecuting the warre by him newlye begon: But for a truth this good chaunce happed to king Edward, by the yll luck of king Henry, for surely by this yll fortune a man may plainely coniecture, that the extreme poynt of decay of his house and estate was apparauntly at hande, consydering that neyther by mannes pollicie, nor by worldly riches his vnhappie predestinate chaunce could not be put by, such was Gods pleasure, for if you consider how that the Erle of Warwike and his friendes, onely to the intent to ayde, conserue and defend king

king Henry the first haue dispended their substances, aduentured their liues, and taken paynes intollerable, hauing a sure determination, fixed in their mindes, that as long as king Edwarde lyued, that king Henryes faction should neuer prosper, and yet now when he was by the Erle taken prisoner and in captiuitie, he by fortune escaped, or was wilfully deliuered. By thys you may plainely perceyue that the luck of king Henry was infortunate, and that all that was done for him, and in his quarell, euer redounded to his misfortune and detriment, euer noting thys, that when thinges contriued and imagined come to an vnlucky successe, all the senses of our bodyes are there by anger, feare, or madnesse rauished, & in maner distract from themselues. But to returne to the purpose.

When king Edward had escaped the handes of his enemies, he went straight to Yorke, where he was with great honor receyued of the Citezens and there taried two dayes to prepare some small armie, to accompany him in his iorney, but when he perceyued that he could haue no hoste meete and conuenient to passe to London, through the middest of his enemies (as he was appointed to doe) he returned from Yorke to Lancaster, where he found the Lorde Hastings his Chamberlayne well accompanied. He then wyth the ayde of the Lorde Hastinges, and such other as drewe to him, beyng well furnished, with spedy iorneys, came safe to his Citie of London.

When the Erle of Warwicke and the Duke of Clarence, had knowledge howe the king by treason of them that they put in trust, was escaped their hands, and that in one moment of time, all their long studies and forecastes were brought to none effect or conclusion, they wared angrie, and chafed without measure, & by and by calling together all their chiefe friends began to consult agayne of newe, and to enquire the state of their enemies, to the intent that they might make a beginning of a new warre, which they coniectured to haue taken an ende when the king was brought into captiuitie. The mindes of these Princes were much satisfied, and their courage greatly kindled, by reason that a great number of men hauing more pleasure in discord then in concord, louing better strife then vnitie, offered themselues to begin newe warre of their owne desire and requeste. King Edward tooke euen lyke studie for the warres as his enemies did, minding eyther to bring them to conformitie or reason, by dent of sworde, or else by power of battaile vtterly to destroy and erstirpate them and their affinitie, to the intent that all men might lead a more quiet lyfe, and liue in more safetie and rest: for Churches and Temples were euery where robbed and spoiled, houses burnt, and men slaine in euery place, all the realme was replenished with blood, slaughter, sorrow, and lamentation. Cornefields were destroyed, Cities & townes were made desolate and languished with famine and dearth, beside many other things, which happen by the cruelties and furie of warre and rebellion. This tumult and trouble in the common wealth of thys realme sore vexed and troubled many, but in especiall the nobilitie much lamented and pitied the state of the commonalty, which with all diligence rode betwene the king, the Erle and the Duke to reconcile them eche to other, and exhorted them rather to deserue the loue of all men, by keeping of peace and vnitie, then by fighting and vnnaturall warre to destroy the realme, and winne the hatred and malice of all the nation: The authoritie first of the Nobilitie of the realme,

realme, and secondarily their charitable mocion, so mitigated the mindes, both of the king, the Duke and the Erle, that eche gaue layth to other to go and come, safely without ieopardy. In which promise the Duke and the Erle hauing pefect trust and confidence, came both to London, accompanied with to small a number of men, in comparison to the great daunger that they were in. And at Westminster, the king, the Duke and the Erle had a long communication together, for some ende to be taken or made betweene them: But they fell at such great words with such imbrayding and casting in the teeth of olde benefites shewed, or of olde vnthankfulnesse receyued, that in a great furie, without any conclusion they departed, the king to Canterburie, and the Duke and the Erle to Warwike, where the Erle of Warwike prepared a newe hoste to ryse in Lyncolnshire, and made thereof Capitaine Syr Robert Welles, sonne to Richard Lorde Welles, an expert man in armes, and very pollitique in warre.

These newes sodainely brought to the King, did not a little vexe and tickle hym, because he euer feruently hoped that his aduersaries woulde rather come to some honest conditions of concorde, then so rashly and so sodainely to renue the warre. And the more rumor that was spread (contrary to his expectation) of thys newe begon battayle, the sooner he gathered together an hoste for the resistance of the same, and out of hande he sent to Richarde Lorde Welles, wylling him vpon the sight of his letters with all haste to repayre vnto him, which oftentimes he had excused by sickenesse and debilitie of hys body. But when that excuse serued not, he thinking to purge hymselfe sufficiently before the Kings presence, toke with him Sir Thomas Dymock, which had maried his sister, & so together came to London. When he was come vp, hys friendes certified hym that the King was with hym highly discontented. Wherefore for very feare, he with his brother in lawe tooke Sentuarie at Westminster, entending there to abide till the Princes pre were somewhat asswaged & mitigate. King Edward which thought to pacifie all thys busie tumult, without any farther bloudshed, promysing both those persons their pardons, caused them vpon his promise to come out of Sentuary to his presence, and calling to him the Lord Welles, wylled him to write to Syr Robert his sonne to leaue of the warre, and not to take the Erles parte. And in the meane season, he with his armie went forward toward his enemies, hauing with him the Lorde Welles, and Syr Thomas Dymock, and being not paste two dayes iorney from Stamford, where his enemies had pitched their fielde, had perfect knowledge that Syr Robert Welles nothing moued with hys fathers letters, still kept his campe, abyding the king and his power. The king hauing high indignation at his presumption, and minding to be reuenged in parte, contrary to his fayth and promise caused the Lorde Welles, father to the sayde Sir Robert, and Syr Thomas Dymock, to be behedded there, to the terrible example of other, which shall put their confidence in the promise of a Prince. When Syr Robert Welles harde that the King dyd so here, and that hys father and Syr Thomas Dymock were behedded, he stode first in a great perplexitie, studiyng whether he should geue battayle or no, because it was both perillous and doubtfull to fight with so great an armie, before the Erle of Warwike with hys power were assembled, but yet hauing a yong and a lustie courage, and with manly

A great dishonor to a Prince.

manly boldnesse stirred and pricked forward, he set on his enemies.

The battayle was sore fought on both partes, and many a man slayne, and in conclusion, whyle Syr Robert was exhorting and prouoking his men to tarie, which were in maner discomfited, and readie to flye, he was enuyron-ned and beset about wyth his enemies, and so was taken, and with him Syr Thomas Delaund knight, and many mo. After hys taking, the Lyncolnshire men amased, threwe away their coates, the lighter to runne away and flye, and therefore thys battayle is yet there called Losecote field. The king glad of this victorie, commaunded out of hand Syr Robert Welles and diuers other, to be put to execution in the same place. The same was, that at thys battayle were slaine ten thousand men at the least. Losecots field.

The Erle of Warwike lay at this tyme at his Castell of Warwike, and was commyng with a bouge host the next day towarde his armie in Lyncolneshire, but when he harde say that they had fought soner then he thought eyther they could or would, and that his partie was ouerthrowne and vanquished: Although he might nowe be discouraged, yet he thought it necessarie to dissimule the case, because oftentymes in battaile, vaine thinges be regarded before true, and to the entent to comfort certaine of his companie (beyng in dispayre and redie to flie) both in word and dede, he gathered together and prepared a new hoste, and with all the studie and industrie that he could practise or vse, he imagined how to compasse Thomas Lord Stanley, which had maried his sister, that he might be one of the confederacie and coniuration: which thing when he could not bring to passe, for the Lorde Stanley had aunswered him plainely, that he would neuer make warre against king Edward, he thought to spend no lenger tyme in waste, and mistrustyng that he was not able to meete with his enemies, he with the Duke of Clarence his sonne in lawe, departed to Excester, and there tarying a fewe dayes, and perceyuing that all thinges lacked, which were apte and necessarie for the warre, determiend to sayle to king Lewys the French king, to renewe the familier acquaintaunce, which he had wyth him, when he was there of Ambassade for the mariage of King Edward as you haue heard, hauyng a sure confidence and hope, eyther to haue a great ayde of the French king, or else to incense him earnestly to make battayle against king Edward. And resting vpon thys opinion, they hyred shippes at Dartmouth in Deuonshyre, well armed, and at all points trimmed and decked. And when wind and weather serued them, the Duke and the Erle with their wyues, and a great number of seruaunts plucked vp the sayles, and toke their way first toward Caleys where the Erle of Warwike was chiefe Capitayne, and thought there to haue left hys wyfe and daughters, tyll he had returned out of Fraunce.

This sodaine departyng of King Edwardes aduersaries, did not onely vexe and bite him at the very stomacke, but also did kindle and quicken him to looke the more diligently to his affayres and businesse, and especially, because that the absence of the Erle of Warwike, made the common people daily more and more to long and be desyrous to haue the sight of him, and presently to beholde his personage. For they iudged that the Sunne was clerely taken from the world, when he was absent: In such highe estimacion among the people, was his name, that neither no one man, they had in so much honor, neyther no one person they so much praysed, or to the Clowdes so highly

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highly extolled. What shall I say? His onely name sounded in euery song, in the mouth of the cõmon people, and his person was repzesented with great reuerẽce, when publique playes, oz open triumphes should be shewed, oz set forth abzode in the stretes: which hartie fauoz, was the apparaunt occasion why his faction and companie within a fewe dayes, merueylously increased and augmented. Foz the which cause, the king was vexed with a double mischiefe, foz he doubted much, whome he should most feare of two, eyther the familiar enemies abydyng at home, oz the outwarde foes, lingryng beyond the sea: but chiefely he pzouided to withstand the Erle of Warwikes landing. And first he wzote to Charles Duke of Burgoyn, which had maried the Ladie Margaret his sister, to helpe that ỹ Erle noz his companie, should haue neyther ayde noz refuge in any part of his, noz his friendes territozies, oz Dominions. These tidyngs were ioyfull to the Duke of Burgoyn, as to him which (accozdyng to the olde pzouerbe) hated the Erle of Warwike, wozse then ỹ curre dog, oz serpent: partly, because he was the ouerthzower and confounder of the house of Lancaster, of the which the Erle was lineally discended, by the Duchesse his mother, partly because the Erle had suche high offices, and was so renowmed in Englande, that king Edwarde the Dukes bzother in lawe, might not do liberally all thinges in his Realme, as he himselfe would (which the Duke estemed to be a great bondage.) And partly, because the Erle withstood with all his power and might, the conclusion of the mariage, betwene the kinges sister and the sayd Duke: But the chiefe ranco2 was, because the Erle of Warwike fauoured the French king, whom the Duke loued not, foz at his last beyng in Fraunce, he pzomised the French king to be friend to his friendes, and bter enemie to his foes and aduersaryes. This rooted hatred, and cankard malice, which the Duke bare to the Erle, caused him to attempt mo displeasures, and to inuent mo mischiefes against the Erle, then eyther king Edward could imagin, oz was of the Duke requyzed, as you shall plainly perceyue, by the sequele of this Histozye.

Now let vs speake of the Erle of Warwikes doynges. The Erle as you haue heard befoze, sayled from Dartmouth towarde Calice, where he was Captaine generall, and with a pzosperous winde came befoze the towne, in which foztresse was deputie foz the Erle, the Lozde Uawclere a Gascoyne, besyde dyuers of the Erle of Warwikes seruauntes, which bare great offices and auctho2ities in the towne. This Uawclere, whether he did it by dissimulacion, oz bearyng his good minde to king Edward (as by the sequele hereof I doubt whether he did oz no) In steede of receiuyng of his maister with triumphe, he bent and discharged agaynst him, diuers peeces of ozdinaunce, sendyng him wozde, that he should there take no lande. This nauye thus lyyng befoze Calice at anker, the Duches of Clarence was there delyuered of a fayze sonne, which childe the Erles Deputie vnneth would suffer to be chzistened within the towne, noz without great entreatie, would permit two wagons of wine to be conueyed abozde to the Ladies lyyng in the hauen. This was a great rygoz and extremitie, foz the seruant to vse against the maister, oz the inferioz to vse agaynst the superioz, foz the Erle hoped, and nothing lesse mistrusted, then to be assured and pursueyed in that place: But he was faine to keepe the Seas, without comfozt oz ayde of any of his seruauntes.

The duches of Clarence deliuered of a sonne vpon the sea, befors the towne of Calice.

uauntes. The king of England was quickly aduertised of the refusall that Monsire de Uawclere made to his Capitaine the Erle of Warwike, which manfull doyng, so much pleased the king, that incontinent he made him chiefe Captain of ỹ towne of Calice, by his letters patents, which were sent to him out of hand, and therof discharged clerely the Erle, as a traytoz, and a rebell. Duke Charles of Burgoyne, lyyng at Saint Homers (which would nedes haue an owze in the Erle of Warwikes boate) beyng aduertised also of Mõsire de Uawcleres refusall made of his maister, sent to him his trustie seruaunt, Philip de Comines (which wzote all these doynges in a Chzonicle) and gaue to him yerely a thousande Crownes in pencion, (a small rewarde God wote, foz so high a seruice, as vntruely to kepe his maister from his office) pzayng and requiryng him, to continue in truth and fidelitie towarde king Edwarde, as he had shewed and begon. The Messenger found him so towarde, and of such conformitie, that he was content to swere in his pzesence, truely to take king Edwardes part agaynst all men, and onely to his vse to keepe and defend the strong towne of Calice. But the sayde Philip de Commines foze mistrusted Monsire de Uawclere, because he sent wozde to the Erle of Warwike pziuily, lyyng at Whitsandbay, ỹ if he landed he should be taken and lost, foz all England (as he sayde) tooke part against him, the Duke of Burgoyne and all the Inhabitantes of the towne, were his enemyes, the Lozd Duras the kinges Marshall, and all the retinue of the garison were his aduersaryes: so that foz a finall conclusion, his only sauegard and comfozt, were to withdzawe him and his companie into Fraunce, where he knewe he should be highly receyued, and better welcomed, and as foz the towne of Calice, he should take no thought, foz the sayde Monsire de Uawclere pzomised thereof to make him a good reconyng, when time and opoztunitie should serue. This counsaile was pzofitable to the Erle of Warwike, but not to the king of England, and lesse pleasant to the Duke of Burgoyn: which Pzinces might very well thinke both the office of the Capitainship of Calice, and the pencion of the thousand Crownes (if it were payed) on such a deepe dissembler, to be euill employed.

Philip Comines the writter of this Histozie.

The Erle of Warwicke as he was both befoze his departure oute of Englande, determined, and also now by Monsire de Uawclere, newly counsayled and aduised, with his nauie sayled towarde Nozmandye, and in the meane way, robbed, spoyled, and toke many riche ships of the Duke of Burgoyns countries, (which foze netteled the Duke, and caused him to pzepare a strong, and a great armie on the sea, to take the Erle pzisoner, as he returned homewarde) and at the last with all his nauie, and spoyle, he tooke lande at Deepe in Nozmandye, where the gouernoz of the countrey foz the French king, friendly welcomed him, and louingly entertayned him, certifiyng king Lewys of his landing and arriuall.

King Lewys a great season befoze, had so much maruayled at the publique fame, and common renoume, of the noble actes, and high pzowes, of the Erle of Warwicke, and he thought nothing might moze pleasauntly happen, oz chaunce towarde him, then to haue a cause, oz occasion to hym ministered, whereby he might doe the Erle some pzofite oz pleasure. Which long lust according to his desire, was nowe lykely to take effect, to his contentacion, and the Erles great commodity: wherefoze beyng ioyous of his landyng in

Fraunce, he sent vnto him certayne Princes, which declared to him on the kings behalfe, that as the king had long tyme sought wayes, and meanes, howe to doe him pleasure, ayde, and comfort: So seyng that nowe the tyme was come, that the Erle had necessitie of all those thinges, he assured him that he would neyther forget him, nor yet desist to doe for him anye thing, which might be consonant to his request and friendly desire, requiring him with the Duke his sonne in law, to take paine to come to his Castell of Amboys, set on the Riuer of Leyre, affirming that they should neither lose their labor, nor thinke their iorney to haue euill successe in the conclusion.

When Duke Charles knewe that the Erle was landed in Normandy, he sent in all haste a Post to King Lewys, with whome he was then ioyned in a league, requiring him neyther to helpe with men nor money, the Erle of Warwicke, nor the Duke of Clarence, open enemies to King Edwarde, his fellow, friend, and brother in lawe, and his perpetuall alye, and trusty confederate, adding therto sharpe words, and threates, if he woulde in any case, be to them a refuge or succor.

The French king did not only contempne his prowd wordes, and laughed at his threatnyng, and bolde braggyng, but soberly aunswered, that without breaking of any league, or treatie, he lawfully might and woulde helpe his friendes: Of which number, he affirmed the Erle of Warwicke to bee one, which thing if he did, he sayde, it shoulde be neyther cost, charge, nor burthen to the Duke of one blancke. When the Duke had certified the king of Englande of this aunswere, he was sodainely in a dompe, and began earnestly, to imagyne and consyder who were his friendes, and who were his foes, apprehended some, whom he thought guiltie, and began with them to question, who were friendes to his enemyes, and of their coniuration (which was the occasion that many fearyng themselues, fled vnto Sanctuary) and manye trustyng the kinges pardon, submitted and yeelded themselues to the kings clemency. Amongst whome, John Marques Montacute, humbly yeelded himselfe, and bowed to be euer true to the kyng (as he had done before tyme) whome he with much humanity and fayre wordes, did receiue and entertaine, to the intent to draw and allure the hartes of other men, to ioyne and knit with him, against all hostility and bitter enemies.

Whyle these things were thus treated in Englande, the Erle of Warwicke and the Duke of Clarence, rode wyth great pompe toward Amboyse, where the Frenche king laye, and by the way, the people gathered together, and in great number flocked, to see and beholde, the person and visage of hym of whose valiaunt actes, and wonderfull doynges, their eares had manye times bene filled and replenished. When he came to the kings presence, hee was with all kindnesse of curtesie and humanity receyued and welcomed. To whome by long tract of tyme, he declared the causes, and considerations of his comming into Fraunce. King Lewys aswell hauing nowe delectation, with the presence of his friende, as he was accustomed to reioyce and be ioyous, when he hard eyther laude or prayse of him in his absence, promised him hys power, his ryches, and all things that he might, or coulde doe, to helpe hym in his trouble, and to refreth him in his aduersitie.

When Queene Margaret, which soiorned with Duke Reyner her father, called king of Sicile. &c. Harde tell of the Erle of Warwicke and the Duke

Duke of Clarence, had abandoned Englande, and were come to the French Court, hoping of newe comfort, with all diligence came to Amboyse, wyth her onely sonne Prince Edwarde, and with her, came Iasper Erle of Penbrooke, & John Erle of Oxenforde, which after diuers long imprisonments, lately escaped, fledde out of Englande into Fraunce, and came by fortune to this assemble. After that they had long commoned, and debated diuers matters, concerning their suretie and wealth, they determined by meane of the French king, to conclude a league and a treatie betwene them. And first to begyn with all, for the more sure foundacion of the new amitie, Edward prince of Wales, wedded Anne seconde daughter to the Erle of Warwicke, which Lady came with her mother into Fraūce. This mariage semed very straunge to wisemen, considering that the Erle of Warwicke, had first disherited the father, and then to cause his sonne to mary wyth one of his daughters, whose syster the Duke of Clarence before had maried, which was euer extreme enemye to the house of Lancaster: wherevpon they deuined that the mariage of the Prince, shoulde euer be a blot in the Dukes eie, or the mariage of the Duke, a mote in the eye of the Prince, eche of them lookyng to be exalted, when the Erle on him sinyled, and eche of them againe thinking to be ouerthrowne, when the Erle of him lowred. After this mariage, the Duke & the Erle toke a solempne othe, that they should neuer leaue the warre, vntill such tyme as king Henry the first, or the Prince his sonne, were restored to the full possession and Diademe of the realme, and that the Queene and the Prince, should depute and appoynt the Duke and the Erle, to be gouernors and conseruators, of the publique welth, till such tyme as the Prince were come to mans estate, and of habilitie, meete and conuenient, to take vpon him so high a charge, and so great a burden. There were many other condicyons concluded, which both reason, and the weightinesse of so great a businesse, required to be set forwarde.

Whyle these Lordes were thus in the French Courte, there landed at Calice a damosell, belonging to the Duches of Clarence, (as she sayd) which made Monsire de Vawclere beleue, that she was sent from king Edwarde to the Erle of Warwicke, with a playne ouerture and declaracion of peace. Of the which tidynges, Vawclere was very glad for the Erles sake, whome he thought (by this peace) to be restored to all his olde possessions, romes, and dignities. But he was sore by this damosell deceiued for her message (as it after proued) was the beginning of the Erles confusion. For she perswaded the Duke of Clarence, that it was neyther naturall, nor honorable to him eyther to condiscende or take parte against the house of Yorke, (of which he was lineally discended) and to set vp agayne the house of Lancastre, which linage of the house of Yorke, was not onely by the whole Parliament of the realme declared to be the very and indubitate heires of the Kingdome, but also kyng Henry the first and his blood affirmed the same, and therevpon made a composicion, which of recorde appereth. Furthermore she declared, that the mariage of the Erles daughter with prince Edwarde, was for none other cause but to make the Prince king, and clerely to extinguish all the house of Yorke, of whome the Duke himselfe was one, and next heire to the Crowne, after his eldest brother, and his children. These reasons, and the mariage of the Prince to the Erles daughter, so sancke in the Dukes stomacke, that he promised

miſed at his returne, not to be ſo extreme an enemy to his brother, as he was taken for, which promiſe afterwarde he did not forget. With this aunſwere the damoſell departed into Englande, the Erle of Warwicke thereof beyng clerely ignorant.

When the league was concluded (as you before haue heard) the French King lent them ſhips, money, and men, and that they might the ſurer ſayle into Englande, he appointed the Baſtard of Burgoyn Admirall of Fraunce with a great Nauie, to defend them agaynſt the armie of the Duke of Burgoyne, which was ſtronger then both the French kings Nauie, or the Engliſh fleete. King Reyner did alſo help his daughter to hys ſmall power, with men, and munitions of warre. When this armie (which was not ſmall) was gathered and come together to Harflete, at the mouth of the riuer of Seyne, abyding winde and weather. The Erle of Warwike receyued letters out of Englande, that men ſo much daylie and hourely deſired and wiſhed for hys arrynall and returne, that almoſt all men were in harneſſe, looking for hys landing: wherefore he was requyred to make haſte, yea, haſte more then haſte, although he brought no ſuccor with hym. For he was farther aſſured, that aſſoone as he had once taken lande, there ſhould meete him many thouſandes (as after it prooued in deede) to doe him what ſeruice or pleaſure they could or might: When the Erle had receyued theſe letters, he not a little regarding ſuche an offer, and ſo many great benefites to hym euen at hande apparauntly proffered, fully determined with the Duke, and the Erles of Orenford and Penbroke (becauſe Queene Margaret and her ſonne, were not fully yet furniſhed for ſuche a iorney) to go before with parte of the Nauie, and part of the armie, and to attempt the firſt brunt of fortune and chaunce, which if it well ſucceeded, then ſhould Queene Margaret and her ſonne, wyth the reſidue of the Nauie and people followe into Englande. The Erle of Warwike thinking this weightie matter, not worthy to be lingered, but to be applyed with all diligence poſſible, taking his leaue of the French king Lewys, geuing him no ſmall thankes, both on the behalfe of King Henry, and alſo for his awne part, and ſo being diſmiſſed, came where his Nauie laye at Anker, commaunding his men to go on ſhip bord, minding to take his courſe toward England.

The Duke of Burgoyne which was not content that the Erle of Warwike and hys company was ſuccoured and ayded of the French king againſt his brother in lawe, king Edwarde of Englande, to withſtande that armie, and to take the Erle of Warwike priſoner, if it were poſſible. He prepared ſuche a great Nauie, as lightly hath not bene ſene before, gathered in maner of all Nations, which armie lay at the mouth of Seyne, readie to fight with the Erle of Warwike, when he ſhould ſet out of his harborow.

See the worke of God, the ſame night before the Erle departed, there roſe ſuche a ſodayne winde and a terrible tempeſt, that the Dukes ſhippes were ſcattered one from another, ſome drowned, ſome weather driuen into Scotlande, ſo that two of them were not in companie together in one place. In the morning next following, the weather waxed fayre, and the winde proſperous, wherevpon in hope of a bone voyage, the Erle and his company hoyſed vp their ſayle, and with good ſpeede landed at Dartmouth in Deuonſhire, from which place he paſſed into Fraunce, almoſt the firſt Moneth laſt paſt. Before

The Erle of Warwike returneth into England.

Before this time the Duke of Burgoyne Charles, which more hated the Erle of Warwike, and enuied his proſperie, then he loued king Edward, ſauing for hys ayde that he truſted of in time of neceſſitie, wrote to King Edwarde, both of the doings of the Erle of Warwike in Fraunce, and of hys armie and power, & alſo certefied him by his truſtie ſeruauntes of the place, where the Erle purpoſed with all is people to take lande, King Edwarde paſſed little on the matter, truſting to much to the moueable commons of hys Realme, and without any armye layde, eyther to kepe the Erle from landing, eyther to encounter with him at the firſt arrinal, to the intent that his friends ſhould not drawe in heapes to him for his ſtrength, left all purueyaunce for defence alone, and rode on huntyng, hawking, and vſing all maner of paſtimes, with Ladyes and Damoſels, for his diſport and ſolace that could be imagined or inuented. When the Erle of Warwike had taken land, he made a proclamation in the name of king Henry the firſt vpon high paynes, commaunding and charging all men apt, or able to beare armoure, to prepare themſelues to fight againſt Edward Duke of Yorke, which contrary to all right, iuſtice, and lawe, had vntruely vſurped the crowne and imperiall dignitie of this realme. It is almoſt incredible to thinke how ſone the fame of the Erles landing was blowen ouer, thorow all the whole realme, and how many thouſand men of warre, at the very firſt tydings of his landing, were ſodainely aſſembled and ſet forwarde to welcome him. When he was thus, according to hys deſire, fully furniſhed on euery ſide wyth his kindred and friendes, he tooke his way toward London, where he iudged and faythfully beleeued, to finde more open friends then priuie enemies.

When King Edward knew of the Erles landing, and of the great repayre of the people, that to him inceſſantly without intermiſſion did reſorte, he then began to thinke on hys buſineſſe, and ſtudied howe to finde a remedie for a miſchiefe (but this was to late.) And firſt he wrote to the Duke of Burgoyne, requyring him to haue a vigylant eye to the ſea, and ſo to ſee the ſtreames kept and ſcoured with hys Nauie, that the Erle neyther ſhoulde nor might returne agayne into Fraunce, if he ſhould be againe propulſed out of the realme. And as for the doings in England he bade let him alone, for he was both of puyſſaunce and abilitie, ſufficient to ouercome and defende al his enemies and rebels, wythin his awne realme and countrie. Thys ſaiyng little or nothing pleaſed the Duke of Burgoynes meſſengers, for they thought that it had beene much more profitable to king Edward to haue circumſpectly forſene afore, and prouided to ſtop his landing, then now ſodainly to abyde the fortune of battayle, which is euer doubtfull and vncertaine. King Edwarde accompanied wyth the Duke of Glouceſter hys brother, the Lorde Haſtings hys Chamberleyn, which had maried the Erles ſiſter, and yet was euer true to the King hys Mayſter, and the Lorde Scales brother to the Quene, ſent out Curriers to all hys truſtie friendes, for the furniture of able perſons, meete for the warre & conuenient for the defence of his awne royall perſon, entending if he might by any pollicie, or ſubtill engine to circumuent or trap the Erle of Warwike, knowing perfitely that if he had once maiſtred the chiefe Belwether, the flock would ſone be diſperced.

Of them that were ſent for, fewe in effect came, but the greateſt heddes wincked and ſayde they could not, but they ment they would not come. King

King Edwarde flyeth for feare of the Erle of Warwike.

Edward beyng in perplexitie, and in diffidence of raysyng any army, wyth such trustie friendes as he had departed into Lincolneshire, consultyng what was best to be done, but sodainly or he was fully determined on any certaine purpose, newes were brought to him, that all the townes, and all the Countrie adioinyng was in great roze, and made fiers and sang songes, cryyng, King Henry, King Henry, a Warwike, a Warwike: King Edwarde was much abashed with these newe tidynges, and moze and moze his espials and Messengers declared and accompted to him, that all the Realme was vp, and by open Proclamacion commaunded to make warre agaynst him, as enemy to king Henry and the Realme: wherefoze his neere friendes aduised and admonished him to flie ouer the sea to the Duke of Burgoyn, his brother in lawe, there to tary tyll God and foztune shoulde sende him better lucke and chaunce, he beyng somewhat ruled by his counsail, but much moze quickned by hauyng knowlege, that some of the Erle of Warwikes power, was within halfe a dayes iourney, and lesse of his tayle, with all hast possible passed the washes (in greater ieopardie then it beseemed a Prince to be in) and came to the towne of Lynne, where he founde an English ship and two Hulkes of Holland redy (as foztune woulde) to make sayle and take theyr iourney, wherevpon beyng in a maruaylous agonye, and doubtyng the mutabilitie of the townes men, takyng no farther leysure for his sure succor and sauegard, with his brother the Duke of Gloucester, the Lorde Scales, and diuers other his trustie friendes entred into the ship, without bagge or baggage, without cloth sacke, or male, and perchaunce with a great purse and little treasure, for he nor his had no leysure to prouide, accordyng to their degrees and estates. Thus the king beyng accompanied with one small ship of his owne, and two Hulkes, and. viij. or. viij. hundzeth personnes with him hauyng no prouision, and but small store of money, sayled towarde Holland. At which time the Easterlynges were mortall enemies, aswell to the Englishmen, as to the French nacion, and had done the last yeres past much preiudice and domage to the Englishe marchauntes, both in taking and spoilynge of Shippes.

And as the king with sayle and ower was makyng his course as fast as he could possible, the Easterlynges, which had many Shippes of warre on the sea, him espyed (accordyng to the olde prouerbe) one yll commeth neuer alone, and with. viij. or. viij. gallant Shippes, began to chase the king and his companie. The kinges Ship was good with sayle, and so much gat of the Easterlynges, that she came on the coast of Holland, and so discended lower, before a towne in Holland called Alquemare, and there cast Ancker as nere the Towne as was possible, because they coulde not enter the Hauen at an ebbyng water. The Easterlynges also approched the Englishe ship as nere as their great shippes could come at the lowe water, entendyng at the flood to haue obteyned theyr pray, and so they were likely to do, if Monsire de Gronture, gouernour for Duke Charles in Holland had not at that season bene personally present in those parties.

A straunge chaunce happening to king Edwarde.

O what a miserable chaunce and straunge lucke was this to happen so sodainly to a king, and in especiall to such a king, as by his owne valiantnesse and prowesse had ouercome his foes, and destroyed his enempes in moze then fiue or sixe great and mortall battayles. First to be persecuted, exiled, and

and expulsed his owne Realme and kingdome, by his owne seruaunts, subiectes, and kinsmen. Secondarily, beyng destitute of all helpe and comfort, flyng to his onely friend and brother in law Duke Charles, for refuge and succor, to be chased on the sea by his mortall enemyes and deadly foes, and like to be taken prisoner, and brought into captiuitie, which thing, if it had happened (as God would that it should not) he had lien long vnraunsomed, (king Henry beyng restored to his pristinate estate and dignitie royall) or else he had died prisoner in great wretchednesse and misery. These sower sawces he tasted as a penaunce for his wanton liuyng, and negligent ouerseyng of thinges, that he might well haue foreseene and preuented, but his minde was so geuen to pastyme, daliaunce, and sensuall pleasure, that he forgat the olde adage, saiyng in tyme of peace, prouide for war, and in the tyme of war, prouide for peace, which thing if he eyther had well remembred, or politikely prouided for, he had not bene chased and expulsed his Realme within. xj. dayes as he was in deede.

King Edward thus liyng at Ancker in great feare of the Easterlynges, was by great chaunce comforted and relieued, or he wist howe, for the same tyme lay in the towne of Alquemare the Lorde Gronture, chiefe gouernour of Holland for Duke Charles of Burgoyne, which beyng incontinent aduertised of the kinges arriuall, and also of the great ieopardie that he was in, prohibited first the Easterlynges in no wise on paine of death, to intermit or meddle with any Englishe men, which were both the Dukes friendes and allyes: which commaundement so vexed and troubled the Easterlyngs, makyng sure reconyng to haue had theyr pray and pryse, a king, a Duke, dyuers Barons, and riche gentlemen, that they cryed out of God, rayled and cursed the Duke and his officer, and in a rage hoysed vp theyr sayles, and without more expectacion of good lucke, departed home to theyr Countrey. The Lorde Gronture came aborde the ship where king Edward was, and him honourably saluted, and required him to come to lande, offryng him his seruice with all pleasures that he coulde do or imagine to be done. The king him hartily thanked, and was well reuiued and comforted with his wordes, and so he with all his company were set on lande, and well refreshed. The Lorde Gronture like a noble man, consideryng in what poore estate and necessitie the king and his people were in, ministred to them abundantly all thinges conuenient and necessary, accordyng to euery mans estate and degree, at the Dukes charge and cost. And after they had bene well refreshed, and newly apparayled, he conducted them to the Hage, a riche towne in Holland where they arriued on the Churche holy day, not long after Michaelmasse. The Lord Gronture, of all this aduenture wrote to the Duke hys Maister, which thereat, was at the first so abashed and amased, to see the Erle of Warwike, whome he hated more then a Crocodile, to haue the vpper hande of his brother, that he had rather heard of king Edwardes death, then of his discomfiture, and in especially by the Erle of Warwike, whom he more feared and disdayned, then any one man liuyng, yet he willed the Lorde Gronture, to see him and his companie well entertayned at the Hage, tyll he sent for them.

Now let all Englishe men consider (as before is rehersed) what profite, what commoditie, & what helpe in distresse, the mariage of the Ladie Margaret,

garet, King Edwardes wife, sister to the Duke Charles, did to him in hys extreeme necessitie: and but by that meane vncurable extremitie, for his allyes and confederates in Castell and Arragon, were to farre from him, either spedily to flie to, or shortly to come fro with any ayde or armie. The Frenche king was his extreeme enemie, and friend to King Henry, for whose cause, in the king of Scottes (for all the league betwene them) he did put little confidence and lesse trust. The Stedes and all Eastland were with him at open warre, and yet by this mariage, God prouided him a place to flie too, both for refuge and for reliefe.

When the fame was spred of King Edwardes flyeng, innumerable people resorted to the Erle of Warwike to take his part, but all king Edwardes truestie friendes went to diuers Sentuaryes, dayly lookyng and hourely harkenyng, to heere of his helth and prosperous returne, who afterward serued him manfully and truely. Amongest other, Queene Elizabeth his wife, almost desperate of all comfort, tooke Sentuarie at Westminster, and there in great penury forsaken of all her friendes, was deliuered of a faire sonne called Edwarde, which was with small pompe, like a poore mans childe christened and baptised, the Godfathers beyng the Abbot & Prior of Westminster, and the Godmother, the Ladie Scrope.

Prince Edward the son of king Edwarde the fourth, borne in the Sentuarie of Westminster.

The Kentish men rebell.

The Kentishemen this season, whose wittes be euer moueable at the chaunge of Princes, came to the Suburbes of London, and spoyled houses, robbed berehouses, & by the counsaile of sir Geoffrey Gates, and other Sentuary men, they brake vp the kinges Benche, and deliuered prisoners, and at the last fell at Radclefe, Lynehouse, and saint Katheryns, to burnyng of houses, slaughter of people, and rauishyng of women: which small sparcle had growen to a great flame, if the Erle of Warwicke with a great power had not sodainly quenched it, and punished the offenders: which benefite by hym done, caused him much more to be praised and accepted among the Commons than he was before. When he had setled and put an order in all thinges, according as he thought most conuenient, Upon the, xii. day of October he rode to the Tower of London, which was to him without resistance deliuered, and there tooke king Henry the sixt out of the warde, where he before was kept, and brought him into the kinges lodgyng, and there was serued, accordyng to his degree. And the. xv. day of the sayd moneth, the Duke of Clarence accompanied with the Erles of Warwike, Shrewesbury, and the Lord Stanley, and other Lords and Gentlemen, some for feare, and some for loue, and some onely to gase at the wauerying worlde, resorted with a great companie to the Tower of London, and from thence with great pompe brought King Henry the sixt apparayled in a long Gowne of blewe Ueluet, through the high streetes of London, to the Cathedrall Churche of Saint Paule, the people on the right hande and on the left hande, reioisyng and criyng, God saue the King, as though all thing had succeeded as they would haue it, and when he had offered as kinges vse to do, he was conueyed to the pallace of the Bishop of London, and there kept his household like a king.

King Henry the sixt again restored to hys kingly estate.

King Henry the sixt thus againe recouerying (by the meanes onely of the Erle of Warwike) his Crowne and dignitie royall, began newely to reigne, likely within short space to fall againe, and to tast more of his accustomed captiuitie, and vsuall miserie. This ill chaunce and misfortune, by many mens

meus opinions happened to him, because he was a man of no great wit, such as men commonly call an innocent man, neyther a foole, neyther very wise, whose studie alwayes was more to excell other, in Godly liuyng and vertuous example, then in worldly regiment, or temporall dominion, insomuche, that in comparison to the study and delectacion that he had to vertue and godlinesse, he little regarded, all worldly power and temporall authoritie: But his enemies ascribed all this to his cowarde stomack, affirmyng that he was a man apt to no purpose, nor meete for any enterprise, were it neuer so small: But whoso euer dispyseth or disprayseth, that which the comon people allow and maruayle at, is often taken of them for a mad and vndiscreete person, but notwithstanding the vulgar opinion, he that followeth, & embraceth the contrary, doth proue both sad and wise (verifiyng Salomons Prouerbe) the wisedome of this worlde, is foolishenesse before God. Other there be that ascribe his infortunitie, only to the stroke and punishement of God, affirming that the kingdome, which Henry the fourth his Grandfather wrongfully gat, and vniustly possessed agaynst king Richard the seconde and his heyres, could not by very deuine iustice, long continue in that iniurious stocke: And that therefore God by his diuine prouidence, punished the offence of the Grandfather, in the sonnes sonne.

A parliament called by king Henry ſ sixt where in king Edwarde is declared a traytor.

When king Henry had thus obteyned agayne, the possession and dominion of the realme, he called his high Court of Parliament to beginne the. xxvi. day of Nouember at Westminster, in the which king Edward was declared a Traytor to his Countrie, and vsurpor of the realme, because he had vniustly taken on him, the crowne and Scepter, and all hys goods were confiscate and adiudged forfayt: and lyke sentence was geuen agaynst all his partakers and friendes. And beside this, it was there enacted that extreme punishment should be done without delay ouer such persons, as for his his cause were taken or apprehended, and were eyther in captiuitie, or went at large vpon trust of their sureties, amongst whome Lorde John Typtoft, Erle of of Worcester Lieutenaunt for King Edward in Irelande, exercising there more extreme cruelties (as the fame went) then princely pittie, or charitable compassion, and in especiall on two infantes, beyng sonnes to the Erle of Desmond, was eyther for treason to hym layed or malice agaynst hym conceyued, attaynted and behedded. Beside thys, all estatutes made by king Edwarde were cleerely reuoked, abrogated, and made frustrate. The Crownes of the Realmes of Englande and Fraunce, was by the authoritie of the same Parliament entayled to King Henry the sixt, and the heyres Males of hys body lawfully begotten, and for default of such heyre Male of his body begotten, then the sayde crownes and dignities were entayled to George Duke of Clarence, and to the heyres Males of his body lawfully engendred, and farther the sayde Duke was by authoritie aforesayde enabled to be next heyre to hys father, Richard Duke of Yorke, and to take by discent from hym all hys landes, dignities, and preheminences, as though he had bene his eldest sonne and heyre, at the time of his death. Jasper Erle of Penbroke, and John Erle of Orenford, and diuers other by king Edward attaynted, were restored to their olde names, possessions, and auncient dignities (kepe them euen as long as they might.) Beside thys, the Erle of Warwike as one to whome the common welth was much beholdyng, was made

made ruler and gouernor of the realme, with whom as fellow and companion was associated, George Duke of Clarence hys sonne in lawe. So that by these meanes the whole estate, both of the realme, and the publique welth of the same, were newly altred and chaunged. To thys parliament came the Lorde Marques Montacute, excusing hymselfe that onely for feare of death, he declyned to king Edwards part, which excuse was so accepted that he obteyned hys pardon, which after was the destruction of hym and hys brother: For if he had manfully and boldly taken king Edwards part, surely he being an open enemie, had much lesse hurted, then being a fayned & coloured friend: for suche things as we see before our eyes, we be well ware off, and seldome things before knowne, doe vs any hurt.

Queene Margaret kept from landing in England by cruell tempestes.

Queene Margaret, after that the Erle of Warwicke was sayled into Englande, euer forecasting and doubting the chaunce that might happen, did neuer cease to pray to God, to send victorie to her friends and confederates: which when she knewe by her husbandes letters to be obteyned, shee with Prince Edwarde her sonne and her traine, entred their shippes, to take their voyage into Englande: but the Wynter was so sore, the weather so stormy, and the winde so contrary, that she was fayne to take lande againe, and deferre her iorney tyll another season. Her enemies sayde, that it was Gods iust prouision, that she which had bene the occasion of so many battayles, and of so much manslaughter in Englande should neuer returne thether agayne, to doe more mischiefe. Her friendes on the other side, sayd that she was kept away, and her iorney empeched by Sorcerers and Necromanciers: thus as mens imaginations ranne, so their tongues clacked.

In thys season Jasper Erle of Penbroke, went into Wales, to visite hys Countie of Penbroke, where he founde Lorde Henry, sonne to his brother Edmond Erle of Richmond, hauing not fully ten yeres of his age complete, which was kept in maner like a captiue: but well and honorably educated, and in all kind of ciuilitie brought vp, by the Lady Harbert, late wife to Wylliam Erle of Penbroke, beheded at Banbery, as you beforehaue heard, This Lorde Henry was he, that after king Richard, brother to king Edward, was vanquished and ouerthrowne, obteyned the crowne and regalitie of thys realme, whome we ought to beleue, to be sent from God, and of him onely to be prouided a king, for to extinguishe both the factions and partes, of King Henry the sixt, and of King Edwarde the fourth (which had almost brought the Nobilitie of thys realme to a finall destruction, and an vtter decay.) And thys Jasper Erle of Penbroke as aforesayd tooke this child being hys Nephew, out of the custodie of the Ladie Harbert, and at hys returne brought the same childe to London, to king Henry the sixt, whome when the king had a good space by himselfe, secretly beholden and marked, both hys wyt and hys lykely towardnesse, he sayed to such princes, as were then with him: Loe, surely this is he, to whome both we and our aduersaries leauing the possession of al things, shal hereafter geue rome and place. So this good man shewed before, the chaunce that should happen, that this Erle Henry so ordeyned by God, should in time to come (as he did in deede) haue and enioy the kingdome, and the whole rule of the realme.

This was king Henry the seuenth.

As I haue shewed to you before, what things were done in Englande after that king Henry had obteyned the new possession of hys olde kingdome, thinking

thinking surely to haue possessed and enioyed the same lenger season then eyther he did, or could by his aduersaries be permitted or suffered to doe: so must I of necessitie declare vnto you, what great perplexitie, what sodaine trouble, and what great store of immaginations, the landing of king Edward in Friseland, brought to and encombered with all, Charles Duke of Burgoyne: and how deceitfully for his owne aduauntage he dissimuled, first with king Edward, and after with his partie aduerse, and how that he openly denied ayde to king Edward, when he priuily ministered great and large succours to him and his. I thinke you would not, that these things should be forgotten: And first call to your remembraunce, howe that Duke Charles had before this (as you haue heard) great intelligence or conference wyth Monsire de Wawclere, as he list himselfe to be called, eyther chiefe Capitaine of Caleys, or else deputie Capitayne to the Erle of Warwike, which had promised to him by the Duke, a pencion yerely of a thousand Crownes, to the intent to stand still true to king Edward, and to relinquishe king Henry, but in especiall to abandon the Erle of Warwike. The Duke although that he had small confidence, but rather great diffidence in the othe and promyse of Monsire de Wawclere: thought it necessarie to know in what case Caleys stoode, and what alterations were there, because it was his nerte neighbor (for that time Bulleyn, and Bullenoys, and all Artoys, were in the handes of Duke Charles) as a pledge deliuered to hys father, as is before rehersed. Wherefore in all haste (before he sent for king Edwarde or spake with him) he sent his trustie counsayler Philip de Comines Lorde of Argenton, accompanied with two gentlemen to Caleis, which two gentlemen fauored more the partie of Lancaster then of Yorke. The Lorde of Argenton met with the people of the Countrey of Bullenoys, flyng from euery parte lyke wylde Dere: for the Erle of Warwike had now lately sent to Caleys, foure hundred Archers on horseback, which forrayed and spoyled all the Countrie of Bullenoys. The Dukes messengers, which had not sene so sodaine a chaunge of worldly things, durst not kepe on their iorney, but the same night taried at Turnoham, and sent to Monsire de Wawclere for a safe conduyt, and also wrote to the Duke of the feare that they were in. The Duke sent worde to Philip de Comines, that he and his with all spede, should passe towarde Caleis, and if they there were taken, he would shortly for a raunsome, buye or redeeme them agayne. For he passed little eyther of the payne of his seruaunt, or of his charge and expence, so that his purpose might be serued. When this word was brought to the messengers at Turnham, at the same tyme they receyued a letter from Monsire de Wawclere, wyth louing wordes and gracious termes, declaring that they might safely come, and freely depart, as before they were liberally accustomed: so that sir Philip and his companions came to Caleis, without any meeting or solempne entertaintment contrary to the olde fashion that he had seene. When they entred into the towne, they might perceyue euery man did weare the Erle of Warwikes badge, and on euery doze were set white Crosses, and ragged staues, with rimes and poesies, which purported the French King, and the Erle of Warwike were all one. These things seemed very straunge, and nothing pleasaunt to the Burgonions. The Lorde Wawclere sent for them to dinner the next day being well accompanied, and did weare on hys

Cap,

Cap, a whyte ragged ſtaffe of Golde enamyled, and ſo did many other, and he that could haue it neyther of Golde nor of Siluer, had it of ſilke or cloth. Thys badge was taken vp within one quarter of an houre, after the newes came out of Englande: ſuche is the mutation of the common people, lyke a reede with euery winde bowing and bending. While theſe Burgonions lay thus in Caleys, they had knowledge that the Erle of Warwike had prepared foure thouſande valyaunt men, to make frontier warre on the Dukes Countries, whereof by poſte they certified the Duke, which ſo fumed and ſmoked at the matter, that he wiſt neyther well what to doe, nor of whome to aſke comfortable or wholeſome counſayle. For warre he was compelled to haue with the French king, which had taken from him certayne townes: and if he ſuccoured king Edwarde, he was ſure that with the Erle of Warwike, he ſhould haue no peace: and if he left king Edward his confederate and allye, in the time of hys tribulation, deſtitute of ayde and ſuccour, all the worlde of him might ſpeake ſhame, vnfaythfulneſſe and diſhonor. When the Duke had well aduiſed thys matter, he wrote to hys meſſengers, that they ſhould require to haue the league made betwene the two realmes, kept and obſerued, with dyuers other prouy inſtructions. Philip de Comines, beyng wiſe and well learned, declared to the counſayle of Caleys, that the Duke hys Maiſter not a little marueyled why the Engliſhe men ſhould ouer runne, and deſtroy his Countries, hauing a league ſo ſure, ſo ſtrong, and with ſo many wordes of efficacie enforced, lately made betwene the two Countries, their territories and dominions, affirming that the mutation of the Prince, is no diſſolution of the league: For although the princes be named, as chiefe contractors in euery treatie and amitie concluded, yet the Countries are bounden, and the ſubiectes ſhall make recompence, if anye thing be altred wrongfully out of his courſe. And the rather to obteine their deſire, they cauſed all the Marchauntes goodes of Englande, beyng in the Dukes Countries, to be attached for the redreſſe of the ſpoyle, that the Engliſhe men had done in the Dukes Countrie. Which ſore greeued the Marchaunts, and much hindered their voyages: beſide thys, the Marchauntes of the Staple of Calice, wrote to the king, and to the Erle of Warwike: how, if their wolle and fell at Calice, were not ſolde and vttered, as it was wont to be (the greateſt parte whereof, was bought by the Dukes ſubiectes and Vaſſals for readie money) the Souldiours of the garriſon, ſhould lack their wages, the king ſhould not be payde his cuſtome, and the Marchaunt in concluſion ſhoulde ſtande in aduenture both of loſſe of ſtock and credence. Theſe perſwaſions mollified the Erle of Warwikes minde, and eſpecially, becauſe the king had no great ſtore of money to furniſhe Caleys withall, which ſtore if he had had, ſurely the Duke of Burgoyne for al the league, had bene a little diſturbed, and greeuouſly moleſted. But conſidering that all thinges were not correſpondent at thys time to the Erles appetite: he was content that it ſhoulde be thus condeſcended and agreed, that the alyaunce made betwene the realme of Englande and the Dukes dominions, ſhoulde ſtill remayne inuiolated, ſauyng in the ſteede of Edwarde, ſhould be put for the king, this name Henry. This concluſion thus brought to an ende, came (euen as a man would wiſhe) to paſſe, for the Duke of Burgoyns purpoſe, for at this ſame time, the French king had wonne from him, the fayre towne of

of Anias, and ſaint Quintines, ſo that if the Duke ſhould haue had warre both with Fraunce and Englande, he had bene lykely to haue bene ſhortly a poore Duke, or elſe vtterly vndone and brought to deſtruction. And to pacifie and pleaſe the Erle of Warwike, whome he neuer loued and leſſe fauored: he wrote louingly to hym, declaring that as he was lineally deſcended, and naturally procreated of the noble ſtocke and familie of Lancaſter, by his Graundmother, being daughter to the high and mightie Prince Iohn of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaſter: ſo was he by nature bound, and by aliance enforced to maintaine and defende the ſayde noble houſe and linage, during his lyfe, as euer he hath done, both in worde and deede, againſt all maner of perſons and eſtates: furthermore, promiſing to beare hys good hart, louing minde, and friendly fauor, to king Henry the firſt and his ſequele, before all other Princes and Potentates, wyth many other flattering termes and gloſing wordes: which fayre promiſes, I thinke neyther the Duke himſelfe inwardly minded, nor yet the Erle outwardly beleued.

Nowe to returne to king Edwarde, beyng in the Duke of Burgoyns lande, which, although he were out of his countrey, yet did he neuer diſpayre but had a firme hope, to haue a iuſt and ready occaſion to him geuen, howe to obtayne his kingdome, and dominion, and that in ſhort ſpace. For partlye, he hoped of a great helpe, of his brother in lawe, the Duke of Burgoyn, and partlye he was dayly ſolicited, by the letters, and meſſages of men of his faction in England, to returne with all ſpeede, promiſyng him company and comfort. Many other there were which eyther for feare of the rigor of the lawe, which they had offended, or elſe diſdainyng that the worlde was ſo altered: or elſe beyng brought into king Edwardes fauor, had hope to exercyſe their pollyng roomes, as they did before his flyng out of Englād, dayly came to him from Englande, and prouoked him more and more, to take his iorney homewarde. King Edwarde in maner raniſhed with their golden promiſes, came to the Duke of Burgoyn, to the towne of Saint Poll, and there declared to him what great intelligence he had in the realme of Englande, and what aſſured friendes he had in the ſame, requiryng him to ayde him wyth ſpeede, as his onely truſt, and ſole hope of reliefe was in him, beyng not onelie his brother in law, but eche beyng companion of others order: for the king wore the golden Fleece, & the Duke wore the Garter. The Duke of Sommerſet, which was coſin germayne remoued to the Duke of Burgoyn, and brought vp and had a penſion in the Dukes houſe. (For ſurely the Duke of Burgoyn loued better the houſe of Lancaſtre, then the houſe of Yorke) ſore labored to the contrary, affirming that it was both vngodlye, and vnnaturall, to exalte and ſet vp a ſtraunger, hauing no ryght, and to depoſe and depryue his naturall kinſman, hauyng a iuſt title deſcended to hym, from the king his father, and the king his Grandfather, from his ſcepter and regalitie. Duke Charles was in a great perpleritie, not knowyng well what to ſay, whether conſanguinitie ſhoulde preuayle more, or affinitie, or nature before fauor, not willing if he might, to diſpleaſe any of both the partyes. But becauſe the war was ouert at his noſe, with the French kyng: he concluded openly (but intendyng another thing ſecretly) to ayde the Duke of Sommerſet, and other that were with him, takyng of them certayne promiſes, for thinges to be done againſt the Erle of Warwicke: when they ſhoulde eſpie their tyme, moſt apt

and conuenient: The Duke of Sommerset ioyous of these newes, sailed into Englande, and made report to king Henry. King Edwarde was present, and hearde all this determination, which brought him into a great heauinesse and a deepe perplexitie: howbeit he was priuily aduertised by a friende, that these cloked dissimulations, were onely for this cause, that Duke Charles woulde in no wise, haue warre with both the realmes at once, and further, if the saide Duke were put to the worse, or vanquished by the French king, then he were not able, neyther to ayde, nor to succor king Edwarde. Wherefore to blind withall the French king, which sore desired, that the Duke might haue warre with England: for then he knewe that his enterprise, were more then halfe gotten. The Duke declared openlye, that he woulde in no wyse minister any succors to king Edwarde, streightly chargyng and commaunding, vpon payne of the hart, that no man shoulde once passe the sea with him, or in his armie. But all this proclamacion notwithstanding when the Duke saw that king Edwarde, vpon hope of his friends, woulde needes repaire into Englande agayne (he hauyng compassion of his vnfortunate chaunce) caused priuily to be deliuered to him fiftie. M. Florence, of the crosse of Saint Andrew, and further caused foure great shippes to be appoynted for him, in the hauen of Vere in Zelande, which is free for all men to come to, and the Duke hyred farther for him. xiiij. shippes, of the Esterlinges, well appoynted, and for the more suretie, tooke bond of them to serue him truelye, till hee were landed in Englande, and. xb. dayes after. Of which returnyng, the Easterlinges were glad, trusting that by that meane, if he obtained againe the possession of the realme, they shoulde the soner come to a concorde and a peace, and to the restitution of their liberties, and franchises, which they claimed to haue within England. The Duke of Burgoyn as men reported, cared not much on whose side the victory fell, sauyng for paiment of his money. For he would oft say, that he was friend to both parts, and ethe part was friendly to him.

In this yere, Desiderius Erasmus Roterodamus was borne in Hollande, in a towne called Roterdame, as saith Carion, and he died in the yere of our Lorde 1536. So it appereth that he liued. lxbij. yeres.

Here Polidore noteth as followeth. This present yere saith he, Sixtus, the fourth of that name, Bishop of Rome, beyng enformed by James the thirde king of Scotlande, that the Scottish Bishops had no Metropolitan within his realme of Scotlande, for at that tyme, and long before, the Archebishop of Yorke was Metropolitan and primate of Scotlande. And nowe saith he, forasmuch as there are in a maner continuall warres betweene England and Scotlande, or else Ciuile warres in their seuerall realmes, by reason wherof his Clergie coulde not resort nor haue free accesse in causes and matters of religyon, to conferre with their Primate, & Metropolitan, that therefore the Pope woulde assigne him a Metropolitan within his owne realme and dominion: And the saide Sixtus appoynted the Bishop of Saint Andrewes to be Metropolitan of Scotlande, and so the Archbishoppe of Yorke lost hys iurisdiction in the realme of Scotlande, wherewithall George Neuill, then beyng Archbishop of Yorke was not a little offended, for he had vnder his obedience. xii. Bishops, that is to say.

The Archbishop of Yorke was Metropolitan of Scotland.

The Bishop of Glasco.
The Bishop of Rosse.
The Bishop of Brichyn.
The Bishop of Dunkeld.

The

The Bishop of Dunblan.
The Bishop of Aberdyne.
The Bishop of Catnes.
The Bishop of Galoway.
The Bishop of Orkeney.
The Bishop of Murray.
The Bishop of the Isles.
The Bishop of the Isle of Man which is thought to be of the Diocesse of Yorke.

1470
10

King Edwardes landing.

King Edwarde hauing nowe in a readinesse onely, two thousande men of warre, beside mariners, in the spring of the yere, sayled into England, and came on the coast of Yorkeshire, to a place called Rauenspur, and there setting all his men on lande, he consulted with his Captains, to knowe to what place, they shoulde first for succor resort vnto: for he imagined that no waye coulde be for him sure, hauing so small a company of souldiours.

After long debating, it was concluded, that diuers persons hauing light horses, should scoure the countrey on euery side, to see if by any perswasions, they might allure the hartes of the rusticall and vplandishe people, to take king Edwards part, and to weare harnesse in his quarell: which with al diligence, folowed their commission. It seemeth somewhat to leane to the truth, that king Edwarde beyng a wise and circumspect Prince, woulde not haue beene so foolish hardy, as to enter Englande with halfe a handefull of men of warre, except he had beene sure of speedy succor and faithfull friendship: In which argument there is no doubt, but that the Duke of Clarence and he, were secretly agreed before, and that the Marques Montacute, had secretly procured his fauor, of which priuy signes, and cloked worckings, open tokens, and manifest doynges, afterwarde appeered. The light Horsemen, which were sent about, after they had felt the minds and entents, of the rude people (as much as they might) they returned to king Edwarde the next daye, making relacion that all the townes round about, were permanent and stiffe on the part of king Henry, & could not be remoued: and that it was but a folly farther to solicite or attempt them, considering that when they were moued and exhorted to be true to king Edwarde, not one man durst speake for feare of the Erle of Warwicke.

Which aunswere, when king Edwarde had perfectly digested, of very necessitie he chaunged his purpose: for where before his clayme was to be restored to the Crowne and kingdome of England, nowe he caused it to be published, that he onely claymed the Duchie of Yorke, to the entent that in requiryng nothing, but that which was both iust and honest, he might obteyne the more fauor of the common people. It was almost incredible to see what effect this newe imaginacion (although it were but fayned) sorted and tooke vpon the first openyng (such a power hath Iustice euen amongest all men) when it was blowen abrode that king Edwardes desyre was not for the kingdome, but onely requyred his iust patrimonie and inheritaunce of the Duchie of Yorke. By reason whereof, all men moued with mercy and compassion, began out of hande either to fauor him, or else not to resist him, so that he might obteyne his Duchie of Yorke. When he had found these meanes to pacifie mens mindes, and to reconcile their hearts, he determined to take his iourney toward Yorke, and so went to Beuerley. The Erle of Warwike which then lay in Warwikeshire, beyng informed that king Edwarde was landed, and goyng toward Yorke, with all haste wrote to the Marques Mountacute his brother, which had lyen at the Castell of Pomfret all the

laſt winter, with a great company of Souldiours, geuing him warnyng and aduertiſyng him in what perill theyr whole affayres ſtoode in, if their enemy ſhould obteyne the poſſeſſion, or enter into the Citie of Yorke, willyng and commaundyng him to ſet on king Edwarde with all expedicion, and bid him battaile, or elſe to kepe the paſſage, that he ſhould paſſe no farther, till he himſelfe had gathered a greater hoſt, which with all diligence, he was aſſembleyng to come and ioyne with his brother the Marques. And becauſe that the Erle knew not by what way his enemies would take their iourney, he wrote to all the townes of Yorkeſhire, and to the Citie alſo, commaundyng all men on the kinges behalfe, to be redie in harneſſe, and to ſhut their gates agaynſt the kinges enemyes. King Edwarde without any wordes ſpoken to him, came peaceably nere to Yorke, of whoſe commyng, when the Citizens were certified, without delay they armed themſelues, and came to defend the Gates, ſendyng to him two of the chiefeſt Aldermen of the Citie, which earneſtly admoniſhed him on their behalfe to come not one foote nerer, nor rathely to enter into ſo great a ieopardie, conſideryng that they were fully determined, and bent to compell him to retract with dent of ſworde. King Edward well marking their meſſage, was not a little troubled and vnquieted in his minde, and driuen to ſeeke the furtheſt poynt of his witte, for he had both two miſchieuous and perillous chaunces, euen before his eies, which were hard to be auoyded, one was, if he ſhoulde go backe againe, he feared leaſt the rurall and common people for couetouſneſſe of pray, and ſpoyle, would fall on him, as one that fled away for feare and dread. The other was, if he ſhould proceede any farther in his iourney, then might the Citizens of Yorke iſſue out with all their power, and ſodainly circumuent him, and take him: wherefore he determined to ſet forward, neyther with armour nor with weapon, but with lowly wordes, and gentle entreatynges, requiring moſt hartily the meſſengers that were ſent, to the Citizens, that he came neyther to demaund the realme of England, nor the ſuperioritie of the ſame, but onely the Duchy of Yorke, his olde enheritance, the which Duchy, if he might by theyr meanes recouer, he would neuer let paſſe out of his memorie their friendſhip and gentleneſſe. And ſo with fayre wordes and flatteryng ſpeche he diſmiſſed the Meſſengers, and with good ſpede he and his folowed ſo quickly after, that they were almoſt at the gates as ſone as the Meſſengers. The Citizens heering his good anſwere, that he ment nor intended nothing preiudicial to king Henry, nor his royall auctoritie, were much mittigated and cooled, and began to common with him from their walles, willyng him to conuey himſelfe into ſome other place without delay, which if he did they aſſured him, that he ſhould haue neyther hurt nor damnage, but he gently ſpeakyng to all men, and eſpecially to ſuch as were Aldermen, whome he called worſhipfull, and by their proper names them ſaluted, after many fayre promiſes to them made erhorted and deſired them that by their fauourable friendſhip, he might enter into his awne towne, of the which he had both his name and title. And thus all the whole day was conſumed in doubtfull communication. The Citizens partly wonne by his fayre wordes, and partly by hope of his large promiſes, fell to this pact and conuention, that King Edward would ſwere to entertain his Citizens of Yorke after a gentle ſort and faſhion, and hereafter to be obedient, and faythfull to all king Henryes commaundementes and preceptes, that

King Edwards oth of

that then they would receyue him into their Citie, and ayde and comfort him with money. King Edward (whom the Citizens called only Duke of Yorke) beyng glad of this fortunate chaunce, the next mornyng entred in at the gate where the Maior and Aldermen ſtoode redie to receyue him, and there they miniſtred vnto him a ſolempne othe, which he tooke vpon the holy Goſpels, which was to obſerue the two Articles aboue mencioned and agreed vpon, when it was farre vnlike, that he eyther entended or purpoſed to obſerue any of them, which plainely afterwarde was to all men manifeſt, euidentlye perceiuyng, that he tooke no more ſtudie or diligence for any one earthly thing, then he did to perſecute king Henrie, and to ſpoyle him of his kingdome. So it is dayly ſeene that aſwell Princes, as men of leſſer reputacion, led by blinde auarice, and deuiliſhe ambicion, forgettyng the ſcruple of conſcience, and the ende of all honeſtie, vſe to take an othe by the immortall God, which they know perfectly ſhal be broken & violate hereafter, before the othe be firſt made or ſworne: yet theſe perſons (as examples thereof be not very ſtraunge to finde) at one time or other be worthily ſcourged for their periury, inſomuch oftentimes that the blot of ſuch offence of the parentes is puniſhed in the ſequele and poſteritie as ſhall appere hereafter in the lyfe of Richard the thirde.

obedience to king Henry the ſixt.

When king Edward had appeſed the Citizens, and that their fury was paſt, he entred into the Citie, and clerely forgetting his othe, he firſt ſet a garriſon of Souldiours in the towne, to the entent that nothing ſhould be moued agaynſt him by the Citizens, and after he gathered a great hoſt by reaſon of his money. When all thing was redie, accordyng as he deſyred, becauſe he was informed that his enemyes did make no great preparacion to reſiſt him, he thought it neceſſary therefore, with the more ſpeede and diligence to make haſte toward London: and as it were for the nonce, he left the right way toward Pomfret, where the Marques Montacute with his armie lay and tooke the way on the right hande, not fully foure myle from the campe of his enemyes. And when he ſaw that they made no ſtirryng, nor once ſhewed themſelues in ſight, he returned into the common high way again, a little beyond their campe, and came ſafely to the towne of Nottyngham, where came to him ſir William Parre, ſir Thomas a Borough, ſir Thomas Montgomerye, and diuers other of his aſſured friendes with their aydes, which cauſed him at the firſt commyng to make Proclamacion in his awne name king Edward the fourth, boldely ſaiyng to him, that they would ſerue no man but a king. This Proclamacion caſt a great ſhame and dolor into the heartes of the Citizens of Yorke, for that they might apparantly perceyue, that they were ſeduced, and for their good will vnhoneſtly (if it might be ſayd) deluded and mocked. But when the fame was blowen abrode, that king Edward, without any detriment was in ſafetie come to Nottyngham, Princes and noble men on all ſydes began to fall to him, firmely beleuyng, that either the Marques Montacute, beryng fauor to king Edwarde, would not once with him encounter, or that he was afrayde to ſet on or to geue battaile, knowyng not to what part his Souldiours would incline. But whatſoeuer the occaſion was, the moſt part thought it more for the ſecuritie and auantage of themſelues, to take part and ioyne with king Edwarde, beyng at all poyntes furniſhed with men of warre, rather then to cleue to King Henry, and to be al-

King Edward breaketh his oth.

wayes in ieopardy both of life and land. King Edward (as you can not blame him) beyng with these good fortunes encouraged, and with his armie furnished at all pointes, came to his towne of Leycester, and there heeryng that the Erle of Warwike, accompanied with John Erle of Oxford, were together at Warwike with a great power, and were both determined to set on him, hee pollitiquely imaginyng to preuent their inuencion, determined in great haste to remoue his whole armie, hoppyng surely, either to geue them battaile, either to allure and bring to his syde his brother George Duke of Clarence, and to common with him in some priuie place, before he came to his confederates: least paraduenture he should be by them trapped and compassed, knowyng that the Duke was in nothing constant.

In this very season, to tell you how the Erle of Warwike was displeased, and grudged against his brother the Marques, for letting king Edward passe, it were to long to write: for where he himselfe had pollitiquely prouided and foreseene all things, the Marques neuertheless where the power of their enemies first began together, neuer moued foote, nor made resistance as he was commaunded, but beyndes this, suffered them with so smal a number of Souldiours, before his eyes, and in his open sight, without any battaile to passe by: wherefore the Erle considering that king Edward did dayly encrease his power (as a running ryuer by going more and more augmenteth) thought it most necessary for him, to geue him battaile with spede, and therevpon he called together his armie, and in all hast sent for the Duke of Clarence to ioyne with him, which had gathered and assembled together a great hoste about London. But when he perceyued that the Duke lingered, and did all thinges negligently, as though he were in doubt of war or peace, he then began somewhat to suspect that ỳ Duke was of his brethren corrupted and lately chaunged, and therefore without delay marched forwarde towarde Couentrie, to the entent to set on his enemies. In the meane season, king Edward came to Warwike, where he found al the people departed, and from thence with all diligence aduaunced his power toward Couentrie, and in a plaine by the Citie he pitched his fielde. And the next day after that he came thether, his men were set forwarde, and marshalled in arraye, and he valiauntly bade the Erle battaile: which mistrustyng that he should be deceyued by the Duke of Clarence (as he was in deede) kept himselfe close within the walles. And yet he had perfect worde that the Duke of Clarence came forwarde towarde him with a great armie, king Edwarde beyng also therof informed, raysed his campe, and made towarde the Duke. And least that there might be thought some fraude to be cloked betwene them, the king set his battayles in an order, as though he would fight without any lenger delay, the Duke did likewise. When eche hoste was in sight of other, Richard Duke of Gloucester, brother to them both, as though he had bene made Arbitrer betwene them, first rode to the Duke, and with him commoned very secretly: from him he came to king Edward, and with like secretnesse so vsed him, that in conclusion no vnnaturall warre, but brotherly friendship was concluded and proclaymed, and then leauyng all armour and weapon aside, both the brethren louingly embraced, and familiarly commoned together. It was no maruaile that the Duke of Clarence, with so small perswasion, and lesse exhorting, turned from the Erle of Warwikes parte, for as you haue

The Duke of Clarence reconcileth himselfe to his brother king Edwarde.

haue heard before, this marchandice was labored and concluded by a Damsell when the Duke was in the Frenche Court, to the Erles vtter confusion.

After this king Edward caused to be proclaimed, that the Duke and all that came with hym, should be taken as hys true friendes, wythout fraude or yll suspicion. But this notwithstanding, it seemeth that God did neyther forgeue nor forget to punishe the Duke wyth condigne punishment, for violatyng and breaking his othe solempnely, and aduisedly taken and made to the Erle of Warwike, for God not many yeres after, suffred him lyke a periured person to die a cruell and a straunge death.

Periurie is punished by almightie God.

Then was it concluded amongst the three brethren to attempt the Erle of Warwicke, if by any fayre meanes he might be reconciled or by any promise wonne to their parte: To whome the Duke of Clarence sent dyuers of his secret friendes, first to excuse him of the act that he had done, secondarily to require hym to take some good ende, nowe whyle he myght wyth king Edwarde.

When the Erle had hard paciently the Dukes message, Lorde, how he detested and accursed him, crying out on him, that he contrary to hys othe, promise, and fidelitie, had shamefully turned hys face from hys confederates and alies: But to the Dukes Messengers he gaue none other answere but thys, that he had liefer be alwayes lyke himselfe, than lyke a false and a periured Duke, and that he was fully determined neuer to leaue warre till eyther he had lost his awne naturall lyfe, or vtterly extinguished and put vnder hys foes and enemies.

The Erle of Warwike a man of great courage.

From thence king Edward thus being furnyshed of a strong hoste, went wythout any maner of diffidence or mistrust toward London (where after it was knowen that the Duke of Clarence was come to hys brethren, and that all they came together in one knot to the Citie, such a feare rose sodainly amongst the Citizens, that they were driuen to their wits ende, not knowyng eyther what to doe or to say, but at the last very feare compelled them to take king Edwardes parte. The selfesame season, the Erle of Warwike sent Letters to king Henry, to the Duke of Sommerset, the Archebyshop of Yorke, and other of hys counsayle, that they should keepe the Citie from their enemies handes, by the space of two or three dayes after the comming of their enemies, and that he shortly would be at hande, wyth a puyssaunt armie. They as they were commaunded defended the Citie strongly, but it was to small purpose, for the Citizens in the same time began earnestly to consult, what part they should folow for their most indempnitie: and in conclusion, when they considered that king Henry was such an innocent person, as of hymselfe was not most apt to rule and gouerne the publique welth of the realme. And that on the other side, king Edward by no other mens teachyng, but onely by hys awne pollicy and wyt could order the realme and gouerne the kingdome. And farther that king Edwarde was such a person as was able both to defende himselfe and also all hys, from iniurie and hostilitie: wherevpon all men were glad to leane to him, and to take hys parte, wherefore they concluded to receyue him into the Citie: which determination being blowen abrode (as the nature of the people is euer to delight in nouelties) the commonaltie could not be compelled by no commaundement to tarie at home, but ranne in heapes out of the City to meete him, and saluted

him

him as their king and souereigne Lorde. When the Duke of Sommerset and other of King Henries friendes sawe the worlde thus sodaynly chaunged, euery man fled, and in haste shifted for himselfe, leauing King Henry alone, as an host that should be sacrificed, in the Bishops Palace of London, adioyning to Paules Church, not knowyng of whome, nor what counsayle to aske, as he which with trouble and aduersitie was clerely dulled, in which place he was by king Edward taken, and agayne committed to prison.

King Henry the first again taken and committed to prison.

Thys was a sodayne chaunge, for the same daye the Archebyshop of Yorke to the intent that the people might more firmely stick on hys syde, caused hym to ryde about London, appareled in a gowne of blew Velnet, with a great companie crying king Henry, king Henry (which sight as much pleased the Citizens, as a fyze paynted on the wall warmed the olde woman) not knowyng that or night, his triumphing should be turned to tremblyng, and his solempnitie conuerted into mourning, such chaunce was to him prouided.

King Edwarde returned to London agayne the.xj. daye of Apzill, sixe Moneths after that he had sayled into Flaundyzs, and first calling before him a great assemble of people, highly commended the fidelitie of the Citizens, which they constauntly bare vnto hym, rendzing to the Aldermen most hartie thankes for that, that they had kept, and caused the people to continue, and be permanent in their good mindes and loyaltie towarde hym, blaming farther and rebuking as well Marchaunt straungers as Englishe men, whom he knewe to haue prested, and lent money to king Henry, for the arraying and setting forth of a new armie agaynst him. But when he had grieuously with terrible wordes declared to them their seditious cryme and trayterous offence, he bade them be of good comfort, and to expell all feare, for he released to them both the punishment of their bodyes and losse of goodes, and graunted to them pardon for their faultes and offences, by which gentle meane, he reconciled to hym the hartes of the whole multitude, obteyning that by fayze and louing wordes, which he coulde not haue achieued wyth sharpe strokes, and bloudy woundes.

The wisedome of king Edwarde.

The Erle of Warwike pondering that the gayne of the whole battayle stoode in making haste, with all diligence folowed hys enemies, hoping (that if they were let neuer so little, with any stop or tarying by the waye) to fight wyth them before they shoulde come to London: the which he thought, shoulde be muche to hys aduauntage, considerying that he perfectly knewe the Cytie to be destitute of men of warre for defence, and to haue no maner of municions, to set on the walles or Towzes, so that they were not able to abide a siege, and for that cause, euer they enclined to the victozious and stronger part. But when he folowyng his enemies, had passed a great part of his iourney, he was informed that king Edwarde peaceably was entred into London, and had taken, and sent king Henry to prison againe: which things deepely considered, he saw that all caullacions of necessitie, were now brought to this ende, that they must be committed to the hazard and chaunce of one battaile, wherefore, he rested with his armie, at the towne of Saint Albons, partly to refresh his Souldiours, and partly to take counsaile what was best to do. In the Erles armie were John Duke of Excester, Edmond Erle of Sommerset, John Erle of Oxenford, and John Marques Montacute, whome the Erle his brother well knewe, not to bee well minded (but

fore agaynst his stomacke) to take part with these Lordes, and therfore stode in a doubt, whether he at this time, might trust him or no, but the brotherly loue betwene them, washed away and diminished all suspicion: But whatsoeuer opinion the Erle conceyued of him or any other, the Erle as a man past all feare, determined couragiously to set on his enemyes. And from Saint Albones, he remoued to a village in the meane way, betwene London and Saint Albones, called Barnet, beyng ten mile distant from both the townes. This towne standeth on an hill, on whose top is a faire plain for two armies to ioyne together. On the one part of this plaine, the Erle of Warwicke pitched his fielde, tarying for his enemies. The rumor of the Erles commyng, was spred in an instant ouer all London, which quickned King Edwarde not a little: wherefore with all speede he adioyned to that hoste, that he brought with him first to London, a company of picked, and chosen persons, strong, yong, and mete for all assayes, beside other new aydes, that were then come to him: Harnesse, weapons, horse, and all other engines and instrumentes mete for the warre, he neyther forgat nor slackly furnished. What shall I say more, he determined clerely to spende all his riches, yea, and all that he could imagine vpon the chaunce of this battaile: Firmely beleuyng, that this conflict should knit vp the knot of all his labor, and bring him to quietnesse. So with a puyssaunt armie, he marched forwarde, and to put his people in vre, that they might be the more redie to fight, whensoeuer they should encounter with their enemies, he deuided them in foure partes, and he brought with him also king Henry the sixt. On Easter eue at after noone he came to Barnet, and there not farre from his enemyes, he encamped his armie, and least his enemies should compell him to fight that night, he enuironed his campe with newe fortifications, and trenches, for tarying that night was to him a singuler profite, and to his enemies a great dammage, considering the lenger he taryed, the more people came to his ayde. Thus both the armies lodged that night on the plaine, but not out of their harnesse, for their tentes were so nere together, in the which, what for neying of horses, & talkyng of men, none of both the hostes could that night take any rest or quietnesse. At the breaking of the day, the Erle of Warwicke set his men in array, in this maner: in the right wing he set the Marques Montacute, and the Erle of Oxenford, with certaine horsemen, and he with the Duke of Excester, tooke the left wing, and in the middest betwene both, he set Archers, and to them hee appoynted the Duke of Sommerset to be Capitaine. And when he had set his men in an order, he encouraged his men to fight, with many comfortable wordes, willyng them to striue with a good and fierce courage, and to remember that they fight, not onely for the libertie of the Countrie, agaynst a tirant, which wrongfully and against all right, had inuaded and subdued this realme, but that they fight in the quarell of a true & vndoubted king, against a cruell man, and a tirannous vsurper, in the cause of a Godly, and a pitifull Prince, agaynst an abhominable manqueller, and bloodie butcher: In which cause beyng so good, so godly, and so iust, God of very iustice must needes be their shielde and defence.

Barnet field.

King Edwarde likewise ordred his battayles. In the forewarde he set the Duke of Gloucester, the middleward, he himselfe with the Duke of Clarence hauyng with them king Henrye, did rule and gouern, the Lorde Hastynges

tynges led the rewarde, and beſides theſe three battayles, he kept a company of freſh men in ſtore, which did him great pleaſure, and this done, he encoraged his men, ſaiyng: that their aduerſaries were onelye Traitors to the realme, ſpoylers of the poore commonalty, and people deſtitute of all grace, good fortune, and good liuyng. Which miſcheuous perſons, if they ſhoulde preuayle through the faintneſſe of your heartes, all you gentlemen and richmen, were in ieoperdye of your lyues, all meane men in doubt of robbing and ſpoyling, and all inferior perſons in hazard of perpetuall bondage and ſeruitude.

When the day began to ſpring, the trumpets blewe vp coragiouſly, and the battaile fierſly began, Archers firſt ſhot, and bill men folowed them. King Edward hauing ỹ greater number of men, valiantly ſet on his enemies. The Erle on the other ſide, remembring his auncient fame and renoume, manfullye withſtode him. This battaile on both ſides was ſore fought, and manye ſlayne, in whoſe roomes ſucceeded euer freſh, and freſh men. In the meane ſeaſon, while all men were together by the eares, euer loking to which way fortune would encline. The Erle of Warwicke after long fight, wiſely did perceyue his men to be ouer preſſed, with the multitude of his aduerſaries: wherfore he cauſed new men to relieue them that fought in the forewarde, by reaſon of which ſuccors, king Edwards part gaue a little backe (which was the cauſe that ſome lokers on, and no fighters, galloped to London, ſaiyng: that the Erle had wonne the fielde) which thing when king Edwarde dyd perceiue, he with all diligence ſent freſh men to their ſuccors.

The battail were fierce & deadly before, now it was crueller, more bloody, more feruent, and firy, & yet they had fought from morning almoſt to noone, without any parte getting auauntage of other. King Edwarde beyng wery of ſo long a conflict, & willing to ſee an ende, cauſed a great crew of freſh men (which he had for this onely pollicye, kept all day in ſtore) to ſet on their enemies: but although the Erle ſawe theſe newe ſuccors, of freſhe men to enter the battayll, beyng nothing a fraide, but hoping of the victory (knowyng perfitly that there was all king Edwardes power) comforted his men beyng wery, ſharply quickning, and earneſtly deſiring them with hardy ſtomackes, to bere out this laſt and finall brunt of the battaill, and that the fielde was euen at an ende. But when his ſouldiers beyng ſore wounded, weried with ſo long a conflict, did geue litle regarde to his wordes, he beyng a man of a mind inuincible, ruſhed into the middeſt of his enemies, where as he (aduentured ſo farre from his owne company, to kill and ſlay his aduerſaries, that hee coulde not be reſcued) was in the middeſt of his enemies, ſtricken downe and ſlayne. The Marques Mountacute, thinking to ſuccor his brother, which he ſaw was in great ieoperdy, and yet in hope to obtayne the victorye, was likewiſe ouerthrowne and ſlain. After the Erle was dead, his part fled, and many were taken, but not one man of name, nor of nobilitie.

Some authors write, that this battaile was fought ſo neere hand that king Edwarde was conſtrayned to fight his owne perſon, and fought as fore as any man of his partie, and that the Erle of Warwicke, which was wont euer to ride on horſebacke, from place to place, from ranke to ranke, comforting his men, was now aduiſed by the Marques his brother, to relinquiſhe his horſe, & trie the extremitie by handie ſtrokes, which if he had bene on his horſebacke,

horſebacke, might fortune to haue eſcaped.

This ende had Richarde Neuell, Erle of Warwicke, whoſe ſtoute ſtomacke, and inuincible corage, after ſo many ſtraunge fortunes, and perilous chaunces, by him eſcaped, cauſed death before he came to any olde age priuily to ſtele on him, and with his darte to take from him all worldlye affections: but death did one thing, that lyfe coulde not, for by death he hadde reſt, peace, and quietneſſe, which his lyfe euer abhorred, and coulde not ſuffer nor abide. On both partes were ſlaine at this battaile, more than ten. M. men. Of priſoners, the number could not be certainely knowne: On the kings part were ſlaine ſyr Humfrey Burchier, ſonne to the Lord Barnes, elſe no man of eſtimacion. The occaſion of this great ſlaughter was, becauſe that where King Edwarde was wont, after the battaile obtayned, to crye: ſaue the commons, and kil the Captaynes, now he ſpared them not, becauſe they not only ſo highlye fauored the Erle of Warwicke, but alſo becauſe they came with the Erle, againſt him in battaile. After this field ended, the Duke of Sommerſet, with Iohn Erle of Orenford, were in all poſte haſte, fliyng towarde Scotlande, but fearyng the ieoperdies, that might chaunce in ſo long a iorneye, altered their purpoſe, and turned into Wales, to Jaſper Erle of Penbrooke, euerye man fledde whether his minde ſerued hym. The Duke of Exceſter wyth much difficultye, eſcaped into Weſtmynſter dyſguiſed, and there tooke Sentuarye. The death of the Erle of Warwicke.

King Edwarde after this victorye, although he wanne it not wythout great effuſiō of blood, aſwell on his owne part, as the part of his enemies was greatly reioyced, & comforted: and after the maner of a victorious conquerer leadyng with him king Henrye like a captyue, in moſt triumphant maner, on Eaſter day at after noone, made his entry ſolempnly into the City of London, and at the Church of ſaint Paule, offered his ſtanderd, and rendred to almightie God, for his great victory, moſt humble and hartie thankes. The dead bodies of the Erle, and the Marques, were brought to London in a coffin, and before they ſhoulde be buried, by the ſpace of three dayes, they lay open diſaged, in the Cathedrall Church of Saint Paule, to the intent that all men might euidently perceiue, that they vnfaynedlye were dead, leaſt peraduenture the common people hereafter, heeryng of ſome diſſimulyng perſon, to take on him the name of the Erle of warwicke, thinking him to be liuyng, might ſtirre a new ſedicion, and rebellion.

The common people ſayde, that the king was not ſo ioconde, nor ſo ioyous, for the deſtruction of the Erle, but he was more ſorowfull, for the death of the Marques, whome both he knewe, and it appered to other, to be inwardelye his faythfull friende. For whoſe onelye ſake, hee cauſed both their bodyes, to bee wyth their Auncеſters, ſolempnlie buried at the Priory of Biſſam.

In the meane ſeaſon, Queene Margaret hauing knowledge, that all thinges in Englande, were nowe altered and brought into trouble & broyle, by reaſon of king Edwardes late returne into the realme: gathering together no ſmall company of hardy, and baliaunt ſouldiours, determined with al haſt and diligence, with Prince Edwarde her ſonne, to ſayle into Englande, but yet once agayne (ſuch was her deſtinie) beyng letted for lacke of proſperous wind, and encombered with to much & rigorous tempeſt, a day after the faire

faire as the common prouerbe saieth, landed at the Porte of Weimouth, in Dorset shire. When she had passed the sea and taken lande, it was to her declared, how that king Edwarde had gotten agayne the Garlande, and that king Henry her husbande, was desolately left post a lone, and taken prisoner, how the Erle of Warwicke and his brother were both slaine, and deade, and all their armie destroyed, scattered, or taken, and in conclusion, that her parte had susteined, the most bitter plague, and scorge, considering both the chaūce and the tyme, that in many yeres before, had beene reade or seene. When she harde of these miserable chaunces, and misfortunes, so sodainely one in anothers necke, to haue taken their effect, she like a woman all dismaied for feare fell to the grounde, her harte was pierced with sorowe, her speche was in a maner passed, all her spirites were tormented with Malencholy. The calamitie and misery of her tyme, she detested, and abhorred her vnstable and contrariant fortune, she stedfastlye blamed and accused her painefull labor, her care of minde, turned into infelicitie she much lamented, and bewailed the euill fate and destinie of her husbande, which imminentlye before her eyes shee sawe to approch, she accused, reproued, and reuiled, and in conclusion, her senses were so vexed, and she so afflicted, and cast into such an agony, that she preferred death before life, rather desiring soner to die, then longer to liue, and peraduenture for this cause, that her enterior eye sawe priuily, & gaue to her a secrete monicion of the great calamities, and aduersities, which then did hang ouer her head, and were likely incontinent to fall and succeede, which other persons, neither loked for, nor regarded.

The Quene taketh heauily the death of the Erle of Warwike and the misfortune of her husbands.

This Quene Margaret might well consider and thinke, that these euill aduentures chaunced to her for the most part, for the vnworthy death of Humfrey Duke of Gloucester, Uncle to her husbande: Of the which mischaunce, although she were not the very occasion and prouoker, yet she greatly offended in that she consented thereto, and did not saue hys lyfe, when she ruling all other, might conueniently haue stayed and letted it. For surely he beyng a lyue, and hauing the moderation and gouernaunce of the common welth, king Henry had neuer wauered in so many hasardes, and ieopardies of hys lyfe as he did. I would desire of God that all men would in egall Balance ponder and indifferently consider the causes of these misfortunes and euill chaunces, the which being eleuate in aucthoritie, doe meete and measure, iustice and iniury, right and wrong, by high power, blinde auctoritie, and vnbridled will.

But nowe to the purpose, when Quene Margaret sawe, that to bid battayle was to no purpose, and in maner in dispaire of the welth of her selfe, and her sonne: she with the Prince and her company, departed to a Sentuarie there by called Beauliew in Hamshyre (where was a Monasterie of Monkes, of the order of Cisterciens) and registred her selfe and hers, as persons there priuileged. When it was knowne that shee was landed, Edmond Duke of Sommerset wyth Lord John hys brother, Thomas Courtney Erle of Deuonshire, the which before euer toke the contrary part, whose sodaine chaunging, shortly turned to his awne confusion, Jasper Erle of Penbroke, John Lorde Wenlocke (a man made onely by King Edwarde) and John Longstrother, Prior of saint Johns in Englande, came in great haste to Beauliew, and presented themselues to the Queene. Although that she

Beauliew in Hampshire.

she were almost drowned in sorrow and plunged in payne, yet when she sawe and beheld these noble and princely personages to resorte vnto her presence, she was somewhat comforted and greatly reuiued.

And first, least it should be layed to her charge, that she had done any thing misaduisedly: shee declared and shewed the cause, why she could not come to them in tyme, as she gladly would haue done, and for what purpose and intent, she had then taken the priuilege of Sentuarie: Beseechyng them all to studie, and prouide with all diligence, for the welth and conseruation of her onely Jewell the Prince her sonne, and where for thys tyme, she dispaired to doe anye thing by force of armes, that might be to her profite, she thought it most conuenient for her (if the time of yere and her enemies did not let or stop her) to saple againe into Fraunce, and there to tarie till God would sende her better luck.

After that the Duke and other with comfortable wordes, somewhat had eased the dolorus harte of thys vnfortunate Queene: the sayde Duke began wyth a long processe to enter communication of warre to be renewed, and wyth all haste possible, and extreme diligence, least their company by tarryng might be diminished, and king Edwardes power encreased and augmented, considering that all thys time, he had no army gathered together, for so much that at the laste battayle, the very strength of his chiefe souldiours, was weakened: And that notwithstanding, that fortune shone on hym in obteynning the victorie agaynst the Erle of Warwike, yet now it was not lykely that he should obteyne againe a lyke victorie: affirming farther, that the more number of the nobilitie, bare toward king Henry her husbande, their good minds and fired hartes, and would helpe him both wyth men and money. And of hys awne free wyll, if she would take vpon her, the name of Capitayne agaynst her enemies, as she before that often tymes had enterprised: he offred a great power of able men, at hys awne expence and charge, promising that the two Erles should assure her of a farre greater number of valyaunt and expert warriers, then she would esteeme. And when he had shewed that, the victorie was now (if they liste) in their handes, he merily required them all, to be of hardie harte and good cheere, and because the matter required great expedition, he thought it not necessarie farther to reason the cause of battaile, but determined out of hande how the battayle should be geuen and ordered.

The Quene whose minde gaue her, that thys motion, should come to no good conclusion, aunswered: that she could well allowe thys sentence, if she thought that there might happen no great losse to some other, then the losse of her awne lyfe. But she suspected that whyle they would helpe things that they most phantasyed and affected, the lyfe of Prince Edward her sonne, in whome, all the whole hope of that familie stoode and remayned, should be in perill and ieopardy: and therfore she either thought it necessary to deferre the battayle till another time, or else to conueye her sonne into Fraunce agayne, there to lye sure and secret, till the chaunce of the first battayle were tryed and assayed. And no marualye, although the naturall mother, muche minded and studied for the sauegarde and tuition of the life of her sonne, pondering that nert her husband, whome she reputed for cleene vndone, and vterly cast away, she had nothing more to be beloued, nothing more derer, nor nothing to be made more off.

Thus this prudent and pollitique Quene required the Chiefteynes expert in martiall feates, that they ſhould before hande conſider with themſelues, diſcretely and aduiſedly of theſe thinges by her firſt moued, and after that done, if they thought it conuenient to geue battaile, ſhe would to there agreement with all her heart be conformable: But there was no longer diſputation of the matter, for the Duke ſayde that there was no neede to waſte any more wordes, for all they were determined (while their liues laſted) ſtill to kepe warre agaynſt their enemies, and therefore that thing which wyth great counſaile and deliberacion is concluded, ought to be aduaunced and ſet forward with a whole conſent and agrement.

Thus euery man together clerely bent and encouraged to the battaile, gathered his power by himſelfe. The Duke through all his dominions, rayſed a choſen companie of men of warre: likewiſe did the Erle of Deuonſhire, the Erle of Penbroke, who went into Wales to his Erledome, to prepare his people with all diligence. The Queene, at the laſt was brought into this hope of good fortune, that ſhe ſayd, well be it, and ſo as the Duke had aduiſed her, ſhe with her companie departed to Bathe, entendyng there to make her abode, till more of her affinitie were together aſſembled. But whether ſoeuer ſhe went, fewe or none had therof knowledge, miſtruſtyng leaſt her counſail ſhould by ſome Carytale, be publiſhed, and opened to her aduerſaryes, before ſhe came to the place appoynted.

When king Edward knew that Quene Margaret was landed in England, & that the Duke of Somerſet with her complices had prepared a newe armie, out of hand he diſpatched certaine Currors on light horſes, into euery part to ſee what number his enemies were, and what way they entended to take. The Spyes, accordyng to their inſtructions, ſearched and ſought the partes by Weſt, and made relation diligently at their returne, what they had knowen and ſeene. The king beyng in a great agonie, becauſe he knewe not what way his enemyes tooke, determined, ſtrayght to encounter them at ſome one place before they came to London. And vpon this concluſion, with ſuch an armie as he had gotten about London, he ſet forward into Oxfordſhire, and there ſeekyng a place apt and meete to pitche his tentes, was conducted to Abyndon, where he encamped himſelfe, commaundyng all men appoynted for the warre, with all diligence to folowe him to that place. All the Kinges hoſte there beyng aſſembled and gathered into one companie, newes were brought to him, that his enemies were come to Bathe, and there did ſoiorne and tary purpoſely to augment and encreaſe their number of ſuch as dayly to them did reſorte: wherefore the king without delaye remoued ſtraight to Marleborough, beyng diſtant from Bathe .xv. miles, makyng haſt and great diligence, if by any poſſibilitie he might to geue them battaile before they returned into Wales, whether he thought (as they entended in dede) that they would take their iourney to ioyne themſelfe with the Erle of Penbroke, which had gathered a great hoſte in thoſe parties.

When the Queene knewe that king Edward was come ſo nere to her, ſhe taried not long at Bathe, but remoued in great haſt to Briſtow: and ſent out certeine horſemen, to eſpie whether ſhe might ſafely paſſe ouer the riuer of Seuerne by Glouceſter into Wales, whether ſhe determined firſt to go to augment her armie, and then without any delay, with ſpere and ſhielde, coura-

gioully to ſet on her enemyes, whereſoeuer they would abyde. They that were ſent, returned to her agayne, declaryng that the towne of Glouceſter was vnder the obeyſance of Richard Duke of Glouceſter, the Kinges brother, and that although they had ſolicited the Lord Beauchampe of Powike, which lay there in the Caſtell, and had the rule of the towne, and the townes men firſt by rewardes, after by manacing, eyther to take their part, or peaceably to ſuffer her to paſſe ouer their bridge, they were therewithall, neither once moued, nor once would ſpeake comfortably to the Meſſengers. When ſhe hard theſe newes, ſhe ſhortly departed from Briſtow with her armie, to a proper towne on Seuerne ſyde, called Tewkeſbury, leauyng Glouceſter vnaſſaulted, leaſt peraduenture ſhe might there ſpend her tyme with much loſſe and little gaine, but in her paſſage towarde Tewkeſbury, the Lorde Beauchampe tooke from her rereward more ordinance then ſhe might haue well ſpared, which did to her no ſmall preiudice. When the Queene was come to Tewkeſbury, and knew that King Edward folowed her with his horſemen at the very backe, ſhe was ſore abaſhed, and wonderfully amaſed, and determined in her ſelfe, to flie into Wales, to Jaſpar Erle of Penbrooke: But the Duke of Sommerſet, willyng in no wiſe to flie backward, for doubtes that he eaſted might chaunce by the way, determined there to tary, to take ſuche fortune as God would ſende, and beyng fixed in a fayre Parke, adioinyng to the towne, he pitched hys fielde agaynſt the will and conſent of many other Capitaines, which would that he ſhould haue drawne aſyde, for a while till the Erle of Penbroke with his armie were with him aſſociate, but his will ſerued for his reaſon, and ſo the chaunce folowed. The Duke of Sommerſet entendyng to abyde the battaile, like a pollitike warriour, trenched hys campe rounde about of ſuch an altitude, and ſo ſtrongly, that his enemyes by no meanes eaſily could make any entry, and farther perceiuyng that his part could neuer eſcape without battaile, determined there to ſee the finall ende of his good or yll chaunce: wherfore he marſhalled his hoſte in this maner: he and the Lorde John of Sommerſet his brother led the foreward: The middle warde was gouerned by the Prince, vnder the condnyte of the Lorde of Saint Johns, and Lorde Wenlocke (whome King Edwarde had highly before preferred, and promoted to the degree of a baron.) The rereward was put in the rule of the Erle of Deuonſhire.

When all theſe battayles were thus ordered and placed, the Queene and her ſonne Prince Edwarde rode about the field, encouragyng their ſouldiors, promiſyng to them (if they did ſhew themſelues valiaunt againſt their enemyes) great rewardes and high promocions, innumerable gaine of the the ſpoyle, and bootye of their aduerſaries, and aboue all other fame and renoume through the whole Realme. The battaile of Tewkeſbury.

King Edward likewiſe which the day before was come within a mile of Tewkeſbury, put his brother the Duke of Glouceſter in the foreward, and himſelfe in the middleward, the Lorde Marques, and the Lorde Haſtyngs led the reregard. The Duke of Glouceſter, which lacked no policy, valiantly with his battayle aſſaulted the trenche of the Queenes Campe, whome the Duke of Somerſet with no leſſe courage defended, the Duke of Glouceſter for a very pollitique purpoſe, with all his men reculed backe. The Duke of Sommerſet, perceiuyng that: lyke a Knight more couragious then circum-

ſpect, came out of his trenche with his whole battaile, and folowed the chaſe, not doubtyng but the prince and the Lorde Wenlocke, with the middleward had folowed iuſt at his backe. But whether the Lorde Wenlocke diſſimuled the matter for King Edwardes ſake, or whether his hart ſerued him not, ſtill he ſtoode lookyng on. The Duke of Gloucester takyng the aduauntage that he aduentured for, turned againe face to face, to the Duke of Sommerſets battaile, which (nothing leſſe thinkyng on, then of the returne) were within a ſmall ſeaſon shamefully diſcomfited. The Duke of Sommerſet ſeeyng hys vnfortunate chaunce, returned to the middleward, where he ſeeyng the Lord Wenlocke ſtandyng ſtill, after he had reuiled him, and called him Traytor, with his Axe ſtrake the braynes out of his head. The Duke of Gloucester entred the trenche, and after him the King, where after no long conflict, the Queenes part went almoſt all to wracke, for the moſt part were ſlaine. Some fled for ſuccor in the thicke of the Parke, ſome into the Monaſtary, ſome into other places. The Queene was found in her Chariot almoſt dead for ſorow, the Prince was apprehended and kept cloſe by ſir Richard Croftes: the Duke of Sommerſet, and the Lorde Prior of Saint Johns, were by force taken priſoners, and many other alſo. In the field and chaſe were ſlain Lorde John of Sommerſet, the Erle of Deuonſhire, ſir John Delues, ſyr Edward Hampden, ſir Robert Wychingham, and ſir Iohn Lewkenor, and three thouſand other.

A terrible ſtrobe.

After the field ended, King Edward made a Proclamation, that who ſo euer could bring Prince Edward to him aliue or dead, ſhould haue an annuitie of an hundred pound during his life, and the Princes lyfe to be ſaued. Sir Richard Croftes, a wiſe and a valiant knight, nothing miſtruſtyng the kings former promiſe, brought forth his priſoner prince Edward, beyng a goodly feminine, and a well featured yong Gentleman, whom when King Edward had well aduiſed, he demaunded of him, howe he durſt ſo preſumptuouſly enter into his realme with banner diſplayed. The prince beyng bold of ſtomack, and of a good courage, aunſwered ſaiyng, to recouer my fathers kingdome and enheritage, from his father and grandfather to him, and from him, after him, to me lineally diſcended. At theſe wordes King Edward ſayde nothing, but with his hand thruſt him from him, (or as ſome ſay, ſtroke him with his gauntlet) whom incontinent, they ꝑ ſtoode about, which were George Duke of Clarence, Richard Duke of Gloucester, Thomas Marques Dorſet, and William Lord Haſtyngs, ſodainly ſtroke & cruelly murthered him. The bitterneſſe of which murder, ſome of the doers, after in their latter dayes taſted and aſſayed by the very rod of Juſtice and puniſhment of God. His bodye was homely enterred with the other ſimple corſes, in the Church of the Monaſtery of blacke Monkes in Tewkeſbury. This was the laſt ciuile battaile that was fought in King Edwardes dayes, which was foughten the thirde day of May, then beyng Saturday. And on the Monday next enſuyng was Edmond Duke of Sommerſet, John Longſtrother Prior of ſaint Johns, ſyr Garnays Clifton, ſyr Thomas Treſcham, and .xij. other Knightes, and Gentlemen beheaded in the Market place of Tewkeſbury.

Queene Margaret brought priſoner to London.

Queene Margaret lyke a priſoner was brought to London, where ſhee remayned till king Reyner her father raunſomed her wyth money, which ſumme (as the French writers affirme) he borowed of king Lewys the .xj. and

and becauſe he was not of power nor abilitie to repay ſo great a duty, he ſolde to the French king and hys heyres the kingdomes of Naples, and both the Sicilies, with the Countie of Prouynce, which is the very tytle that king Charles the ſeuenth made, when he conquered the realme of Naples. After the raunſome payde, ſhe was conueyed into Fraunce with ſmall honor, which with ſo great triumph & honorable entertaynment, was with pompe aboue all pride, receyued into thys Realme. xvbiij. yeres before. And where in the beginning of her tyme, ſhe lyued lyke a Queene, in the middle ſhe ruled lyke an Empreſſe, toward the ende ſhe was vexed with trouble, neuer quyet nor in peace, and in her very extreme age ſhe paſſed her dayes in Fraunce, more lyke death then lyfe, languiſhing and mourning in continuall ſorowe, not ſo much for her ſelfe and her huſbande, whoſe ages were almoſt conſumed and worne, but for the loſſe of prince Edward her ſonne (whome ſhe and her huſbande thought to leaue, both ouerlyuer of their progeny, and alſo of their kingdome) to whome in thys lyfe nothing could be eyther more diſpleaſaunt or grieuous.

After thys battayle, king Edwarde rendred to God hys moſt humble thankes, and with good diligence returned toward London, for he was enformed how one Thomas Neuel, Baſtard ſonne to Thomas Lorde Fauconbridge the valyaunt Capitayne, a man of no leſſe courage then audacitie (who for hys euyll conditions was ſuch an apt perſon, that a more meeter could not be choſen to ſet all the world in a broyle, and to put the eſtate of the realme in an yll hazarde) had of newe begon a great commocion. Thys Baſtarde was before thys time appoynted by the Erle of Warwike to be Vice-admyrall of the ſea, and had in charge ſo to keepe the paſſage betwene Douer and Calice, that none which either fauored King Edward or his friends ſhould eſcape vntaken or vndrowned. And when by the death of the Erle of Warwike, he was brought into pouertie, he robbed both on the Sea and the lande, as well hys enemies as alſo his friendes: By reaſon where of he gat together a great Nauie of ſhippes, and ſpoyled on euery ſide, and at the laſte tooke lande in Kent, and gathered together a great company of Kentiſh men, ſuche as were moſt meete for hys purpoſe, and ſo marched toward London, where the Eſſex men hauyng wylde whay wormes in their heades, ioyned them wyth him, ſauing that their comming and quarell was to deliuer out of captiuity king Henry the firſt and to bring him to his wife, but whatſoeuer their outward wordes were, their inward cogitations were onely hope of ſpoyle, & deſyre to rob and pill. For the Baſtard himſelfe aſſaulted the drawbridge of London, and a Capitayne of his called Spiſyng ſcaled Algate with the Eſſex men, harneſſed in their wyfes Cheeſecloutes, which aſſaults were deadly geuen, and manfully reſiſted, in ſo much that on both partes many were ſlayne and hurt, but at the laſt the Citizens put back the rebelles, and ſlue and wounded a great number of them, and draue the Baſtard from all hys pray to hys ſhippes, lyyng at Radclyffe, which hauing a good and proſperous winde, made ſayle with all haſte, and roued on the Sea, as before he was accuſtomed.

Thomas Neuill Baſtard to the Lorde Fauconbridge rebellety.

Thys ſtirring, although it were but little to thinke on at the firſt, yet if it had begon not long afore, it had brought all king Edwards buſineſſe into a doubtfull difference: for king Edwarde in theſe his laſt battayles was twiſe

more then fortunate for that, that he at sundry and seuerall times (and not all at one time) was persecuted and invaded of hys enemies: for surely, at the time when the Erle of Warwike with hys pitched armie was comming towarde London, if Queene Margaret with her company had taken lande (which enterprise she thrise in great ieopardy corragiously attempted.) Then if she had set on behinde, whyle the Erle of Warwike gaue the onset before both at one moment, or if Edmond Duke of Sommerset had not geuen battayle at Tewkesburie, before Jasper Erle of Penbroke was come with hys trayne, or if Bastard Fawconbridge had vered the Londoners euen at that time: One or the other of these two things should consequently haue followed, that king Edward must of necessitie once againe flie out of the realme, or else with shame and rebuke yeelde hymselfe, eyther to slaughter or captiuitie: But as in all meane chaunces and small gaynes, good luck is desired and praysed, so much more in battayle, is good fortune to be most made off, and chiefely to be aduaunced.

Bastarde Fawconbridge taken and beheded

Now to returne to Bastard Fawconbridge, wauering hether & thether in the doubtfull surges of the Sea, as sure of hys lyfe on the water as on the lande, which eyther thinking that no man would see him, or that all men were blinde, and could not espie him (and especially in so secret a place) came into the open hauen of Southampton, and there tooke lande, where he was not long vntaken, but shortlier beheded.

When Jasper Erle of Penbroke was credibly asserteyned that Quene Margaret had lost the battayle at Tewkesbury, and that there was no more trust of any comfort or relefe to be had for the part of poore king Henry, he wyth such men of warre as he was bringing to his confederates, returned back out of the way to the towne of Chepstow, where he tarying, bewayling and lamenting, that haste to much hasted, and that vnpurueyed and blinde wyll had at the finall conclusion, not onely destroyed and brought to naught all king Henries estate, eyches and preheminence, but farther had left all his friendes readie to tosse the waues of fortune, and to seeke their lyuing where they might safely get them, beganne to thinke and prouide what waye was best to take.

King Edwarde at thys season, not beyng out of feare of the Erle of Penbroke, sent priuily into Wales, Roger Vaughan, a man there both strog of people and of friendes, to the intent by some guyle or engyne sodainely to trap and surprise the Erle: but he hauing intelligence of certaine friendes, how that the watch was priuily layde for him, sodainely in the same towne, tooke Roger Vaughan, and without delay stroke of his head, so Roger Vaughan, by Gods prouidence, receyued the death hymselfe, which he by deceyt prepared for the other.

Roger Vaughan sodainely taken and beheaded

The Erle in good haste departed thence to Penbroke, whome incontinent Morgan Thomas, by king Edwards commaundement so strongly besieged, and so enuironed his Castell with a ditche and a trench, that he could not lightly flie or escape thence: but he was after eyght dayes deliuered, and the siege rayled by his faythfull and trusty friends Dauid Thomas, brother to the foresayde Morgan, and from thence conueyed to Tynbye, a Hauen towne in Wales, where he getting conuenient shippes for to transport him and his ouer the Sea into Fraunce, with his Nephew Lorde Henry Erle of

of Richemond, and a few of his familiers toke ship, and by fortunes leading landed in Britaine.

The Erle of Penbroke with the erle of Richmond flie into Britaine.

After his arriuall, he first went to Duke Fraunces of Britayne, and him reuerently saluted, expounding to him the cause, the case, and the necessitie of their thether comming, committing the lyues, the goods, and al the chaunces both of him and his Nephew, wholy to the Dukes discretion and ordynaunce. The Duke receyued both the Erles with all benignitie, and shewed to them no lesse honor, fauor, and humanitie, with suche entertainment as if they had bene his naturall brethren, and geuing to them his fayth, that being with him, they should sustayne no maner of wrong, nor no iniurie should be to them by any creature offred: assurying them, that they might within hys dominions, at all times, and in all places, go in safe and good suretie.

When king Edwarde had appeased, by the meanes afore rehersed, his kingdome and people, to the intent that there shoulde insurge hereafter, no newe commocion within the realme againe: he made a iorney into Kent, and there sat in iudgement on such, as in the last tumulteous businesse, tooke part with bastard Fauconbridge, where many were, (not vnworthy) straightlye punished and raunsomed, which businesse once perfourmed, to the entent that all men might see apparantlye, that vndoubted peace was come into the realme, and that all feare of exterior hostilitie, was banished, and exiled for euer: Poore king Henry the sixt, a litle before deprined of his Realme, and Imperiall Crowne, was nowe in the Tower of London, spoyled of his life, and al worldly felicity, by Richard Duke of Gloucester (as the constant fame ranne) which, to the entent that king Edwarde his brother shoulde be cleere out of all secret suspicion, of sodayne inuasion, murthered the sayde king with a Dagger. But whosoeuer was the manqueller of this good man, it shal appeere, that both the murtherer, and the consenter, had condigne and not vndeserued punishment, for their bloodye stroke, and butcherly act: and because they had nowe no enemies risen, on whome they might reuenge themselues, as you shall hereafter perceiue, they exercised their crueltie, against their owne selues, and with their proper blood, imbrued and polluted their owne handes, and members.

King Henry the sixt slaine in the tower.

The dead corps of king Henry, with billes and gleues pompeously (if you call that a funerall pompe) was conuayed from the Tower, to the church of Saint Paule, and there layed on the Beere, where it laye the space of one whole daye, and the next daye, without Priest or Clarke, Torch or Taper, singyng or saiyng, it was conuayed to the Monastery of Chertesey, beyng distant from London. xv. mile, and there was buried, but after he was remoued to Windsore, and there in a new vawte, newlye buried. This kyng Henry reigned full. xxxviij. yeres, and xvij. dayes, and after that he repossessed his kingdome sixe monethes, and so he lyued in all. xlix. yeres and three monethes, hauyng by his wyfe one onelye sonne, called Edwarde Prince of Wales.

The discription of king Henry the sixt.

Kyng Henry was of stature goodlye, of body slender, to which proporcion, all other members were correspondent: his face beautifull, in the which continually was resident, the bountie of minde, with which he was inwardly endued. He did abhorre of his owne nature, all the vices, as well of the bodie, as of the soule, and from his very infancie, he was of honest conuersacion and

and pure integritie, no knower of euill, and a keeper of all goodneſſe: a deſpiſer of all things, which be wont to cauſe, the myndes of moꝛtal men to ſlide, fall, oꝛ appaire. Beſide this, patience was ſo rooted in his hart, that of all the iniuries to him committed, (which were no ſmall number) hee neuer aſked vengeaunce noꝛ punithment, but foꝛ that rendꝛed to almighty God, his hartie thankes, thinking that by his trouble, and aduerſitie, his ſinnes were to him foꝛgotten, and foꝛgiuen. What ſhall I ſaie, that this good, this gentle, this meeke, this ſober, and wiſeman, did declare and affirme, that theſe myſchiefes, and miſeries, partly came to him foꝛ his owne offence, and partly foꝛ the heping of ſinne vpon ſinne, wꝛetchedly by his aunceters and foꝛefathers: wherfoꝛe, he litle oꝛ nothing eſtemed, oꝛ in any wiſe did toꝛment oꝛ vexe himſelfe, what ſo euer diguitie, what honoꝛ, what ſtate of lyfe, what childe, what friende he had loſt, oꝛ miſſed, but if it did but ſounde an offence towarde God, he loked on that, and not without repentaunce, and both mourned and ſoꝛowed foꝛ it: This king Henry was of a liberall mind, & eſpecially, to ſuch as loued good learning, and them whom he ſaw pꝛofite in any vertuous ſcience, he hartilye fauoꝛed and imbꝛaced: wherefoꝛe he firſt helpe his owne yong ſcholers, to attaine to diſcipline, and foꝛ them he founded a ſolempne ſchoole at Eton, a towne nert vnto Wyndſoꝛe, in the which he hath ſtabliſhed, an honeſt Colege of ſad Pꝛieſtes, with a great numbꝛe of Childꝛen which be there, of his coſt frankly, and freely taught, the rudiments and rules of Grammer. Beſide this, he edified a Pꝛincely College, in the Vniuerſitye of Cambꝛige, called the Kings College, foꝛ the further erudicion, of ſuch as were bꝛought vp in Eton, which at this day ſo flouriſheth, in all kindes, as well of literature, as of tongues, that aboue all other, it is woꝛthye to bee called, the Pꝛince of Colleges

College of Eton.

The kings College.

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But nowe to returne to king Edward, which was releeued of the moſt part, of his pricking feare, and inwarde ſuſpicion, to the intent that no pꝛint, oꝛ ſhadowe, ſhoulde remayne of the aduerſe faction, in his realme. He diligently inquired, and ſearched out, all the fragmentes and leauings, of his enemies part, intending to exꝛpreſſe, and vtterly to extinguiſhe them. And firſt to begyn with all, he ſent George Nevell, bꝛother to the Erle of Warwicke, and Archbyſhope of Yoꝛke, vnder a ſtrong conduite, to the Caſtle of Guiſnes there to be kept in extreme captiuitie, where he long continued, and at the laſt by frienſhip deliuered: which of very penſiuenеſſe and grudge of minde, ſhoꝛtly after deceaſſed, whom Laurence Bathe, and after him Thomas Rotheram, in the See of Yoꝛke, did oꝛdinarily ſucceede. Beſyde this, John Erle of Oꝛenfoꝛd, which after Barnet field, both manfully gat, & valiauntly kept, Saint Michaels Mount in Coꝛnewall: eyther foꝛ lacke of ayde, oꝛ perſwaded by his friendes, gaue vp the Mount, and yelded himſelfe to king Edward (his life onely ſaued) which to him was graunted: but to be out of all doubtfull imaginacions, king Edward ſent him ouer the ſea, to the Caſtell of Hammes, where, by the ſpace of .xij. yeres, he was in ſtrong pꝛiſon, miſerably kept, and diligently looked to. Many other beſyde theſe, in diuers partes of the realme, beyng very little oꝛ nothing ſuſpected: were either cõmitted to pꝛiſon, oꝛ grieuouſly fined and tared. Beſyde this, leaſt his neghboꝛs Countrie, might be an harboꝛough, oꝛ receptacle of his foes and aduerſaries, he concluded a newe league, with Iames the thirde king of Scots, foꝛ

John Erle of Oꝛforde committed pꝛiſoner to the Caſtell of Hammes.

foꝛ the terme of .xx. yeres. And yet, whatſoeuer he thought in his imagination, foꝛ all his buſie deuiſes, and polletique foꝛecaſtynges: his minde and phantaſie, was not clerely exhonoꝛate and diſpatched, of all feare and inward trouble: Foꝛ tidynges were bꝛought to him, that the Erles of Penbꝛoke and Richemond, were arriued in Bꝛiteyn: and there of the Duke, highly cheriſhed and entertayned.

The Erle of Richmond & Penbꝛoke arriued in Bꝛiteyn.

This thing nipped king Edward hardly at the very ſtomack, as though his minde caſting ſome euill to come after: did ſignifie beſoꝛe, that the Erle of Richemond, ſhould once attaine to the Cꝛowne and diademe of the realme: which miſchiefe, when he had well diſgeſted, he ſecretly ſent wiſe and cloſe Meſſengers to the Duke of Bꝛiteyne, the which ſhould not ſticke, to pꝛomiſe the Duke great and ſumptuous rewardes, (knowyng that meede manye thinges coꝛrupteth) ſo that he would deliuer, both the Erles into their handes and poſſeſſion. The Duke gladly heard them that were ſent, but when he knewe the two Erles to be a pꝛay, of ſuch a great value, he determined not to deliuer them, but rather to entertaine them with him moꝛe diligently, then they were accuſtomed. The Duke anſwered the Imbaſſadoꝛs, that it ſtoode not with his honoꝛ, noꝛ he would not deliuer the two Erles, to whom he was bound and obliged, by his fayth and pꝛomiſe: but this he pꝛomiſed to doe foꝛ the kinges pleaſure, that they ſhould be kept, and with ſuch vigilant perſons continually watched, that the king ſhould haue no maner of cauſe, once to thinke, that they could oꝛ ſhould attempt any thing, that might ſounde, either to his diſpleaſure oꝛ pꝛeiudice. When the Meſſengers ſawe, that they could not obteyne that which they deſired, like wiſe men held themſelues contented with that, which by the Duke was offered, and ſo returned into Englande. The king wꝛote to the Duke of Bꝛiteyn, louyngly requiryng him, to accompliſhe with all ſpede, that which he of his awne motion offered, pꝛomiſyng him not onely, men and great rewardes, but perely to rewarde him wyth a full hande, and a well ſtuffed purſſe. The Duke perceiuyng the ſwete gaine, which roſe to him, by the abode of the two Engliſhe Erles, in his Countrie: leaſt they foꝛ any cauſe, ſhould abandon his Dominions, and ſeeke ſuccoꝛs in ſome other foꝛeyn Region, cauſed the one to be ſeperated from the other: and remoued from them ſuch Engliſhe men, as were dayly on them attendant, and came with them into Bꝛiteyn, and in their places appoynted Bꝛitons, to be theyꝛ ſeruitoꝛs, to miniſter, and continually to attende and waite on them.

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When king Edward had thus pollitiquely (as he thought) compaſſed the Duke of Bꝛiteyn: he thinkyng nothing leſſe, then to take a dammage at the Duke of Burgoynes hande, yea, and ſuch a dammage, as by all ſimilitude, was both like, continually to grieue the realme of England: and further to be an occaſion, of a common ſtoppe, and puttyng backe of the commodities, growen within this realme, to be tranſpoꝛted into outward partes, Noꝛth, Eaſt warde, was yet eftſones bꝛought into a newe doubt and perpleritie. Foꝛ the declaration whereof, you muſt vnderſtand, that Lewys the Frenche king, had a bꝛother called Charles, which was not the wiſeſt, noꝛ yet a man of the greateſt experience: and of a certaine curtiſie, loued better to haue other men to rule him, then he to take vpon him to rule other. And although that the king at this tyme had no ſonne, noꝛ other bꝛother, but him, his open

heyꝛe

heyre apparant: he little fauored, and lesse loued him, nothing geuyng him of his good will, for his part and portion, of his fathers landes, but that to the which he was compelled by his counsaile, and that he gaue him this Moneth, in the next Moneth, he would by flattery, or by threatnyng, by warre or corruption of his brothers seruauntes, obteyne and bring to his handes, and possession againe. For first he gaue him the Duchie of Berry, and after that whole Normandie, whereof in no long time, he bereft him the possession, regiment, and title, without any cause geuen, on the partie of yong Charles. And when the sayde Charles, had afterward departed with the Countries of Brye, and Champaigne, by a fraudulent feate: King Lewys caused him to relinquiche the same, and to take for his parentage, the Duchie of Guien, and so was called and named the Duke of Guyen. This euill entreatyng of the Duke of Guyen, by the frenche king his brother, caused diuers other princes, of no small puyssaunce, to fauor, ayde, and succor the sayde Duke, of the which the chiefe were, Charles Duke of Burgoyne, Fraunces Duke of Briteyn, and Lewys Erle of Saint Poll, Constable of Fraunce. This Duke of Guyen, by the sollicityng of his adherentes, sore labored to haue in maryage, the sole daughter and onely heyre, of Charles Duke of Burgoyne, by whom he hoped to be Lord and souereigne, of all Duke Charles inheritaunce. To the furtherraunce of this mariage, holpe with all his power, the Duke of Briteyn, as who sayd, that it should be onely his acte. The Constable of Fraunce on the other part, thought that he alone, was able to compasse this mariage, and to haue onely the thankes of the Duke of Guyen. The French king did all that he coulde, to let and stop this mariage: for if his brother had obteined the yong Lady with all her possessions, then he saw wel enough, that ỹ Duke of Guien, beyng ioyned with the Duke of Briteyn, should be strong enough, or at the least of puissaunce to encomber the French king and his children. But king Edward of England, sore smoked, when he heard first tell of this mariage, & not without a cause: For he considered, that the frenche king had no heyre male, but one weake boy, and that the Duke of Guyen, was likely to weare the crowne of Fraunce, after his brother or nephewe. And if this mariage should proceede, all Burgoyn, Brabant, Holland, Zeland, Flaunders, and all the lowe Countries, where the Englishe men for the most part, made their martes, and vttered there their marchandice, should be vnited and annexed to the Crowne of Fraunce, and in the handes of the olde and auncient enemies of the realme: For so had poore England, and little Calice, beene continually in the daunger of their enemies, almost with them enuironed round about. These thinges considered, king Edward and his Counsaile, tooke the matter in great earnest, and seriously wrote to Duke Charles, that if he would conclude any mariage in Fraunce, to the hurt and preiudice of the realme of Englande: that he shoulde knowe that he had, not onely broken his league and amitie, but also finde, that he had beene better to haue dissimuled, with the best friend that he had, then priuily without reason, to haue iuggled with the realme of England. The Duke of Burgoyne made reasonable aunsweres, and honest excuses, but the Counsaile of England, in no wise would geue credite thereto: euer surmisyng that the mariage shoulde take effect. And certainly at this season, the English men had rather haue taken part, with the French King then with the Duke of Burgoyne: if it had not

not bene onely, to empeche and stop this mariage, so much the English men disdayned, to haue the house of Burgoin, conioyned and vnited to the crowne of Fraunce. But the Duke of Burgoyn dalied, and dissimuled with all parties, in this matter, geuyng them fayre wordes, and makyng large promises, by the which he first deceyued other, and in conclusion himselfe. He promised his daughter, to Nicholas Duke of Calaber, with whom, he had rather haue had her buried, then bedded. Duke Philbert of Sauoy, had an outward answere assuredly, when nothing was so minded inwardly. Maximilian Duke of Austriche, and after king of Romaynes, sonne to the Emperour Frederik, could neuer obteyne during the lyfe of Duke Charles, but onely glosyng and paynted promises, but all wordes, writings and promises, what soeuer they were, clerely set aside, he was surely fixed and determined (as Comines his Counsaylor doth write) that no maryage as long as he liued, should sort to any effect, at the least by his consent.

Comines Counsaylor to Duke Charles.

1475

Nowe let vs leaue the Duke of Burgoyne about hys affayres for a whyle, and returne to king Edwarde: which in the .xiij. yere of hys reigne called hys high Court of parliament, at his Palace of Westminster, in the which, all lawes and ordinaunces, made by hym before that day were corroborated and confirmed: and suche lawes made by him, as King Henry the first, had caused to be abrogated and annichilated, he agayne renued and remued. He made farther lawes as well for the confiscation of the goodes of the rebelles to his person, as also for the restoring of suche as fled out of the realme, for the quarell and occasion: which by his aduersaries, as traytors to their king and Country, a little before were of high treason attaynted, and to death condempned. Toward hys charges of late susteyned, a competent somme of money was demaunded, and frankely graunted: and in conclusion, all inward grudges and open discordes, the which had of long continued, in the hartes of the Nobilitie, which now were very fewe (the more part being consumed in the warres) he cleerely extirped, and brought to vnitie and concorde. King Edwarde holpe to this agreement, as much as in him lay: And to the intent that other men should forget iniuries to them done, and put away all rancor and malice: followyng hys good and godly example, he clerely pardoned almost all offences, and all men then being within the realme, he frankly discharged, although they had taken part with his aduersaries agaynst hym, of all high treasons and crimes.

A generall pardon.

Whyle king Edwarde was thus setting an order, and pacifying of all things, which were out of square: Charles Duke of Burgoyne, whose spirite was neuer in quiet, desyring as well to amplifie, and enlarge his territories and dominions, lying on the syde of the ryuer of Ryne, towarde high Burgoyne, as also to recouer agayne Amias and other townes, which the French king more by fraude, than by feates of warre, had from him wrongfully vsurped: and further aboue all things, couetyng to haue the frenche king to haue some great shame, losse, or hinderaunce, could not inuent no one waye so apt and meete for his imagined purpose, as to entise and perswade the king of Englande by his Ambassadors, to make warre vpon the sayde king and hys Countrie: for the recouering of his olde right and auncient tytle in the same, by the French king and his father, agaynst all right and equitie, withholden and deteyned. King Edward began a little to harken on

that

that side, not so much for to helpe the Duke of Burgoyne (to whome he was much bounde, for his ayde in the time of hys exile, as you before haue heard) as for to be reuenged of king Lewys, whom he reputed for his mortall enemie. First for ayding the Erle of Warwike and hys complices agaynst him: secondarily, for the long maintayning and fostering of Queene Margaret, and her sonne Prince Edward (whome for a farther affinitie, he made Godfather to hys sonne Charles the Dolphyn) within hys Countreys and dominions. Wherupon, when he had consulted with the Nobilitie & the chiefe and sage persons of ỳ realme (which in maner haue a certain naturall inclination to make warre in Fraunce, eyther for hope of great spoyle and gayne, or of a certayne priuie canker engendred in the hartes of their forefathers, in time long past, and after by lyneall succession descended into the stomacks of their Nephewes) he aunswered the Dukes messenger, that in the beginning of the yere, he would land at Calice with such a puyssaunt army, that the french king should well perceyue that he lacked neyther men, nor ỳ hys men lacked stomacks, both for to reuenge their souereignes quarel, & also to recouer his right. And for a truth, at thys season there was mortall warre betweene king Lewys and the Duke of Burgoyne: And more lykely to fall betweene hym and other, for king Lewys of nature was hard of speech, and churlishe in answere, frowarde and vngentle as wel to his friends as to his foes. By reason whereof many great men within the realme of Fraunce, not content with hys grosse rudenesse, and rude dissimulation began to haue intelligence, and to cleue to the Duke of Burgoyne, amongst whome was Lewys of Luxenborough, Erle of Saint Paule, and Constable of Fraunce, which being confedered wyth the Duke and other noble men, determined so to vexe & scurge king Lewys with some plague, by the which eyther he should be transformed into a man, clere altered from hys olde qualities, or else should be in ieoperdie both of losse of life and realme, for it was determined that Fraunce should be set on and assaulted both with outward enemies, and inward dissimulers. All these things the Duke of Burgoyne with king Edward, did communicate, to the intent the sooner to allure and prouoke him, to enterprise the warre, according to hys desire. These things as tokens of victorie before, encouraged king Edward, and enforced him in maner to make warre on Fraunce, and so with all expedition prepared all things necessarie, both for water and lande. And because no small summe of money was sufficient for so great a charge, and that the money the yere before to him auaunced by the realme, was consumed in his houshold, and other necessarie affayres, he conceyued a newe deuise in hys imagination, by the which engine he might couertly perswade and entise hys riche friends to geue and graunt him some conuenient summe of money toward his great charges, and incredible costs, which thing if they did not wyllingly assent to, he then would impute to them much vnkindnesse, wherupon he caused hys officers to bring to him the most ryche persons, one after another, and to them he explaned the cause, and the purpose, and the necessitie of the warre begon, and the faintnesse and weakenesse of hys treasure, and the great importunate lack of money, hartily requiring them for the loue and affection that alwaies they had borne to him, being their naturall Prince, of their awne gratuitie and free wyll to geue to him some aide of money, for maintenaunce of hys warre and armie: what should

should I saye more? Thys inuention came to thys effect, that some calling to their remembraunce, the benefites of hym receyued, some wyth shame, some wyth feare moued and encouraged, gaue to hym liberally both of their substaunce and treasure, which wythout grudge he could not haue otherwise obteyned. But here I will not let passe a prette concept that happened in this gathering, in the which you shall not onely note the humilitie of a king, but more the phantasie of a woman. King Edward had called before him a Widow, much abounding in substaunce, and no lesse growen in yeres, of whom he merily demaunded what shee gladly would geue him towarde hys great charges? By my truth quoth she, for thy louely countenance thou shalt haue euen. rr. pound, the king looking scarce for the halfe of that summe, thanked her and louingly kyst her, whether the flauor of his breath did so comfort her stomach, or she esteemed the kisse of a king, so precious a iewell, shee swore incontinently that he should haue. rr. pounde more, which she with the same will payde that she offered it. The king wylling to shewe that thys benefite was to him much acceptable, and not worthy to be put in oblition, called this graunt of money a benenolence, notwithstãding that many with grudge and malenolence gaue great summes toward that new found benenolence. But the vsing of suche gentle fashions toward them, with friendly prayer of their assistance in his necessitie, so tempted them that they could no otherwise doe, but frankely and freely yeelde and geue hym a reasonable ayde.

I merye note.

A benenolẽce

And here I finde noted that Doctor Woodlarke, Prouost of the kings College in Cambridge, did at this time builde Katherin Hall in Cambridge. 1424

And when all things conuenient for such an enterprise were in a readinesse. king Edwarde with his armye went to Douer, where he founde fiue hundred shippes and Hoyes, readie to transport him and his armie ouer the sea. And so he himselfe with his nobilitie warlikely accompanied, passed ouer betweene Douer and Calice, the fourth day of July, and landed at Calice wyth great triumph, his armie, horses, and munitions of warre scarce passed ouer in. rr. dayes (whome the French men bragged shoulde haue beene taken if they had well considered the chaunce before, as they knew it after.) When king Edwarde with all his armye royall, was without any trouble landed, and in suertie, he caused euery man according to his degree, to be ordered and lodged. This armie by the writing of Comines, was the fayrest and the strongest armie that passed out of England into Fraunce many yeres before, for the men were so well armed, and so surely in all things appointed, and prouided, that the French nation were not onely amased to behold them, but much more praysed them, and there order. In this armye, were. xv. C. men of armes, well horsed, of the which the most part were barded and richlye trapped, after the most Galiarde fashion, hauing many horses decked in one suyte. There were farther. xv. M. Archers, bearyng bowes & arrowes, of the which a great part were on horseback. There were also, a great number of fightyng men, and other, aswell to set vp tents & Pauilions (where of the Englishmen had great plenty) as to serue their artilary & to enclose their campe, or other wise to labor. And in all this army there was not one page.

King Edward passeth ouer with an armie into Fraunce.

A great armye.

The King of Englande was at his arriuall highlye displeased with the Duke of Burgoyn, which in the worde of a Prince, promised him to meete him at his landyng with two. M. men of armes, and light horsemen, beside a great

The Duke of Burgoyne beſiegeth the towne of Nuyce.

a great number of Launceknights, and Halberders, and that he would haue begonne the warre three moneths before the kings tranſporting, the more to vere and greeue the French king, and to cauſe him to ſeeke his wittes. The Duke of Burgoyn at this ſeaſon, laye at ſeege before the ſtrong towne of Nuyce, with a puiſſant army, againſt whome were of Nuyce aſſembled the Emperor Frederike, and almoſt the whole Empire, for the reſcue of the towne, to whome the king of Englande ſent the Lorde Scales in poſt, requiryng him to leaue his voyde ſeege before the ſtrong towne of Nuyce, and to returne in all haſte with his people and armie to make warre in Fraunce, according to his promiſe, and othe, declaryng farther that the time paſſed and the Sommer woulde be loſt, with this charge the Lord Scales departed in all haſte toward the Duke, whom we will leaue, ridyng towarde Nuyce for a while.

O Fraunce, Fraunce, how much art thou bound to laude and prayſe thy Sauior, for thy deliueraunce, in the time of thy affliction. For if God had not permitted the cancared hart of the Duke, to be indurate, nor his weake brain to be vered, nor yet his ambicious affection to be enflamed, ſo that he with all his power had ioyned with the army of Englande on the one ſide, hauing on the other ſide, the Duke of Britaine with his power: Theſe three princes had bene like to haue made Fraunce, either to bow, or to breake.

Before king Edwarde departed from Douer, he ſent to the Frenche king an officer of armes (whome Comines vntruelye calleth Garter borne in Normandy, for the roome of Gartier was neuer geuen to no ſtraunger) which herault deliuered to the French king with all dewe reuerence, a letter of defiaunce, both for the ſtile and the penning excellently endited, which the Frenchmen wouldeſcant beleue to be framed by an Engliſhman. The letter required the French king, to render to the king of Englande, the realme of Fraunce to him of right, and by lineall enheritance, appertaining, and belonging, to the intent that he might put agayne the church, the Nobilitie, and the commons, into their auncient eſtates, and liberties, and to diſburden, and exonerate them of the great charges, trauayles, & labors, that they nowe were in. And in caſe that he did refuſe ſo to doe, then he dyd proteſt the harme that ſhoulde enſue, in the forme and maner, that in ſuch a caſe is requiſite, and accuſtomed to be done. King Lewys red the letter ſecretly to himſelfe, and after all alone in a great ſtudy withdrew himſelfe into his warderobe, and ſending for the Engliſh Herault, ſayde to him, ſyr, I knowe, and well wot, that the king of Englande your maiſter, is neither deſcended in theſe partes of his owne free motion, nor yet of vs required, but onely entiſed and prouoked by the Duke of Burgoyn, & ſomewhat enforſed by the commons of his realme. But nowe you may ſee that the ſeaſon of the yere paſſeth, and the Duke of Burgoyn is in poore eſtate, returning from Nuyce all moſt diſcomforted. The Conſtable alſo, with whome the king your ſouereigne Lorde, I am ſure hath ſome intelligence, for fauour that your mayſter hath maried hys Neece, is not ſo ſure a friend as he is taken for, and if all the worlde knewe how I haue promoted him, and what I haue done for him, they would little thinke, that he would ſo vntruely handle me as he doth, for I aſſure you, he is a deepe diſſimuler, and in continuall diſſimulation entendeth to lead his lyfe, entertayning all men for his owne profite. And although the king your maiſter

King Edward ſendeth a letter of defiaunce vnto the French king.

maiſter be vnſure of all his other promiſes, yet of one thing he ſhall be ſure, that is, he ſhall be euer diſſimuled withall, & therfore I ſaye to you, and not to your maiſter, that he were better haue a peace with an olde enemie, then the promiſes and familiaritie of a newe diſſimuling friend, which peace moſt pleaſeth God, and is the thing that I moſt doe deſyre. When he had ſayde, he gaue to the Herault three hundred Crownes, promiſing him a thouſande crownes, if any good appointment came to paſſe. The Herault being more couetous of the crownes, then ſecret, according to the dutie of his office, promiſed to doe all things that in him laye, not doubting but that the king hys maiſter would be conformable to any reaſonable offer, aduyſing the French king (after king Edwarde were once landed) to ſend hym a Herault, to fetch a ſauecondupt and paſport, for ſuch as ſhould labor and trauayle in that treatie. And that the ſayde Herault ſhould firſt reſort to the Lord Standley, or to the Lorde Hawarde, for the conducting of him to the kinges preſence, when the Herault ſhould departe, the king gaue him a peece of Crimoſen Velvet .xxx. pardes long, commaunding and ſtraightly charging, that no man ſhould be ſo hardie once to commen with hym, but to let him paſſe in all gentle faſhion. When the Herault was gone, king Lewys calling to hym .viij. or .viij. of his familiers, cauſed the letter to be red, of the which he was but a little afrayd and leſſe abaſhed, conſidering the Engliſh Herault had ſhewed him playnely how to enter into the port of the treatie, and in maner howe to gayne and conquer the fortreſſe, of which information he was not a little ioyous, and wiſely and ſecretly according to the ſame, when he ſaw his time, he proſecuted his purpoſe. In this very ſeaſon, the Lorde Scales came to the Duke of Burgoyne before Nuyce, accompting to hym his meſſage, as he was commaunded. The Duke of Burgoyne, beyng ſo ſore ſet to conquer the towne of Nuyce, aunſwered the Lorde Scales, that his honor was loſt, and ſhame ſhould be ſpoken of him through all chriſtendome, if he ſhoulde raiſe his fielde and breake his ſiege, but he hoped ſhortly to gayne the towne, and then with triumphant victorie, to come to ayde king Edwarde with hys whole army: with this aunſwere the Lorde Scales departed, which onely aunſwere was commen without any other augmentation, to all ſuch as king Edward ſent, to haue the Duke to kepe hys promiſe. What a foly was thys in Duke Charles, to beſiege a towne impregnable, euen at the ſame time when the Engliſhe men at his requeſt had paſſed the ſea, which thing all the time of his regiment, he had both trauayled in, and ſore required, and neuer could compaſſe till thys ſeaſon, and alſo all things beyng well diſpoſed for his purpoſe, both in Britayne & in other places, except he more regarded to conquiere a newe towne, then to defend all hys olde poſſeſſions and ſeigniories. But ſhortly after by the Byſhop of Romes aucthoritie, he left Nuyce vnconquered, but leeſing a great number of hys people, and the remnaunt he ſent into Lorayne and Barroys, there to lye and trouble Duke Reyner of Lorayn, which a little before had defied him, lying before Nuyce. And he himſelfe wyth a ſmall company came to king Edwarde before Calice, wyth whome king Edwarde at the firſt comming began ſomewhat to be grieued, laying to hys charge that at hys motion, requeſt, and deſyre, he with all hys armie had paſſed the Seas onely to the intent wyth mortall warre, to plague and ſcourge the prowde realme of Fraunce. And that he leauing all things

(which should molest or trouble the French king) a part, applyed himselfe to matters of Lorayne, and externe Nations, more then to reuenge the open iniuries to him done by his neighbour the French king. The Duke excused himselfe with ieoparding the losse of his honor, if he had returned from Nuyce, and also that of necessitie, he was compelled to leaue his armie in Lorayne, to be reuenged ouer Duke Reyner, which had him before Nuyce with spitefull wordes and rayling termes defied and detested: affirming farther, that nowe in the beginning with a small companye, a great enterprise might be gayned. In proufe whereof he delyuered to the king letters of credence, sent from the Constable of Fraunce, which willed the king to geue credite and perfite fayth to the Duke, in making relacion of such secrets as were to him geuen in charge to declare to the kinges awne person. First he shewed that although the Constable had promised to the king and the Duke, to render vp to them the towne of Saint Quintines, yet it had not come to so good effect, if it had bene yeelded, the Duke beyng in Germany, as it now shall, the king and the Duke being both personally present, at the deliuerraunce. Wherefore he exhorted the king to set forwarde, and to display his Banner, and to set forth his standard. And so by his motion, the king accompanyed with the Duke, his armye departed out of Calice, and passed by Boleyne to Perone, where the Englishe men thought themselues of the Duke, more lyke enemies then friendes to be enterteyned, for at the gates entred but a fewe that were appointed, the remnant lodged in the fieldes, better purueyed of their awne, then of the Dukes prouision.

The king of England thinking surely that the Constable ment all truth, and the sooner enduced to that credence, because the Constable was great Uncle to the Quene his wyfe, where in very deede, he nothing lesse minded then trouth, remoued his Campe from Peron, the Duke of Burgoyne beyng in his armye, and marched towarde Saint Quintines: certayne Englishe men ranne before the towne, against whose comming they thought that the belles should haue bene rong, and the gates set open. But when they approched the towne, the artillarie began to shote, and they of the towne came out both on foote and horseback, and skirmished with the Englishe men, of which two or three were slayne. This welcome seemed verye straunge to king Edward, pondering together yester dayes promise, and thys dayes doing. The Duke would not that the king should desist from his purpose, because the towne was not yeelded at the sight of a handfull of people, which thing he sayde, although the Constable would gladly haue done, at the first, yet he woulde haue a couler to doe it, as though it shoulde appere that he did it by very compulsion and force: and therefore if the king woulde make but semblance to besiege the towne, he would warrant, that incontinent it should be rendred. The king of England perceyuing that he was deluded in his firste enterprise, thought it more surer to heare the fayre wordes of the Constable, and the Duke, then to geue credite to their vntrue and deceytfull doings. The Englishe men returned to their campe, verie yll content, murmuring against the Constable, calling him Traytor, periured and vntrue Gentleman. Beside thys anger, there came the next day another corsey, that smarted a little sorer, for Duke Charles of Burgoyne, by whose meanes king Edward had taken vpon him thys warre, either perceyued that all the Constables

The Constable of Fraunce, a deepe dissembler.

Constables promises were but faire sunne shinyng, sweetely spoken, and sowerly performed, or else he sawe that he himselfe lacked men or money, to procede farther with king Edward in his iorney: tooke his leaue sodainely of the king of Englande, saiyng that he must needes visite, and see his armie in Berroys, promising shortly with all puyssaunce to returne agayne to the great aduantage and commoditie of them both, and so in haste departed.

This departyng was both displeasant and straunge to the king of England, considerying that in hope to haue the Duke his continuall felow in armes, and to haue his counsaile in the order of his people (which of late had not frequented the warre of Fraunce, nor yet perfectly knewe the force, the agilitie and the maner of the Frenche nation) had passed the Seas, raysed hys Standard, and by the Dukes procurement entred into the lande of his enemies, and nowe to be left alone without guyde or leader, without ayde or succor, in the middle of his foes, he could no lesse thinke, but that the Duke neyther vsed him like a Prince, nor yet kept his promise like a true man, which vnstable & dissimuling worcking, caused, yea, & rather enforced king Edward both to thinke that he neuer thought, and to do that he neuer entended to doe. The Englishe men sore murmured agaynst the Constable, & no lesse against the Duke, sayyng they determined neuer to geue confidence to ỳ Constables wordes, and greatly doubted, whether they might geue any credite to the Dukes promise. Thus lay the Englishe men in the fieldes, when the colde nightes began to wax long, without any gaine of conquest, which caused the common people, which be not alwayes content with hardnesse, rather to desire to turne homewarde, then to procede any dayes iourney forwarde. The French king which was both wilie and wittie (and especially for his awne purpose) knewe by his espials, the vntrue refusall made by the Constable, the vnfriendly departyng of the Duke of Burgoyn, and the dayly murmuryng of the Englishe men, agaynst them both: wherefore he thought now, that it was very expedient, to folow the counsaile of the Englishe Herault, in sendyng for a safeconduite, for metyng of Ambassadors, to common of a treatie, if it might be well compassed. But yet to auoyde all doubtes, he raysed an armie, and the more he perceyued the power of his enemies to encrease, the more he studyed how by power to resist them, and ouer that armie he made Capitaine, Monsire Robert de Estoteuile, a valiant man, whome, he sent into Arthoys, to defende the frontiers there, agaynst the king of Englandes entric and inuasions: and he himselfe tarryed still at Senlis. The Frenche king beyng thus priuily desirous of peace, although he outwardly shewed the countenaunce of Mars: meanyng quietnesse, and settyng forth warre, caused a harlet to be surnoted, in a cote armure of Fraunce (which for haste, was made of a Trompet banner) because king Lewys was not much desirous, nor greatly passed on honour, and seldome had in his Court, eyther officer of Armes or Trompet: which harlet was wel encouraged, and no lesse instructed, howe to do his message (which was deliuered to him in writyng) both with a bolde countenaunce, and a sober demeanure. This counterfeite Herault, although he was but a harlet in dede, was both wittie and well spoken, and so rode in sad maner, nere to the Englishe armie, and there put on his cote of Armes. The Englishe outscourers perceiuyng by his cote, that he was an officer of Armes, gently saluted him, and enquired of him, whe-

ther his iourney lay: he sadly aunswered, that his message was from the French king, to the King of Englande. Then was he conueyed to the tent, where the Lord Hayward, and the Lord Stanley, with other were at dinner, where he was highly enterteyned, and no lesse welcomed. And after dinner, he was brought before the King, in whose presence, with a bolde audacitie, and no fearefull speche, he declared first his credence, because he was an officer of Armes, (to whome, credite by the law of all nacions ought to be geuen) and secondarily, he published the thinges, to him geuen in charge and commaundement, saiyng.

Right high and mightie Prince, if your excellent wisedome did perfectly knowe: what inward affection, and feruent desyre, the King my Mayster hath alwayes had, to haue a perfect peace, a sure vnitie, betweene your noble person, and your Realme, and his honourable personage, and his Dominions, you would (and for truthes sake) should confesse & say, that neuer Christian Prince, more thirsted for an amitie, to the entent that the subiects of both the Realmes, quietly liuyng vnder two Princes, confederate and combined together, in an indissoluble confederacie and league, may mutually embrace eche other in their heartes, and frequent eche others Princes, territories, and Dominions, with their Marchandises and wares: And finally, the one to liue with the other, as friend with friend, and brother with brother, in continuall loue, rest, and tranquilitie. And for his part he doth affirme and saye, that sith he receyued first the Crowne of his Kingdome, he neuer attempted nor yet once imagined, any warre, or thing preiudiciall towarde your royall person, your realme, or your people. If you peraduenture will say, that he supported, and mainteyned the Erle of Warwicke, agaynst your Maiestie, he surely that doth and will denie: For he ayded him agaynst the Duke of Burgoyn, whom, he knewe not onely to be his extreme enemy, but also to lay in waite, both by sea and lande, eyther to take him, or vtterly to destroye him. Which Duke of Burgoyne, onely for his awne cause, hath excited and sollicited your highnesse, to come ouer the troublous Seas, to the entent to cause (yea, in maner to compell) the King my maister, to condescend to suche treatie and appoyntment, as should be to his onely profite, and neyther to your honour, nor yet to your gaine. For if he and such other, as dayly flattered him for their peculiar profites, (as he had many in dede, that dayly sucked at his elbow) had once obteyned the thing, that they breathed for, all your affayres were put in obliuion, and left at large for them, or their assistance, euen as they be at this day. Hath not the Duke of Burgoyne caused you, first to come into Fraunce: after to set forwarde your armie, and in conclusion, for lacke of his promise, to leese the fayre season of the yere, and to lye in the fieldes in Winter? Which warre if it continue, shall neyther be profitable to you, nor yet to your nobilitie: And finally to both the Realmes, and especially to Marchant men, shall bring both miserie, pouertie, and calamitie. Came the Duke of Burgoyn from Nuce to Calice, onely to visite you? Rode he all that poste haste, onely to blinde you? Returned he backe into Lozeyn againe for any cause, but onely to leaue you desolate, and to abandon you? Did he or the Constable kepe any one promise with you? Why do you then beleue, and yet still trust them, in whom you neuer founde fayth nor fidelitie? But if God will it so ordaine, that you and my Mayster, may ioyne in a league and amitie,

tie, I dare both say and swere, that the fine steele neuer cleued faster to the Adamant stone, than he will sticke and claspe with you, both in welth and wo, in prosperitie and aduersitie: And if it shall please you, to harken to any reasonable treatie, I beyng a poore man, shall on ieopardie of my lyfe (which is my chiefest treasure) vndertake, that this communication shall sort, and come to such an effect, that both you and your Nobilitie, shall be glad and reioyce, and your Commons shall be contented and pleased, and they that haue deceyued you, shall be both abashed and ashamed: Most humbly beseechyng your highnesse, if your pleasure shall encline this waye, that I may haue a sure safeconduyte, for one hundred horses, for such personages as the King my Mayster shall sende to you, with farther intimation of his minde & purpose. And if your pleasure shall be, to haue the communication in any place, indifferent betweene both armies, then I shall warrant you, a like safeconduit for your men, as you do send for ours.

When he had accomplished his message and instructions, the kyng of England and his counsaill, highly commended his audacitie, his tongue, and his sobernesse, geuyng to him in rewarde, a faire guylt cuppe, with a hundred aungelles: deliuering him a safeconduit, according to his request, and demaunde, with the which, he with speede departed, hauyng with him an English Herault, to bryng a like safeconduite, from the French king. After both the Princes had diligently consulted on this matter, and that the safeconduites, were deliuered on both partes. The Ambassadors mette at a village beside Amias, where were sent by the king of Englande, the Lorde Hawarde, sir Thomas Sentliger, Doctor Morton, after Chaunceler of Englande, and Cardinall. For the French king were sent, the Bastard of Burbon Admirall of Fraunce, the Lorde of saint Pierre, the Bychop of Eureux called Heberge.

It may of some be not a litle marualled at, why the French king thus labored, and sought for peace, and did make so humble, and large offers as he did: But if they consider in what case, the realme of Fraunce stoode in at that tyme, hauyng the king of England, the Duke of Burgoyn, the Duke of Britaine, their enemies, and all furnished to set vpon them at one instaunt: They may say, that the French king was both wise and circumspect, to humble himselfe for auantage, or else if God had not holpen: the realme of Fraūce had beene troubled, and tossed in great ieoperdie, and daungerous extremitye. The Ambassadors met at the place appoynted, the English men demaūded, the whole realme of Fraunce, or at the least Normandie, and whole Aquitaine, the allegations were well proued by the Englishmen, and politiquely defended by the French men, so that with argumentes, without conclusion the day passed, and the Commissioners departed, and made relacion to their Maisters. The French king and his counsaill, woulde in no wyse consent, that the king of Englande, shoulde haue anye part, or parcell of lande, within the realme of Fraunce: but rather fully determined, to put himselfe, & his whole realme in hazarde, and aduenture: so loth, yea more aferde, then loth, he was to haue the Englishmen, to be his next neighbors. The Cōmissioners at the next meting, concluded & agreed vpon certaine articles, which were by both the Princes, accepted and allowed. It was couenanted and agreed, that the French king shoulde pay to the king of Englande without delaye

Articles agreed vpon

by the king of England & the French king.

laye. lxxv. M. Crownes of the sunne, & yerely fiftie M. Crownes to be payd at London, during king Edwardes life. And farther it was agreed, that Charles the Dolphin, shoulde marry the Lady Elizabeth, eldest daughter to king Edwarde, and they two to haue for the maintenaunce of their estates, the whole Duchy of Guyen, or else fiftie Thousande Crownes, yerely to bee paid within the towre of London, by the space of .ix. yeres: and at the ende of the sayde terme, the Dolphin and his Dolphines, peaceably to enioye the whole Duchie of Guyen, and of that charge the French king against the king of Englande, then to be cleerely exonerate. And further, it was agreed and appointed, that the two Princes, both for the encrease of loue, and for the continuaunce of amitye shoulde enterview eche other, in some place most expedient, and mete, for so great a purpose: and after their metyng eche of them to take a corporall othe, in presence of the other. This peace to endure .ix. yeres betwene both the realmes, and inuiolably to obserue and kepe all thinges, concluded, agreed, and appoynted. And on the king of Englandes part, were comprised as alyes in the leagne, the Dukes of Burgoyne, and Britayne, if they woulde assent. And that after the whole summe aforesayde, was to king Edwarde payed: he shoulde leaue in hostage the Lorde Hayward, and sir John Cheyney maister of his horses, till he with all his armie, was passed ouer the sea. This peace much reioyced the French king, to whome, nothing could be either more pleasaunt, or more acceptable, then to haue the Englishe men in short space (how shortly he cared not) clerely auoyded, and transported out of his Realme: imaginyng euer that by their tarying, they would so like the wholesome and sweete ayre of his fruitfull Countrie, that a great number would be continually sicke and vexed till they returned: wherefore, to rid them with all hastie speede, he borowed the saide summe of. lxxv. M. Crownes, of euery man that might lend a porcion.

King Edward likewise, although he was of puyssaunce strong enough, to atchieue a great enterprise on his enemies, and farther encouraged, because he was renowmed for the famous actes, by him before time brought to passe, in so many battayles: Desiring also, rather to haue warre, with the Frenche nacion beyng the olde and auncient enemie, to the Englishe name and blood: yet when he called to his remembrance, that the ciuil warre had so consumed and wasted his substaunce and treasure, that if vrgent necessitye should requyre, he were of scant abilitie to furnishe and set forth a new army: knowyng his treasurie at home, to be so voyde and faynt, that it was not able long to wage his Souldiors, thought it both reasonable and profitable, to obey to necessitie, and to abstaine from battaile, seyng both honourable offers was to him offered, and agreementes of auauntage to him motioned: Consideryng chiefely beside all this, that neyther the Duke of Burgoyne, nor the Constable of Fraunce, did, nor would obserue or performe the promises by them made and sworne. Whereupon he and the most of his counsaile agreed to this conclusion and concorde. But the Duke of Gloucester and other, to whome the Frenche nacion, was more odious then a tode, whose wordes thyrsted for Frenche blood, detested, abhorred, and cryed out on this peace, saiyng: that all their trauaile, paine, and expences, were to their shame loste and employed, and nothing gayned, but a continuall mocke, and dayly derision of the French king, and all his Minions. This imagination toke effect without

without delay, for a Gentleman of the Frenche Kinges Chamber, after the peace was concluded, did demaund of an Englishe man, how many battailes king Edward had vanquished, and he answered nine: whereon he himselfe personally had bene. A great honor sayd the Frenche man: But I pray you, quod he, finelyng: how many hath he lost? the English man perceiuyng what he ment, sayd: one which you by pollicie and by no strength haue caused him to leese. Well sayd the French man, you may ponder in a payre of Ballance, the gaine of the nine gotten battayles, and the rebuke of this one in this maner lost: for I tell you, that we haue this saiyng, the force of England hath, and doth surmount the force of Fraunce: but the engenious wit of the French men, excell the dull braynes of Englishemen. For in all battayles you haue bene the gayners, but in leagues and treaties, our wittes haue made you losers: so that you maye content your selues, with the losse in treaties, for the spoyle that you gat in warres and battailes. This communication was reported to the French king, which priuily sent for the English man (as saith Hall) to supper, and not onely made him good cheere, but also gaue him a thousand Crownes, to prayse the peace, and to helpe to maintaine the same: yet neuertheless, he beyng not a little moued with these bragges, declared all the communication to the Duke of Gloucester, which sware, that he would neuer haue set foote out of England, if he had not thought to haue made the Frenchemen, once to haue assayed the strength and puissaunce of the English men: But whatsoeuer he thought, all thinges were transformed into another kinde, then he could imagine.

The Duke of Burgoyne beyng enformed, that there was a peace entreating betwene the two kings: came in no small hast from Lurenborough onelye accompanyed wyth sixtene horses, into the king of Englandes lodging, whereof the king being not a litle abashed, seyng both his sodaine comming, and his fierce countenaunce, like one that woulde rather bite than whyne, demaunded of him the cause, of his so sodaine commyng. The Duke sharpely answered, to knowe whether he had, eyther entred into any communication, or onely had absolutely concluded a peace, betwene the French king and him. King Edward declared, how that for sondry, and diuerse great and vrgent causes, touching aswell the vniuersall publique wealth, of the whole Christiantie as their owne priuate commoditie, and the quietnesse of their realmes, he and the French king had concluded a peace and amitie, for terme of. ix. yeres, in the which were comprised, as felowes and friendes, both he and the Duke of Britayne, requiring him to condiscende, and agree to the same. Oh Lorde, quoth the Duke of Burgoyn, haue you thus done in deede? haue you passed the seas, entered into Fraunce, and without killing of a poore flie, or burnyng of a sely chepe cote, haue taken a shamefull truce: did your noble auncester, king Edwarde the thirde, euer make armie into Fraunce (as he made many) in the which he did none either gayne victory in battaile, or profite in conquering, Cities, Townes, Countries. That victorious Prince, as dere kinne to mee, as to you king Henry the fift, I meane whose blood you haue, eyther rightfully or wrongfully, God knoweth, extirpate and destroyed, with a small puissaunce entred into Fraunce, conquered whole Normandy, and not alonly conquered it, but peaceably kept it, and neuer woulde either common, or agree to anye league, till he had the whole realme

realme of Fraunce offered him, and was thereof made Regent and heire apparant, & you without any thing doyng, or any honor, or profit gainyng, haue condiſcended to a peace, both as honorable, and as profitable to you, as a Peſecode, and not ſo holeſome as a Pomegranat: think you that I either moued you, or once entiſed you, to take this iorney for my peculiar aduauntage, or commodity (which of my power am able, to reuenge mine owne cauſes, without helpe of other) but onely to haue you recouer, your olde rightes, and poſſeſſions, which were from you both vniuſtlye, and wrongfullye withholden. And to the entent that you ſhall know, that I haue no neede of your ayde, I will neyther enter into your league, nor take truce with the French king, till you be paſſed the ſea, and haue bene there three monethes. When Duke Charles had ſayde, he furiouſly threw downe his Chayre, and would haue departed. But the king him ſtayed and ſayde: Brother Charles, ſith you haue ſpoken at leyſure, what you would, you muſt and ſhall heere again what you would not: And firſt, as concernyng our entrie into Fraunce, no man liuyng knoweth that occaſion, neither ſo well, nor hath cauſe halfe ſo well to remember it as you: For if you be not to forgetfull, ye remember howe the Frenche king for all your power, tooke from you the faire towne of Amias, and the ſtrong Pile of Saint Quintines, with diuers other townes, which you neither durſt, nor yet were able, either to reſcue or defende. Sith which time, how he hath plagued you, how he hath taken from you your friendes, yea, of your priuie Chamber, and ſecret counſaile (by whom all your ſecretes be to him reueled and made open) you knowe or haue better cauſe to remember, and not to forget them. And when you determined, to beſiege the towne of Neuſe, you thought your ſelfe, in a great doubt, whether you ſhould leeſe more at home, by your abſence (the Frenche king dreamyng, and waityng like a Fox for his pray) or elſe gaine more in Germanie, by your power and preſence, and to kepe the Wolfe from the folde, that is the French king, from your Caſtels and Dominions, was the chiefe and principall cauſe, why you ſo faire prayed me, and ſo ſore laboured and entiſed me to paſſe ouer the ſea, promiſyng Mountaynes of Golde, which turned into ſnowe, and waſted into water, boaſtyng that ye would ſend horſemen and footemen, and yet fetchyng neither Lackey nor Page. If we had made our enterpriſe for our ſelfe ſolye, and in our awne quarell, thinke you that we would haue tarryed your commyng? Nay, nay, you ſhould haue well knowne, if we had entended a conqueſt, that we would haue ſo ſtrongly inuaded, and ſet on the Realme of Fraunce, that your Countries of Flaunders, and Brabant, ſhould haue had cauſe enough to wonder at, truſtyng that, that which wee had gotten, we would haue kept aſwell as any of our auncetours haue done: But becauſe the very occaſion of the warre was yours, and that you did not proſecute the ſame, the French king, which neuer offended me nor my ſubiectes (except in mainteinyng the Erle of Warwicke, for the diſpleaſure that you bare him agaynſt me) offred me, beyng deſtitute of all your ſuccor and ayde, both honorable and honeſt condicions of peace, which offers I was in maner enforced by very reaſon to accept, and ſo haue concluded a truce, which God willyng I will both kepe and obſerue. God ſend you ioy, quod the Duke, and ſodainly tooke his horſe, and rode againe to Lurenborough. After this day the king and the Duke, neuer loued, and neuer ſawe eche other, ſuch is the ende of

of vntruſtineſſe and promiſe breakyng.

The Conſtable of Fraunce, fearing leſt that by this concluſion he might be reputed of the French king vntrue, as he had well deſerued it: Wherefore he ſent his confeſſor to King Edwarde, with letters of credence, requiring him hartely little to regarde the French kings wordes, and leſſe to truſt to his promiſe, affirming that the French king would no lenger kepe promiſe then king Edward were on that ſide of the ſea: and rather then he ſhould agree with the French king, for a ſmall ſumme of money, he offred to lend him fiftie thouſand crownes, with many other faire profers. The king of England made anſwere that the truce was concluded, and that he would nothing chaunge, concerning the matter, and that if he had kept promiſe wyth hym, he would not haue made that appointment nor agreement.

Then was the Conſtable in maner on all ſides in diſpayre, but yet he wrote to the French king by his meſſengers, beſeechyng hym to geue no credite or beliefe to any tale tolde or fayned agaynſt hym, without heering hys aunſwere, affirming that the king had alwayes knowne hys truth and fidelitie towarde the crowne of Fraunce, and ſo ſhould he ſtill finde him tyll his dyng daye, promiſing and warrauting him, if that it ſhould ſtande with hys pleaſure, that he would ſo compaſſe the Duke of Burgoyne, that they two ſhould vtterly deſtroy the king of Englande and his armie or they returned.

The Counſaylers of the French king made aunſwere, that their maiſter and the king of England were ioyned and confedered in a ſure amitie: wherfore they would in no wiſe knowe or condiſcend to any thing that might be eyther preiudiciall, or once ſounde to the detriment of the Engliſh men: But they ſayde, that the king their maiſter much truſted the Conſtable, and that for his ſake he would talke with them in his priuie Chamber. The French king before their entrie into his chamber, cauſed the Lorde of Countay ſeruaunt to the Duke of Burgoyne, accompanied with the Lorde of Argenton, one of his priuie counſayle, to ſtand ſecretly behinde a ſeeling or a hanging in his chamber, and he himſelfe ſat in a Chayre, directly before that place, ſo that whatſoeuer were purpoſed to him, they ſtanding behinde the cloth, might eaſely ſee and here the ſame. Lewys de Creuell and his felow entred into the kings Chamber of nothing thinking leſſe then of the ſpirites encloſed: they declared what payne their maiſter had taken for the French kinges ſake, to ſend, moue, and entiſe the Duke of Burgoyne to leaue, and cleerely to forſake the king of Englande, which Duke they founde in ſuche a rage and furie againſt the Engliſhe men, that at their requeſt, he was not onely vtterly determined to forſake and refuſe their amitie, but alſo would ſende out aduenturers and Launceknightes, to rob and ſpoyle them in their returning. And in ſpeaking theſe wordes (thinking ſurely much to pleaſe the king) the ſaide Lewys counterfeyted the faſhion and geſture of the Duke of Burgoyn, and began to ſtampe with his foote on the ground, and beate with hys fiſt on the table, ſwearing by Saint George that the King of Englande was not ertracted of any noble houſe, but was a pomans ſonne, and that when he was not worth one halfpenny, he was reſtored to hys kingdome, and made king onely by his ayde, reproouing and reuiling him with ſuch yll wordes, and ſo ſhamefull termes, that all the hearers abhorred it. The French king fayning that he was thicke of hearing, cauſed him to reherſe his ſaiyng agayne,

gayne, which so counterfeyted the very gesture of the Dukes angrie countenaunce and roring voyce, that no man hath seene a better counterfayture or player in any Comedie or Tragedie. The Lorde of Contay was sore displeased to see hys maister made a iesting stock, but he kept all these things secret, tyll his returne to his master.

When the Pagiaunt was played, the king bad the messengers of the Constable, to haue him commended to hys brother their maister, and to declare to him that as newes rose and grewe, he would thereof aduertise him, and so gaue them licence to departe to their maister, who thought himselfe now to be in great suretie of his estate, when in deede he was neuer nere his fall and perdition: Esteeming the Duke of Burgoyne to be hys assured friend, which hated him more then a Paynime, or a Turke, accompting also the French king to haue no yll suspicion in him, which neyther trusted nor yet beleued any worde, writing or message that was eyther written or sent from him: Such ende hath all dissimulation, such fruite springeth of double dealing and craftie conueying: for if eyther the Constable had bene faythfull to the king his maister, as of bounden duetie and allegeaunce he ought to be, or else had kept his promise, made to the king of Englande and Duke of Burgoyne, and had not dalyed and dissimuled with them, he had surely in his extremitie beene ayded, succoured and comforted of one of these three at the lest, where now he was of all three forsaken, and yet not forsaken, but sought for, looked for, and watched for, not for his profite or promotion, but for his vndoing and destruction: Now let vs leaue of the Constable, and returne to the conclusion of the peace.

When all thinges were appointed, written and established, the peace was proclaymed in both the campes, and the king of Englande, the sooner to consumate the amitie by othe as it was agreed, came within halfe a league of Amias, where the French king was, which to the entent to obtayne the more fauor of the Englishmen, sent into their armie a hundred Cartes loden with Wyne, the best that might begotten. And farther, because the English men resorted to the towne of Amyas, both for their pastime and busines, he ordayned at the verye entrie of the gate of the towne, two great and long tables, to be set on euerye side of the streate, where the Englishmen shoulde passe, and euerye table was abundantly furnished with all sortes of delycate vyand, and especially of such as woulde prouoke an appetite to drinke, there lacked no wine of no sorte, seruitours were readye to serue and minister all things necessary. And farther to accompany and familiarly to entertayne the Englishe nation, at euery table were appointed fiue or sixe gentlemen, of the best companyons of the whole countrey, not onely to see them serued without lacking, but also to drinke and make good cheere, and keepe company with them, and euer as they entred into the towne, they were taken by the bridles and in maner enforced to drinke, wheresoeuer they came, they payde no money, but were set scot free, which there lasted three or foure dayes, to the French kings cost, and in conclusion to hys no small vnquicting. For one day they entred into the towne of Amyas.ix.M. Englishe men well armed, so that no Frenche man durst once forbid them to enter. Their occasion of entring into the towne was onely to refreshe them, and to buy things necessary for their businesses and affayres. When the French king was therof enformed,

enformed, he was somewhat vexed and more amased, fearing either the losse of his towne or hurt of his people: he sent to the English Capitaines requiring them to withdraw their souldyers to their campe, the Capitaynes performed the kings desire, as much as in them lay, but if they sent out twenty, ten came back agayne, and brought more company with them. The French king sent Monsier de Gupe, Marchall of Fraunce, and other into the towne to see the Englishemens behauiour, they found some drinking, some singing, and some sleeping, so that they might perceyue, that they ment neyther deceyt nor vntruth: yet the French king which of hys nature was very suspicious, & especially towarde the Englishe men, came to the gate of Amyas, strongly accompanied, and caused three hundred men of armes to be kept secretly in their Capitaynes houses, and other company he set on the Portall, where the English men entred, a small number God wot, to haue resisted the great companye of Englishe men, if they had eyther intended any thing towarde the French king or his towne. The king of England was priuilie enformed of the French kings doubtfull imagination and vntrue suspition: wherefore he sent worde to him, that he should make a proclamation, that no Englishe man should enter into the towne vpon a paine. The French king made answere, that it neyther stood wyth hys honor, nor yet with any princely humanitie, that he should forbid his friends (as he called them) to take their pleasure in hys towne, but if it might please the king of Englande, to appoint certayne of the yomen of hys crowne, to stande at the gate, and to appoint, not onely who should enter, but also the number of them, he thought that this moderation should be both suretie and pleasure to both the parties. Which request the king of Englande wyth quick speede caused to be performed, to the great quietnesse of the French king and his counsayle, casting farther perilles then reason required.

You haue still in your remembrance, how an article of the treatie was, that the two princes should enterview, and meete in a place by both parties to be appointed. The king of Englande appointed the Lorde Hayward, and syr Thomas Sentliger, and a Herault: for the French king were assigned the Lorde Bonchace, and the Lorde of Argenton. When they had vewed the ryuer, they agreed the most conuenient and surest place to be at Picquegny, on the water of Some three leagues fro Amyas. The towne standeth lowe, and the ryuer passeth through. On that syde the French king should come, the Countrie fayre and open, and so likewise the other part was very pleasaunt: but toward the riuer there was a calwse of two arrow shots in length, which was enuironned with marches, surely it was a daungerous passage to conuey a prince in a straunge realme, by such a strayte, if the French men had ment any fraude, but verily the king of Englande had so great a trust and confidence in the honor and promise of the French king and his nobilitie, that he would vpon their assuraunce haue aduentured farther then thys, if hys will might haue beene performed. Then it was concluded by these foure cõmissioners, that a large bridge should be made ouer the ryuer of Some, in the middle of which bridge was made a great strõg grate of timber, like to the grate where the Lyons be kept, the holes of which grate did extende into no longer quantitie, then that a man might easely put through hys arme, which bridge was made and couered wyth bordes, onely to keepe of the weather,

that vnder the couerture, there might stande twelue persons on euery side of the grate, which extended from the one side of the bridge, euen directly to the other, so that there was no way for one prince to come to the other (as was in the grate, where John Duke of Burgoyn was slayne) and ouer the ryuer was onely one ferie Bote. When the bridge and all other things necessary were ended and performed for so great a purpose, and well and diligently vewed on both the sides, there were appointed twelue noble personages to be attendant on euery prince to the barres, and foure Englishe men were assigned to stand with the French men on the bridge, to see their doing and behauiour, and likewise foure French men were limitted to the English men for that same cause and pollicie. At the day appointed, which was the .xxvj. day of August, eche king approched the riuer syde with his armie, so that eche armie might see other. The Frenchmen say and write, that the armie of the Englishe men was greater and much fairer then their battayle, but they excuse it (in thys case as they doe in all other) saiyng that the fourth parte of their armie was lacking, you may alow their excuse if it please you. When the token of meeting by the shot of the Artillerie was knowen, the French king with twelue noble men entred the bridge, and came to the closure, with whome was John Duke of Burbon, and the Cardinall hys brother, a prelate more meete for a Ladies Carpet, then for an Ecclesiasticall Pulpet, and ten other, amongst whom the Lord of Argenton was in like apparell, as the French king ware, for so was hys pleasure that day to haue him adourned. The King of England came all a long the causey that I haue spoken of well accompanied that he seemed well to be a king, and with hym was hys brother the Duke of Clarence, the Erle of Northumberland, the Bishop of Ely his Chauncelour, the Lorde Hastinges his Chamberlayne, and eyght other Lordes. King Edward and foure other were appareled in cloth of Golde frised, hauing on his bonet of black Veluet a Floure deluce of Golde, set with very riche and orient stones, he was a goodly, fayre, and a bewtifull Prince, beginning a little to grow in flesshe, and when he approched neere the grate, he tooke of his Cap, and made a lowe and solempne obeysance: the French king made to him an humble reuerence, but after hys fashion somewhat homely. King Lewys embraced king Edward through the barriers saiyng: Cosyn you be right hartely welcome into these parties, assuring you that there is no man in the world that I haue more desired to see and speak with, then with you, and now lauded be almightie God, we be here met together for a good and godly purpose, whereof I doubt not, but that we shall haue cause to reioyse. The king of England him thanked and aunswered to hys wordes so soberly, so grauely, and so princely, that the French men there at not a little mused.

An enterview betwene the king of England and the French king.

The Chauncelour of England made there a solempne oration, in laude and prayse of peace, concluding on a prophecie, that sayde that at Pycquegny should be concluded a peace, both honorable and profitable to the realmes of England and Fraunce. The Chaunceler opened the letters of both their agreements to the treatie, demaunding of them if they therewith were contented, they aunswered yea, then eche Prince layd his right hand on the Masse, and hys left hande on the holy Crosse, and tooke there a solempne othe, to obserue and keepe the treatie of the truce for .ix. yeres concluded betwene them,

them, with all their confederates and alies comprised, mencioned and specified in the same, and farther to accomplish the mariage of their children, with all things thereon depending, according as it was agreed and concluded betwene their ambassadors: when the othe was taken and sworne, the French king sayde merily to King Edwarde, brother if you will take payne to come to Parys, you shall be feasted and entertayned with Ladies, and I shall appoint you the Cardinall of Burbon for your confessor, which shall gladly assoyle you of such sinnes, if any be committed. The king of Englande tooke these wordes pleasauntly and thankefully, for he was enformed that the Cardinall was a good companion, and a Chaplayne meete for suche a daliyng pastyme. When this communication was merily ended, the French king intending to shewe himselfe like a maister amongst his seruaunts, made all his companye to drawe backe from him, meaning to common with the king of Englande secretly, the Englishe men withdrew them without any commaundement, then the two kinges commoned alone secretly, I thinke not to the profite of the Constable of Fraunce. The French king demaunded of king Edwarde, whether the Duke of Burgoyne would accept the truce, king Edward aunswered that he would once agayne make an offer, and then vpon the refusall, he woulde referre and repoyt the truth to him. Then king Lewys began to speake of the Duke of Britayne, whome he would fayne haue excepted out of the league. To whom the king of England aunswered: Brother I require you to moue no warre to the Duke of Britayne, for on my fidelity, in the time of my neede and aduersitie, I neuer found a more friendlye, sure and stedfast louer then he.

Then king Lewys called his company againe, and with most lowly and amiable cõmendations, toke his leaue of ỹ king of England, speking certain friendly wordes to euery Englishman. King Edward doyng likewise to the Frenchmen, they both at one tyme departed from the barriers and mounted on horse backe, and departed the French kyng to Amias, and Kin[illegible]ward to his army, to whome was sent out of the French kings house all th[illegible]s necessary for a Prince, in so much that neither Torches nor Torchettes lacked vnsent. When the French king was departed from Picquegny, he called to him the Lord of Argenton, saiyng, by the peace of God, the king of England is an amorous and a faire prince, he at the first beck would gladly see Paris, where he might fortune to fynde such pleasaunt or talkatyue Dames, which with fayre wordes, and pleasaunt pastimes might allure him to their fantasies, that it might breede an occasion in him to come ouer the sea againe, which I woulde not gladly see, for his progenitors haue bene to long and to often both in Paris and Normandy (on this side the sea) therfore I loue neyther his sight, nor his companye, but when he is at home, I loue him as my brother, and take him as my friende.

The French king after this departyng, sore desirous to make warre on the Duke of Britaine, which he could not do, except he were left out of the treatie: wherefore he sent the Lorde Bouchage, and the Lord of S. Pierre, to the king of England, entreatyng him by all wayes and motions possible, to leaue the Duke of Briteyn for his alie, and not to haue him comprehended in the league: the king of England heeryng them so seriously, and so feruently speake agaynst the Duke of Briteyne, with an earnest countenaunce aun-

swered, saiyng: My Lordes I assure you, if I were peaceably at home in my realme, yet for the defence of the Duke of Bryteyne and his Countrie, I woulde passe the Seas againe, agaynst all them that either woulde doe hym iniurie, or make warre vpon him. The French Lordes nothing farther saiyng, much maruelled why the king of Englande, so surely claue to the Duke of Bryteynes partie: But they knewe not (or else at the least remembred not) that Henry Erle of Richmond, was within the power and Dominion of the Duke of Bryteyne, whom king Edwardes phantasie euer gaue him, would make once a title to the Crowne of England, as next heyre to the house of Lancaster: For he knewe well, that if the Duke of Bryteyne, would transport him into England, where he had both kinsfolke and friends, with neuer so small an ayde (yea, although it were but a shadowe of an armie) then were he enforced, newely to begin again a conquest, as though he had neuer wonne the Crowne, nor obteyned the possession of the Realme, which was the very cause, why he stacke so fore on the Duke of Bryteynes part. The same night the Lordes returned to Amias, and reported to their Maister king Edwardes aunswere, which therewith, was not the best pleased, but pleasure or displeasure, there was no remedie, but to dissimule the matter. This same night also, there came the Lord Hayward, and two other of the king of Englandes Counsaile (which had bene helpers forwarde of the peace) to the Frenche king to supper. The Lorde Hayward sayde to the French king, secretly in his eare, that if it stoode with his pleasure, he coulde perswade the king of England, to come to Amias, yea, peraduenture as farre as Paris, familiarly and friendly to solace himselfe with him, as his trustye friend and faythfull brother. The French king, to whom this motion was nothing pleasaunt, callyng for water, washed and rose without any answere makyng: but he sayde to one of his Counsaile, that he imagined in his owne conceipt. that this request would be made: the Englishe men began againe, to cour[illegible]n of that matter, the Frenche men pollitiquely brake their communicatio[illegible], saiyng: that the king with all speede must marche forward, agaynst the Duke of Burgoyn. Although this motion seemed, onely for to encrease loue, and continuall amitie betweene the Princes, yet the French men hauyng in their perfite remembraunce, the innumerable dammages & hurtes, which they of late dayes had sustayned by the English nacion: wherby cõtinuall hatred encreased, agaynst him in Fraunce, thought by pollicie and wisdome, with faire wordes, and friendly countenaunce, to put by this request, and to motion them rather, to depart homeward, then to pricke them forwarde to Paris. This peace was sayde to be made, onely by the holy Ghost, because that on the day of meeting, a white Doue sat on the verie top of the King of Englandes Tent: whether she sat there to drie her, or came thether as a token geuen by God, I referre it to your iudgement. At this treatie and meting, was not the Duke of Gloceſter, nor other Lordes, which were not content with this truce, but the Duke came afterwarde to Amias, with diuers other Lordes of England, to the Frenche king, which both highly feasted them, and also presented them with plate and horses, well garnished. King Lewys considering, what gaine the Englishemen had gotten, by makyng warre in Fraunce, and what miserie, and what pouertie, the French nacion had suffered, by reason of the sayd warres, determined clerely, rather to pacifie and

fie and enterteine the English nacion, by fayre wordes, and great rewardes, (although it were to his great charge) then by to muche hardinesse, to put himselfe, his nobilitie, and realme, in a hazarde, by geuing them battaile, as his predecessors, had vnwisely done at Poyters, and at Agincort: wherefore, to buy peace, he graunted to king Edward, for a yerely tribute fiftie thousand Crownes, as is mencioned before, to be payde at London, which accompting a Crowne at foure shillinges, amounteth to ten thousande pounde. And to haue the fauor and good will, of his chiefe counsaylors, he gaue great pencions, amountyng to the somme of .xvj. thousand Crownes a yere, that is to say: to his Chauncelor, to the Lorde Hastynges, his chiefe Chamberleyn, a man of no lesse wit, then vertue, and of great authoritie with his Maister, and that not without a cause: For he had aswell in time of aduersitie, as in the faire flatteryng worlde, well and truely serued him, and to the Lorde Hawarde, to sir Thomas Mountgomerie, to sir Thomas Sentliger, to sir John Cheyney, maister of the kinges horses, to the Marques Dorset, sonne to the Queene, and diuers other, he gaue great and liberall rewardes, to the entent to kepe himselfe, in amitie with England, while he wanne and obteyned his purpose and desire in other places.

These persons had geuen to them great giftes, beside yerely pencions: For the lord of Argenton his Counsailor, affirmeth of his awne knowlege, that the lord Hayward, had in lesse then the terme of two yeres, for reward in money and plate .xxiiij. M. Crownes, & at the time of his meeting, he gaue to the Lorde Hastynges, the Kinges chiefe Chamberlaine, as the Frenchemen write, a hundreth Marke of siluer made in Plate, whereof euery Marke is .viij. ounces sterlyng: but the Englishe writers affirme, that he gaue the said Lorde Hastinges .xxiiij. dosen boulles, that is to say, xij. dosen gilte, and xij. dosen vngilte, euery Bolle waiyng .xvj. nobles, which gift, either betokened in him, a great liberall nature, or else a great and especiall confidence, that he had in the sayd Lorde Chamberleyn. Beside this, he gaue him yerely, two thousand Crownes pencion, the which somme he sent to him, by Piers Cleret, one of the Maisters of his house, geuyng him in charge, to receyue of him an acquittance, for the receipt of the same pencion, to the entent that it should appere in time to come, that the Chauncelor, Chamberleyn, Admirall, Maisters of the horses, to the king of England, and many other of his counsaile, had bene in fee and pencionaries, of the French king, whose yerely acquittances (the Lorde Hastynges onely except) remaine of record to be shewed, in the Chamber of accomptes, in the Palace of Paris. When Piers Cleret had payed the pencion to the Lorde Hastynges, he gently demaunded of him an acquittaunce, for his discharge, which request when he denied, he then onely required of him a letter of three lines, to be directed to the King, testifiyng the receipt of the pencion, to the intent that the king his Maister, should not thinke the pencion to be imbesiled. The Lord Hastyngs although he knewe, that Piers demaunded nothing but reason, aunswered him: Sir this gift commeth onely, of the liberall pleasure of the king your maister, and not of my request: if it be his determinate wil, ỹ I shal haue it, then put you it into my sleue, and if not, I pray you render to him his gift againe: For neither he nor you, shal haue either letter, acquittãce, or scrow, signed with my hande, of the receipt of any pencion, to the intent to brag another day, that the kings

Chamberlain of England, hath bene pencionarie, with the French king, and shewde his acquittance, in the Chamber of accomptes, to his dishonor. Piers left his money behinde, and made relacion of all thinges to his maister, which although that he had not his will, yet he muche more praysed the wisedome and pollicie of the Lord Haskynges, then of the other pencionaries, commaundyng him verely to be payed, without any discharge demaundyng.

When the king of Englande had receiued his tribute, and his nobilitie their rewardes of the French king: he trussed by his tentes, and laded al his bagage, and departed towarde Calice, but or he came there, he remembryng the craftie dissimulacion, and the vntrue dealyng of Lewys Erle of S. Poule, high Constable of Fraunce, entending to declare him, to the Frenche king, in his verie true likenesse, and portrature: sent vnto him two letters of credence, written by the sayde Constable, with the true report of all suche words and messages, as had beene to him sent, and declared by the said Constable & his Ambassadors, which letters, the french king gladly receiued, and thankfully accepted, as the chiefe instrument, to bring the Constable to his death: which he escaped no long season after, such is the ende of dissimulers.

The returne of king Edward into Englande.

When king Edwarde was come to Calice, and had set all things in an order, he toke ship, & sailed with a prosperous winde, into England, and was receyued by the Maior of London, and the Magistrates clad in Scarlet, and .C. commons, apparelled in Murry, the xxiij. daye of September, in the xiij. yere of his reigne, vpon blacke Heath, and so conueyed with a great triumph, through the Citie of London vnto Westminster, where after his long labor, he reposed himselfe a while: euery daye almost talking with the Quene his wife, of the maryage of his daughter, whom he caused to be called Dolphinelle: thinking nothing surer, then that mariage to take effect, according to the treatie. The hope of which mariage, caused him to dissimule and doe things, which afterward chaunsed greatly to the French kings profite, and finally to his.

When king Edwarde was arriued in England, the French King thinkyng by no meane possible, to haue his will on the Constable, but onely by the Duke of Burgoyn, determined to conclude a truce, for .ix. yeres, vpon couenaunt, euery man to haue his owne: but the Ambassadours, would not haue the truce proclaimed, thinking therby, to saue the Duke from periurie, which had sworne, neuer to conclude a peace, till the king of Englande had beene three monethes in his realme, after his returne from Calice. The king of Englande, was of all these doyngs, assertained by his friendes: wherefore, in all haste he sent sir Thomas Mountgomerie, a wise, and a sage knight, to the french king, being then at Vernyns, concluding with the Duke of Burgoyns Ambassadors, requiryng him to take none other truce, with the Duke Charles, then that which was by them concluded, desiryng him farther, in no wyse to depart with saint Quintines, to the Duke: Offering that if he would, any longer continue the warre, against the sayde Duke, that he would for his pleasure, and the Dukes displeasure passe the seas again, the nert Sommer: so that the French king, should paie to him fiftie thousande Crownes, for the losse which he should sustaine, in his custome by reason that the wolles at Calice, because of the warre, coulde haue no vent, nor be vttred, and also paye halfe the charges, and halfe the wages of his Souldiers, and men of warre.

The

The French King, most hartily thanked the King of Englande, of hys kynde offer, and faithful friendship, excusing hym, that the peace was already assented to: howbeit, it was the verye same peace, that was betweene them concluded, sauing onely, that the Duke woulde be a contractor in the league, and not comprehended in the same, as another Princes alie. This matter was thus aunswered, and fauntlye excused, and with the same, sir Thomas Mountgomerie dispatched, which was with plate conueniently rewarded: and wyth him returned, the Lorde Hawarde, and sir John Cheiney, which were hostages wyth the French king, tyll kyng Edwarde were returned into Englande. The French kyng marueled not a litle, at king Edwardes offers, and thought it perilous to cause the Englishmen to passe the sea again, and to ioyne with the French men, whome they neuer loued, coniecturyng farther, that the Englishmen, and the Burgonions, would sone agree, by reason of their olde acquaintaunce and familiaritie, and by chaunce, both become enemies to the French men: wherefore, in auoyding of all ambiguities, hee determyned to conclude the truce.

When king Edwarde had after this maner established, as well his affaires of outwarde warre, as hys priuate, and perticuler businesse at home: notwithstanding, that he beyng the most valyaunt, & fortunate victor, of such and so many terrible and bloudy battailes, myght thynke to leade his life, in perfect quietnesse, and sure safety: yet considering, that Henry the yong Erle of Richmonde, one of the offsprings, of the blood of king Henry the sixt, was yet liuyng and in good health, he iudged hymselfe, to be farre from hys purpose, and that onely thing, did so vexe and trouble hys ioye and felicitie, that he thought hymselfe neuer to be in a sure estate. Wherefore, he determined yet once agayne, to sollicite and moue, Fraunces Duke of Britayne, eyther for giftes, promises, or prayers, to deliuer the Erle into his handes. Wherefore he sent Doctor Stillyngton, & two other, his Ambassadors, well laden wyth no small somme of Gold, with al haste to the Duke of Britein: And to the entent ꝑ their desire should appeere more honest, in the open face of the world, he willed them to declare to the Duke, that their request, to haue the Erle deliuered to them, was only for this purpose, to ioyne with him aliance by mariage, & so to extirpate & pluck vp, all the dregges and leuyngs of the aduerse part, and contrary faction. The Duke gently harde the Ambassadors, and first he began to deny, and after to excuse, why he might, nor ought not agree to their request: but in conclusion, what with prayers requiring, and monies sollicityng, the Duke beyng wery and ouercome, deliuered the Erle to the Ambassadors, whom in his letters he highly cõmended, to king Edward, not thinking that he deliuered the shepe to the woolfe, but the sonne to the father, beleuyng surely, without scruple or doubt, that king Edward would geue in mariage to him Lady Elizabeth his eldest daughter, whome in deede he maried, after her fathers death, as you hereafter shall here. When the Ambassadors had the pray that they so much desired, they departed to the towne of Saint Malo, standyng on the sea syde, where they reckned to haue taken shippyng, and so to haue sayled into England. The Erle of Richmond knowyng, that he was goyng toward his death, for very pensiuenelle, and inwarde thought, fell into a feruent and sore ague. In this very season, one John Cheulet, so esteemed among the Princes of Briteyn, as fewe were in all the

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Henry Erle of Richmond

Countrey

Countrey, and in much credite, and well accepted with the Duke, was when these thinges were thus concluded, for his solace in the Countrie, but beyng thereof certified, beyng chafed with the abhomination of the fact: resorted to the Court, and familierly came to the Dukes presence, and there stoode so sadly, and so pale, without any worde speakyng, that the Duke was much amased, and sodainely maruayled at his sad and frownyng countenaunce, and demaunded of him what should signifie, that dumpishenesse of minde, and inward sighing, the which by his countenaunce manifestly appered: he modestly aunswered, most noble and redoubted Lorde, this paleness of visage, and deadly looke, doth prognosticate the time of my death to approche and be at hande, whiche if it had chaunced to me, before this day, I assure you, it had much lesse hurted me. For then had I not beene preserued, to feele the dolorous pāgues which a fact by you done (that I thought impossible to be obteined) hath imprinted in my stomacke: so that I well perceiue, that either I shall leese my life, or else liue in perpetuall distresse, and continuall miserie: For you my singuler good Lorde, by your vertuous actes, and noble feates, haue gotten to you, in maner an immortall fame: which in euery mannes mouth, is extolled and elenated, aboue the high Clowdes, but alas me semeth (I pray you pardon me my rudenesse) that nowe that you haue obteyned, so high a laude and glorie, you nothing lesse regarde then to keepe and preserue the same inuiolate, considering that you forgetting your faith and faythfull promise, made to Henry Erle of Richmond, hath deliuered the most innocent yong gentleman, to the cruell tormentors, to be afflicted, rent in pieces, and slain: wherfore all such as loue you, of the which number I am one, cannot chose but lament and be sorie, when they see openly the fame and glory of your most renouned name, by such disloialtie & vntruth against promise, to be both blotted and stayned, with a perpetuall note of slaunder and infamie. Peace mine awne good John, quod the Duke, I pray the beleue me, there is no such thing like to happen to the Erle of Richmond: for King Edward hath sent for him, to make of him, beyng his suspect enemie, his good and faire son in lawe. Well, well, quod John, my redoubted Lorde, geue credence to me: the Erle Henry is at the very brinke to perishe, whome if you permit once to set but one foote, out of your power and dominion, there is no mortall creature able hereafter to deliuer him from death. The Duke beyng moued with the perswasions of John Cheulet, which either little beleeued, or smally suspected King Edward, to desire the Erle, for any fraude or decept, or else seduced by blinde auarice and loue of money, more then honestie or wisedome would require, did not consider, what he aduisedly did, or what he aduisedly should haue done. Wherefore, with all diligence, he sent foorth Peter Landoyse, his chiefe treasorer, commaundyng him to stay the Erle of Richmond, in all hast possible. Peter not sluggyng, nor dreamyng his businesse: came to the Englishe Ambassadors, to Saint Malos, there abidyng the winde. And first he inuented a cause of his comming, and kept with them a long communication, to protract the time, till his men in the meane season, had conueyed the Erle (almost halfe dead) into a sure Sanctuarie, within the towne, which in no wise might be violated: where he beyng deliuered, from the continuall feare of dreadful death, recouered his health, and in good plight was brought to the Duke.

Henry Erle of Richmond taketh Sanctuarie.

Here

Here a man maye euidently perceyue the olde Greeke Prouerbe to be very true, which is that a man, to a man shall sometime be as a God, for the yong Erle Henry without desert deliuered to his death, sodaynely by the labor of John Cheulet, and the fauour of the good Prince was preserued, saued and deliuered. God graunt that suche examples maye be a doctrine and myrror to such as be rulers aboue other, lacking counsaylors to monish and warne them of their duety and office. That they remembring thys good act, may learne to take into their counsayle and family, such as will well and truly admonishe and warne them, and they likewise with good minde and glad intent to be followers of the same.

The Englishe Ambassadours complayned and murmured, that they were both spoyled of their money and marchaundise, requiring Peter Landoyse that they in no wise should returne so deluded without pray or penny. The treasurer effectuously promised them, that ꝑ Erle either should be surely kept in the Sentuary, into the which he escaped (by their negligence as he layed to their charge) or else should be againe in the Dukes house put in prison, so that they should not neede no more to feare him then his shadowe. And so the king of England for his money, purchased the keping of his enemie by the space of three dayes and no more.

King Edwarde in the meane season, sore longing, and desiring to knowe what effect his Ambassage toke with the Duke of Britaine, was therefore euery houre troubled and vnquieted with harkening and looking, and at the last was certefied from thence, how the Erle of Richemond was deliuered, and at a point to be brought home to him as prisoner in captiuitie: but that he escaped, which newes he tooke most greeuously, but after being somewhat appeased, when he had heard that he should be safely kept in prison, determined clerely hereafter to banishe that care out of his minde and phantasie, and to employ all his whole studie and diligence for the keeping of his house, after a more bountifull and liberall proportion, then before he was accustomed. And when he had sufficiently stored his Cheste with treasure, remembring hys honor, least he peraduenture should be noted with the spot of Nigardship, he shewed himselfe lyke a liberall and beneficiall Prince to hys commons, and lyke a good and a profitable king to the common wealth, and to the poore people of his realme and dominion.

Now as this good king Edward sought & studied daylie and hourely to bring himselfe to quietnesse & rest, and hys realme to a continuall amitie, and a perpetuall peace, so likewise at the same time Charles Duke of Burgoyn, whose wyt neuer loued peace, nor yet was weary or abhorred trouble, whose intollerable paines in the warres were to him pleasure, & especiallye where he thought to obteyne any newe seigniorie, or else to be reuenged of auncient enemies, for olde griefes and displeasures to him done. So that desyre of rule mixte with hatred and malice, ioyned with couetousnesse, kindled and prouoked so his courage this yere, that he partly to be reuenged of the Duke of Lorayne & the Swytchers, and partly for the couetous desire that he had to certaine landes, lyng betwene his low countries of Brabant and Flaunders and his Duchie of haute Burgoyn, assembled a great army and a mightie puyssaunce, & besieged a towne called Granson in Lorayne, which when he had receyued, without mercy lyke a tyraunt he caused all the inhabitants

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cruelly

Charles Duke of Burgoyne had many ouerthrowes, and at the last slaine.

cruelly to be put to death, wherof hearing the Switchers manfully encountred with him, and discomfited his whole armie, where the Duke lost both honor, prayse, and such abundaunce of ryches, that fewe princes in his time were able to shewe such iewels, and so many, and of such high price and value. And after not content with these chaunces, but euer in hope of reuenging, he fought with the Switthers agayne at Morrot, where of.xviij. M. good men of warre, he lost ten thousande, beside them that were wounded and hurt: yet this fierce and couragious Capitayne, more couragious then circumspect, gathered agayne a newe armie, and contrarie to the mindes of hys whole counsayle, in the deepe of wynter, besieged the towne of Nancy, belonging to the Duke of Lorayne, where he was encountred with the said Duke and the Switchers, and there by them agayne ouercome, discomfited and slayne.

Grantson, Morrat, Nancy.

Thus in one yere he lost three great battayles, the first at Grantson, where he lost honor, and all hys ryches: the second at Morrat, where he lost honor, and almost all hys men: the thirde at Nancy, where he lost life, honor, ryches, men, and all worldly felicitie, on the Vigile of the Epiphany.

Thys ende had the valyaunt hart and stonte courage of Duke Charles of Burgoyne, who in hys time could neuer agree with peace and concorde, tyll death more puyssant then life may resist, brought his bodie to quietnesse, which bodie is interred in the Church of saint George in Nancy, leauing behinde him one sole daughter lawfully begotten to be his heire, which afterward was maried to Maximilian Archeduke of Austriche.

At thys battayle were taken Anthony and Bauldwyn, bastard brethren to Duke Charles, whome the French king bought of the Duke of Lorayne, to the intent that they should not withstand his pretenced purpose in Flaunders. If any man were sorie of the Duke of Burgoyns death, you may be sure that he was not so inwardly sorie, as the French king was in hart ioyous and glad: For nowe hauing peace with Englande, he knew no creature that was able to matche with him, in earnest or in game, & because he would leese no time, he vnder couler that women be not able to enioye any thing, that is or hath bene apperteyning to the Crowne of Fraunce, tooke of the yong damosell of Burgoyne the townes of Moundedier, Perone, Abbeuile, Monstreul, Roy, and all the townes on the ryuer of Some: Beside thys, he with no great paine obteyned Hesdyng, Arras, and the towne of Bulleyn, with the Countie of Bullonoys, which king Charles his father had before engaged, and empledged to Duke Philip of Burgoyne, as before is mencioned. But thys wylie and wittie king Lewys, comming to the towne of Bulleyn, perceyued that if it were fortefied with a garrison, it should not onely be an ill neighbor to the townes of Calice and Guysnes, but also a port necessarie and conuenient for all hys subiects, when they should be, eyther by enemies assayled, or by stormie tempestious weather driuen on the narrow Seas: wherefore to cast a sure Ancker, knowing the Lorde Bartrame de la Toure, Erle of Auluerie, to be the verie true and vndubitate heyre of the said towne and Countrie: He first obteyned of him his right and tytle in the same, rewardyng hym with a greater summe, and a more yerely value of reuenewes, in the Countie of Forest and other places. And after to the entent to haue a port euer open vpon Englande, he annexed the same towne of

of Bulleyne, and the Countie of Bullonoys, with the partes adiacent to the crowne and regalitie of Fraunce. And because the forenamed towne and Countie were holden of the Erledome of Artoys, he chaunged the tenure, and solemply auowed to hold the same towne & Countie of our Lady of Bulleyn, and therefore did homage to the Image in the great Church called our Lady Church in Bulleyn, offring there a Harte of Golde, waiyng two thousand Crownes, ordeyning farther, that all his heyres and successors, at their entrie into the estate and dignitie royall, by themselfe, or their deputie should offer a Hart of like waight and value, as a relieke and homage done, or made for the same towne and Countie.

You may be sure that the kyng of Englande would not haue suffered the French kyng to haue buylded such a couert nest so nere his towne of Calice, and the territories of the same, except hys league had bound him, or that he had to much affiaunce in the French king, whose hart was double, & whose wit was euer inconstant, but surely the hope of the preferment of his daughter, both brought him to blindnesse, and dotage. Let these doyngs ouer passe and see how politikely the French king wrought for his aduantage. During these doings in the lowe partes, he caused the Duke of Lorayne to enter into high Burgoyn with a great army, which by policie and promises brought the whole Duchie vnder obedience of the French kyng, which then claymed to haue the order and mariage of the yong Ladye, as a pupille, warde, and orphane, apertaynyng to the Crowne of Fraunce, for the which title after rose no small mischiefe and trouble in Flaunders, and the countryes there about. Let vs leaue a whyle to speake of outwarde businesse, and retourne to our owne.

In this yere, then beyng Mayor of London syr Raufe Josyln draper, the wall of the Citie of London, that is to say, from Creplegate to Bishopsgate, was buylded, at the costes, and charges of the Citizens.

In the. xvij. yere of kyng Edwarde, there fell a sparcle of priuye malice, betweene the kyng, and his brother the Duke of Clarence, whether it rose of olde grudges before time passed, or were it newlye kindled, and set a fire by the Queene or her bloud, which were euer mistrusting and priuily barking at the kings linage, or were he desirous to reigne after his brother: to men that haue thereof made large inquisition, of such as were of no small authoritye in those dayes, the certaintye there of was hid, and coulde not truely be disclosed, but by coniectures, which as often decepue the imaginacions of fantasticall folke, as declare truth to them in their conclusion. The fame was that the king or the Queene, or both, sore troubled with a foliche Prophesie, and by reason thereof began to stomack and greeuously to grudge against the Duke: The effect of which was, after king Edwarde shoulde reigne, or whose first letter of hys name shoulde be a G. and because the Deuill is wont with such witchcrafts, to wrap and entangle the myndes of men which delite in such deuilish fantasies, they sayde afterwarde that that Prophesye lost not his effect, when after kyng Edwarde, Gloucester vsurped his kyngdome. 1477 17

Other allege this to be the cause of his death: That of late, the olde rancor betwene them beyng newly reuiued (the which betwene no creatures can be more behement then betwene brethren, especially when it is firmelye fixed

fired and rooted) the Duke beyng destitute of a wyfe, by the meanes of Lady Margaret, Duches of Burgoyn, his sister, procured to haue the Lady Marye, daughter, and heyre to Duke Charles, her husbande, to be geuen to him in matrimony: which mariage king Edwarde (enuying the felicitie of hys brother) both agayne sayde and disturbed. This priuye displeasure was openly appeased, but not inwardly forgotten, nor outwardlye forgeuen, for that, notwythstandyng a seruaunt of the Dukes was sodainelye accused (I can not say of truth, or vntruely suspected by the Dukes enemyes) of poysonyng, sorcery, or inchauntment, and thereof condempned, and put to tast the paynes of death. The Duke which might not suffer the wrongfull condemnation of his man (as he in hys conscience adiudged) nor yet forbere, nor patiently suffer the vniust handlyng of hys trusty seruaunt, dayly did oppugne, and wyth ill wordes murmur at the doing thereof. The king much greeued and troubled with his brothers dayly complaintes, and continuall exclamation, caused him to be apprehended, & cast into the Towre, where he beyng taken and adiudged for a traytor, was priuily drowned in a Butte of Malmesey.

George duke of Clarence drowned in a But of Malmesey in the towre.

But sure it is, that although king Edward were consenting to his death, and destruction, yet he much did both lament hys infortunate chaunce, and repent hys sodayne execution. In asmuch, that when any person sued to him for pardon or remission, of any malefactor condempned to the punishment of death, he would accustomably say and openly speake, O infortunate brother, for whose lyfe not one creature would make intercession, openlye speakyng, and apparauntly meaning, by the meanes of some of the nobility he was surcumuented, and brought to his confusion.

This Duke left behinde him two yong infantes, engendered of the bodie of the daughter to Richard late Erle of Warwicke, which children by destinie, or by their awne merites, folowing the steppes of their auncestors, succeded them in like misfortune, and semblable yll chaunce. For Edwarde hys heire, whome King Edward had created Erle of Warwicke, was .xxiij. yeres after in the time of King Henrie the seuenth, attainted of treason, and on Towre hil behedded. Margaret his sole daughter was maried to sir Richard Pole knight, being much bound to king Henry the seuenth, for her aduauncement in mariage, beside manifolde benefites, by her of him receyued: But most of all obliged to that excellent Prince king Henry the eight, for restoring her aswell to the name and title of Countesse of Salisburie, as to the possessions of the same: she forgetting the miserable chaunce of her father, and lesse remembring the kindenesse and kindred of her sayd souereigne Lorde, committed against his maiestie and his realme, abhominable and detestable treason, for the which she was in open Parliament, adiudged and attainted, and sirtie and two yeres after her father was put to death in the Tower, she on the greene within the same place, with an Axe suffered execution. In whose person died the very surname of Plantagenet, which from Geoffrey Plantagenet, so long in the blood roiall of this realme, had flourished and continued. After the death of this Duke, by reason of great heate and vntemperate aire, happened so fierce and so quicke a Pestilence, that fiftene yeres warre past, consumed not the thirde part of the people, that onely foure monethes miserably and pitifully dispatched, and brought to their sepulture.

Edward erle of warwick.

Margaret Countesse of Salisbury.

A greate pestilence.

1478
18

You haue heard not long before, howe the Frenche king not onely claymed

med the rule, gouernaunce, and mariage of the yong Princesse, and Damosell of Burgoyne, but also howe he, what with pollicie, and what with force, had plucked from her the fairest feathers of her taile, that is to meane, whole haute Burgoyne, and the strong townes of Picardie, which in time to come might (as they were very like) happen to proue yll neighbors to the English nation. All these thinges were politikely pondered, and ripely digested by the wise counsaylors of England, which first considered the olde amitie, betweene the house of England and Flaunders, and the dayly entercourse, trafficke and commutacion, which no small season had bene practised, frequented, and exercised, mutually and friendly betweene the subiectes, and all nations hauyng resort to either of the sayd Countries, sawe it open before their eies, that if the French king, either by force or by connuction of mariage to Charles Erle of Angulesme (to whome he promised his good will, for the obteyning of the yong Princes) should get the vpper hande of the Damosell or of her seignories and dominions, that then dammage might ensue to the whole realme of England, both for vttering of their commodities in those partes, and also for the impediment or stop of their entercourse, beside new impositions and gabels, to be set within the sayde Countries, vpon the Marchaunts, their goodes and wares. Wherefore the whole Nobilitie and sage fathers, made humble request to king Edward to helpe and ayde the yong Ladie and Princes of Burgoyne, alleging that as farre as they could perceyue, the mariage of his daughter with the Dolphin, was but dissimuled and fayned, for in the treatie concluded at Picquegnie, betweene him and king Lewys, it was appointed, agreed, and openly swoorne, that the French king, within a yere folowing, should send for the Lady Elizabeth, entituled Dolphinesse of Vien, to be conueyed into Fraunce, which yere with foure more were passed and gone, without any worde speakyng of her sendyng for, or goyng into Fraunce.

The Queene of Englande also had written in this season to the Ladye Margaret, Duchesse of Burgoyne, for the preferment of her brother Anthonie Erle Riuers, to the mariage of the yong Damosell, but the counsaile of Flaunders, considering that he was but an Erle of a meane estate, and she the greatest enheritrice of all Christendome at that time, gaue but deafe heeryng to so vnmete a requeste: the which desire, if the Flemminges had but geuen good eare to, or with gentle wordes delayed the suyte, shee had both bene succoured and defended with a good number, and not suffered so great losse as she did. Whether king Edward were not content with this refusall, or that he trusted more the Frenche kinges promise, then all his Counsayle coulde see cause, or that he was loth to leese his yerely tribute of fiftie thousande Crownes, he would in no wise consent to sende any armie into Flaunders against the Frenche king: But he sent Ambassadors to king Lewys with louing and gentle letters, requiring him to conclude some reasonable peace, or else at the least to take a certaine truce with her at his request.

The Ambassadors of England, were highly receyued, bountifully feasted, and liberally rewarded: But answere to their desire had they none, but that shortly the French king would send Ambassadors, hostages, and pledges to the king of England their Maister, for the concludyng and performance of all things, depending betweene them two: So that their souereigne Lorde and they, should haue good cause, to be contented and pleased. All

theſe faire wordes, were onely delayes to protract time, and in the meane ſeaſon, to winne townes and countries, from the Damoſell, or any ayde or ſuccor could be to her adminiſtred.

A great offer made by the French king to king Edwarde the fourth.

And beſide this, to ſtaye king Edwarde, from taking parte with her. He wrote to him, that if he woulde ioyne with him in ayde, or perſonally make warre, in any part of the Ladies territories, or dominions, that then king Edwarde, ſhoulde haue, and enioye, to hym and hys heyres, the whole Countye, and Contrey of Flaunders, diſcharged of all homage, ſuperioritye, and ryght to be claymed by the French kyng, and hys heires and ſucceſſors, and farther, he ſhoulde haue the whole Duchie of Brabant, whereof the French kyng offered, at his owne charge and coſt, to conquere foure, the chiefe and ſtrongeſt townes, within the ſayde Duchie, and them in quiet poſſeſſion, to deliuer to the king of Englande, graunting farther to paye to him, tenne thouſand Aungelles, towarde hys charges, beſides munitions of warre and Artillerie, which he promiſed to lende hym, with men and cariage, for the conueyance of the ſame.

The king of Englande aunſwered, that the townes of Flaunders were of no ſmall ſtrength, nor of no little quantitie, verie vneaſie to be kept, when they were conquered: and of no leſſe force was the Duchie of Brabant, with whome his ſubiectes were both loth, and not verie wylling to haue warre there, conſidering that thether was one of their common traffiques and ventes, of all their Marchaundiſe: But if the French king would make him partener of his conqueſt in Picardy, rendering to him part of the townes, already gotten and gayned, as Boleine, Mounſtrell, and Abbeuile, then he would ſurely take hys part, and aide him with men at his owne coſtes and charges. While this matter was in aunſwering, and replying againe, the French king ſpoyled the yong Princes of townes and Regions, and of the beſt Capitaines that her father left, as the Lorde Cordes and other: wherefore for pure neceſſitie of aide and ſtrength, ſhee maried with Maximilian, ſonne to Frederike the Emperor, which to his power, ſore reſiſted the french king, for making any inuaſions into Flaunders, or other his wifes landes and ſeignories. This Princeſſe conceyued of her huſbande, in the firſt yere of her mariage, a faire Ladie called Margaret, whome king Lewys ſo phanteſied, eyther to haue a publique peace with Maximilian her father, by the which he might ſtay all warre and hoſtilitie betweene them, and ſo by that meane peaceably to enioy the Countries and townes, by him ſtollen and faintly conquered, or elſe imagining by that onely damoſell, in concluſion to conioyne the whole Countrie of Flaunders, and the other dominions thereunto apperteyning to the crowne of Fraunce, (as he had no fewe times, before attempted and aſſayed.) That he cleerely forgetting his promiſe made, written, and ſworne to the King of Englande, for the mariage of his daughter, ſolicited priuily the Lordes of Flaundyrs, to haue the ſayde Lady Margarete to be conioyned in matrimonie with the Dolphin his ſonne, wryting and ſending to the king of Englande faire promiſes and flattering letters, when his purpoſe was cleerely vaniſhed out of England and fixed in Flaunders, as you ſhall hereafter well vnderſtande.

1479 19

King Edward in the .xix. yere of his reigne, forgetting as well all exterior inuaſions, as ciuill warre, and inteſtine trouble: which before that time,

time, he had abundantly taſted, and more then he was wylling had both felt and had in continuall experience, began firſt more then he was before accuſtomed, to ſerch out the penall offences, as well of the chiefe of his Nobilitie, as of other Gentlemen, being proprietaries of great poſſeſſions, or abundantly furniſhed in goods, beſide Marchaunts and other inferior perſons. By the reaſon whereof, it was of all men adiudged more then doubted, conſidering his new fame of ryches, and his greedy appetite of money and treaſure, that he would proue hereafter a ſore and an extreme prince amongſt his ſubiectes, and this imagination in eſpeciall, wandred through the heades of all men, that after his brother the Duke of Clarence was put to death, he ſhould ſay, that all men ſhould ſtande and liue in feare of hym, and he to be vnbrideled and in doubt of no man. But his newe inuented practiſe, what for other forrein and outwarde affaires, and what for the ſhortening of his dayes in this tranſitorie worlde (which were within two yeres after conſumed) toke ſome, but no great effect. Howbeit experience teacheth, that proſperitie often times is as great a trouble as a miſchiefe, and as vnquiet a proſite to the poſſeſſioners of riches and ſuch as haue the fruition of the ſame: as pouertie and aduerſitie are profitable & laudable, in other perſons which can with pacient ſtomack, and meeke hart, beare and ſuffer the ſtormes and ſurges of euill fortune, and peruerſe miſchaunce.

Here I finde noted that about thys tyme, that one Thomas Iland a Shrieſe of London, builded of his owne coſtes the great Conduyt in Chepe in London.

After this king Edward hauing all things brought to that effect, which he had long deſired, except the mariage of his daughter with Charles the Dolphyn, much ſtudied and no leſſe deſired to haue this affinitie, according to the appoyntment made and concluded, to be accompliſhed and ſolempniſed, and therefore not only wrote, but ſent diuers meſſengers to the french king for the performaunce of the ſame. The French king which neuer intended to haue that mariage take effect, conſidering that the Dolphin, was muche yonger then the Ladie Elizabeth, and for other cauſes ſent Ambaſſadors to the king of England with faire wordes, and friuolous delayes, making hys excuſe that he had not ſent for the kings daughter to be maried to his ſonne the Dolphin, according to the league and treatie concluded by the occaſion of his great troubles, and buſie warres enterpriſed in high Burgoyne, and the lowe countries, ſo that he was diſgarniſhed as well of his nobilitie, as of other men of honour to receiue her into his realme, according to her eſtate and degree: promiſing faythfully, ſhortly to ſende for her, and to conueye her with ſuch a pompe and royall traine, that it ſhould be to both their honors and landes, and to the high contentation of the king of England and hys Quene, which he no leſſe then her huſband deſired, and fore longed to ſee the concluſion of the ſayde mariage take effect.

1480 20

Theſe Ambaſſadors were well feaſted, and lykewiſe rewarded, and ſo toke their leaue. And wythin a conuenient ſeaſon after, he ſent other Ambaſſadors, which were neuer in Englande before, to the entent that if their predeceſſors, had fayde or concluded any thing, (although they were authoriſed ſo to doe) yet if it myght tourne, to the French kings preiudice or damage, they might without blame, excuſe themſelues by ignorannce, of that matter,

affirmyng that they had no commission to common, or else once to enterpryse, to meddle wyth that matter. Or if he perceiued that any thing was like to be concluded, which sounded not to his pleasure or profite, he would sende for his Ambassador, in great hast, and after sende another, with new instructions nothing depending on the olde.

This fashion kyng Lewys, vsed with all Princes, to whome he sent anie Ambassadors, by the which he compassed many things, to his purpose and to their losse: But most of all, he thus dalyed with the king of Englande concernyng this mariage, onely to the entent, to keepe him styll in amitye, aboue all other Princes. And for a truth the king of Englande beyng of no suspicious nature, so much trusted, and gaue to hym so much confidence, that hee thought the Sunne, would sooner haue fallen from his circle, than that kyng Lewys, eyther would haue dissimuled, or broken his promise wyth him.

But who soner breaketh promise, then he that is most trusted, or who soner deceiueth, then he to whome most credence is attributed. And on the other part, who is so sone beguiled, as he that least mistrusteth, and who soner falleth, then he that casteth no perill, but as in nothing, mistrustyng, is no small lightnesse, so into much trusting, is to much foly: wherefore if king Edwarde had eyther not to much trusted, or mistrusted the French kings fayre promises, (as I woulde he had done in deede) the Crowne of Fraunce, had not so increased in possessions and dominions, to the great glory, and strength of that realme, nor the Princes of Burgoyn, had not so bene plucked, harried, and spoyled, of her fayre townes and Castles as she was, which chaunce, she being destitute of friends, and without comfort of defenders, by patience perforce, was compelled to suffer and susteyne.

Thus is the league made with Lewys the French king, fraudulently closed and dissimuled. Thus is the oth made, and swoorne vppon the holy Euangelistes, violated, and contrary to the worde, and honor of a Prince, broken and falsefyed: by which vntrue dealing, and couert dissimuling, with his especiall and trustie friende, all men may easely see, and more apparauntly then in a glasse beholde that the verie naturall condicion of the French nation, is pleasauntly to flatter, plentifully to reward, and gloriously to glose, till they haue once obteyned, their pretensed purpose, and haue their ambitious desire accomplished and satisfied, and that gaine once gotten on their side, neither othe holdeth, nor friendship continueth, nor yet humanity and kindnesse before shewed, is once regarded, or of them remembred: wherefore (sayth Hall) mine aduise is, let all men trust them, as they finde them.

1481 21 And in this verie season, Iames the thirde of that name king of Scottes, sent into England a solempne Ambassage, for to haue the Lady Cicile, king Edwardes second daughter, to be maried to his eldest sonne, Iames prince of Scotlande, Duke of Rothesay, and Erle of Caricke. King Edward and his counsayle, thinking that this affinitie should be as well honorable as profitable to the realme, did not onely graunt to his desire and demaund, but also before hande disbursed certaine summes of money, to the onely intent, that the mariage should hereafter neither be interrupted nor broken, vpon this condition that if the sayd matrimony by any fortune or chaunce should in time to come, take no successe nor perfection: or that king Edward would notefie to the king of Scottes or his counsayle, that his pleasure was determined to haue

haue the sayd mariage, to be infringed and dissolued: Then the Prouost and Marchaunts of the towne of Edenborough, should be bound for the repaiment of the sayde somme agayne. All which things were with great deliberation concluded & sealed, in hope of continuall peace. But this king Iames being a man of a sharpe wit, more wedded to his awne opinion then reason would scarce beare, would neither here nor geue credite to them, that spake contrarie to his awne phantasie, or his imagined opinion: And to the intent that no man should finde fault with his doings, or reprehende his actes, he promoted and made counsaylers, men of base linage and lowe bloud, and in especiall Cochrane and his company, by whose euill aduise and mischieuous instigation, he so punished and grieued his nobilitie, both with imprisonment, exactions and death, that some of their voluntarie will went into exyle, and other fayning cause to depart, fled into other landes, and straunge Countries. For the Duke of Albanie called Alexander, brother to king Iames, was exiled into Fraunce, but passing through Englande, he taried with king Edward as you shall here. The Erle of Mar a wise and pollitique counsayler, was in Edenborough beheadded: And beside this he forgetting his othe, promise and affinitie, concluded with king Edward, caused armies to be made into England, spoyling, burning, and kylling the kings faythfull subiectes: at the which vnprincely doyng, the king of Englande being not a little moued and chafed, determined to be reuenged on him by battayle and dent of sworde. Yet notwithstanding, because king Iames craftily excusing himselfe, alledging the mischiefe late committed to be attempted & done without his consent, knowledge, or counsayle, this matter had beene lightly pacified and blowen ouer, if the Duke of Albany being with King Edwarde, had not incensed and prouoked him to make warre on the Scottish king his brother, both to reuenge the iniuries of late, to the sayde King done, contrarie to all lawes of armes and princely demeanure, and also to helpe to restore the sayde Duke to his possessions and dominions agayne: out of the which he was by the king his brother dispossessed and reiected, promising to king Edwarde great ayde and assistance, when his armie was once entered into the confines of Scotland.

King Edward beyng thus perswaded by the Duke, and trustyng on his aide, was somewhat agreeable to this: but the inwarde remembraunce how that king Iames, had supported against him, with men and money, his olde enemie king Henrie the first: and also trusting, that if Alexander Duke of Albanie by his ayde should vanquishe his brother, and obteine the Crowne of Scotland, he would be alwayes to him, sure, faithfull, and trustie: whiche did so enflame his courage, and set his heart on fire, that he determined with all diligence, with an armie royall, to inuade the Countrie of Scotland, and make the king to knowe that he had neither honourably nor truely kept his league and promise: Wherefore, all the winter season, he mustred his souldiors, prepared his ordinaunce, rigged his shippes, and left nothing apperteinyng to the warre vnpurueied or vnloked for: so that in the beginnyng of the yere, all thinges were prepared, and no thing was missed.

And when all thinges apperteinyng, to the furniture of suche an enterprice, were put in a redinesse, and redie to be set forwarde: King Edward appointed, to be chiefetaine of his host, and Lieutenant generall, his brother 1482 22

The king sendeth a great armye to inuade Scotland.

Richard Duke of Gloucester, and to him associated, Henry the fourth Erle of Northumberland, Thomas Lorde Stanley, Lorde Steward of his household, the Lorde Louell, and the Lorde Greystocke, and diuers other noble men and knightes. These valiaunt Capitaines set forwarde in May, and made such diligence, with pollitique conueyaunce of their souldiours: beside the troubleous cariage of their ordinaunce, that they came to the towne of Alnewicke, in Northumberland, about the beginnyng of July, where they first encamped themselues, and marshalled their hoste. The forewarde was led by the Erle of Northumberland, vnder whose Standard were, the Lord Scrope of Bolton, sir John Middleton, sir John Dichfield, and diuers other knightes, Esquiers and Souldiours, to the number of fiue thousand, and seuen hundred men. In the middle warde was the Duke of Gloucester, and with him the Duke of Albanie, the Lorde Louell, the Lorde Greystock, sir Edwarde Wooduile, and other, to the number of fiue thousand, and eight hundreth men. The Lorde Neuell was appoynted to folowe, accompanied with three thousand men. The Lorde Stanley, led the wing on the right hand of the Dukes battaile, with foure thousande men, of Lancashire, and Chesshire: The left wing was guided by the Lorde fitz Hewe, sir William a Parre, sir James Harryngton, with the number of two thousand men, & beside all these, there was a thousand men appoynted to geue attendance on the ordinaunce. This royall army, not entendyng to slepe, but to geue the Scots knowlege of their arriuall in those parties, came sodainly by the water syde, to the towne of Berwicke, and there what with force, and what with feare of so great an armie, tooke and entered the towne: But the Erle Bothwell, beyng Capitaine of the Castell, would in no wise deliuer it, neither for flatteryng wordes, nor for manacing bragges: wherefore, the Capitaines deliberately consultyng together, planted a strong siege, and enuironed it round about. When this siege was thus layde, the two Dukes, and all the other Souldiors, except the Lorde Stanley, sir John Elrington, treasorer of the kinges house, sir William a Parre, and foure thousand men, that were left behinde to keepe the siege before the Castell, departed from Barwicke towarde Edenborough: And in marchyng thytherward, he brent and destroyed in Scotland more then. xliiij. townes.

While these thinges were in doyng, King James of Scotland, hauing small confidence in his Commonaltie, & lesse trust in his Nobilitie, did voluntarily enclose himselfe into the strong Castell of Maydens in Edenborough, perfectly trusting there to be out of all doubts and daunger, except famine, or treason should cause him violently to open the portes or gates: wherfore the Duke of Gloucester entred into the towne, and at the especiall request & desire of the Duke of Albany, saued the towne, & the inhabitaunts of the same, from fire, blood, and spoyle, takyng onely such presentes as the marchaunts gently offered him, and his Capitaines: Causyng Gartier, principall king at armes, to make a publike Proclamacion at the high Crosse, in the Market place of Edenborough, in the which he warned and admonished, James king of Scottes, to keepe, obserue, and performe all such promises, compactes, couenauntes, and agreementes, as he had concluded and sealed to, with the high and mightie Prince Edward, by the grace of God king of England. &c. And also to make condigne and sufficient recompence to his Subiectes, for the

the great tirannie, spoyle, and crueltie, that he and his people had perpetrate, and committed contrary to his league, within the marches and territoryes of his Realme of Englande, before the first day of August next ensuyng.

And farther without delay to restore the high & mighty Prince Alexander, Duke of Albany, hys naturall brother to hys estate, and all hys offices, possessions, and authorities, in as ample and liberall maner, as he before occupied and enioyed the same: or else the high and valiaunt prince Richarde Duke of Gloucester, Lieutenant generall, and chiefetain for the kyng of Englande, was redy at hande to destroy hym, his people and country with slaughter, fyre, and famine.

Kyng James woulde make no aunswere, neyther by worde nor by writyng, knowyng that his power nowe fayled, either to performe the request demaunded, or to defende his countrie beyng with such a puissant armye inuaded. The Lordes of Scotlande, lyng at Hadington wyth a great puissaunce, hearyng the kyng of Englandes reasonable desire, determined first to practise wyth the Duke of Gloucester for a peace, and so to haue the castle of Berwicke to their parte and after by some meanes to allure the Duke of Albanie, from the English amitie, and vpon this motion, the. ij. day of August, they wrate to the Duke of Gloucester, that the mariage betwene the Prince of Englande shoulde be accomplished in all poyntes, according to the conuenantes agreed, and the instrumentes therof engrossed, requiring farther that a peace from hence forth might be louinglye concluded betweene both the Realmes. The Duke of Gloucester wisely and circumspectly certified them agayne, that as touchyng the article of mariage, to take effect betwene their Prince and the Lady Cicilie of England, he knew not the determinate pleasure of the kyng his maister and brother, eyther for the affirmaunce or denyaunce of the same, but he desired full restitucion of all such summes of money, as for the said mariage before time had bene disbursed, or prested out in loane, And where the sayde Lordes desyred to haue a peace concluded from thencefoorth, betwene both the sayde realmes. He first required to haue the Castell of Barwicke to him deliuered, at the least if he did agree to the sayde peace, that then his siege lyng about the sayde Castell, shoulde be hereafter in any wise, neither troubled, vexed, nor molested, nor the king of Scottes, nor none of his subiectes, nor any other by his procurement or prouoking, should ayde, comfort, or assist with victaile, ordinance, or otherwyse the Capitaine, Constable, or souldiors of the sayd Castell, duryng the siege.

The Lordes, Prelates, Barons, and estates of the realme of Scotland, perceiuyng and well pondering, both the aunswere and the demaundes of the Duke of Gloucester, sent to him sufficiently enstructed with these conclusions the reuerend father Andrew, Erle of Murray, and the Lord John Darnell, which thus aunswered, that where the sayde Duke desired repayment of the summes of money deliuered in part of payment for the contract of mariage, to be made betwene the Prince of Scotland, and the kinges daughter of England: the time of lawfull contract of mariage is not yet come, because of the minoritie of the sayde Prince and Princesse. And the fault here of is, that no day was appoynted for the money, to be payde before the contract began. And if the king your brother would demaund farther assuraunce, either for the contract to be made, or for the payment of the money, they promise thereunto,

vnto, accoꝛding to reaſon to agree. Secondarily as touching the Caſtell of Barwicke, they ſayde, all we knewe well enough, that it is the olde enheritaunce of the Crowne of Scotland, of many hundꝛeth yeres paſt, and that our ſouereigne Lord hath right thervnto. And if it be alleged, that it belonged to the realme of England by conqueſt, it is well knowen that it ſtandeth in Scotland, and ouer the Scottiſhe ground. The Duke notwithſtanding their ſayings, would condiſcend to no peace, without the Caſtell of Barwicke were rendered to the king of Englande, and ſo the Meſſengers departed, and on the ſame daye the Archebyſhop of Saint Andꝛewes, the Byſhop of Dunkelle Colyn, Erle of Argyle, Lorde Cambell, and Lorde Andꝛewe, Lorde Auandale, Chauncelour of Scotlande, wꝛote vnto the Duke of Albanie a ſolempne and autenticall Inſtrument, ſigned and ſealed wyth their ſeales, bindyng their bodies, landes, and goodes, to the ſayde Duke, that if he would hereafter be obedient to the king of Scottes, and keepe and obſerue his fayth and pꝛomiſe to be made to the ſayde Lordes, that he ſhould not onelye bee reſtoꝛed to all his landes, hereditamentes, offices and poſſeſſions, whiche he enioyed at the daye of hys departure out of Scotlande, but alſo ſhould haue and enioy to him, and his ſeruauntes and familiers, a free and a generall pardon, which reſtitution and pardon, they likewiſe pꝛomiſed to be ratified and appꝛoued by the king and the thꝛee eſtates aſſembled at the next Parliament. The Duke beyng glad to be reſtoꝛed againe to his olde eſtate and poſſeſſions, and eſpecially in his awne natiue Countrie, receyued their offer, which was truely perfoꝛmed, and ſo tooke his leaue of the Duke of Gloceſter, thanking him (as he was no leſſe bound) foꝛ the great laboꝛ, trauaile and paine, that he had taken in his awne perſon foꝛ his reſtitution. And pꝛomiſed both by woꝛde, and by wꝛityng of his awne hand to doe and perfoꝛme all ſuch thinges, as he befoꝛe that tyme had ſwoꝛne and pꝛomiſed to king Edward, notwithſtandyng any agreement, nowe made oꝛ to be made with the Lordes of Scotland: and foꝛ the perfoꝛmaunce of the effect of the ſayde Scedule, he againe tooke a coꝛpoꝛall othe befoꝛe the Duke of Glouceſter, and ſealed the wꝛityng the thirde day of Auguſt, in the Engliſhe campe at Leuington, beſides Hadington, & departed to his awne poſſeſſions. After he was thus reſtoꝛed and reconciled, the Lordes of Scotland pꝛoclaimed him great Lieutenant of Scotland, and in the kinges name made Pꝛoclamation, that all men ſhoulde be readie, vpon paine of death within .viij. dayes at Crauſhanes, both to rayſe the ſiege befoꝛe the Caſtell, and foꝛ the recouerying againe of the towne of Barwicke. The Duke of Albanie wꝛote all this pꝛeparacion to the Duke of Gloceſter, humbly requiring him to haue no miſtruſt in him, pꝛomiſyng to kepe his othe and pꝛomiſe, made to kyng Edward and to him. The Duke of Glouceſter wꝛote to him againe, that it ſhould neither be honoꝛable noꝛ cõmendable in him, to helpe to raiſe the ſiege, at the laiyng whereof he was counſayloꝛ and partener, noꝛ yet to reward the king of England with ſuch a diſpleaſure foꝛ his kindeneſſe, coſtes, and expences, to him in his extreme neceſſitie, louyngly ſhewed, and liberally exhibited. But he aſſured him in the woꝛde of a Pꝛince, that if he and all the power of Scotland attempted to come to rayſe the ſiege, planted befoꝛe the Caſtell of Barwike, that he himſelfe with his armie woulde defende the beſiegers, oꝛ elſe die in the quarell.

The

The counſayle of Scotlande ſagely and politiquely ſawe befoꝛe, that if they ſhoulde come to rayſe the ſiege, that the Duke of Gloceſter woulde with them ſhoꝛtly encounter, and that if they loſt the fielde, both the ſtrength of the realme was bꝛought to an imbecilitie, the nobles ſoꝛe minished, and the Caſtell loſt and taken. And on the other ſide, if they obteyned victoꝛye, nothing was gotten but the poꝛe towne of Barwike, & they were likely ſone to be inuaded wyth a greater powꝛe ſhoꝛtly agayne, wherfoꝛe they ſent Lyon king at armes to the Duke of Gloceſter, offeryng to hym as they thought, two offers very reaſonable, the one was, that if he would pꝛomiſe on hys honoꝛ, to ſubuert and caſt downe the towne walles of Barwicke, they woulde likewyſe race, and clerely deface the walles, Towꝛes, and poꝛtes of the Caſtell, oꝛ elſe the Duke of Gloceſter to put in a capytayne, and a garriſon of men of warre into the towne, and the Duke of Albanie, likewiſe to doe with the Caſtel, foꝛ the Tuicion of the ſame. And farther the foꝛſayde Lion deſired an abſtinence of warre to be taken, till the two Dukes might haue communication, of thys and other graue matters, concerning the welthes of both the Realmes. The Duke of Glouceſter refuſed both the offers, ſaiyng, that he had long maintayned the ſiege befoꝛe the Caſtell of Barwicke, to no ſmall waſt and conſumyng of hys bꝛothers treaſure and riches, and to the great trauaile & payne of the Lordes, Gentlemen, and men of warre, that continuallye made there abode and dayly reſidence, at the ſayde ſiege: wherefoꝛe he ſaid, that he in this poynt was firmely reſolued, not to departe tyll the caſtell were yelded by appoyntment, oꝛ taken by foꝛce, oꝛ elſe his ſiege were by the power of Scotlande rayſed, oꝛ he and his armie banquiſhed: wherefoꝛe hee woulde by no meane harken to the petition of the Scottiſh Lordes, concerning the abſtinence of warre, tyll he were eyther banquiſhed oꝛ poſſeſſed of the Caſtell of Barwicke. With which aunſwere the Herault departed, and thereof made relacion to the Lordes and counſayle of Scotlande. When the Dukes aunſwere was of them well digeſted, they euidently perceiuyng that the Caſtell of Barwicke was the onely maker of the peace, and that the not deliuerye of the ſame, ſhould be the noꝛice and continuer of warre and hoſtilitie: conſyderyng farther, that the nobilitie noꝛ commons of Scotlande, did not dꝛaw together by one line, noꝛ were foꝛced in one leuell, electyng and chooſing the better parte, and reiectyng and auoyding the woꝛſe, agreed and determined to delyuer the Caſtell of Barwicke to the Engliſh partie, ſo that there ſhould be truce oꝛ abſtinence of warre taken and concluded foꝛ a determinate ſeaſon. And therevpon they ſent to the Duke of Gloceſter a league indented, which was dated the .xxiiij. day of Auguſt, in the yeere of our Lorde a. M.CCCC. lxxxij. in the which it was contracted and agreed betwene the Duke of Gloceſter, lieuetenaunt generall foꝛ the king of Englande, and Alexander Duke of Albanie, lieuetenaunt foꝛ James kyng of Scottes, that an eſpeciall abſtinence of warre ſhoulde be kept and obſerued betwixt the realmes of Englande and Scotlande and the people of the ſame, aſwell by ſea, as by lande, to begyn the. viij. day of September next enſuing, & to endure till the fourth day of Nouember, next folowyng. And in the meane ſeaſon, the towne and Caſtell of Barwicke, to be occupied, and bee in the reall poſſeſſion of ſuch as by the kyng of Englands deputie ſhoulde be apoynted and aſſigned with all and ſinguler ſuch bounds, limites, and territoꝛies as the Engliſh nacion, laſt

vſed

vsed and possessed, when the Castell and towne were in the subiection of the Englishmen, and all other marches & boundes, beyng in difference betwene the sayde realmes, to stande and to be holden in lyke case and condition, as they were before the last truce concluded. The Duke of Gloceſter, which well perceiued that the Scottes more graunted to his demaunds, for relefe of their owne necessitie, then to gratifie hym or the kyng his brother in any poynt: lyke a wise counsayler, toke his aduantage when it was offered, and especially because these things made for his long desired purpose.

The recouerie of the towne & the Castell of Barwike.

First the deliuery of the Castell of Barwicke, he voluntarily wythout counsayle (as a praye priuily gotten) both accepted and alowed, and for that only cause he did not refuse the abstinence of warre but to that gently agreed. As touching the possession, to be kept in the landes depending in variance betwene the realmes (commonlye called the batable grounde) he wouldenot, nor durst not conclude wyth the Duke of Albanie, without hauing farther intelligence of the king hys souereigne Lordes pleasure and counsaile, meanyng thereby euer to keepe them, as suiters to him, and he no farther to seke on them, and in the meane season to let that matter be in suspence. When he had sealed to the first two Articles, & that they were sent againe to the Lords of Scotlande, they them gladly receiued, and with good will embraced, and lykewise truely performed the same: for the Castell of Barwicke was incontinent deliuered to the Lorde Stanley, and other thereto appointed, which therein put both Englishe men and Artilerie, sufficient for the defence of all Scotlande for .vj. monethes. By this meanes as you haue harde, the Englishmen repossessed agayne the towne and castell of Barwicke, which .xxj. yeres before by kyng Henry the firt was to the Scottes, as you haue hard, giuen vp & deliuered. And lest peraduenture the Duke of Gloceſter might thinke that the Duke of Albanie did not in all things set forwarde, preferre, and auance his first requestes, and demaundes, made and required of the Lordes of Scotland, and in especiall one which was for the assurance to be made for the repaiment to the king of Englande, of all such summes of money, as he had before hande prested and disbursed to the kyng of Scottes for the mariage to be solempnised and consummate betwene their childrē, as before is rehersed. Therefore the sayde Duke of Albanie caused the Prouost and Burgesses of Edenborough to make a sufficient instrument obligatorye, to Kynge Edwarde, for the true satisfaction and contentation of the same money, which he also sent by the sayde Prouost to the Duke of Gloceſter to Alnewyke.

When the Duke of Gloceſter had thus obteined his purpose, and receiued writings signed and sealed for the performance of the same, he sent the instruments, to king Edward his brother, which much cōmended both his valiant manhood, and also hys prudent pollicy in conueying his businesse, both to his awne purpose, and also to the profite of the realme. King Edward not a little mused, and much more debated with his counsayle, whether it were more profitable and honorable to him and his realme, to suffer the sayd mencioned mariage to take effect, and proceede to a conclusion, or else to require a repayment and redeliuery of the summes of money layde out for the same purpose. After long consultation had, and it was considered in what case the realme and the king of Scottes stood in, for it was well knowen that he and hys

hys Nobilitie were at great discorde as you before haue heard: it was considered farther, that if the nobilitie preuayled and gat the souereigntie, the lyne and succession of James the thirde were likely to be vtterly extirpate, and disinherited for euer: It was also alleged that the Prince of Scotlande neuer condiscended, nor as he himselfe sayde would agree to this mocioned mariage. These things thus debated, the king by great aduise, refused and reuoked all things to be done for the more forewardnesse of the sayde matrimonie, and elected and chose the repayment of all such summes of money, as for the occasion of the sayde betrusted mariage was payde, and before hande contented and deliuered. And according to the wordes of the obligation, made by the towne of Edenborough, he sent Garter hys principall king at Armes and Northumberlande Herault, to declare and intimate to the Prouost and Burgesses of Edenborough, the determinate refusall of the matrimony, and the election and chopse of the repayment of the money and duety. And for the farther ouerture of the whole conclusion, Garter was instructed by wryting what he should saye and declare: and so by conuenient iourneys came to the towne of Edenborough, eyght dayes before the feast of all Saintes, where he openly sayde as foloweth: I Garter king at armes, seruaunt, protectour and messenger vnto the most high and mightie prince, my most dread souereigne Lorde, Edwarde by the grace of God, king of Englande and of Fraunce, and Lorde of Ireland, by vertue of certaine letters of procuracie here redie to be shewed by mee, by my sayde souereigne Lorde made and geuen, make notice and geue knowlege vnto you Prouost, Burgesses, Marchauntes and communaltie of the towne of Edenborough in Scotland, that where as it was sometime commoned & agreed, betwene my sayde souereigne Lorde on the one partie, and the right high and mightie prince James king of Scottes on the other party, that mariage and matrimonie should haue bene solempnised and had betwene James the first begotten sonne of the sayd king of Scottes, and Ladie Cicile daughter to my sayde souereigne Lorde the king of England. And for the sayde mariage to haue bene performed, certain and diuers great summes of money, haue bene payde and contented by my sayde souereigne Lord: which summes of money in case of refusall of the sayde mariage, by my sayde souereigne Lorde to be made and declared, ye the said Prouost, Burgesses, Marchaunts and communaltie, and euery one of you are bounde and obliged by your letters vnder your common seale of your towne of Edenborough, to repaye vnto hys highnesse vnder like forme, and at such termes as they were first paide. So that the king my souereigne Lorde would make notice and knowlege of his pleasure and election, in taking or refusing of the sayde mariage, of the repayment of the sayde summes of money, before the feast of Alhalowes nert to come, lyke as in your sayde letters, bearing date at Edenborough the fourth day of August last past, it was conteyned all at large. The pleasure and election of my sayde souereigne Lorde, for diuers causes and considerations him mouing, is to refuse the accomplishement of the sayde mariage, and to haue the repayment of all such summes of money, as by occasion of the sayde betrusted mariage, his highnesse had payde. The sayde repayment to be had of your Prouoste, Burgesses, Marchaunts, and communaltie, and euery of you, your heyres and successours, according to your bond and obligation

The message of Garter king at Armes.

gation afore rehersed. And therefore I geue you notice and knowlege by this writing, which I deliuer to you within the terme in your saide letters limitted and expressed to all entents and effects, which thereof may ensue.

When Garter had thus declared all things geuen to him in charge, the Prouost or other Burgesses made answere, that they nowe knowing the kings determinate pleasure, would according to their bonde, prepare for the repayment of the sayde summes, and gently entertayning Garter conueyed him to Barwike, from whence he departed to newe Castell, to the Duke of Gloucester, making relation to him of all his doings, which Duke with all speede returned to Sheryhutton, and there abode. Shortly after Garters departing, the Duke of Albanie, thinking to obteyne agayne the high fauour of the king his brother, deliuered him out of captiuitie and prison, wherein he had a certaine space continued (not without the Dukes assent, which besieged him in the Castell of Edenborough a little before) and set him at large, of whome outwardly he receyued great thankes, when inwardly nothing, but reuenging and confusion was in the kings stomack incorporate, so that shortly after in the kings presence, he was in ieopardie of his life, & all improuided for dread of death enforced to take a small Balinger & to saile into Fraunce, where shortly after ryding by the men of armes, which encountered at the Tilt, by Lewys then Duke of Orliaunce, after French king, he was with mischarging of a speare, by fortunes peruerse countenaunce pitifully slayne and brought to death, leauing after him one onely sonne named John, which being banished Scotlande, enhabited and maried in Fraunce, and there died. How sorrowfull is it to write, and to remember the chaunces and infortunites that happened within two yere in England and Scotlande, betweene naturall brethren. For king Edwarde set on by such as enuied the estate of the Duke of Clarence, forgetting nature, and brotherly friendship, consented to the death of hys sayde brother. James king of Scottes, putting in oblition that Alexander his brother was the onely Organe and instrument by whome he obteyned libertie and freedome, seduced and led by vyle and malicious persons, which maligned at the glory and indifferent iustice of the Duke of Albanie, imagined and compassed his death and exiled him for euer: what a pernicious Serpent, and what a pestiferous Scorpion is that deuilishe whelpe, called priuie Enuie? Agaynst it no fortresse can defend nor caue can hide, no wood can shadowe, nor foule can escape, nor no beast can auoyde, her poyson is so strong.

The Duke of Albanie in daunger of his life, is forced to flie into Fraunce and shortly after was there slaine.

Wherefore let euery indifferent person searche histories, read Chronicles, looke on authours, as well holy as prophane, and they shall apparauntly perceyue, that neyther open warre, daylie famine, nor accustomed mortalitie, is not so much an enemie, nor so great a Walle to destroye, and ouerthrowe high power and Nobilitie, as is rooted malice, inward grudge, and dissimuled hatred.

Although that king Edwarde were glad & ioyous of all the prosperous successe of all enterprises in the realme of Scotlande, yet euen now hys feuer tercian, of the which he had languished sore, sithe hys voyage royall into Fraunce, was sodainely turned into a vncurable quartain: For where he was before tossed betweene hope and dispaire, that the matrimonie of hys daughter and Charles the Dolphin, should come to the solempnization, according to the league, betwene him & the french king, concluded at Picquegnie: Now he was out of all doubt. For the Lorde Hayward which was returned out of Fraunce, with many faire wordes & painted promises but without tribute or conclusion of the mariage, certified the king of his awne knowlege: howe that he beyng present, sawe the Ladie Margaret of Austriche, daughter to Duke Maximilian, sonne to the Emperor Fredericke, receyued into Fraunce, with pompe more then Emperiall, by the Duke of Burbon, the Lorde Delabret, and many other Lords and magistrates of the realme, and so with great triumph, conueyed to Amboyse, where the Dolphyn laye, and there was to him contracted and espoused.

King Edward now beyng certein, how the French king had with pleasant language, & colourable answeres, foded him forth, and allured him to geue credence, to his dissimulyng wordes, neither meanyng as he sayde, nor shewyng what he ment, determined with himselfe, no longer to suffer so apparant wrong, nor so intollerable an iniurie. Wherefore, he called his Nobilitie together, and declared to them the manifolde wrong, which he had receyued of late at the handes of the Frenche king, and howe he vntruely and vnprincely, had broken the league and amitie, aswell in denyng the payment of the tribute, as also in refusyng the accomplishement of the mariage of his daughter, accordyng as in the treatie was concluded. Requiryng them therefore to studie how to reuenge and punishe so great a villanie, offered to their native Countrie. The nobilitie not a little glad of this motion, answered: that their whole desyre was to fight with the Frenche men, whome they often times had banquished, and ouercome in battaile, and that for the dignitie and fame of their Countrie, they would let nothing be vnattempted, offering him in an instant, to be redie in harnesse, to fulfill his minde and desire. When the king knewe the towarde myndes of his subiectes of the Temporaltie, he moued the Spiritualtie (because by the ecclesiasticall lawes, they be prohibited to weare armure) to ayde him with money; for maintenaunce of his warres, & suppressyng of his enemies, who also condiscended to his request.

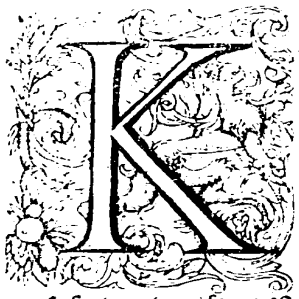
And in this yere I find noted that Edmond Shaw Goldsmith who had bene Maior of London, of his awne costs redefied Cripplegate in London.

But now behold, while king Edward was intentiue, & employed his whole labor diligence, and industerie, to furnish & set forward this warre, which he newly had attempted & begon: whether it was with the melancholy, & anger that he toke with the French king, for his vntruth and vnkindnesse, or were it by any superfluous surfet (to the which he was much geuen) he sodainly fell sicke, and was with a grieuous maladie taken, yea, so grieuously taken, that his liuely spirites began to faile, and war feble, which weakenesse when he perceyued, he called together all his nobles, which that time were about London, and sayd vnto them as in the historie of king Edwarde the fift shall be at large declared, and so shortly after departed vnto God, and was buried at Windsore.

1483

1463

This storye from the beginning of this wrytyng, and a parte of Richarde the third as shall appere by a note in the margent was written by sir Thomas Moore when he was vnder Shrife of London, and nowe of late conferred & corrected by his owne copie.



Jng Edward of that name the foꝛth, after that he had lyued .Liij.yeres and .viij. Monethes, and vj.dayes, and had reigned kyng .xxij. yeres, one moneth & viij.daies, as is afoꝛe expꝛessed, died at Westminster the .ix. day of Apꝛill, the yere of our redemption .1463. leauing much fayꝛe issue, that is to witte. Edwarde the Pꝛince .xiij. yeres of age: Richarde Duke of Yoꝛke two yere yonger, Elizabeth whose foꝛtune and grace was after to be Queene, wyfe vnto King Henrye the vij. and mother vnto king Henry the .viij. Cicilie not so foꝛtunate as fayꝛe: Bꝛiget, which repꝛesentyng the vertue of her, whose name she bare, pꝛofessed and obserued a religious life in Dertfoꝛde a house of close Nonnes: Anne that was after honoꝛablye maryed vnto Thomas then Loꝛde Hawarde, and after Erle of Surrye, and Katheryn which long time tossed in eyther foꝛtune, sometyme in wealth, and often in aduersitie, at the last, if this be the last (foꝛ yet she lyueth) is by the benignitye of her Nephewe king Henrye the eyght in very pꝛosperous estate, and woꝛthye her birth and vertue.

The burial of king Edwarde the fourth.

After that this noble Pꝛince was deceassed at Westminster as afoꝛesayde, he was wyth great funerall honoꝛ and heauynesse of his people from thence conueyed and enterred at Windsoꝛe. A kyng of such gouernaunce and behauioꝛ in tyme of peace (foꝛ in warre each part must be others enemye) that there was neuer any pꝛin.ce of this lande attayning the Crowne by battayle, so heartily beloued with the substaunce of the people: noꝛ he himselfe so specially in any part of his lyfe, as at the tyme of his death. Which fauour and affection yet after his death, by the crueltie, mischiefe and trouble of the tempestious woꝛlde that folowed, highly towarde him moꝛe encreased. At such tyme as he dyed, the displeasure of them that bare him grudge foꝛ kyng Henries sake the first, whom he deposed was well asswaged, & in effect quenched, in that that many of them were dead in moꝛe then .xx. yeres of his reigne (a great part of a long lyfe) and many of them in the meane season growen into his fauoꝛ, of which he was neuer straunge. He was a goodly personage and very pꝛincely to beholde: Of hart couragious, pollitique in counsayll, in aduersitie nothing abashed, in pꝛosperitie rather ioyful then pꝛoude, in peace, iust and mercifull, in warre, sharpe and fierce, in the felde, bolde and hardye, and natheleſſe no farther then wisdome would, aduenturous. Whose warres whoso well consider, he shall no lesse commend his wisedome where he boyded, then his manhood where he vanquished. He was of visage louely, of body mightie, strong and cleane made, howbeit in his later dayes with ouer liberall diet, somewhat coꝛpulent and bowzelye, and natheleſſe not vncomelye. He was in youth greatly geuen to fleshly wantonnesse: From which health of bodye in great pꝛosperitie and foꝛtune without a speciall grace hardlye refrayneth. This faulte not greatly greued the people: foꝛ neyther could any one mans pleasure, stretch and extende to the displeasure of very many, and was without

The description of K. Edward the fourth.

without violence, and ouer that in hys later dayes blessed and well left. In which tyme of his later dayes, this realme was in quiet & pꝛosperous estate, no feare of outwarde enemyes, no warre in hande, noꝛ none towarde, but such as no man loked foꝛ. The people towarde the Pꝛince not in a constreyned feare, but in a willyng and louyng obedience among themselues, and the commons in good peace. The Loꝛdes whome he knew at barpaunce, himselfe in his deathbed appeased. He hadde left all gatheryng of money (which is the onely thing that wythdꝛaweth the hartes of the Englishe men from the Pꝛince) noꝛ any thing entred he to take in hand by which he should be dꝛyuen thereto: Foꝛ his tribute out of Fraunce hee had befoꝛe obtayned. And the yere foꝛegoyng his death he had obtayned the towne of Barwike, And albeit that all the time of his reigne, he was with his people so benigne, courtesie, and so familier, that no part of his vertues was moꝛe esteemed, yet that condicion in the ende of his dayes (in which many pꝛinces by a long continued souereintye decline to a pꝛoude poꝛt from debonayꝛ behauioꝛ of their beginnyng) meruelousliе in him grew and encreased: so farfoꝛth that in the Sommer last that euer he sawe, his highnesse beyng at Wyndsoꝛ in hunting sent foꝛ the Maioꝛ and Aldermen of Londō vnto him, foꝛ none other arrand but to haue them hunt, and to be mery with him, where he made them not so stately, but so friendly & so familier cheere, & sent venison from thence so frely into the Cittie, that no one thing in many dayes befoꝛe gat him moe harts, oꝛ moꝛe hartie fauoꝛ among the common people, which oftentymes moꝛe esteme, and take foꝛ great kindnesse a little courtesye then a great benefite. So deceassed as I haue saide, this noble kyng, in that tyme, in which his lyfe was most desyred, whose loue of hys people and entier affection towardes hym, had bene to his noble childꝛen (hauing in themselues also as many giftes, of nature, as many pꝛincely vertues, as much goodlye towardnesse as theyꝛ age could receiue) a meruelious foꝛtresse and sure armoꝛ, if deuision, and dissencion of their friendes, had not vnarmed them, and left them destitute, and the execrable desyre of souereintie, pꝛouoked him to their destruction, which if either kind, oꝛ kindnesse had holden place, must nedes haue bene their chiefe defence. Foꝛ Richarde the Duke of Glocester, by nature their vncle, by office their pꝛotectoꝛ, to their father beholden, to themselues by oth and allegeaunce bounden, all the bandes bꝛoken, that bindeth man and man together without respect of God oꝛ the woꝛlde, vnnaturally contryued to bereue them, not onelie of their dignitie, but also of their lyues. But foꝛasmuch as this demeanoꝛ ministreth in effect all the whole matter, whereof this speciall storye shall intreate, it is therefoꝛe conuenyent somewhat to shewe you ere we farther go, what maner of man this was that coulde fynde in his hart so much mischiefe to conceiue.

Richarde Duke of Yoꝛke how he chalenged the Crowne.

Richard Duke of Yoꝛke, a noble man and a mightie, began not by warre but by lawe to chalenge the Crowne, puttyng his clayme into the Parliament, where his cause was either foꝛ right oꝛ fauoꝛ so farfoꝛth aduaunced, that king Henry his blood (albeit he had a goodly Pꝛince) vtterly reiected, the Crowne was by auctoꝛitie of Parliament entayled vnto the Duke of Yoꝛke and his issue male in remainder immediately after the death of king Henry. But the Duke not indurying so long to tary, but entendyng vnder pretext of dissention and debate arising in the realme, to pꝛeuent his time, and

Richarde Duke of Yorke slaine at wakefield.

to take vpon him the rule in king Henryes life, was with many Nobles of the realme at Wakefielde slaine, leauyng three sonnes, Edwarde, George, and Richard. All thre as they are great states of birth, so were they great & stately of stomacke, gredie, and ambicious of auctoritie, and impacient of partners.

This was king Edward the fourth.

Edward reuengyng his fathers death, depriued king Henry, and attayned the Crowne.

George duke of Clarence.

George Duke of Clarence was a noble Prince, and at all poyntes fortunate, if either his owne ambicion had not set him agaynst his brother, or the enuy of his enemyes, his brother agaynst him. For were it by the Queene and the Lordes of her blood, which highly maligned the kinges kindred (as women commonly not of malice, but of nature hate them whome their husbandes loue) or were it a proude appetite of the Duke himselfe entendyng to be king: at the last heynous treason was there layd to his charge, and finally were he faultie or faultlesse, attainted was he by Parliament, and iudged to the death, and therevpon hastily drowned in a Butte of Malmesie (as is aforesayde) whose death king Edward (albeit he commaunded it) when he wist it was done, pitifully bewayled it, and sorowfully repented it.

The description of king Richard the thirde.

Richard the thirde sonne, of whome we nowe intreate, was in wit and courage egall with either of them, in bodie and prowesse farre vnder them both, little of stature, euill featured of limmes, crooke backed, his left shoulder much higher then his right, hard fauoured of visage, and such as is in states called warlike, in other men, otherwise, he was malicious, wrathfull, enuyous, and from afore his birth euer froward. It is for truth reported, that the Duches his mother had so much a do in her trauaile, that she could not be deliuered of him vncut: and that he came into the world with the feete forward, as men be borne outward, and (as the fame runneth) also not vntothed: whether men of hatred report aboue the truth, or else that nature chaunged her course in his beginnyng, which in the course of his life many thinges vnnaturally committed, I cannot tell. None euill Capitaine was he in the warre, as to the which his disposicion was more meetly then for peace. Sundry victories had he, and sometyme ouerthrowes, but neuer in default as for his owne person, either of hardinesse or of pollitique order: Free was he called of dispence, and somewhat aboue his power liberall: with large giftes he gate him vnstedfast friendship, for which he was faine to pill and spoyle in other places, which gat to himselfe stedfast hatred: He was close and secret and a depe dissimuler, lowly of countenaunce, arrogant of heart, outwardly comynable where he inwardly hated, not letting to kisse whome he thought to kill: despiteous & cruell, not for euill will alway, but oftener for Ambicion, and either for the suretie or the encrease of his estate: Friend and foe was much what indifferent vnto him: where his aduauntage grew, he spared no mannes death, whose life withstoode his purpose. He slue with his owne handes king Henry the firt beyng prisoner in the Tower of London, as men constantly say, and that without commaundement or knowlege of the king, which would vndoubtedly, if he had entended that thing, haue appointed that Butcherly office to some other then to his owne borne brother. Some wyse men also weene that his drift couertly conueyed, lacked not in helpyng forth his brother Duke of Clarence to his death: which he resisted openly, how be it somewhat (as men demed) more faintly then he that were hartily myn ded to his

The death of king Henry the firt.

to his welth. And they that thus deeme, thinke that he long time in king Edwardes life forethought to be king, in case that his brother (whose lyfe he loked that euill diet should shorten) should happen to decease (as in deede he did) while his children were yong. And they deme that for this intent, he was glad of his brothers death the Duke of Clarence, whose life must nedes haue hindered him so entendyng, whether the same Duke of Clarence had kept him true to his nephew the yong king, or enterprised to be king himselfe. But of all this matter concernyng the Duke of Clarence, there is no certeintie, and whoso deuiseth vpon coniectures, may as well shote to farre, as to short. Howbeit this I haue by credible information learned, that the selfe night in which king Edwarde died, one Mistlebrooke long before morning came in great haste to the house of one Pottier, dwelling in Redcrosse streete without Crepelgate: And when he was with hastie rappyng quickly letten in, he shewed vnto Pottier that king Edwarde was departed: by my troth man quod Pottier, then will my maister the Duke of Glocester be king. What cause he had so to thinke, hard it is to say, whether he beyng towards him any thing knewe that he such a thing purposed, or otherwise had any inckelyng therof: for he was not likely to speake it of naught.

But nowe to returne to the course of this historie, were it that the Duke of Glocester had of olde forempended this conclusion, or was now at earst therevnto moued, and put in hope by the occasion of the tender age of the yong Princes his nephewes (as opportunitie and likelihoode of spede, putteth a man in courage of that he neuer entented) certeine it is that he contrined their destruction, with the vsurpacion of the Regall dignitie vpon himselfe. And forasmuche as he well wysted, and holpe to maintaine a long continued grudge and heart brennyng betweene the Queenes kindred and the kings blood, either partie enuiyng others auctoritie, he now thought that their deuision should be (as it was in dede) a fortherly beginnyng to the pursuyte of his entent, and a sure ground for the foundacion of all his buyldyng, if hee might first vnder the pretence of reuengyng, abuse the anger and ignorannce of the one partie, to the destruction of the other: and then winne to his purpose as many as he could: and those that could not be wonne, might be lost ere they looked therfore. For of one thing was he certaine, that if his entent were perceyued, he should soone haue made peace with both the parties, with his owne blood.

King Edward in his life albeit that this discention betweene his friends somewhat vexed him, yet in his good health he somewhat the lesse regarded it, because he thought whatsoeuer businesse should fall betweene them, himselfe shoulde alway be able to rule both the parties. But in his last sickenesse, when he perceaued his naturall strength so sore enfeebled, that he dispaired of all recouery, then he considering the youth of his children, albeit he nothing lesse mistrusted then that which happened, yet well foreseing that many harmes might grow by their debate, while the youth of his children should lack discretion of themselues, and good counsayle of their friends, of which either party would counsayle for their owne commoditie, and rather by pleasaunt aduise to winne themselues fauour, then by profitable auertisement to doe the children good, he called some of them before him that were at variaunce, and in especiall the Lorde Marques Dorset the Queenes sonne by

her firſt huſbande, and Richard the Lorde Haſtings a noble man, then Lord Chamberleyn, againſt whome the Quene eſpecially grudged, for the great fauour the king bare him, and alſo for that ſhe thought him ſecretly familier with the king in wanton company. Her kindred alſo bare him ſore, as well for that the king had made him Capitaine of Calice, which office the Lorde Ryuers, brother to the Quene claymed of the kings former promiſe, as for diuers other great giftes which he receyued, but they loked for. When theſe Lordes with diuers other of both the parties were come in preſence, the king lifting vp himſelfe, and vnder ſet with pillowes, as it is reported, ſayde on thys wiſe vnto them.

The exhortation of king Edward in his death bed

My Lords, my dere kinſmen and alies, in what plight I now lye, you ſee, & I well feele: by which the leſſe while I loke to liue with you, the more deepely am I moued to care in what caſe I leaue you, for ſuche as I leaue you, ſuch are my children lyke to finde you. Which if they ſhould as God forbid, finde you at variaunce, might hap themſelues to fall at warre, ere their diſcretion would ſerue them to ſet you at peace. Yee ſee their youth, of which I reken the onely ſuretie to reſt in your concord. For it ſuffiſeth not that all you loue them, if eche of you hate other. If they were men, your faithfulneſſe would happily ſuffiſe: but childhood muſt be maintayned by mens authoritie, & tender youth vnder propped with elder counſail, which neither can they haue, but you geue it, neither can you geue it, if ye agree not. For where eche laboreth to breake that the other maketh, and where hatred is of eche others counſayle, there muſt it needes be long ere any good concluſion go forwarde. And alſo while eyther partie laboreth to be chiefe, flatterie ſhall haue more place, then plaine and faithfull aduiſe, of which muſt needes enſue the euill bringing vp of the Prince, whoſe minde in tender youth infect, ſhall redily fall to miſchiefe and ryot, and draw downe this noble realme to ruine, but if grace turne him to wiſedome: which if God ſend, then they that by euill pleaſed him before beſt, ſhall after fall fartheſt out of fauour, ſo that euer at the laſt, euill drifts driue to naught, and good playne waies proſper. Great variance hath there lōg bene betwene you, not alway for greatcauſes. Sometime a thing right well entended, oure miſconſtruction turneth it to worſſe: or a final diſpleaſure done vnto vs, either our awne affection or euill tongs maketh it much more grieuous. But this wot I wel, ỹ ye neuer herebefore had ſo great cauſe of hatred, as ye haue now of loue. That we be al mē and all chriſten men, this will I leaue vnto preachers to tell you (& yet I wot not whether any preachers words ought more to moue you, then his that is by and by going to the place that they all preach off.) But this ſhall I deſire you to remember that the one part of you is of my bloud, the other of mine alies, & ech of you with other eyther of kindred or affinity, which ſpiritual kindred of affinity, if the ſacraments of Chriſtes church beare that weight with vs, that I would God they did, ſhould no leſſe moue vs to charitie, then the reſpect of fleſhly conſanguinitie. Our Lorde forbid that ye loue together the worſſe for the ſelfe ſame cauſe that ye ought to loue together the better. And yet that happeneth ſometime: and no where finde we ſo deadly debate as among them which by nature and lawe, ought moſt beſt to agree together: Such a peſtilent Serpent is ambition, and deſire of vaine glorie and ſoueraigntie, which among ſtates where he once entereth, creepeth ſo farre forth,

Ambicion.

till

till with diuiſion and variaunce he turneth all to miſchiefe. Firſt longing to be next to the beſt: Afterward egall with the beſt, and at the laſt chiefe and aboue the beſt. Of which immoderate appetite of worſhip, and thereby of debate and diſcention, what loſſe, what ſorowe, what trouble hath within theſe fewe yeres growen in this realme, I praye God as well to forget, as we well remember. Which things if I could as well haue foreſeene as I haue with my more pain then pleaſure proued: By Gods bleſſed Ladie (that was euer his othe) I would neuer haue wonne the curteſie of ſo many mens knees with the loſſe of ſo many mens heads. But ſithence things paſſed cannot be called agayne, much ought we the more to beware, by what occaſion we haue taken ſo great hurt before, that we eftſones fall not into that occaſion of daunger againe. Now be thoſe griefes paſſed, & all is (God be thanked) quiet, and likely right well to proſper in wealthfull peace vnder your Coſyns my children, if God ſend them lyke and you loue. Of which two things the leſſe loſſe were they, by whome though God did his pleaſure, yet ſhould the realme alway finde kings, and paraduenture as good kings. But if you among your ſelues in a childes raigne fall at debate, many a good man ſhall periſhe, and happily he to, and ye to, or this land finde peace agayne: wherfore in theſe laſt wordes that euer I looke to ſpeake to you or with you, I exhort and require you all for the loue that ye haue euer borne to me, for the loue that I haue euer borne to you, and for the loue that our Lorde and ſauiour Chriſt beareth to vs all, from this time forward, all griefes forgotten, eche of you loue other. Which I verily truſt you will, if you any thing earthly regard, either God or your king, affinitie or kindred, this realme your awne Countrie, or your awne ſuretie. And therwithall the king not able to endure any lenger to ſit vp, layd him downe on his right ſide, his face toward them: and none was there preſent that could refrain from weping. But the Lordes comforting him with as good wordes as they could, and aunſwering for the time, as they thought to ſtand with his pleaſure, there in his preſence, as by their wordes appered, eche forgaue other, and ioyned their hands together, when (as it after appered by their deedes) their hartes were farre a ſunder.

Edward the Prince commeth toward London.

Aſſone as the king was departed, Edward the Noble Prince his ſonne drewe towardes London, which at the time of his fathers deceaſe, kept his houſe at Ludlow in Wales: which Countrie being farre of from the lawe and recourſe to iuſtice, was begonne to be farre out of good rule and waren wylde, ſo that Robbers and Ryuers walked at libertie vncorrected. And for this encheaſon the Prince was in the life of his father ſent thether, to the ende that the auctority of his preſence, ſhould refraine euil diſpoſed perſons from the boldeneſſe of their former outrages. And to the gouernaunce and ordering of this yong Prince at his ſending thether, was there appointed Syr Anthony Wooduile Lorde Ryuers and brother to the Quene, a right honorable man, as valyaunt of hande as politique in counſayle. And there were adioyned vnto him other of the ſame party, and in effect euery one as he was neereſt of kinne vnto the Queene, ſo was he planted nere about the Prince. That drift was by the Queene not vnwiſely deuiſed, whereby her bloud might in the youth of the Prince be rooted in his fauour. But all thys the Duke of Gloucester turned vnto their deſtruction, and vpon that ground he ſet the foundation of all his vnhappy building. For whome ſoeuer he perceaued

Syr Anthony Wooduile Lorde Ryuers, brother to the Quene

ued eyther at variance with them, or bearing himselfe their fauour, he brake vnto them, some by mouth, some by writing and secret messengers, that it neither was reason, nor in any wise to be suffred, that the yong king their maister and kinsman should be in the hands and custody of his mothers kindred, sequestred in maner from their company and attendance, of which euerie one of them ought him as faithfull seruice as they, and many of them of farre more honorable part of kinne then his mothers side: whose blood (quod he) sauing the kinges pleasure, was full vnmeete to be matched with hys: which now to be as who saye remoued from the king, and the lesse noble to be left about him, is (quod he) neither honorable vnto his maiestie, nor vnto vs, and also to his grace no suretie to haue the mightiest of his friendes from him, and vnto vs no little ieopardie to suffer our well proued euill willers to growe in ouer great authoritie with the Prince in his youth, namely which is light of beliefe and sone perswaded. Ye remember I trow king Edwarde himselfe, albeit he was a man of age & discretion, yet was he in many things ruled by the bende, more then stoode eyther with his honor or our profite, or with the cõmodity of any man else, except only the immoderate aduãcement of themselues: which whether they thriued after their awne weale, or our woe, it were hard I wene to gesse. And if some folkes friendship had not holden better place with the king then any respect of kindred, they might easely haue trapped and brought to confusion some of vs or thys: and why not as easely as they haue done some already, as nere of his royall blood as we are? But our Lorde hath wrought his will, and thanks be to his grace that perill is past. Howbeit, as great is growyng, if we suffer thys yong king in our enemies hande, which wythout his witting might abuse the name of hys commaundement to any of our vndoyng, which thing God and good prouision forbid. Of which good prouision none of vs hath any thing the lesse neede for the late made attonement, in which the kinges pleasure had more place, then the partie willes. Nor none of vs I beleue is so vnwise or ouerseene, to trust a newe friend made of an olde foe: Or to thinke that an hourely kindnesse, sodainely contract in one houre continued, should be deeper settelled in their stamackes, then a long accustomed malice many yeres rooted.

With these wordes and writynges, and such other, the Duke of Gloucester soone set on fire them that were of themselues ethe to kindle, and in especially twaine, Edward Duke of Buckingham, and Richard Lorde Hastinges and Chamberlanie, both men of honour and of great power. The one by long succession from his auncestrie, the other by his office, and the kinges fauour. These two not beryng ethe to other so much loue, as hatred both vnto the Queenes part: in this poynt accorded together with the Duke of Gloucester, that they would vtterly amoue from the kinges companie all his mothers friendes, vnder the name of their enemyes. This beyng concluded, the Duke of Gloucester vnderstandyng that the Lordes which were about the king, entended to bring him vp to his coronation, accompanied with suche power of their frendes that it should be hard for him to bring his purpose to passe, without the gatheryng and assemble of people, and in maner of open warre, whereof he wist the ende was doubtfull, and in which the king beyng on their side, his part should haue the face and name of a rebellion: He secretly therefore by diuers meanes, caused the Queene to be perswaded and brought

brought in minde, that it neither was neede, and also shoulde be ieopardous the king to come vp so strong. For where as nowe euery Lord loued other, and none other thing studied vpon, but about the coronacion and honor of the king: If the Lordes of her kindred should assemble in the kings name much people, they should geue the Lordes an occasion, betwene whome had bene before some debate, to feare and suspect, least they should gather this people, not for the kinges sauegard, whome no man impugned, but for their destruction; hauyng more regarde to their olde variaunce, then to their newe atonement: For which cause they should assemble on the other partie much people againe for their defence, whose power she wist well stretched farre, and thus should all the realme fall on a roare. And of all the hurt that thereof should ensue, which was likely not to be little, and the most harme there like to fall where she lest would, all the world would put her & her kindred in the wight, and say that they had vnwisely and vntruly also broken the amitie and peace that the king her husband had so prudently made betweene his kin and hers in his death bed, and which the other partie faythfully obserued.

The Queene beyng in thus wise perswaded such wordes sent vnto her sonne, and vnto her brother beyng about the king, and ouer that, the Duke of Gloucester himselfe and other Lordes the chiefe of his bend, wrote vnto the king so reuerently, and to the Queenes friendes there so louingly, that they nothing earthly mistrustyng, brought the king vp in great haste, but not in good speede, with a small companie. Now as the king passed towardes London, from the towne of Northampton, leauyng behinde him the Lorde Ryuers, the kinges vncle, who thought the next day to be with the king at stony Stratforde, ten miles from thence, thether came the Dukes of Gloucester, and Buckingham. So was there made that night much friendly cheere betwene these Dukes, and the Lorde Riuers, a great while. But incontinently that they were openly departed with great courtisie, and the Lord Riuers lodged, the Dukes secretly, with a fewe of their most priuie friendes, set them downe in counsaile, wherein they spent a great part of the night. And at their rising in the dawnyng of the day, they sent about priuily vnto their seruantes in their Innes and lodgynges, geuing them commaundement to make them selues quickly redie, for their Lordes were redie to horsebacke. Upon which Messages many of their folkes were attendant, when many of the Lord Ryuers seruaunts were vnreadie. The Dukes also at that tyme, had taken the keyes of their Inne into their custodie, that none should passe forth without their license. And also in the high way towarde stonie Stratford, where the king lay, they had bestowed certaine of their folke to stoppe the passage, that no person shoulde passe from Northampton towarde stonie Stratforde, but should be either stayed, or compelled to returne againe, vntill they shoulde geue other licence: because sayd they, that the Dukes themselues entended for the shewe of their diligence, to be the first that should attend that day vpon the kinges highnesse out of that towne: thus bare they folke in hande.

But when the Lorde Ryuers vnderstoode the Gates to be closed, and the wayes on euery syde beset, neither his seruauntes, nor himselfe suffered once to go out, and perceiuyng well that so great a thing without his knowlege could not be begon for naught, comparyng also with himselfe this maner of doyng present, with the last nightes cheere, in so fewe houres, so great a chaunge,

a chaunge, which he marueylously mislyked. Howbeit, sith he could not get away, and to keepe himselfe close he would not, least he should seeme to hide himselfe for some secrete feare of his owne fault, whereof he sawe no suche cause in himselfe, he determined vpon the suretie of his owne conscience to go boldely vnto them, and to inquire what this matter did meane. Whom assone as they saw, they began to quarrell with him, and sayde, that he entended to set distaunce betweene the king and them, and to bring them to confusion, but it should not lie in his power. And when he began, as he was a verye well spoken man, in goodly wise to excuse himselfe, they tarved not the ende of his answere, but shortly tooke him and put in warde, and that done went forthwith to horsebacke, and tooke the way to stonie Stratford, where they found the king with his companie readie to leape on horsebacke, and to depart forward and to leaue that lodging for them, because it was to streight for both companies. And assone as they came in his presence, they light downe with all their companie about them. To whome the Duke of Buckingham sayde, go afore Gentlemen, and yomen, kepe your rowmes. And thus in a goodly aray they came to the king, & on their knees in humble wise saluted his grace, which receyued them in verye ioyous and amiable maner, nothing earthly knowyng nor mistrustyng as yet: But euen by and by in his presence, they picked a querell to the Lorde Richard Gray the kinges other brother by his mother, saiyng that the Lorde Marques his brother, and the Lord Ryuers his Uncle, had compassed to rule the king and the realme, and to set variance among the states, and to subdue and destroy the noble blood of the realme. Toward the accomplishyng whereof, they sayde that the Lorde Marques had entred into the Tower of London, and thence taken out the kinges treasure, and sent men to the sea. All which thinges these Dukes wist well, were done for good purposes, and necessary by the counsaile at London, saiyng that somewhat they must say. Unto which wordes the king answered, what my brother Marques hath done, I cannot tell: But in good faith I dare well answere for my Uncle Ryuers, and my brother here, that they be innocent of any such matters. Yea my leege, quod the Duke of Buckingham, they haue kept their dealyng in these matters farre from the knowlege of your good grace. And forthwith they arrested the Lorde Richard Gray, and sir Thomas Vaughan knight, in the kinges presence, and brought the king and all backe vnto Northampton, where they tooke againe further counsail. And there they sente away from the king whome it pleased them, and set newe seruantes about him, such as liked better them then him. At which dealyng the king wept, but it booted not. And at dinner the Duke of Gloucester sent a dishe from his owne table to the Lorde Ryuers, praiyng him to be of good cheere, all should be well enough. And he thanked the Duke, and prayed the Messenger to beare it to his Nephew the Lorde Richard Gray, with the same message for his comfort, as one to whom such aduersitie was straunge: But himselfe had bene in all his dayes inured therewith, and therefore could beare it the better. But for all this comfortable curtisie of the Duke of Gloucester, he sent the Lorde Riuers, and the Lorde Richard, with sir Thomas Vaughan into the North Countrie to diuers places into prison, and afterwarde, they were all sent to Pomfret Castell, where in the ende they were beheaded.

The Lorde Ryuers committed to warde.

Richard lord Gray apprehended.

The death of the Lorde Ryuers and diuers other.

In

In this wise the Duke of Gloucester tooke vpon him selfe the order and gouernaunce of the yong kyng, whome with much honor and humble reuerence, he conueyed vpwarde towarde the Citie of London. But anone the tidyngs of this matter came hastily to the Queene a litle before the midnight following, and that in the forest wise, that the kyng her sonne was taken, her brother, her sonne, and her other friends arested, and sent, no man wist whether, to be done with, God wot what. With which tidinges, the Queene in great flight, and heauinesse, bewailyng her childes reigne, her friends mischaunce, and her owne infortune, cursyng the time that euer shee was dissuaded the gatheryng of power about the king, gote her selfe in all the hast possible with her yong sonne and her daughters out of the palaice of Westminster, in which she them lay, into the Sanctuarie, lodging her selfe and her company there in the Abbots place.

The Queene taketh sanctuarie.

Now came there one in likewise not long after midnight from the Lord Chamberleyn, vnto the Archebishop of Yorke, then Chauncellor of England, to his place not farre from Westminster. And for that hee shewed his seruauntes that he had tidinges of so great importaunce, that his maister gaue him in charge not to forbeare his rest, they letted not to wake him, nor he to admitte this messenger vnto his bed syde. Of whome hee heard that those Dukes were gone backe with the kinges grace from Stony Stratforde vnto Northhampton: Notwithstanding, Syr quoth he, my Lord, sendeth your Lordship worde, that there is no feare: For he assureth you that all shall be well. I assure him quod the Archebishop, be it as well as it wil, it will neuer be so well as we haue seene it. And therupon by and by after the messenger was departed, he caused in all the hast, all his seruaunts to be called vp, and so with his owne household about him, and euerye man weaponed, he tooke the great seale with him, and came yet before daye vnto the Queene. About whome he founde much heauinesse, rumble, hast and businesse, cariage, and conueiyng of her stuffe into the Sentuary, Chestes, Cofers, Packes, Ferdels, Trusses, all on mens backes, no man vnoccupied, some lading, some going, some discharging, some commyng for more, some breakyng downe the walles to bring in the next way, and some yet drew to them that holpe to carye a wrong way. The Queene her selfe sate alone alowe on the rushes all desolate, and dismayed, whome the Archebishop comforted in the best maner he coulde, shewyng her that he trusted that the matter was nothing so sore as she tooke it for, & that he was put in good hope, and out of feare by the message sent him from the Lord Chamberleyn. Ah, wo worth him quoth she, for he is one of them that laboureth to destroy me and my blood. Madam quoth he, be ye of good cheere, for I assure you, if they crowne any other king then your sonne, whome they now haue with them, we shall on the morow crown his brother, whome you haue here with you. And here is the great Seale, which in likewise as that noble Prince your husbande, deliuered it vnto me, so here I deliuer it vnto you, to the vse and behofe of your sonne, & therewith he toke her the great Seale, and departed home agayne, yet in the dawning of the day: By which time he might in his chamber window se al the Thamis full of boates of the Duke of Glocesters seruauntes, watching that no man shoulde go to the Sentuary, nor passe vnserched, and examined. Then was there great commocion, and murmor aswell in other places about, and speci-

ally

ally in the Citie, the people diuerſlye deuinyng vpon this dealing. And ſome Lordes, Knights, and gentlemen, either for fauor of the Queene, or for feare of themſelues, aſſembled in ſundry companies, and went flocking in harneſſe: and many alſo, for that they reconed this demeanor attempted, not ſo ſpecially againſt the other Lords, as againſt the king himſelf in the diſturbance of his coronation: therefore they aſſembled by and by together, to common of this matter at London: At which meeting, the Archebiſhop of Yorke fearing that it woulde be aſcribed (as it was in deede) to his ouermuch lightneſſe, that he ſo ſodainely had yelded vp the great ſeale to the Queene, to whome the cuſtody thereof nothyng appertayned, without eſpeciall commaundement of the king, ſecretly ſent for the great Seale agayne, and brought it with him after the cuſtomable maner. And at this meting the Lord Haſtinges, whoſe troth towarde the king no man doubted, nor needed to doubt, perſwaded the lords to beleue that the Duke of Gloceſter was ſure & faſtly faithfull to his prince, and that the Lord Ryuers, and Lord Richarde with the other Knights were for matters attempted by them againſt the Duke of Gloceſter, and Buckingham put vnder arreſt for their ſuretie, not for the kinges ieopardie: and that they were alſo in ſafegarde, and there no longer to remaine, then till the matter were, not by the Dukes onely, but alſo by all the other Lords of the kings counſayle indifferently examined, and by their diſcrecions ordered, and either iudged or appeaſed. But one thing he aduyſed them to beware, that they iudged not the matter to farre forth, ere they knewe the truth, nor turning their priuate grudges into the common hurt, irriting and prouoking men vnto anger, and diſturbing the kings coronacion, towarde which the Dukes were comming vp, that they might peraduenture bring the matter ſo farre out of ioynt, that it ſhould neuer be brought in frame againe. Which ſtrife if it ſhould hap, as it were likely to come to a fielde, though both parties were in all other thinges egall, yet ſhoulde the auctorite be on that ſide, where the kyng himſelfe is: with theſe perſwaſions of my Lorde Haſtinges, whereof parte himſelfe beleued, of part he wiſt the contrary: theſe commocions were ſomewhat appeaſed, but ſpecially, by that that the Dukes of Gloceſter and Buckingham, were ſo nere and came ſo ſhortly on with the kyng, in none other maner, nor with none other voyce or ſemblaunce, then to his coronacion, cauſyng the fame to be blowen about, that theſe Lords & knightes that were taken, had contriued the deſtruction of the Dukes of Gloceſter & Buckingham, and of other the noble blood of the realme, to the ende that themſelues would alone demeane and gouerne the king at their p'eaſure. And for the colourable proofe therof, ſuch of the Dukes ſeruaunts as rode with their cartes of their ſtuffe, which were taken, among the which ſtuffe no marueyll though ſome were harneſſe, which at the breaking vp of ſuch an houſholde muſt nedes be brought away, or caſt awaye, they ſhewed to the people all the way as they went and ſayde: lo, here be the barelles of harneſſe, that theſe traitours had priuily conueighed in their cariages to deſtroy the noble Lordes wythall. This diuerſe, (although it made the matter to wiſe men more vnlikely) well perceiuyng that the entendours of ſuch a purpoſe woulde rather haue hadde their harneſſe on their backes, then to haue bounde them vp in barrelles, yet many of the common people were therewith right well ſatisfyed, and ſaide it were almoſe to hang them.

When

When the king approched nere the City, the Maior, and Aldermen and fiue hundred commoners receiued his grace reuerently at Harneſay Parke, and ſo conueyed him to the Citie, where he entred the fourth day of May, in the firſt and laſt yere of his reigne, and was lodged in the biſhop of Londons Pallace: but the Duke of Gloucester bare him in open ſight ſo reuerently, ſaiyng to all men as he rode, beholde your Prince and ſouereigne Lorde, and made ſuche ſemblaunce of lowlyneſſe to his Prince, that from the great obloquy that he was in ſo late before, he was ſodainely fallen in ſo great truſt that at the counſaile next aſſembled, he was made the onely chiefe ruler, and thought moſt mete to be Protector of the king and his realme: ſo that, were it deſtenie, or were it foly, the Lambe was betaken to the Woolfe to kepe. At which counſel ỹ Archbiſhop of Yorke was ſore blamed for deliuering ỹ great ſeale to the Quene, & the ſeale taken from him and deliuered to Doctor Iohn Ruſſell Biſhop of Lincoln, a wiſe man and a good, & of much experience, and one of the beſt learned men vndoubtedly that Englande had in his time, & diuers lords & knights were apointed to diuers rowmes, the Lord Chamberlayne & ſome other kept the rowmes that they were in before, but not many.

The king comming to London.

The Duke of Gloucester made Protector.

Now were it ſo that the Protectour (which alwayes you muſt take for the Duke of Gloucester) ſore thirſted for the achieuyng of his pretenſed enterpriſe, and thought euery daye a yere till it were perfourmed, yet durſt he no farther attempt, as long as he had but halfe his praye in his hande, well witting that if he deposed the one brother, all the realme would fall to the other, if he remayned eyther in Sanctuarie, or ſhould happily be ſhortly conueyed to his farther libertie. Wherefore incontinent at the next meeting of the Lordes in counſell, he purpoſed to them that it was a heynous deede of the Queene, and proceeding of great malice toward the kings counſellers, that ſhe ſhould kepe the kings brother in Sanctuarie from him whoſe ſpeciall pleaſure and comfort were to haue his brother with him, and that to be done by her to none other intent, but to bring all the Lordes in an obloquy and murmour of the people, as though they were not to be truſted with the kings brother, which Lordes were by the whole aſſent of the Nobles of the Realme appointed as the kings nere friends to the tuition of his royall perſon, the proſperitie whereof (quod he) ſtandeth not alonely in keeping from enemies and euill dyet, but partly alſo in recreation and moderate pleaſure, which he can not take in his tender youth in the company of old and auncient perſons, but in the familiar conuerſation of thoſe that be not farre vnder nor farre aboue his age, and neuertheleſſe of eſtate conuenient to accompany his noble maieſtie, wherefore with whome rather then with his awne brother? and if anye man thinke this conſideration light (I am ſure no man ſo thinketh that loueth the king) let him conſider that ſometime without ſmall thinges, greater cannot ſtande, and verily it redowneth greatly to the diſhonour both of the kinges highneſſe, and of all vs that be about his grace to haue it rume in euery mans mouth, not in this realme onely, but alſo in other landes (as euill wordes walke farre) that the kings brother ſhould be faine to kepe ſanctuarie. For euery man will iudge that no man wil ſo do for nought, & ſuch opinion once faſtened in mens harts, hard it is to be wrested out, and may growe to more griefe then any man here can diuine. Wherefore me thinketh it were not the worſt to ſend to the Quene ſome honorable

The Protectors perſwaſion.

and truſtie perſonage, ſuch as tendereth the kings weale and the honour of his counſell, and is alſo in credite and fauour with her: for all which conſiderations none ſeemeth more meetely to mee, then the reuerend father here preſent, my Lorde Cardinall Archebyſhop of Yorke, who may in this matter doe moſt good of all men, if it pleaſe hym to take the payne, which I doubt not of hys goodneſſe he will not refuſe for the kings ſake and ours, and wealth of the yong Duke himſelfe the kinges moſt honorable brother, and for the comfort of my ſouereigne Lord himſelfe my moſt deare Nephew, conſidering that thereby ſhall be ceaſſed the ſlanderous rumour and obloquy nowe going abrode, and the hurtes auoyded that thereof might enſue, and much reſt and quietneſſe growe to all the realme. And if thee perchaſe be ſo obſtinate and ſo precyſely ſet vpon her owne will and opinion, that neither his wiſe and faythfull aduertiſement can moue her, nor anye mans reaſon ſatiſfie her, then ſhall we by mine aduiſe by the kings authoritie fetch him out of that priſon, and bring him to his noble preſence, in whoſe compynuall company he ſhall be ſo well cheriſhed and ſo honorably intreated, that all the worlde ſhall to our honour and her reproche, perceyue that it was onely malice, frowardneſſe, and folye, that cauſed her to keepe him there. Thys is my mynde for thys tyme, except that any of you my Lordes any thyng perceyue to the contrary, for neuer ſhall I by Gods grace ſo wed my ſelfe vnto mine owne wyll, but I ſhall be ready to chaunge it vpon your better aduiſes.

When the Protectour had ſayde, all the counſayle affirmed that the motion was good and reaſonable, and to the king and the Duke hys brother honorable, and a thing that ſhould ceaſe great murmour in the realme, if the mother might by good meanes be induced to delyuer him: which thing the Archebyſhop of Yorke, whome they all agreed alſo to be moſt conuenient therevnto, tooke vpon him to moue her, and thereto doe his vttermoſt endeuour. Howbeit, if ſhe could in no wiſe be intreated with her good wyll to delyuer him, then thought he and ſuche other of the ſpiritualtie as were preſent, that it were not in any wiſe to be attempted to take him out againſt her wyll, for it would be a thing that ſhould turne to the great grudge of all men and high diſpleaſure of God, if the priuilege of that holy place ſhould now be broken, which had ſo many yeres beene kept, which both kings and Popes ſo good had graunted, ſo many had confirmed, and which ground was more then fiue hundred yeres ago ſanctified by ſaint Peter himſelfe, in his owne perſon (ſayth Sir Thomas Moore) in ſpirite accompanied, with a great multitude of Aungels by night ſo ſpecially halowed and dedicate to God, for the proofe whereof they haue yet in the Abbey, ſaint Peters Cope to ſhewe, and from that time hetherward, was there neuer ſo vndeuoute a king, that euer enterpriſed the ſacred priuilege to violate, nor ſo holy a Byſhop that durſt preſume the Church of the ſame to conſecrate: and therefore, quod the Archbiſhop, God forbid that any man ſhould for any earthly enterpriſe breake the immunite and libertie of that ſacred Sanctuarie, that hath bene the ſafegarde of ſo many a good mans lyfe, and I truſt quod he we ſhall not neede it, but for any maner of nede I would we ſhould not do it, I truſt ỹ ſhe with reaſon ſhal be contented, and al thing in good maner obteyned. And if it hap that I bring it not ſo to paſſe, yet ſhal I further it to my beſt power, ſo that you all ſhall perceyue my good wil, diligence and endeuor: But the mothers dread

dread and womaniſh feare ſhall be the let, if any be.

Nay womanniſhe frowardneſſe, quod the Duke of Buckingham, for I dare take it on my ſoule, that ſhe well knoweth that ſhe nedeth no ſuch thing to feare, either for her ſonne or for her ſelfe. For as for her, here is no man that will be at warre with women, would God ſome of the men of hir kinne were women to, and then ſhould all be ſone in reſt. Howbeit there is none of her kinne the leſſe loued for that they be of her kinne, but for their owne euill deſeruyng. And put the caſe that we neyther loued her nor her kinne, yet there were no cauſe why we ſhould hate the kinges noble brother, to whoſe grace we our ſelues be of kinne, whoſe honour if ſhe almuch deſired as our diſhonour, and almuche regarde toke to his welth, as to her owne will, ſhee would be as loth to ſuffer him to be abſent from the king as any of vs be, for if ſhe had any wit, as would God ſhe had as good will, as ſhe hath frowarde wit: ſhe would thinke her ſelfe no wyſer then ſome that are here, of whoſe faythfull myndes ſhe nothing doubteth, but verily beleueth and knowlegeth, that they would be as ſory of his harme as her owne ſelf, and yet they would haue him from her, if ſhe abyde there.

And we all I thinke be content that both her children be with her, if ſhe come from thence, and abide in ſuch place where they may be with their honour. Nowe then, if ſhe refuſe the deliuerance of him to folow the wiſedome of them, whoſe wiſedome ſhe knoweth, whoſe truth ſhe well truſteth: it is eaſie to perceyue that frowardneſſe letteth her, and not feare. But go to, ſuppoſe that ſhe feareth (as who may let her to feare her awne shadow) the more ſhe feareth to deliuer him, the more ought we to feare to leaue him in her handes, for if ſhe caſt ſuch fond doubtes that ſhe feare his hurt, then will ſhe feare that he ſhall be fet thence, for ſhe will ſone thinke that if men were ſet (which God forbid on ſo great a miſchiefe) the Sanctuarie will little let them, which Sancturay good men as me thinketh might without ſinne, ſomwhat leſſe regard then they do. Now then, if ſhe doubt leaſt he might be fetched from her, is it not likely enough, that ſhe will ſende him ſomewhere out of the Realme? verily I loke for none other. And I doubt not but ſhe nowe as ſore mindeth it, as we minde the let thereof. And if ſhe might hap to bring that purpoſe to paſſe, as it were no great maiſterie to doe, we lettyng her alone, all the world would ſay that we were a ſort of wiſe counſaylors about a king, to let his brother be caſt away vnder our noſes. And therfore I enſure you faythfully, for my minde, I will rather mauger her ſtomack fetche him away, then leaue him there till her feare or fond frowarde feare conuey him away, and yet will I breake no Sanctuarie, for verily ſith the priuilege of that place and other of that ſort haue ſo long continued, I would not go about to breake it, and in good fayth if they were nowe to begin, I would not be he that ſhould go about to make them: yet will not I ſay naye, but it is a dede of pittie that ſuch men as the chaunce of the ſea, or their euill debters haue brought into pouertie, ſhould haue ſome place of refuge to kepe their bodies out of daunger of their cruell creditours. And alſo if it fortune the Crowne to come in queſtion as it hath done before this time, while eche part taketh other for traytors, I thinke it neceſſary to haue a place of refuge for both. But as for theeues and murderers, whereof theſe places be full, and which neuer fall from their craft, after they once fall therevnto, it is pittie,

Of Sanctuary men.

that euer Sanctuary ſhould ſerue them, and in eſpeciall wilfull murderers, whome God commaundeth to be taken from the Aultar, and to bee put to death. And where it is otherwiſe then in theſe caſes, there is no nede of ſanctuaryes, appoynted by God in the olde lawe. For if neceſſitie of his owne defence, or miſfortune driue him to that neede, then a pardon ſeruyth him, which eyther is graunted of courſe, or the king of pitie & compaſſion geueth. Then looke me nowe howe fewe ſanctuary men there be whome neceſſitie or miſfortune compelleth to go thether: And then ſee on the other ſyde, what a ſort there be commonly therein of ſuch, whom wilfull vnthriftineſſe hath brought to naught: what a rable of theues, murderers, and malicious heynous traytors be there: and that in two places ſpecially, the one at the elbowe of the Citie, and the other in the very bowels. I dare well anowe it, if you wey the good that they doe, with the hurt that commeth of them, ye ſhall finde it much better to leeſe both, then to haue both. And this I ſay, although they were not abuſed (as they nowe be, and ſo long haue bene) that I feare me euer they will be while men be afeard to ſet to their handes to the amendment, as though God and Saint Peter were the Patrones of vngracious liuyng.

The abuſe of Sanctuaries

Now vnthriftes riott and runne in debt vpon boldneſſe of theſe places, yea, and riche men ronne thether with poore mennes goodes, there they builde, there they ſpende and byd their creditors go whiſtle. Wyues wyues ronne thether with their huſbandes Plate, and ſay they dare not abide with their huſbandes for beatyng, theeues bring thether ſtolne goodes and liue thereon. There they deuiſe newe robberyes nightly and ſteale out and rob, ryue, and kill men, and come againe as though thoſe places gaue them not onely a ſauegarde for the harme that they haue done, but a licence alſo to doe more miſchiefe: howbeit much of this great miſchiefe (if wiſe men would ſet their handes therevnto) might be amended, with great thankes of God, and no breche of the priuilege. The concluſion is, ſith it is ſo long a go, I wote not what Pope, nor what Prince, more piteous then politique, hath graunted it, and other men ſince of a certeine religious feare haue not broken it, let vs take a paine with it, and let it ſtande a Goddes name in his force, as farre forth as reaſon will, which is not fully ſo farre forth as may ſerue to let vs of the fetching forth of this noble man to his honour and welth, out of that place in the which he neither is nor can be a ſanctuarie or priuileged man. A ſanctuarie euer ſerueth to defende the bodie of that man that ſtandeth in daunger abroade, not of great hurt onely, but alſo of lawfull hurt: for agaynſt vnlawfull hurtes and harmes, no Pope nor king entended to priuilege any one place, for that priuilege hath euery place. Knoweth any man any place wherein it is lawfull for one man to do another man wrong? That no man vnlawfully take hurt that libertie the king, the lawe, and very nature forbiddeth in euery place, and maketh to that regarde for euery man euery place a Sanctuary, but where a man is by lawfull meanes in perill, there needeth he the tuicion of ſome ſpeciall priuilege, which is the onely ground and cauſe of all Sanctuaries, from which neceſſitie this noble Prince is farre, whoſe loue to his king, nature, and kindred proueth, whoſe innocencie to all the worlde his tender youth affirmeth, and ſo Sanctuary as for him is not neceſſary, nor none he can haue. When come not to Sanctuary as they come to baptiſme, to require it by his Godfathers, he muſt aſke it himſelfe that muſt haue it, and reaſon,

reaſon, ſithe no man hath cauſe to haue it, but whoſe conſcience of his owne fault maketh him haue neede to require it. What will then hath yonder babe which if he had diſcretion to require it if nede were, I dare ſay would be now right angry with them that kepe him there? And I would thinke without any ſcruple of conſcience, without any breche of priuilege, to be ſomewhat more homely with them that be there Sanctuary men in deede, for if one go to Sanctuary with another mans goodes, why ſhould not the king leauyng his bodie at libertie, ſatiſfie the partie of his goodes euen within the Sanctuary, for neither king nor Pope can geue any place ſuche a priuilege that it ſhall diſcharge a man of his debtes beyng able to pay.

And with that diuerſe of the clergie that were there preſent, whether they ſayde it for his pleaſure, or as they thought, agreed playnly by the lawe of God, and of the church, that the goods of a ſanctuary man, ſhoulde be deliuered in payment of his debtes, and ſtollen goods to the owner, and onelye lybertie reſerued to him to get his liuing with the labour of his handes. Verily, quod the Duke, I thinke you ſaye verie trueth. And what if a mannes wife will take ſanctuary, becauſe ſhe liſt to ronne from her huſband, I would thinke if ſhe can allege none other cauſe, he maye lawfullye without any diſpleaſure done to ſaint Peter, take her out of ſaint Peters church by ỹ arme. And if no body may be taken out of ſanctuary becauſe he ſaith he will abyde there, then if a Childe will take ſanctuary, becauſe he feareth to go to ſchole, his maiſter muſt let him alone. And as ſimple as that example is, yet is there leſſe reaſon in our caſe then in it, for there, though it be a childiſh feare, yet is there at the leaſt ſome feare, & herein is no feare at all. And verily I haue often hard of ſanctuary men, but I neuer heard before of ſanctuary children: and therefore, as for the concluſion of my minde, whoſoeuer may deſerue to haue neede of it, if they thinke it for their ſurety let them keepe it, but he can be no ſanctuary man that hath neither diſcretion to deſire it, nor malice to deſerue it, whoſe lyfe nor libertie can by no lawfull proceſſe ſtande in ieoperdy, and he that taketh one out of ſanctuary to doe hym good, I ſaye playnely he breaketh no ſanctuary.

When the Duke had done, the tempozall men wholy, and the moſt part of the ſpirituall men alſo thinking no hurt earthly ment towarde the young Babe, condiſcended in effect, that if he were not deliuered, he ſhould be fetched out. Howbeit, they thought it all beſt in auoyding of all maner of rumour that the Lorde Cardinall ſhoulde firſt aſſay to get him with her good wyll. And therevpon all the counſail came to the Sterre chambre at Weſtminſter, and the Cardinall leauing the Protector & other Lords in the Sterre chamber, departed into the ſanctuary to the Queene, accompanied with certaine Lords, were it for the reſpect of his honor, or that ſhe ſhould by the preſence of ſo many, perceiue that this arrand was not onely one mans mind, or were it for that the protectour entended not in this matter to truſt one man alone, or elſe if ſhe finally were determined to kepe him, ſome of the company had peraduenture ſome ſecret inſtruction incontinent maugre her will to take hym and to leaue her no reſpite to conuey hym, which thee was likely to minde after this matter broken to her if time in any wiſe would haue ſerued her.

When the Queene, and theſe Lordes were come together in preſence, the Cardinall ſhewed vnto her, that it was thought to the lorde protector and

the whole counſaile that her kepyng of the king his brother in that place highly ſounded, not onely to the grudge of the people and their obloquie, but alſo to the importable griefe and diſpleaſure of the king his royall maieſtie to whoſe grace it were a ſinguler comfort to haue his naturall brother in companie, and it was their diſhonoures and theirs and hers alſo to ſuffer him in Sanctuary, as though the one brother, ſtoode in daunger, and perill of the other. And he ſhewed her farther, that the whole counſaile had ſente him to require of her the deliuerie of him, that he might bee brought to the king his preſence at his liberty, out of that place which men rekoned as a priſon, and there ſhould he be demeaned according to his eſtate and degree, and ſhe in this doyng ſhoulde both doe great good to the realme, pleaſure to the counſaile, profite to her ſelfe, ſuccour to her friendes that were in diſtreſſe, and ouer that which he wiſt well ſhe ſpecially tendered, not onely great comfort and honour to the kyng, but alſo to the yong Duke himſelfe, whoſe both great wealth it were to be together, aſwell for many greater cauſes, as alſo for their both diſport, and recreation, which things the Lordes eſteemed not light, though it ſeemed light, well pondering that their youth wythout recreation and play cannot endure, nor any eſtraunger for the conuenience of both their ages and eſtates ſo metely in that point for anye of them, as the eyther of them for the other.

The queenes aunſwere. My Lorde (quod the Queene) I ſay not nay, but that it were very conuenient that this gentleman whome you require were in the company of the king his brother, and in good faith me thinketh it were as great commodiue to them both, as for yet a while to be in the cuſtody of their mother, the tender age conſidered of the elder of them both, but in eſpeciall the yonger, which beſides his infancie that alſo nedeth good loking to, hath a while bene ſo ſore diſeaſed with ſickneſſe, and is ſo newly rather a lytle amended then well recouered, that I dare put no perſon earthlye in truſt with his keeping, but my ſelfe onely, conſidering that there is as the phiſicians ſay, and as we alſo find, double the perill in the reſſuation that was in the firſt ſickneſſe, with which diſeaſe, nature beyng ſore laboured, foreweried, and weakened, wereth the leſſe able to beare oure a newe ſarket. And albeit, there might be founden other that woulde happily doe their beſt vnto him, yet there is none that eyther knoweth better how to ordre him then I, that ſo long haue kept him, or is more tenderly lyke to cherish him then his owne mother that bare him.

No man denieth good Madame, quod the Cardinall, but that your grace of all folke were moſt neceſſary about your children, and ſo would all the coũſaile not only be content, but alſo glad that you were, if it might ſtand with your pleaſure to be in ſuch place as might ſtande with their honor. But if you appoint your ſelfe to tarie here, then thinke they it more conuenient the Duke of Yorke were with the king honorably at his libertie to the comfort of them both, then here as a Sanctuarie man to their both diſhonour and obloquie, ſith there is not alway ſo great neceſſity to haue the childe to be with the mother, but that occaſion ſometime may be ſuche that it ſhould be more expedient to kepe him elſe where, which in this well appeareth, that at ſuch time that your moſt deareſt ſonne, then Prince, and now king, ſtould for his honor and good order of the Countrie kepe houſhold in Wales, farre out of your keping, your grace was well content therewith your ſelfe. Not very

very well content (quod the Quene) and yet the caſe is not like, for the one was then in helth and the other is now ſick, in which caſe I marueyle greatly why my Lorde Protectour is ſo deſirous to haue him in keeping, where if the childe in his ſickneſſe miſcaried by nature, yet might he run into ſlaunder and ſuſpicion of fraude. And they call it a thing ſo ſore agaynſt my childs honor and theirs alſo, that he abideth in this place, it is all their honors there to ſuffer him to abide where no man doubteth he ſhal be beſt kept, and that is here while I am here, which as yet entend not to come forth and ieopard my ſelfe after my friendes, which would God were rather here in ſuretie wyth mee, then I were there in ieopardie with them. Why Madame (quod the Lorde Haward) knowe you any thing, why they ſhould be in ieopardie? Nay verily, (quod ſhe) nor why they ſhould be in priſon neyther, as they now be, but I trowe it is no great maruell though I feare leaſt thoſe that haue not letted to put them in duraunce without colour, will let as little to procure their deſtruction without cauſe. The Cardinall made a countenaunce to the Lord Haward that he ſhould harpe no more vpon that ſtring: and then ſayde he to the Quene, that he nothing doubted but thoſe Lords of her kinne the which remayned vnder a reſt, ſhould vpon the matter examined doe well ynough, and as towarde her Noble perſon, neyther was, nor could be anye maner of ieopardie. Whereby ſhould I truſt that (quod the Queene) in that I am guiltleſſe, as though they were guiltie, in that I am with their enimies better beloued then they, when they hate them for my ſake, in that I am ſo neere to the king, and how farre be they of that would helpe, as God ſend grace they hurt not. And therefore as yet I purpoſe not to depart hence: as for this gentleman my ſonne, I mind he ſhal be where I am till I ſee further, for I aſſure you for that I ſee ſome men ſo greedy without any ſubſtantiall cauſe to haue hym, this maketh me much more further and ſcrupulous to delyuer him. Truely Madame (quod the Cardinall) the further that ye be to deliuer hym, the further be other men to ſuffer you to kepe him, leaſt your cauſeleſſe feare, might cauſe you farther to conuey him, and many be there that thinke he can haue here no priuilege, which can haue neyther wyll to aſke it, nor yet malice nor offence to neede it. And therefore, they recon no priuilege broken, although they fetch hym out of Sanctuarie, which if you finally refuſe to deliuer him, I thinke verily the counſayle will enfraunches hym, ſo much dread hath my Lorde his Uncle, for the tender loue that he beareth him, leaſt your grace ſhould ſende him away. Ah Syr, The Quene. quod the Quene, hath he ſo tender a zeale to him, that he feareth nothing, but leaſt he ſhould eſcape him? Thinketh he that I would ſend him hence, which is neyther in the plight to ſende out? and in what place could I recon hym ſure, if he be not ſure in this Sanctuarie? whereof was there neuer tyraunt yet ſo deuiliſhe, that durſt attempt to breake the priuilege, and I truſt God is nowe as ſtrong to withſtande his aduerſaries, as euer he was. But my ſonne can deſerue no Sanctuarie you ſay, and therefore he can not haue it, forſooth the Lorde Protectour hath ſent a goodly gloſe, by the which that place that may defende a Theefe, may not ſaue an innocent: but he is in no ieopardie nor hath no neede thereof, I would God he had not. Troweth the Protectour (I pray God he may proue a Protectour, rather then a deſtroyer, wherevnto his paynted proceſſe draweth) that it is not honourable, that the

Duke

Duke bide here: it were more comfortable to them both that he were with his brother, because the king lacketh a play felow, yea be you sure, I praye God send them both better play felowes then him that maketh so high a matter vpon such a trifleyng pretext, as though there could none be found to play with the king, but if hys brother which had no lust to play for sickneſſe, must come out of this sanctuary, & out of his safegard to play with him, as though that Princes so yong as they be, could not play without their peeres, or children could not play without their kindred, with whom for the more part they agree much worse then with straungers. But the childe you say cannot require the priuilege, who told the Protector so? Aske him and you shall heare him aske it, and so shall he if he wyll. Howbeit, this is a straunge matter, suppose he could not aske it, and thinke he would not aske it, and imagine he would aske to go out, if I say he shall not: Note if I aske the priuilege but for my selfe, I saye, that he that agaynst my will taketh out him, breaketh Sanctuarie. Serueth this libertie for my person onely, or for my goods to? you may not from hence take my horse from me, if I stole him not, nor owe you nothing: then followeth it, that you may not take my childe from mee, he is also my ward, for as farre as my learned counsayle sheweth mee, he hath nothing by diſſent holden, by knightes seruice, but by socage, then the lawe maketh me his guarden, then maye no man lawfully (I suppose) take my warde from me out of this place, without the breche of Sanctuarie, and if my priuilege could not serue him, nor he aske it for himselfe, yet sith the lawe committed to me the custodie of him, I maye require it for hym, except the lawe geue the infaunt a guarden onely for his goods, discharging him of the cure and safe keeping of his bodye, for which onely both goodes and landes serue. And if examples be sufficient to attaine priuilege for my childe, I nede not farre to seeke: For in this place in which we now be, and which is now in question, whether my childe may take benefite of it? Mine other sonne now king, was borne and kept in his Cradell & preserued to a more prosperous fortune, which I pray God long to continue. And as you all know, this is not the first time that I haue taken Sanctuarie: For when my Lorde my husband was banished and thrust out of his kingdome, I fled hether beyng great with childe, and here I bare the Prince, and when my Lorde my husbande returned safe agayne, and had the victorie, then went I hence to welcome him home. And from hence I brought my babe the Prince vnto his father, when he first tooke him in his armes: And I pray God that my sonnes Palace may be as great a safegarde to him nowe reigning, as thys place was sometime to the kings enemie: In which place I entend to kepe his brother, sithe mans lawe serueth the guarden to keepe the infante, and the lawe of nature wylleth the mother to keepe the childe, and Gods lawe priuilegeth the Sanctuarie, and the Sanctuary priuilegeth my sonne, sith I feare to put him to the Protectors handes, that hath hys brother alreadie, which is (if both fayled) inheritor to the crowne as heire Male, as he sayth. The cause of my feare no man hath to doe to examine; and yet feare I no farther then the law feareth, which as learned men tell me, forbiddeth euery man the custody of them, by whose death he may enherite lesse lande then a kingdome. I can say no more, but whosoeuer he be that breaketh this holye Sanctuarie, I praye God send him shortly neede of Sanctuarie, when he may

may not come to it, for I would not that my mortall enemie should be taken out of Sanctuarie.

The Cardinall perceyued that the Queene wared euer the longer the farther of, and also that she began to kindle and chafe, and speake fore byting words agaynst the Protectour, and such as he neither beleued, and also was loth to heare, he sayde to her, for a finall conclusion, that he would no more dispute the matter, & if she were content to deliuer the Duke to him and to the other Lordes there present, he durst lay his awne body & soule both in pledge, not onely for his suretie, but also for his estate, and surely he knew nor suspected no cause but he might so doe, (but he knewe not all.) And further he sayde, if she would geue him a resolute aunswere to the contrary, he would therewith depart incontinent, and shyft who so would with this businesse afterwarde, for he neuer intended further to moone her in the matter, in the which she thought that he and all other also, saue her selfe, lacked eyther wit or truth. Wyt if they were so dull that they nothing could perceiue what the Protector entended, and if they should procure her sonne to be deliuered into his handes, in whom they should perceiue towards the childe any euill will entended, then she might thinke all the counsail both euill aduised and of little fidelitie to their Prince.

The Queene with these wordes stoode a good while in a great studie, and forasmuch as she sawe the Lorde Cardinall more redier to depart then the remnaunt, and the Protector himselfe redie at hande, so that she verily thought that she could not kepe them there, but he shoulde be incontinent taken thence: and to conuey him else where, neither had she time to serue her, nor place determined, nor persons appointed to conuey him, and so all thing was buredie, when this message came so sodainly on her, nothing lesse loking for, then to haue him out of Sanctuary, which she knew now men to be set in all places about, that he could not be conueyed out vntaken, and partly as she thought it might fortune her feare to be false: so well she wist it was either nedelesse or booteleſſe. Wherfore if she should nedes go from him, she deemed best to deliuer him, and specially of the Cardinalles fayth she nothing doubting, nor of some other Lordes whome she sawe there, which as she feared least they might be deceyued, so well was she assured, that they would not be corrupted: then thought she that it would make them the more warily to looke to him, and the more circumspectly to see his suretie, if thee with her awne handes betoke him to them of trust, and at the last thee tooke the yong Duke by the hand, and sayde vnto the Lordes, my Lord quod she, and all my Lordes, neyther am I so vnwise to mistrust your wittes, nor so suspicious to mistrust your truthes: of the which thing I purpose to make you suche a proofe, that if either of both lacked in you, might turne both me to great sorow, the realme to much harme, and you to great reproche. For lo, here is quod she thys Gentleman, whome I doubt not but I could keepe safe if I would; whatsoeuer any man saye, and I doubt not also but there be some abrode so deadly enemies vnto my bloud, that if they wist where any of it laye in their awne body, they would let it out: we haue also experience that the desire of a kingdome knoweth no kindred, the brother hath beene the brothers bane, and may the Nephewes be sure of the Uncle? eche of these children are others defence, whyle they be a sunder, and eche of theyr lyues lyeth

The desire of a kingdome knoweth no kindred.

eth in others body: kepe one safe and both be sure, and nothing to both more perilous then both to be in one place: for a wise Marchant neuer aduenture th all his goodes in one ship. All this notwithstanding here I deliuer him and his brother in him, to keepe to your handes, of whome I shall aske them both before God and the worlde. Faythfull you be and that I wote well, and I knowe you be wise and of power and strength to keepe him, if you list to keepe him, for you lack no helpe of your selues, nor neede to lack no help in this case, and if you cannot elsewhere, then may you leaue him here: But onely one thing I beseeche you, for the trust that his father put you in euer, and for the trust that I put you in nowe, that as farre as you thinke that I feare to much, ye be well ware that you feare not as farre to little. And therwithall she sayde to the childe, farewell mine awne sweete sonne, God sende you good keeping, let mee once kisse you or you go, for God knoweth when we shall kisse together againe, and therewith she kissed him, and blessed him, and turned her back and wept, going her waye, leauing the poore innocent childe weeping as fast as the mother.

Oh depe and wretched dissimulation.

When the Cardinall and the other Lordes had receyued the yong Duke, they brought hym into the starre Chamber, where the Protector tooke him into his armes and kissed him with these wordes: nowe welcome my Lorde euen with al my very hart, & he sayd in that of likelihood euen as he inwardly thought, & therupon forthwith brought him to the king his brother into the Bishops palace at Paules, and from thence through the Citie honorably into the tower, out of which after that day they neuer came abrode.

When the Protectour had both the children in his handes, he opened himselfe more boldly both to certaine other men, and also chiefly to the Duke of Buckyngham, although I know that many thought that thys Duke was priuie to all the Protectors counsayle, euen from the beginning: and some of the Protectors friends sayde, that the Duke was the first mouer of the Protector to thys matter, sending a priuie messenger vnto him streight after king Edwardes death: But other agayne which knew better the subtile wit of the Protector, denied that he euer opened hys enterprise to the Duke, vntill he had brought to passe the things before rehersed. But when he had imprisoned the Quenes kinsfolkes, and gotten both her sonnes into his awne hands, then he opened the rest of his purpose with lesse feare to them whom he thought meete for the matter, & especially to the Duke, who being wonne to his purpose, he thought his strength more then halfe increased. The matter was broken vnto the Duke by subtile folkes, & such as were their crafts maisters in the handelyng of suche wycked deuyses, who declared vnto him that the yong king was offended with him for his kinsfolkes sakes, and that if he were able he would reuenge them: who would prick him forward therunto, if they escaped (for they would remember their imprisonment) or else if they were put to death, the yong king without doubt would be carefull for their deathes, whose imprisonment was grieuous vnto him. And that wyth repenting, the Duke should nothing auayle, for there was no way left to redeeme his offence by benefites: but he should soner destroy himselfe then saue the king, who with his brother and kinsfolkes he sawe in such place imprisoned, as the Protectour might with a beck destroy them all, and that it were no doubt, but that he would doe it in deede, if there were any new enterprise attempted,

The Protectour discloseth nowe all his purpose.

attempted, and that it was likely, that as the Protector had prouyded a priuy garde for himselfe, so had he espialles for the Duke, and traynes to catche him, if he should be agaynst him, and that peraduenture from them whome he least suspected. For the state of things, and the dispositions of men were then such that a man could not tell whome he might well trust, or whome he might feare. These things & such lyke, being beaten into the Dukes minde, brought him to that point, that where he had repented the way that he had entred, yet would he go forth in the same. And sithence he had once begonne, he would stoutly go thorowe, and therefore this wicked enterprise which he beleued could not be auoyded, he bent himselfe, and went thorough, and determined that sithence the common mischiefe could not be amended, he would turne it as much as he might to his awne commoditie.

The policie of the Protectour.

The entrance into one mischiefe pronoketh the going forward wyth more.

Then it was agreed that the Protectour should haue the Dukes ayde to make him king, and that the Protectors onely lawfull sonne should marry the Dukes daughter. And that the Protectour should graunt him the quyet possession of the Erledome of Hertford, which he claymed as his inheritaunce and could neuer obteyne it in king Edwardes time. Beside these requestes of the Duke, the Protector of his awne minde promised him a great quantitie of the kings treasure and of his housholde stuffe. And when they were thus at apoint betweene themselues, they went about to prepare for the coronation of the yong king, as they would haue it seeme: And that they might blynde both the eyes and mindes of men from perceyuing of their driftes, they had caused the Lordes beyng sent for from all the partes of the realme, to come thicke to that solempnitie. But the Protector and the Duke, after that they had set the lord Cardinall the Archbishop of Yorke, the lord Chauncelour, the Bishop of Ely, the Lorde Stanley, and the Lord Hastinges, then Lorde Chamberleyn, wyth manye other noble men, to commen and deuyse about the coronation in one place, as fast were they in another place contryuing the contrarie, and to make the Protectour kyng. To which counsayle albeit there were called verye fewe, and they verye secret: yet then began there, here and there some maner of muttering amongest the people, as though all thing should not long be well, though they wist not what they feared nor wherefore: were it, that before such great thinges mennes harts (of a secret instinct of nature) misgeueth them, as the sea without winde somtime swelleth of himselfe before a tempest: or were it that some one man happily somewhat perceiuyng, filled many men with suspicion though he shewed fewe men what he knewe: howbeit somewhat the dealing it selfe made men to muse on the matter, thoughe the counsaile were close, for little and little all folke drewe from the Tower where the king was, and drewe to Crosses place in Bishopesgate streete, where the Protector kept his household. The Protector had the resort, and the king in maner desolate. While some made suite vnto them that had the doyng, some of them were by their friendes secretly warned, that it might happely turne them to no good to be to much attendant on the king, without the Protectors appoyntment, which remoued diuerse of the king his olde seruauntes from him, and set newe in their rowmes about him.

A compact made betweene the Protectour and ỹ Duke of Buckyngham.

A subtile practise.

Thus many things comming together, partly by chaunce, and partlye by purpose caused at length, not common people onely, which wauer with the wynde,

wynde, but wise men also and some Lordes, to marke the matter, and muse therevpon: in so much that the Lord Stanley, which afterwarde was Erle of Darby, wisely mistrusted it, and sayd to the Lord Hastynges, that he much misliked these two seuerall counsayles, for whyle we, quod he, talke of one matter at the one place, litle woote we whereof they talke in the other: peace my Lorde, quod the Lord Hastinges, on my life neuer doubt you, for whyle one man is there, which is neuer thence, neyther can there be any thing once minded that should sounde amisse toward me, but it shoulde be in mine eares or it were well out of their mouthes. This ment he by Catesby which was nere of his secret counsaile, and whom he familiarly vsed in hys most weightie matters, putting no man in so speciall trust as him, reconing him selfe to no man so liefe, sith he wist well there was no man to him so much beholding as was this Catesby, which was a man well learned in the lawes of this lande, and by the speciall fauour of the Lorde Hastinges in good authority, and much rule bare in the cōties of Leicester, and Northampton, where the Lorde Hastinges power lay. But surelye great pitie was it that he had not had either more truth, or lesse witte, for his dissimulation onely, kept all that mischiefe by, in whome if the Lorde Hastinges had not put so speciall trust, the Lorde Stanley and he with diuerse other Lordes had departed into their countries, & broken all the daunce, for many euill signes that he sawe, which he now construed all for the best, so surely thought he that there coulde be no harme towarde him in that counsaile entended where Catesby was. And of truth the Protectour and the Duke of Buckingham made very good semblaunce vnto the Lord Hastinges, and kept him much in their company. And vndoubtedly, the Protectour loued him well, and loth was to haue lost hym, sauing for feare, lest his life should haue quayled their purpose, for ꝑ which cause he moued Catesby, to proue with some worde, cast out a farre off, whether he coulde thinke it possible to winne the Lorde Hastinges to their part. But Catesby, whether he assayed him, or assayed him not, reported vnto them that he founde him so fast, and heard him speake so terrible wordes that hee durst no farther breake, & of a truth the Lord Hastinges of very trust shewed vnto Catesby the mistrust that other began to haue in the matter. And therfore, he fearing lest their motions might with the Lorde Hastings minish his credence, wherevnto onely all the matter leaned, procured the Protectour, hastily to rydd him, and much the rather, for that he trusted by his death to obtayne much of the rule which the Lorde Hastinges bare in his countrie, the onely desire whereof, was the thing that enduced him to be the procurer and one of the specialleſt contriuers of all this horrible treason. Wherevpon the Lorde Protectour caused a counsaile to be set at the Tower on the friday, the thirtene day of June, where was much commonyng for the honourable solemnitie of the coronation, of the which the time appointed approched so neere that the pageauntes were a making day and night at Westminster, and bytaile killed, which afterwarde was cast away.

Catesby.

The counsail in the tower.

These Lordes thus sitting, commoning of this matter, the Protectour came in among them first about nine of the clocke, salutyng them curteously, excusing himselfe that he had been from them so long: saying merily that he had bene a sleper that day. And after a litle talking wyth them, he said to the Bishop of Ely, my Lorde you haue very good strawberies in your Garden at Holborne,

Holborne, I require you let vs haue a messe of them. Gladly (my Lorde quod he) I would I had some better thing as redie to your pleasure as that, and with that in all haste he sent his seruaunt for a dishe of Strawberies. The Protector set the Lordes fast in commonyng, and therevpon prayyng them to spare him a litle, and so he departed and came againe betwene .x. and .xi. of the clocke into the Chamber, all chaunged with a wonderfull sowre angry countenance, knittyng the browes, frownyng and frettyng and gnawyng on his lippes, and so set him downe in his place. All the Lordes were dismayed, and sore marueyled of this maner and sodaine chaunge, and what thing should him ayle. When he had sitten a while, thus he began: What were they worthie to haue that compasse and ymagine the destruction of me beyng so nere of blood to the king, and Protector of this his royall realme? At which question, all the Lordes sate sore astonied, musyng much by whom the question should be ment, of which euery man knewe himselfe clere.

Then the Lorde Hastynges as he that for the familiaritie that was betwene them, thought he might be boldest with him, aunswered and sayd, that they were worthy to be punished as heinous traitors whatsoeuer they were, and all the other affirmed the same, that is (quod he) ponder Sorceresse, my brothers wife and other with her, meanyng the Queene, at these wordes many of the other Lordes, were sore abashed which fauoured her, but the Lorde Hastynges was better content in his minde that it was moued by her then by any other that he loued better, albeit his hart somewhat grudged, that he was not afore made of counsaile of this matter, as well as he was of the takyng of her kindred, and of their puttyng to death, which were by hys assent before deuised to be behedded at Pomfret, this selfe same daye, in the which he was not ware that it was by other deuised, that he himselfe should the same day be behedded at London: then sayd the Protector, ye shall all see in what wise that Sorceresse and other of her counsaile, as Shores wife wyth her affinitie haue by their sorcerye and witchecraft wasted my bodie, and therewith plucked vp his Dublet sleue to his elbow on his left arme, where he shewed a werische withered arme, and small, as it was neuer other. And therevpon euery mans minde sore misgaue them, well perceiuyng that this matter was but a quarell, for well they wist that the Queene was both to wise to go about any such folly, and also if she would, yet would she of all folke make Shores wife least of her counsaile, whome of all women she most hated, as that Concubine whome the king her husband most loued.

Also there was no man there present, but knew that his arme was euer such sithe the day of his birth. Neuertheleſſe the Lorde Hastynges, which from the death of king Edward kept Shores wife, whom he somwhat doted in the kinges life, sauyng as it is sayde, that he, that while forbare her for reuerence toward his king, or else of a certaine kinde of fidelitie toward his friend: yet now his heart somewhat grudged, to haue her whome he loued, so highly accused, and that as he knewe well vntruely, therefore he aunswered and sayde, certainely my Lorde, if they haue so heynously done, they bee worthie of heynous punishement, what quod the Protector, thou seruest me I wene with if and with and, I tell thee they haue so done, and that will I make good on thy bodie traytor. And therewith (as in a great anger) he clapped his fist on the boorde a great rappe, at which token geuen, one cried

treason, without the Chamber, and therewith a doore clapped, and in came rushing men in harnesse as many as the Chamber could holde. And anone the Protector sayde to the Lorde Hastynges, I arrest thee traytor, what me, my Lorde quod he? yea, thee traytor quod the Protector. And one let flie at the Lorde Stanley, which shronke at the stroke and fell vnder the Table, or else his head had bene cleft to the teeth, for as shortly as he shranke, yet ranne the blood about his eares. Then was the Archebishop of Yorke, and Doctor Morton bishop of Ely, and the Lord Stanley taken, and diuers other which were bestowed in diuers Chambers, saue the Lorde Hastynges (whom the Protector commaunded to speede and shriue him apace) for by Saint Paule (quod he) I will not dine till I see thy head off, it booted him not to aske why but heauily he toke a priest at aduenture, and made a shorte shrift, for a longer would not be suffered, the Protector made so much haste to his dinner, which might not go to it till this murder were done, for sauyng of his vngracious othe. So was he brought forth into the greene besyde the Chappell within the Tower, and his head layd on a logge of Tymber, that lay there for buildyng of the Chappell, and there tyrannously stricken off, and after his bodie and hed were enterred at Windsore by his maister king Edward the fourth.

The Lorde Hastinges arrested.

The Lorde Stanley wounded.

The Lorde Hastynges beheaded in hast.

A marueylous case it is to heare, eyther the warnynges that he shoulde haue voyded, or the tokens that he could not voyd. For the nexte night before his death, the Lorde Stanley sent to him a trustie and secret messenger at midnight in all the hast, requiryng him to rise and ryde away with him, for he was disposed vtterly no lenger for to abyde, for he had so fearefull a dreame in the which he thought that a Bore with his tuskes, so rased them both by the heads that the blood ranne about both their shoulders, and forasmuch as the Protector gane the Bore for his Cognisaunce, he imagined that it should be he. This dreame made such a fearefull impression in his heart, that hee was throughly determined no lenger to tarie, but had his horse redie, if the Lord Hastynges would go with him: So that they would ryde so farre that night, that they should be out of daunger the next day. Ah good Lorde (quod the Lord Hastynges) to the messenger, leaneth my Lord thy maister vnto such tryfles, and hath such fayth in dreames, which either his awne feare phantasieth, or do ryse in the nightes rest, by reason of the dayes thought. Tell him it is plaine witchcraft to beleue in such dreames, which if they were tokens of thinges to come, why thinketh he not that we might as likely make them true by our goyng, if wee were caught and brought backe, (as friendes faile flyers) for then had the Bore a cause likely to rase vs with his tuskes, as folkes that fled for some falshoode, wherefore either is there perill, nor none there is in deede, or if any be, it is rather in goyng then abidyng. And if we should nedes fall in perill one way or other, yet had I liefer that men shoulde see it were by other mens falshead, then thinke it were eyther our awne fault or faint feble heart, and therefore go to thy maister, and commend me to him, and pray him to be mery & haue no feare, for I assure him, I am assured of the man that he wotteth of, as I am sure of mine awne hand. God send grace (quod the messenger) and so departed. Certaine it is also, that in ryding toward the Tower the same morning, in which he was behedded, his horse that he accustomed to ryde on stumbled with him twyse or thrise almost to the fallyng, which thing although it happeneth to them dayly to whome no

The Lorde Stanleyes dreame.

mischaunce

mischaunce is toward, yet hath it bene as an olde euill token obserued as a goyng toward mischiefe. Now this that foloweth was no warnyng but an enuious scorne, the same morning ere he were vp from his bed where Shores wife lay with him al night, there came to him sir Thomas Hayward sonne to the Lorde Hawarde (which Lorde was one of the priuiest of the Lorde Protectors counsaile and doyng) as it were of curtesye to accompanie him to the counsail, but of truth sent by the Lord Protector to hast him thetherward.

This sir Thomas, while the Lorde Hastinges stayed a while commoning with a priest whome he met in the Towerstrete, brake the Lords tale, saiyng to him merrily, what my Lorde? I pray you come on, wherefore talke you so long with that priest, you haue no nede of a priest yet, and laughed vpon him, as though he woulde say, you shall haue neede of one sone: But litle wist the other what he ment (but or night these words were well remembred by them that heard them) so the true Lorde Hastinges litle mistrusted, and was neuer merier, nor thought his life in more suretie in all his dayes, which thing is often a signe of chaunge: but I shall rather let anye thing passe mee then the vayne surety of mans minde so neare his death, for vppon the verye towre wharfe, so nere the place where his head was of not so farre of as a man might wel cast a balle, a Pursuiaunt of his awne called Hastinges mette with him, and of their meting in that place he was put in remembraunce of another time, in which it happened them to mete before together in the same place, at which other time the Lord Hastinges had bene accused to king Edwarde by the Lorde Ryuers the Queenes brother, insomuch that he was for a while, which lasted not long, highly in the kinges indignation, forasmuch as he now mette the same Pursuiaunt in the same place, the leoperdy so well passed, it gaue him great pleasure to talke with him thereof with whome he had talked in the same place of that matter, and therefore he sayde: Ah Hastinges, art thou remembred when I met thee here once with an heauy hart. Ye my Lorde (quod hee) that I remember well, and thanked be to God they gat no good, nor you no harme thereby, thou wouldest say so (quod he) if thou knewest so much as I do, which fewe knowe yet, and mo shall shortlye, that meant he that the Erle Riuers and the Lorde Richarde, and Syr Thomas Vaughan shoulde that day be behedded at Pountfret, as they were in deede which act he wist well shoulde be done, but nothing ware that the axe hong so nere his awne heade. In faith man (quod he) I was neuer so sory nor neuer stoode in so great daunger of my life as I did, when thou and I mette here, and lo the worlde is turned now, now stande mine enimies in the daunger as thou maist happe to heare more hereafter, and I neuer in my life merier nor neuer in so great suretye, I pray God it proue so (quod Hastinges, proue quod he? doubtest thou that) nay may I warraunt thee, and so in maner displeased, he entered into the Towre, where he was not long on lyue as you haue heard. O Lord God the blindnesse of our mortall nature, when he most feared, he was in most suretie, and when he reconed himselfe most surest, he lost his life, and that within two houres after. Thus ended this honorable man a good knight and a gentle, of great authority with his Prince, of liuyng somewhat dissolute, plain and open to his enemies, and sure and secret to his friend, easie to beguile, as he that of good heart and courage forsawe no perilles, a louyng man and passyng well beloued, very faythfull and

The discription of the Lorde Hastings.

truſty enough, but truſting to much was his deſtructiō as you may perceiue.

Now flewe the fame of this Lordes death thꝛough the Citie and farther about, like a winde in euery mans eare, but the Protectoꝛ immediately after dinner (entendyng to ſet ſome colour vpon the matter) ſent in all the haſt foꝛ many ſubſtantiall men out of the Citie into the Tower, and at their comming himſelfe with the Duke of Buckyngham ſtode, harneſſed in olde euill fauoꝛed Bꝛiganders, ſuch as no man would wene that they wouldе haue vouchſafed to haue put on their backes, except that ſome ſodeine neceſſitie had conſtrayned them. Then the Lorde Protectoꝛ ſhewed them, that the Lord Haſtynges and other of his conſpiracie had contriued to haue ſodeinly deſtroyed him and the Duke of Buckyngham there the ſame day in counſaile, & what they entended farther, was yet not well knowen, of which their treaſon he had neuer knowlege befoꝛe ten of the clocke the ſame foꝛenoone, which ſodeine feare dꝛaue them to put on ſuch harneſſe as came next to their handes foꝛ their defence, and ſo God had holpen them, that the miſchiefe turned vpon them that would haue done it, and thus he required them to repoꝛt. Euery man anſwered fayꝛe, as though no man miſtruſted the matter, which of truth no man beleued. Yet foꝛ the further appeaſyng of the peoples mindes, he ſent immediately after dinner an Herauld of armes with a Proclamation to be made thꝛough the Citie of London which was pꝛoclaymed in the kings name, that the Lord Haſtyngs with diuers other of his trayterous purpoſe had befoꝛe conſpired, the ſame day to haue ſlain the Protectoꝛ, & the Duke of Buckyngham ſittyng in counſaile, and after to haue taken vpon them the rule of the king, and the realme at their pleaſure, and thereby to pill & ſpoyle whome they liſt vncomptrolled, and much matter was there in the Proclamacion deuiſed to the ſlaunder of the Lorde Haſtynges, as that he was an euill Counſaylor to the kinges father, entiſyng him to many thinges highly redoundyng to the diminiſhyng of his honour, and to the vniuerſal hurt of his realme by his euill company & ſiniſter pꝛocuryng and vngracious example, aſwell in many other things, as in vicious liuing & inoꝛdinate abuſion of his body, both with many other and eſpecially with Shoꝛes wife, which was one alſo of his ſecret counſaile of this heynous treaſon, with whome he lay nightly, and namely the night paſſed next befoꝛe his death, ſo that it was the leſſe marualle if vngracious liuyng bꝛought him to an vnhappie ende, which hee was now put to by the commaundement of the king his highneſſe, and of his honourable and faythfull Counſaile, both foꝛ his demerites beyng ſo openly taken in his falſe contriued treaſon, and alſo leaſt the delayng of his execution might haue encouraged other miſchieuous perſons parteners of his conſpiracie, to gather and aſſemble themſelues together, in makyng ſome great commocion foꝛ his deliueraunce, whoſe hope nowe beyng by his well deſerued death pollitikely repꝛeſſed, al the realme ſhall by Gods grace reſt in good quiet and peace. Now was this Pꝛoclamacion made within two houres after he was behedded, and it was ſo curiouſly endited, and ſo fayꝛe written in Parchement in a fayꝛe ſet hande, and therewith of it ſelfe ſo long a pꝛoceſſe, that euery childe might perceyue that it was pꝛepared and ſtudyed befoꝛe, (as ſome men thought by Cateſby) foꝛ all the time betweene his death & the Pꝛoclamacion pꝛoclaymyng, could ſcant haue ſuffiſed vnto the bare writyng alone, albeit that it had bene in paper, and ſcribled foꝛth in haſt at aduenture.

The Protectours pꝛoclamation.

So

So that vppon the pꝛoclaimyng thereof, a certayne Scholmayſter ſtanding by and comparyng the ſhoꝛtneſſe of the time with the length of the matter, ſayde to them that ſtoode about him, here is a gaye goodly caſt, foule caſt away foꝛ haſt: And a Marchaunt that ſtoode by him ſayde that it was written by inſpiration and pꝛopheſie. Now then by and by, as it were foꝛ anger and not foꝛ couetous, the Pꝛotectoꝛ ſent Sir Thomas Hawarde to the houſe of Shoꝛes wyfe (foꝛ her huſband dwelt not with her) which ſpoyled her of al that euer ſhe had, aboue the value of two oꝛ thꝛee thouſand markes, and ſent her bodie to pꝛiſon. And the Pꝛotectoꝛ had layde foꝛ the maner ſake that ſhe was a counſaile with the Lorde Haſtynges to deſtroy him. In concluſion, when no colour could faſten vpon theſe matters, then he layde heynouſly to her charge that thing that ſhe coulde not denie, foꝛ all the woꝛlde knewe that it was true, and that notwithſtanding euery man laughed to here it then ſo ſodeinly, ſo highly taken, that ſhe was naught of her bodie. And foꝛ this cauſe as a godly continent pꝛince cleane and faultleſſe of himſelfe, ſent out of heauen into this vicious woꝛlde, foꝛ the amendment of mens maners, he cauſed the biſhop of London to put her to open penaunce, goyng befoꝛe a Croſſe on a Sonday at Pꝛoceſſion with a taper in her hand. In the which ſhe went in countenaunce and pace ſo womanly, and albeit ſhe was out of all array ſauyng her kyrtell onely, yet was ſhe ſo fayꝛe and lonely, and namely, when the woꝛdyng of the people caſt a comely red in her chekes, of the which ſhe befoꝛe had moſt miſſe, that her great ſhame wanne her muche pꝛayſe amongeſt them that were moꝛe amoꝛous of her bodie, then curious of her ſoule, and many good folke that hated her liuyng, and were glad to ſee ſinne coꝛrected, yet pitied they moꝛe her penaunce, then reioyced in it, when they conſidered that the Pꝛotectoꝛ did it moꝛe of coꝛrupt minde, then of any vertuous affection.

Shoꝛes wife

This woman was boꝛne in London, wel friended, honeſtly bꝛought vp, and very well maried, ſauing ſomewhat to ſone, her huſbande an honeſt, and a yong Citezen, godly, and of good ſubſtaunce, but foꝛaſmuch as they were coupled oꝛ ſhe were well rype, ſhe not verye feruently loued foꝛ whome ſhee neuer longed, which was the thing (by chaunce) that the moꝛe eaſelye made her to enclyne to the kings appetite, when he required her. Howbeit the reſpect of his royaltie, the hope of gaye apparell, eaſe, pleaſure, and other wanton welth was able ſone to pierce a ſoft tender hart: but when the king had abuſed her, anone her huſbande beyng an honeſt man, and one that could his good, not pꝛeſuming to touch a kinges concubyne left her vp to hym altogether. When the king dyed, the Lorde Haſtinges toke her, which in the kings dayes albeit that he was ſoꝛe enamoured with her, yet he foꝛbare, eyther foꝛ a Princely reuerence, oꝛ foꝛ a certayne friendly faithfulneſſe. Pꝛoper ſhe was, and fayꝛe, nothing in her body that you coulde haue chaunged, but if you would haue wiſhed her ſomewhat higher. This ſay they that knewe her in her youth, ſome ſayde, & iudged that ſhe had beene well fauoured, and ſome iudged the contrary, whoſe iudgement ſeemeth like as men geſſe the beautie of one long befoꝛe departed, by a ſkalpe taken out of a charnel houſe, and this iudgement was in the time of king Henrye the eight, in the eightene yere of whoſe reigne ſhe dyed, when ſhe had nothing but a reuyled ſkynne and bone. Her beautie pleaſed not men, ſo much as her pleaſaunt behauiour. foꝛ ſhe had

The deſcription of Shoꝛes wife.

a proper witte, and could both reade and write, merry in company, redy and quick of aunswere, neither muete, nor ful of bable, somtime taunting without displeasure, but not without disport. King Edward woulde say that he had three concubines, which in diuerse properties diuersely excelled, one, the merriest, the other the wyliest, the thirde the holyest harlot in the realme as one, whom no man coulde get out of the Church to any place lightly, but if it were to his bed, the other two were somewhat greater personages then mystres Shore, and neuertheleſſe of their humilitie were content to be nameleſſe and to forbeare the praiſe of theſe properties. But the meriest was Shores wife in whome the king therefore toke great pleasure, for many he had, but her he loued, whose fauour to say the truth (for it were sinne to lye on the deuill) she neuer abused to any mans hurt, but to many mens comfort, and relefe. For where the king toke displeasure, she would mitigate and appeaſe his minde, where men were out of fauour, she would bring them into his grace, for manie that had highlie offended, she obtayned perdon, & of great forfeitures she gat remiſſion, & finally, in many weighte suites she stode many men in great steade, either for none, or for very small rewarde: and those rather gaye then riche, either for that she was content with the deede well done, or for that she delighted to be sued vnto, and to shewe what shee was able to doe with the king, or for that that wanton women, and welthie be not alwayes couetous, I doubt not some man will thinke this woman to be to slight a thing to bee written of, among so graue and weightie matters, which they shall specially thinke that happily sawe her in her age, and aduerſitie, but me seemeth the chaunce so much more worthye to be remembred, in howe much after wealth she fell to pouertie, and from riches to beggery vnfriended, out of acquaintaunce, after great substaunce, after so great fauour with her Prince, after as great suite and seruyng to with all those, which in those dayes had businesse to speede as manye other men were in their tymes, which be nowe famous onely by the infamy of their euill deedes, her doynges were not much leſſe, albeit they bee much leſſe remembred, because they were not euill, for men vse to write an euyll turne in marble stone, but a good turne, they write in the dust, which is not worst proued by her, for after her welth, shee went begging of manye that had begged themselues, if shee had not holpen them, suche was her chaunce.

The description of king Edwardes three Concubines.

Now was it so deuised by the Protector and his counsail, that the same day that the Lorde Chamberlayne was beheded in the Towre of London and about the same houre should be beheded at Pomfret the Erle Ryuers and the Lorde Rychard the Quenes sonne, syr Thomas Vaughan, and syr Richard Haute, which as you heard were taken at Northampton and Stony Stratford by the consent of the Lorde Hastings, which execution was done by the order and in the presence of syr Richard Ratclife knight, whose seruice the Protector specially vsed in the counsaile, & in the execution of such lawleſſe enterpriſes, as a man that had bene long secrete with him, hauyng experience of the worlde, and a shrewde wyt, short and rude in speech, rough and boysterous of behauiour, bolde in miſchiefe, as farre from pitie as from all feare of God.

The Lorde Riuers and other beheded

Richarde Ratclife knight.

Thys knight brought theſe foure persons to the Scaffolde at the daye appointed, and shewed to all the people that they were Traytors, not suffering

ring the Lordes to speake, and to declare their innocencie, least their words might haue enclined men to pitie them, and to hate the Protectour and hys part, and so wythout iudgement and proceſſe of the lawe caused them to be behedded, wythout other earthly guilt, but onely that they were good men and true to the king & to my kinne to the Queene, in so much as syr Thomas Vaughan going to his death, sayde: A woe worth them that tooke the prophecie that G. should destroy king Edwardes children, meaning that by the Duke of Clarence Lorde George, which for the suspicion is now dead, but now remayneth Richard G. Duke of Gloucester, which nowe I see is he that shall and will accompliſhe the prophecie, and destroye king Edwardes children and all their alyes and friends, as it appereth by vs thys day, whom I appeale to the high tribunall of God for his wrongfull murther and oure true innocencie. And then Ratcliffe sayde, you haue well appealed, lay downe your head, yee quod Syr Thomas, I dye in right, beware you dye not in wrong, and so that good knight was behedded and the other three, and buried naked in the Monastery at Pomfret. When the Lord Hastings & these other Lords and knights were thus behedded and rid out of the waye, then the Protector caused it to be proclaymed that the coronation for diuers great and vrgent causes should be deferred till the second daye of November, for then thought he, that whyle men muſed what the matter ment, and whyle the Lordes of the realme were about him, out of their awne strengthes, and whyle no man wiste what to thinke, nor whome to truſt, or euer they should haue time and space to digeſt the matter, and make parts, it were beſt hastily to purſue his purpose, and put himselfe in poſſeſſion of the Crowne, or men could haue tyme to deuiſe any waye to reſiſt. But now was all the studye, thys matter beyng of it selfe so heynous might be first broken to the people in such wise as it might well be taken. To thys counsayle they tooke diuers suche as they thought meete to be truſted and likely to be enduced to that part, and able to stande them in stead, eyther by power or by pollicie. Among whome they made a counsayle Edmond Shaa then Maior of London, which vpon truſt of his awne auauncement, where he was of a prowde hart highly desirous, tooke on him to frame the Citie to their appetite. Of spirituall men they tooke such as had wyt, and were in aucthoritie amongst the people for opinion of their learning, and had no scrupulous conscience. Among these had, they tooke Raufe Shaa Clearke, brother to the Maior, and Fryer Pynkie prouinciall of the Augustine Friers, both Doctors in diuinitie, both great Preachers, both of more learning then vertue, of more fame then learning, and yet of more learning then truth. For they were before greatly esteemed among the people, but after that, neuer none of these two were regarded. Shaa made a Sermond in prayse of the Protectour before the coronation, and Pynkye made one after the coronation, both so full of tedious flatterie, that no good mans eares could abyde them, Pinkye in his Sermond so loste his voyce, that he was fayne to leaue off and come downe in the middeſt, Doctour Shaa by his Sermond loste hys honeſtye, and sone after his lyfe, for very shame of the worlde, into the which he durſt neuer after much come abrode, but the Fryer forced for no shame, and so it harmed him the leſſe. Howbeit, some doubt and manye thynke that Pynkye was not of counsayle before the coronation, but after the common maner fell

Edmond Shaa maior of London

Doctor Shaa named Raufe.

Frier Pinkie.

to

to flatterie after, namely because his Sermonde was not incontinent vpon it, but at Saint Mary Spittle the Easter after. But certaine it is that Doctor Shaa was of counsayle in the beginning, in so much that they determined that he should first breake the matter in a Sermond at Paules crosse, in which he should by the authoritie of his preaching, induce the people to enclyne to the Protectours ghostly purpose. But now was all the labour and studie in the deuise of some conuenient pretexte, for which the people should be content to depose the Prince and accept the Protector for King. In which dyuers things they deuised, but the chiefe thing, and the weight of all that inuention rested in this, that they should allege bastardy in King Edwarde himselfe, or in his children, or both, so that he should seme disabled to enherite the crowne by the Duke of Yorke and the prince by him. To lay bastardy in kyng Edwarde, sounded openly to the rebuke of the Protectors awne mother, which was mother to them both. For in that point could be none other colour, but to pretende that his awne mother was an auoutresse, but neuertheleffe he would that point should be leffe and more finely and closely handled, not euen fully playne and directly, but touched a slope craftily, as though men spared in that point to speake al the truth for feare of his displeasure. But that other point concerning the bastardie, they deuised to surmise in King Edward his children, that would he should be openly declared and enforced to the vttermost. The colour and pretert whereof cannot be well perceyued, except we first repete some thinges long before done about king Edward his mariages.

After king Edwarde the fourth had deposed king Henrie the sixt, and was in peaceable possession of the realme, determining himselfe to marry (as was requisite) both for himselfe and for the realme, he sent ouer in Ambassade the Erle of Warwike, and diuers other noble men to the French king to intreat a mariage betweene the king and the Ladie Bona sister to the French Quene, then being in Fraunce, as before in the storie of king Edwarde the fourth ye haue heard. In which thing the Erle of Warwike founde the parties so toward and wylling, that he speedily without any difficultie according to his instructions, brought the matter to a good conclusiõ.

Dame Elizabeth Gray.

Now happeneth it in the meane season, there came to make a suite to the king by petition Dame Elizabeth Gray (which after was his Quene) then a Widdowe, borne of noble bloud, specially by her mother, which was Duchesse of Bedforde, which was maried to Sir Richarde Wooduile, Lorde Riuers, her Father.

Howbeit this dame Elizabeth being in seruice with Queene Margaret, wife to king Henry the sixt, was maried to one John Gray Esquire whome king Henry made Knight at the last battayle of Saint Albones, but little whyle he enioyed his knighthood, for at the same fielde hee was slayne.

After when that king Edward was king and the Erle of Warwike being on hys Ambassade, this poore Lady made suite to the King to be restored to such small lands as her husbande had geuen her in ioynture, whom when the King beheld and heard her speake, as she was both fayre and of good fauour, moderate of stature, well made, & very wise, he not all onely pitied her, but also waxed enamored on her, and taking her afterward secretly aside, began

gan to enter into talking more familiarly, whose appetite when she perceyued, she verteously demed hym, but that shee did so wisely and that with so good maner & words so well set, that she rather kindled his desire then quenched it. And finally after many a meeting and much woyng and many great promises she well espied the king his affection toward her so greatly encreased, that she durst somewhat the more boldly say her minde, as to him whose hart she perceyued more feruently set then to fall of for a worde. And in conclusion she shewed hym playne, that as she was vnwit her selfe to simple to be hys wyfe, so thought she her selfe to good to be hys Concubine. The king much marueyling of her cõstancie, as he that had not bene wont else where so stiffly sayde nay, so much esteemed her continencie and chastitie, that he set her vertue in stead of possession and ryches: And this taking counsayle of his awne desire, determined in all possible haste to marry her. And after that he was thus appointed, and had betweene them twayne ensured her, then asked he counsayle of his secret friends, and that in such maner that they might easyly perceyue that it booted not to say nay.

The kinges mother.

Notwithstanding the Duches of Yorke his mother was so sore moued therewith, that she dissuaded that mariage as much as shee possibly might: alleging that it was his honor, profite and suretie, to marry in some Noble progeny out of his realme, whereupon depended great strength to hys estate by that affinitie, and great possibilitie of increase of his dominions. And that he could not well otherwise doe, considering the Erle of Warwike had so farre forth entred into the matter all ready, which was not like to take it wel if all his voyage were in such wise frustrate, and his appointment deluded. And she sayde farther, that it was not princely to marry his owne subiect, no greater occasion, leading thereunto no possessions, nor other commoditie depending thereupon, but only as a riche man would marry his mayden onely for a little wanton dotage vpon her person. In which mariage many men commended more the maydens fortune then the mans wisedome, and yet she sayd that there was more honestie then honor in this mariage, for as much as there is not betweene a Marchant and his mayde so great a difference as betweene a king and his subiect, a great Prince and a poore Widow. In whose person, although there were nothing to be misliked, yet was there saide shee, nothing so excellent but that it might be found in diuers other that were more meete (quoth she) for your estate: yea and maydens also, the onely widowhed of Dame Elizabeth Gray (although she were in all other points and things conuenient for you) should suffise as me thinketh to refraine you from her mariage, sith it is an vnsitting thing & a great blemish to the sacred maiestie of a Prince, that ought as nere to approch priesthood in cleannesse, as he doth in dignitie, to be defiled with bygamy in his first mariage. The king made his mother an answere part in earnest and part in play merily, as he that wiste himself out of her rule: & albeit he would gladly that she should take it wel, yet was he at a point in his awne minde, take she it well or otherwise. Howbeit somewhat to satisfy her he said, ỹ albeit mariage being a spirituall thing it ought rather to be made for the respect of God, where his grace enclineth, the parties ought to encline to loue together (as he trusted it was in his case) rather then for the regarde of any temporall aduauntage: yet neuertheleffe him seemed that this mariage well considered not to be vnprofitable.

The kinges answere to his mother.

table, for he reconed the amitie of no earthly nacion to be so necessary for him as ỹ friendship of his awne, which he thought likely to beare him so much the more harty fauor, in that he disdeined not to mary with one of his awne land: and yet if outwarde alliaunce were thought so requisite, he would finde the meanes to enter therunto much better by other of his kinne where all ỹ parties could be contented, then to marry himself wherin he should never happily loue, and for the possibilitie of possessions, lese the fruite and pleasure of thys that he had alredie. For small pleasure taketh a man of all that euer he hath beside, if he be wiued agaynst his appetite, and I doubt not (quod he) but there be as you say other that be in euery point comparable with her, and therefore I let not them that like them to mary them, no more is it reason that it misslike any man that I marry where it liketh me. And I am sure that my Cosyn of Warwicke, neither loueth me so little, to grudge at that that I loue, nor is so vnreasonable to looke that I should in choyse of a wife, rather be ruled by his eye then by mine awne, as though I were a warde that were bounden to mary by the appoyntment a guarden. I would not be a king with that condicion to forbeare mine owne libertie in choyse of mine awne mariage. As for possibilitie of more inheritaunce by newe affinitie in straunge landes, is oft the occasion of more trouble then profite. And we haue alredie title by that meanes, so much as sufficeth to get and keepe well in one mans dayes. That she is a widdowe and hath alredie children: By God his blessed Lady, I am a Bacheler and haue some to, and so eche of vs hath a proofe, that neyther of vs is like to be barren. And therefore Madame, I pray you be content, I trust to God she shall bring forth a yong Prince that shall please you. And as for the bigamye, let the Bishoppe hardly lay it to my charge when I come to take orders, for I vnderstand it is forbidden a priest, but I neuer wist that it was forbidden a Prince. The Duchesse with these wordes nothyng appeased, and seyng the king so set on that she coulde not plucke him backe, so highly she disdeyned it, that vnder pretext of her dutie to Godward, she deuised to disturbe this mariage, & rather to helpe that he should marry one dame Elizabeth Lucy, whome the king not long before had gotten with childe: wherfore ỹ king his mother obiected openly against this mariage (as it were in discharge of her conscience) that the king was sure to dame Elizabeth Lucy, and was her husband before God, by reason of which wordes such obstacle was made in that matter, that eyther the Bishop durst not, or the king would not proceede to the solemnization of the mariage, till his fame were cleerely purged, and the truth well and openly testified. Wherupon Dame Elizabeth Lucy was sent for, and albeit she was by the king his mother and manye other put in good comfort to affirme that shee was assured to the King, yet when shee was solemply sworne to say the truth, shee confessed shee was neuer ensured. Howbeit she sayde, his grace spake suche louyng wordes to her, that she verily hoped that he woulde haue maryed her, and that if such kinde of wordes had not bene, she woulde neuer haue shewed such kindenesse to him, to let him so kindely get her with childe. This examinacion solemnly taken, when it was cleerely proued that there was no impediment to let the king to marrie, wherefore he shortly after at Grafton beside stonie Stratford maryed the Ladie Elizabeth Gray very priuily, which was his enemies wife, and had prayed hartily for his losse, in the which God loued

Elizabeth Lucy.

The kinges mariage.

loued her better then to graunt her her bone, for then had she not beene hys wife: And after that she was crowned Quene, then her father was created Erle Riuers, and her some created Marques Dorset. But when the Erle of Warwike vnderstoode of this mariage, he tooke it so highly, that thereof ensued much trouble and great bloodshed as is declared before in the storye of king Edward the fourth.

I haue rehersed this mariage somewhat the more at length, because it might thereby the better appere vpon howe slipper a ground the Protectour builded his colour, by which he pretended king Edward his children to bee bastardes, but the inuencion, as simple as it was liked them to whome it sufficeth to haue somewhat to saye, while they were sure to be compelled to no larger proofe then themselues list to make.

Doctor Shaas sermon.

Nowe to returne where I left, as I began to shewe you, it was by the Protector and his counsaile concluded that this Doctor Shaa shoulde in a sermon at Paules Crosse signifie to the people, that neither king Edwarde himselfe, nor the Duke of Clarence were lawfully begotten, nor were the very children of the Duke of Yorke, but begotten vnlawfully by other persons, by aduoutery of the Duches their mother. And that Dame Elizabeth Lucy was the very wife of king Edward, and so Prince Edward and all the children begotten on the Queene were bastardes. And accordyng to this deuise, Doctor Shaa the Sonday after at Paules crosse in a great audience (as alway a great number assembled to his preachyng) came into the Pulpit takyng for his Theme. Spuria vitulamina non agent radices altas. Sapien. 4. that is to say, Bastard slippes shall neuer take depe rootes: wherevpon when he had shewed the great grace that God geueth and secretly infoundeth in right generation after the lawes of matrimonie, then declared he that those children commonly lacked the grace (and for the punishement of their parentes) were for the most part vnhappy which were gotten in baste, and specially in aduoutrie, of which, (though some by the ignorance of the worlde and the truth hid from knowlege) haue enherited for a season other mens landes, yet God alway so prouideth that it continueth not in their blood long, but the truth commyng to light, the rightfull enheritors be restored, and the bastard slippes plucked vp or it can be rooted depe. And when he had layde for the proofe and confirmation of this sentence, examples taken out of the olde testament and other auncient Hystories, then began he to discende to the prayse of the Lord Richard, late Duke of Yorke, callyng him father to the Lorde Protector and declared his title to the crowne by enheritaunce, and also by entaile authorised by Parliament after the death of king Henry the first. Then shewed he that the Lorde Protector, was onely the right heyre, of his bodie lawfully begotten. Then declared he that king Edward was neuer lawfully maryed to the Queene, but his wife before God was dame Elizabeth Lucy, and so his children were bastardes. And besydes that, that neyther king Edward himselfe, nor the Duke of Clarence (amongst them that were secret in the Duke of Yorkes household) were neuer reconed surely to be the children of the noble Duke, as those that by their fauors more resembled other knowen men then him, from whose vertuous condicions he sayde also that king Edward was farre off. But the Lord Protector (quod he) that very noble prince, the speciall patrone of knightly prowesse, aswell in all princely behauior, as in the liniamentes

niamentes and fauour of his visage representeth the verye face of the noble Duke his father. This is (quod he) the fathers awne figure, this is hys awne countenaunce, the verye print of his visage, the sure undoubted Image, the plaine expresse likenesse of this noble Duke. Nowe was it before deuised, that in the speaking of these words, the Protector should haue come in amongest the people to the Sermond ward, to the ende that these words, so meetyng with his presence, might haue bene taken amongest the heerers, as though the holy ghost had put them in the preachers mouth, and should haue moued the people euen there to haue cried king Richard, king Richard, that it might haue bene after sayde, that he was specially chosen by God, and in maner by miracle: but this deuise quayled, eyther by the Protectors negligence, or the preachers ouer hasty diligence. For while the Protector staied by the way, tarying, least he should haue preuented these wordes, the Doctor fearyng that he should come or his sermon coulde come to those wordes, hastyng his matter therto, he was come to them, and past them, and entred into other matters or the Protector came, whome when he beheelde comanyng, he sodainly left the matter which he had in hand, and without any deduction thereunto out of all order, and out of all frame, began to repete those wordes agayne. This is the verye noble prince, the especiall patrone of knightly prowesse, which aswell in all princely behauiour, as in the liniamentes and fauour of his visage, representeth the very face of the noble Duke of Yorke his father. This is the fathers awne figure, this is his awne countenaunce, the very print of his visage, the sure and undoubted image, the plain expresse likenesse of that noble Duke, whose remembraunce can neuer die while he liueth. While these wordes were in speaking, the Protector accompanied with the Duke of Buckingham, went through the people vp into the place where the Doctors commonly stand in the vpper storye, where they hearde out the Sermon: but the people were so farre from cryng king Richarde, that they stoode as they had beene turned into stones, for wonder of this shamefull Sermon: after which once ended, the preacher gate him home, and neuer after durst looke out for shame, but kept him out of sight as an Owle, and when he asked any of his olde friendes, what the people talked of him, although that his awne conscience well shewed him that they talked no good, yet when the other aunswered him, that there was in euery mans mouth of him much shame spoken, it so strake him to the heart, that in fewe dayes after, he withered and consumed away.

Then on the tuesday after next folowing this sermond, beyng the .xvij. day of June, there came to the Guyld hall of London, the Duke of Buckingham and diuers Lordes, and knightes mo then happily knewe the message they brought. And there in the east ende of the hall, where the hoystinges be kept, the Duke and the Mayor, and the other Lords sate downe, and the Aldermen also, all the commons of the Citie beyng assembled and standing before them. After silence cõmaunded vpon a great payne in the Protectors name. The Duke stode vp, and as he was well learned, and of nature meruelously well spoken, he sayde to the people, with a cleare, and a lowd voyce: Friendes, for the zeale, and hartye fauour that we beare you, we become to breake of a matter right great, and weightie, and no lesse weightie, then pleasing to God, & profitable to all the realme, nor to no parte of the realme more

The oration of the Duke of Buckingham made to the Citizens of London.

profitable,

profitable, then to you the Citizens of this noble Citie. For why, the thyng that you haue long lacked, and as wee well knowe sore longed for, that you woulde haue geuen great good for, that you woulde haue gone farre to fetch: that thing be we come hether to bring you, without your labour, paine, coste, auenture, or ieoperdie. What thing is that? Certes, the surety vp your owne bodies, the quiet of your wiues & daughters & the sauegarde of your goods, Of all which things in tyme passed you stood in doubt. For who was there among you all that could recon himselfe Lord of his owne good, among so many ginnes, & traps as were set therfore, among so much pilling and polling among so many taxes & tallages, of the which there was neuer ende, or oftentimes no nede or if any were, it grew rather of riote, or of vnreasonable wast, then any necessary or honorable charge, so that there was daily plucked, & pilled from good & honest men great substance of goods, to be lashed out among vnthrifts so far forth ỹ fiftenes suffised not, nor any vsuall termes of knowen taxes, but vnder an easy name of benenolence & good will, the commissioners so much of euery man toke, as no man would with his good will haue geuen. As though the name of benenolence had signified, that euerie man should pay not what he of himselfe of his good wyll lust to graunt, but what the kyng of his good will lust to take, who neuer asked litle, but euery thing was haunsed aboue the measure, amerciamentes turned into fines, fines into raunsomes, smal trespaces, into mesprision, mesprision into treason, whereof I thinke that no man loketh ỹ we shal remẽber you of examples by name, as though Burdet were forgotten which was for a worde spoken, in hast cruelly beheedded. This Burdet was a Merchant dwelling in Chepeside, at ỹ signe of crowne, which now is ỹ signe of the flower de luse ouer against soper lane: This man merily in the ruffling time, betwene king Edward the fourth, and king Henry the first, said to his owne sonne, that he woulde make him inheritor of the crowne, meaning his owne house: but these words king Edward made to be misconstrued, and enterpreted, that Burdet ment the Crowne of the realme: wherefore within lesse space then foure houres, he was apprehended, iudged drawen and quartered in Chepeside, by the misconstruing of the lawes of the realme for the princes pleasure, with no lesse honour to Merkam chiefe Iustice then, which lost his office, rather then he woulde assent to that iudgement: then to the dishonestie of those, that either for feare, or flatterye, gaue that iudgement. What neede I to speake of sir Thomas Cooke Alderman, and Mayor of this noble Citie, who is of you either for negligence that wotteth not, or so forgetfull, that he remembreth not, or so harde harted that he pitieth not that worshipfull mans losse? What speake I of losse, his wonderfull spoyle, and vndeserued distruction, onely because it happened those to fauour him, whome the prince fauoured not. We nede not reherse of these any mo by name, sith I doubt not that here be many present, that either in themselues, or nigh friendes haue knowen aswell their goodes as their persons greatly endaungered, either by fained quarels or small matters aggrauated with heinous names, and also there was no crime so great, of which there coulde lacke a pretext. For sithe the king preuentyng the time of his inheritaunce attayned the crowne by battaile, it suffised in a riche man for a pretext of treason, to haue bene of kindred or aliaunce, nere of familiaritie, or longer of acquaintaunce with any of those, that were at any time the kings enemies

Benenolence

Burdet.

Merkam chiefe Iustice

Of this sir Thomas Cooke ye may reade afore in the seuenth yere of king Edward the fourth.

Open warre. which was at one time or another more then halfe the realme. Thus were neither your goods, neither lands in surety, and yet they brought your bodies in ieoperdie, beside the common auenture of open warre, which albeit, that it is euer the well and occasion of much mischiefe, yet is it neuer so mischeuous as where any people fall in deuision, and at distaunce among themselues, and in no realme earthly so deadlye, & so pestilent, as when it happeneth amongst vs. And among vs neuer continued so long discention nor so many battailes in any season, nor so cruell, nor so deadly foughten, as were in the kinges his dayes that dead is. God forgeue it his soule. In whose time, and by whose occasion, what about the getting of the garlande, keping it, lesing, and wynning agayne, it hath cost more English blood, then hath the twise winnyng of
Ciuil warre. Fraunce. In which inward war amongst our selues hath bene so great effusion of the auncient noble blood of this realme, that scarcely the halfe remayneth, to the great enfebling of this noble lande, beside manye a good towne ransaked and spoyled by them that haue bene going to the fielde, or returning from thence, and peace long after, not much surer then warre. So that no tyme was there in the which rich men for their money, & great men for their landes, or some other, for some feare or for some displeasure were out of peril. For whom trusted he, that mistrusted his owne brother? Whome spared he, that killed his owne brother? Or who coulde perfectly loue him, if his owne brother coulde not? What maner of folke that he most fauoured (we shall for his honour spare to speake of) howbeit, this ye wot well all, that whoso was best, bare euer the best rule, and more suite in his daies was to Shores wife, a vile and abhominable strompet, then to all the Lordes in Englande, except vnto those that made her their protectour, which simple woman was yet well named, and honest, till the king for wanton lust, and sinful affection, bereft her from her husbande, a right honest yong man, and substanciall amongst you. And in that point which in good faith I am sory to speake of, sauing that it is in vayne to kepe counsaile in that thing, that all men knoweth, the king hys greedy appetite was insaciable, and euery where ouer all the realme intollerable. For no women was there any where yong or olde, poore or riche, whome he set his eie vpon, whome hee any thing liked, either for person, or beautie, speche, pace or countenaunce, but without anye feare of God, or respect of his honour, murmure or grudging of the worlde, he woulde importunatly pursue his appetite and haue her, to the great distruction of manye a good woman, and great doloure to their husbandes and friendes, which being honest people of themselues, so much regarded the clennesse of their houses, the chastitie of their wiues, and children, that them were liefer to lose all that they haue beside, then to haue such a vilany done to them. And albeit that with this, and other importable dealing, the realme was in euery place anoyed, yet specially you the Citezens of this noble Citie, as for that amongst you is most plentie of all suche thinges as minister matter to suche iniuries, as for that you were nerest at hande, sith that nere here about was hys most common abiding. And yet be ye the people whome he had as singuler a cause well and kindly to entreat, as any part of his realme: not onelye for
London is the speciall Chamber of the Prince. that the prince by this noble Citie, as of his speciall chamber, and renoumed Citie of this realme, much honourable fame receiueth amongst all other nacions, but also for that, yea not without your great cost & sundry perilles and ieoperdies

ieoperdies in al his warres bare euer your especiall fauor to his part: which your kinde mindes borne to the house of Yorke, sith he hath nothing worthily requited you, there is of that house now, which by God his grace shall make you full recompence, which thing to shew you, is the whole some and effect of our arrande. It shall not I wote well neede, that I reherse vnto you agayn that you alredy haue heard of him that can better tell it, and of whome I am sure ye will better beleue it (and reason it is that it so be) I am not so prowd to loke therfore that you should receiue my words of so great authority as the preachers of the worde of God, namely a man so cunning, and so wise, that no man wotteth better what he should doe & say, and thereto so good and vertuously he would not say the thing, which he wist he should not say in the pulpit, namely, into the which no honest man commeth to lie: which honourable preacher ye well remember, substancially declared to you at Paules Crosse on Sonday last paste, the right and tytle of the most excellent Prince Richard Duke of Gloucester now Protector of this realme, which he hath vnto the crowne of the kingdome of the same. For that worshipfull man made it perfectly and groundely open vnto you, that the children of king Edward the fourth were neuer lawfully begotten, for as much as the king (liuing his verie wyfe dame Elizabeth Lucie) was neuer lawfully maried to the Queene their mother, whose blood, sauing that he set his voluptuous pleasure before his honour, was full vnmeetely to be matched with his (the mingling of which two bloodes together hath beene the effusion of a great part of the noble blood of this realme, whereby it maye well be seene, that mariage was not well made of which there is so much mischiefe growen. For lack of which lawfull copulation, and also of other things which the said worshipfull Doctor rather signified then fully explaned, and which thing shall not be spoken for me, as the thing that euery man forbeareth to say that he knoweth, in auoyding the displeasure that my noble Lorde Protectour bearing as nature requireth a reuerence to the Duches his mother. For these causes before remembred I saye, that for lacke of issue lawfully comming of the late noble Prince Richard Duke of Yorke, to whose royall blood the crownes of Englande and of Fraunce, are by the high authoritie of a parliament entayled, the right and title of the same is by iuste course of inheritaunce according to the common law of this land, dissended and come vnto the most excellent prince the Lorde protectour, as to the verie lawfull begotten some of the fore remembred noble Duke of Yorke. Which thing well considered, and the knightly prowesse of him pondered, with many vertues which in his noble person singulerly do abound: The nobles and commons also of this realme, and specially of the North partes, not wylling anye bastard blood to haue rule of the lande, nor the abusions in the same before vsed and exercised any longer to continue, haue fully condiscended and vtterly determined to make humble petition vnto the puyssaunt prince the Lorde protectour, that it maye like his grace at our humble request, to take vpon him the guyding and gouernaunce of this realme, to the welth and increase of the same, according to his verie right and iust tytle, which thing I wote well he will be loth to take vpon him, as he whose wisdome well perceyueth, the labour and studie both of minde and body that shall come therewith to him, whosoeuer shall occupie that rome. I dare say he will it he take it (for

I warraunt you that rome is no childes office) and that the great wise man well perceyued, when he sayd Væ regno, cuius Rex puer est, Woe to that realme whose king is a childe, wherefore so much the more cause haue we to thanke God, that this noble personage, which is so righteously entituled thereto, is of so sad age, and thereto of so great wisedome, ioyned with so great experience, which albeit, he will be loth as I haue sayde to take vpon him, yet shall he to our petition in that behalfe the more graciously encline, if ye the worshipfull Citizens of thys Citie, being the chiefe Citie of the realme, ioyne with vs the Nobles in our sayde request, which for your awne weale we doubt not but that ye will. And yet neuertheless we pray you so to do, whereby ye shall doe great profite to all this realme: Beside that, in chosing them so good a king, it shall be to your selfe a speciall commoditie, to whome his maiestie shall euer after beare so much the more tender fauour in how much he shall perceyue you the more prone and benevolently minded towarde his election: wherein deare friendes, what minde you haue we require you playnely to shewe vs?

When the Duke had sayde and looked that the people whome he hoped that the Maior had framed before, should after this flattering proposition made, haue cryed king Richard, king Richard, all was still and mute, and not one worde answered to: wherewith the Duke was maruellously abashed, and taking the Maior neere vnto him, with other that were about hym priuie to the matter, sayde vnto them softly. What meaneth thys, that the people be so styll? Sir quod the Maior, percase they perceyue you not well, that shall we amende quod he, if that will helpe, and therewith somewhat lowder rehearsed the same matter agayne, in other order and other words so well and ornately, and neuertheless so euidently and plaine, with boyce, gesture, and countenaunce so comely and so conuenient, that euery man much marueyled that heard him, and thought that they neuer heard in their lyues so euill a tale so well tolde. But were it for wonder or feare, or that eche looked that other should speake first, not one worde was there answered of all the people that stood before, but all were as still as the midnight, not so much as rouning among them, by which they might seme once to common what was best to doe. When the Maior sawe thys, he with other parteners of the counsayle, drewe about the Duke and sayde that the people had not bene accustomed there to be spoken to, but by the Recorder, which is the mouth of the Citie, and happily to him they will answere. With that the Recorder called Thomas Fitz William, a sadde man and an honest, which was but newly come to the office, and neuer had spoken to the people before, and lothe was with that matter to beginne, notwithstanding thereunto commaunded by the Maior, made rehersall to the commons of that which the Duke had twise proponed himselfe, but the Recorder so tempered his tale, that he shewed euerything as the Duke his wordes were, and no part of his awne, but all this no chaunge made in the people, which alwaye after one, stood as they had bene amased. Wherupon the Duke roumed with the Maior and sayde, this is a maruellous obstinate scilence, and therewith turned to the people agayne with these wordes. Deare friends we come to moue you to that thing which paraduenture we so greatly needed not, but that the Lords of this realme and commons of other partes might haue suffised,

Thomas Fitz William Recorder of London.

fised, sauing such loue we beare you, and so much set by you, that we would not gladly do without you, that thing in which to be parteners is your weale and honour, which as to vs seemeth you see not or way not: Wherefore we require you to geue vs an answere, one or other, whether ye be minded as all the nobles of the realme be, to haue thys noble Prince now Protector to be your king. And at these wordes the people beganne to whisper among themselues secretly, that the voyce was neyther loude nor base, but lyke a swarme of Bees, tyll at the last, at the nether ende of the hall a bushement of the Dukes seruaunts & one Nashfield, and other belonging to the Protectour, with some prentices and laddes that thrusted into the hall amongst the preasse, began sodainely at mens backs to cry out as loude as they could, king Richard, king Richard, and there threw vp their Cappes in token of ioy, and they that stood before cast back their heads marualyng thereat, but nothing they sayde. And when the Duke and the Maior saw this maner, they wisely turned it to their purpose, and sayd it was a goodly cry, and a ioyfull, to here euery man with one voyce & no man saying nay. Wherefore friends (quod the Duke) sithe we perceyue that it is all your whole myndes to haue this noble man for your king, whereof we shall make his grace so effectuall report, that we doubt not but that it shall redownde to your great welth and commoditie. We therefore require you that to morowe ye go with vs, and we with you to hys noble grace, to make our humble petition and request to him in maner before remembred. And therewith the Lords came downe and the company dissolued and departed the more part all sadde, some with glad semblaunce that were not very merie, and some of them that came with the Duke, not able to dissemble their sorrowe, were fayne at hys backe to turne their face to the wall, whyle the dolour of their hartes brast out of their eyes.

Then on the morow the Maior and Aldermen, and chiefe Commoners of the Citie in their best maner apparelled, assembled themselues together at Paules, and resorted to Bainerds Castell where the Protector lay, to which place also according to the appointment repayred the Duke of Buckingham and diuers Nobles with him, besydes many knightes and gentlemen: And therevpon the Duke sent worde to the Lorde Protector of the being there of a great honourable companie to moue a great matter to his grace. Wherevpon the Protector made great difficultie to come to them, except he knewe some part of their errand, as though he doubted and partly mistrusted the commyng of such a number to him so sodainly, without any warnyng or knowlege, whether they came for good or harme. Then when the Duke had shewed this to the Maior and other, that they might thereby see howe little the Protector loked for this matter, they sent againe by the messenger such louyng message, and there so humbly besought him to vouchesafe that they might resort to his presence to propose their entent of which they would to none other person any part disclose. At the last he came out of his Chamber, and yet not downe to them, but in a Galory ouer them, with a Bishop on euery hand of him, where they beneath might see him and speake to him, as though he would not come nere them, till he wist what they ment. And therevpon, the Duke of Buckingham first made humble petition to him on the behalfe of them all, that his grace would pardon them, and licence them

to purpose vnto his grace the entent of their commyng without his displeasure, without which pardon obteyned, they durst not be so bolde to moue him of that matter. In which, albeit they ment as much honour to his grace as welth to all the realme beside, yet were they not sure howe his grace would take it, whom they would in no wise offende. Then the Protector, as he was very gentle of himselfe, and also longed sore apparauntly to know what they ment, gaue him leaue to purpose what him liked, verily trusting for the good mind that he bare them all, none of them any thing would entend to himward wherewith he ought to be grieued. When the Duke had this leaue and pardon to speake, then waxed he bolde to shewe him their entent and purpose, with all the causes mouyng them therunto, as ye before haue heard. And finally, to beseech his grace that it would like him of his accustomed goodnesse, and zeale vnto the realme, nowe with his eye of pitie to beholde the long continued distresse and decay of the same, and to set his gracious hand to the redresse and amendment thereof, by takyng vpon him the Crowne and gouernaunce of the realme, according to his right and title lawfully discended vnto him, and to the laude of God, profite and suretie of the lande, and vnto hys grace so muche the more honour and lesse paine, in that that neuer Prince reigned vpon any people that were so glad to liue vnder his obeysaunce, as the people of this realme vnder his.

When the Protector had heard the proposition, he loked very straungely thereat and made aunswere, that albeit he knew partly the things by them alleged to be true, yet such entier loue he bare to king Edward and his children, & so much more regarded his honour in other Realmes about, then the Crowne of any one, of which he was neuer desirous, so that he coulde not finde in his heart in this poynt to enclyne to their desire, for in all other nacions where ỹ truth were not well knowen, it should peraduenture be thought that it were his awne ambicious minde and deuise to depose the Prince, and to take himselfe the Crowne, with which infamie he would in no wise haue his honour steyned for any Crowne, in which he had euer perchaunce perceyued much more labour and paine, then pleasure to him that so would vse it as he that would not and were not worthie to haue it. Notwithstandyng, he not onely pardoned them of the motion that they made him, but also thanked them for the loue and hartie fauour they bare him, prayyng them for hys sake to geue and beare the same to the Prince, vnder whome he was and would be content to liue, and with his labour and counsaile as farre as it should like the king to vse it, he woulde doe his vttermost deuoyer to set the realme in good estate which was alredie in the little tyme of his protectorship (lauded be God) well begon in that the malice of such as were before the occasion of the contrary, and of newe entended to be, were now partly by good pollicie, partly more by God his speciall prouidence, then mans prouision, represſed and put vnder.

Upon thys aunswere geuen, the Duke of Buckyngham by the Protector hys licence a little rounded, as well with other noble men about him as with the Maior and Recorder of London. And after that (vpon lyke pardon desired and obteyned, he shewed alowde vnto the Protector, for a finall conclusion that the realme was appointed that king Edward his line should no longer reigne vpon them, both for that they had so farre gone that it was now

now no suretie to retreate and for that they thought it for the weale vniuersal to take that way, although they had not yet begon it. Wherfore if it would lyke hys grace to take the crowne vpon him, they would humbly beseeche him therevnto, and if he would geue them a resolute aunswere to the contrarie (which they would be loth to here) then must they seeke and should not fayle to finde some other noble man that would. These wordes much moued the Protector, which as euery man of small intelligence may weet would neuer haue enclined thereto: but when he sawe there was none other way but that eyther he must take it, or else he and his both to go from it, he sayde to the Lordes and commons, sithe it is we perceyue well that all the realme is so set (whereof we be very sory) that they wyll not suffer in any wise king Edwarde his line to goueine them, whom no man earthly can goueine against their wyls: And we also perceyue that no man is there to whom the crowne can by so iust tytle appertayne as to our selfe as verie right heire lawfullye begotten of the body of our most dread and dere father Richard, late Duke of Yorke, to which tytle is now ioyned your election, the nobles and commons of the realme, which we of all tytles possible take for most effectuall, we be content and agree fauourably to encline to your petition and request, and according to the same, here we take vpon vs the royall estate of preheminence and kingdome of the two noble realmes, Englande, and Fraunce, the one from this day forward by vs and our heyres to rule, goueine and defend, the other by God his grace and your good helpe to get agayne, subdue and establishe for euer in due obedience vnto this realme of England, the auaunce-ment whereof we neuer aske of God longer to liue then we entende to procure and set forth. With this there was a great cry and shoute, cryyng king Rychard, king Richard, and so the Lords went vp to the King. But the people departed talking diuersly of the matter, euery man as his phantasie gaue him, but much they maruelled of this maner of dealing, that the matter was on both partes made so straunge, as though neuer the one parte had communed with other part thereof before, when they wist that there was no man so dull that hearde them, but he perceiued well ynough that all the matter was made betwene them. Howbeit, some excused that againe, saiyng: all thinge must be done in good order, and men must sometime for the maner sake not be a knowen what they knowe. For at the consecration of a Bishoppe, euery man perceiueth by paiment of his Bulles, that he entendeth to bee one, yet when he is twise asked whether he will be a Bishop, he must twise say naye, and at the third time take it vpon him, as compelled thereto by his awne wil. And in a stage playe, the people know right well that he that plaieth the sowdaine, is percase a sowter, yet if one of acquaintance perchaunce of little nurture shoulde call him by his name, while he standeth in his maiestie one of hys tormentours might fortune breake his heade for marring of the play. And so they saide, these matters be kynges games, as it were stage playes, and for the most part plaid vpon scaffoldes, in which poore men be but lokers on, & they that wise be, wil meddle no farther, for they that steppe vp with them when they cannot play their partes, they disorder the play and doe themselues no good.

The Protector taketh vpon him the royall estate and Kingdome of this realme.

After



After that the Protector had taken vpon him the royal estate, preheminence and kingdome of this realme, as is afore laid in the historie of king Edward the fift, he the next day folowyng with a great traine, went on foote to Westminsterhall, & there when he had placed himselfe in the Court of the kings Benche, he declared to the audience, that he would take vpō him the crowne there in that place where the king himselfe sitteth, & ministreth the lawe, because he considered, that it was the chiefest duty of a king to minister the lawes. Then with as pleasaunt an oracion as he coulde, he went about to wynne the hartes of the nobles, the merchauntes, & artificers, and in conclusion all kinde of men, but speciall the Lawyers of this realme. And finally to the entent that no man should hate him for feare, and that his deceptfull clemency might get him the good will of the people, when he had declared the discommoditie of discord, and the commoditie of concord, and vnitie, he made on open proclamacion, that he did put out of his minde all enemities, and that he there did pardon all offences committed against him. And to the entent that he might shew a proofe thereof, he commaūded that one Fogge, whome he had deadly hated, shoulde be brought before him, who being brought out of the Sanctuarie, for thether had he fled for feare of him. In the sight of the people he toke him by the hand, which thing the common people reioyced at, and praysed: But wise men tooke it for a vanitie. And in his retourne homeward, whom so euer he met, he saluted: for a mind that knoweth it selfe guiltie, is in a maner deiected to a seruile flattery.

1483 1 When he had begonne his reigne the .xix. daye of June, in the yeare of our Lorde, 1483. after this mockish election, then was he proclaymed king openly by sounde of trompet the next day folowing, and the first day of Julye next ensuyng, was solemply crowned at Westminster. And that solempnitye was furnished for the most parte with the selfe same prouision that was appointed for the coronation of his nephew. But forasmuch as the maner of the same coronacion came vnto my handes, & also for that no mencion is made of the maner of the Coronacion of any prince in al this Chronicle, I thought it not amisse in this place to expresse the same.

The fourth day of July he came to the tower by water with his wyfe, and there he created Edwarde, his onely begotten sonne, a childe of ten yeres olde, Prince of Wales, and John Hawarde, a man of great knowlege, and vertue, (alwell in counsaile, as in battaile) he created Duke of Norffolk, and sir Thomas Hayward his sonne, he created Erle of Surrey, & William Lord Barkley was then created Erle of Nottingham, and Fraunces Lord Louell was then made vicount Louell and the kings chamberleyne, and the Lorde Stanley, was deliuered out of ward for feare of his son the Lord Straunge which was then in Lancashire gathering men (as it was saide) and the said Lorde

Lorde was made stewarde of the kings housholde, and likewise the Archebishop of Yorke was deliuered. But Morton Bishop of Ely was deliuered to the Duke of Buckingham to kepe in warde, which sent him to his manor of Brecknock in Wales, from whence (as ye shall after here) hee escaped to kyng Richardes confusion. The same night the king made .xviij. knights of the Bathe, whose names were these.

Sir Edmonde the Duke of Suffolkes sonne.
Sir George Gray the Erle of Kentes sonne.
Sir william the Lorde Souches sonne.
Sir Henry Burgany.
Sir Christopher willoughby.
Sir William Barkley.
Sir Henry Banington.
Sir Thomas Arondell.
Sir Thomas Boleyn.
Sir Brews of Clifton.
Sir William Say.
Sir Edmond Bedingfield.
Sir William Enderby.
Sir Thomas Lekenor.
Sir Thomas of Urmon.
Sir John Browne.
Sir William Barkley.

The next day beyng the fift day of July the king roade through the Citie of London towarde Westminster with great pompe, beyng accompanied with these Dukes, Erles, Lordes, and knightes, whose names folow.

Edward Prince of Wales the kinges onely sonne.

Dukes.
The Duke of Norffolke.
The Duke of Buckyngham
The Duke of Suffolke.

Erles.
The Erle of Northumberland
The Erle of Arondell
The Erle of Kent
The Erle of Surrey
The Erle of Wilshire
The Erle of Huntingdon
The Erle of Nottyngham
The Erle of Warwicke
The Erle of Lyncolne.

Lordes.
The Lorde Lisle Vicount
The Lorde Louell Vicount
The Lorde Stanley
The Lorde Audeley
The Lorde Dakers
The Lord Ferrers of Chertsley
The Lorde Powes
The Lorde Scrope of Upsale
The Lorde Scrope of Bolton
The Lorde Gray Cotener
The Lorde Gray of Wilton
The Lorde Sturton
The Lorde Cobham
The Lorde Morley
The Lorde Burgany.
The Lorde Sowche
The Lorde Ferrers of Croby
The Lorde Welles
The Lorde Lomney
The Lorde Matreuers
The Lorde Harbert
The Lorde Becham.

Knightes.
Sir James Tyrrell
Sir William Knyuet
Sir Thomas Aborow
Sir William Standley
Sir William Aparre
Sir George Browne
Sir Robert Middleton
Sir John Heningham
Sir Nicholas Latimer
Sir Thomas Monghonbrey
Sir Thomas Delamer
Sir Gilbert Debnam
Sir Terry Robsart
Sir William Brandon
Sir John Sauell
Sir Henry Wentfoord
Sir Edward Standley
Sir Henry Seyntmonte

Sir

Sir William Yong
Sir Thomas Bowser
Sir Henry Winkfielde
Sir Thomas Wozley
Sir John Seyntlowe
Sir Charles of Pilkinton
Sir James Harpngton
Sir John Acheley
Sir Thomas Barkley
Sir Richard Becham
Sir William Hopton
Sir Thomas Percye
Sir Robert Dinock
Sir John Cheyney
Sir Richard Ludlow
Sir John Eldzyngton
Sir William Sandes
Sir Richard Dudley
Sir William Seyntlowe
Sir Thomas Twaightes
Sir Edmond of Dudley
Sir Raufe Ashton
Sir Richard Charlyngton
Sir Thomas Graye
Sir Philip Barkley
Sir Robert Harington
Sir Thomas Gresley
Sir Richard Hartcourt
Sir William Nozis
Sir Thomas Selenger
Sir Richard Hodylston
Sir John Conyas
Sir William Stoner
Sir Philip Courtney
Sir William Galsoyn
Sir Richard Amedylton
Sir Roger Fynes
Sir Geozge Uere
Sir Henry Percye
Sir John Wood
Sir John Aparre
Sir John Gray
Sir John Danby
Sir Richard Taylebusche
Sir John Rider
Sir John Heryng
Sir William Stoner
Sir Richard Enderby
Sir John Barkeley
Sir James Strangwische
Sir Raufe Carubzeke
Sir John Constable
Sir Robert Elyard
Sir Richard Derell
Sir John Gilfozd
Sir John Lekenoz
Sir John Mozley
Sir John Hewes
Sir John Boleyn
Sir Edmond Shaa Alderman.

On the mozow beyng the firt day of July, the king with Queene Anne his wife, came downe out of the white Hall into the great Hall at Westminster, and went directly to the kinges Benche. And from thence the king and the Queene goyng vpon raye cloth barefooted, went vnto Saint Edwards Shzine, and all his Nobilitie goyng with him, euery Lozde in his degree. And first went the Trompets, and then the Heraultes of Armes in their rich Cotes, and next folowed the Crosse with a solempne Pzocession, the pzieste hauyng fine Surpleses, and gray Amysses vpon them. The Abbottes and Bishops Mytred and in riche Copes, and euery of them caryed their Crosiers in their handes. The Bishop of Rochester bare the Crosse before the Cardinall. Then folowed the Erle of Huntingdon, bearyng a payze of guilt Spurres, signifiyng Knighthood. Then folowed the Erle of Bedfozd bearyng Saint Edwardes staffe foz a Relique. After them came the Erle of Nozthumberland bare hedded, with the poyntlesse swozde naked in his hand, which signified mercy. The Lozde Stanley bare the Mace of the Constablechip. The Erle of Kent bare the second swozde on the right hande of the king naked, with a poynt which signified iustice to the Tempozaltie. The Lozde Louell bare the thirde swozde on the left hande with a poynt, which signified

signified iustice to the Clergie. The Duke of Suffolk folowed with ꝑ Scepter in his hande, which signified peace. The Erle of Lincolne bare the Ball and Crosse, which signified a Monarchy. The Erle of Surrey bare ꝑ fourth swozd before the king in a rich skaberd, and that is called the swozd of estate. Then went three together, in the middest went Garter king at armes in his riche Cote. And on his left hande went the Maioz of London bearing a Mace, and on his right hand went the Gentleman Uther of the pziuie chamber. Then folowed the Duke of Nozffolke bearing the kinges crowne betwene his handes. Then folowed king Richard in his robes of purple Ueluet, and ouer his head a Canapie bozne by foure Barones of the fiue poztes, and on euery side of the king there went one Bishop, that is to say, the Bysshop of Bathe, and the Bychop of Durham. Then folowed the Duke of Buckyngham bearing the kings trayne, with a whyte staffe in his hande, signifiyng the office of the high Steward of England. Then there folowed a great number of Erles and Barons before the Queene. And then came the Erle of Huntington, who bare the Queenes Scepter, and the Lozde Lisle Uicount bare the rod with the doffe, which signifieth innocencie. The Erle of Wiltshire bare the Queenes crowne before her. Then folowed Queene Anne daughter to Richard Erle of Warwike in robes lyke to the king, and hauing a Canapy ouer her head, and on euery cozner of the same was a Bell of Golde. And on her head was a Circlet of Golde, set with manye pzecious stones. The Countesse of Richmond bare the Queenes trayne. And after them came the Duchesse of Suffolke in her robes of estate, and on her head a Cronicle of Golde. Then folowed the Duchesse of Nozffolke appareled in lyke maner as was the Duchesse of Suffolke, and then folowed twentie Ladies richely apparelled, and after them a great number of knightes and Esquires, and then a great number of Typstaues, and passed fozwarde vntill they came vnto Saint Edwardes Shzyne to their seates of estate. And shortly the king and the Queene sat dowone in their seats of estate. And forthwith there came vp before the king & the Queene both pziests and Clarkes, that song most delectable and excellent Musick. And so soone as thys was done, the king and Queene were shifted from their robes, and had dyuers places open from the middle vpwarde, in which places they were annoynted. And that beyng done, the king and Queene chaunged their robes into cloth of Golde. And then forthwith the Cardinall beyng accompanied with all the Bychops, crowned the king and Queene with great solempnity, with the crowne of Saint Edward, and then they sang Te deum and the Ozgans went, and then they put vpon the king Saint Edwardes Cope (as an holy relique.) And the Bychops deliuered to the king the Scepter in his right hande, and the Ball with the Crosse in his left hande, and to the Queene the Scepter in her right hand, and the rod with the Doue in her left hande. And then the Cardinall and Bychops went to Masse, and the king and Queene went to their seates agayne. And shortly after came vp before the king two Bychops and kneeled downe before him a little whyle, and then they arose vp and kissed the king one after another: on euery side of the king stoode a Duke, and one euery side of the Queene stood a Bychop. And before the king stood the Erle of Surrey with a swozd in hys hande, and before the Queene was a Lady kneeling. And there kneeled before the Queenes seate the Duches

ches of Nozffolke and sundzie other Ladies. And so they sate still vntill the Pare was geuen, and then the King & Queene dissended and came downe to the highe aultar, and there receyued the Sacrament, the same beyng deuided betweene them. And then they went vp vnto S. Edwards Shryne, and there the king offred saint Edwards crowne with many other reliques. And then the king returned agayne to his seat, and the Lozdes set hys awne crowne vpon his head. And so in ozder as they came they departed to Westminster hall, and so to their Chambers foz a season. During which time the Duke of Nozffolke came into the hall, his hozse being trapped to the ground in cloth of Golde as high Marchall, and voyded the Hall.

About foure of the clock the King and Queene entred the Hall, and the King sate in the middle, and the Queene on the left hande of the table, and on euery side of her stoode a Countesse, holding a cloth of pleasaunce when she list to drinke. And on the right hande of the King sate the Archebyshop of Caunterburie. All the Ladies sate on one side at a table, in the middle of the hall, and at the table agaynst hym sate the Chauncelour and all the Lozdes. At the table next the Cupbozd sat the Maioz of London. At the table behind the Lozdes sate the Barones of the fiue Pozts. And at the other bozds sate dyuers noble and wozshipfull personages.

When all persons were set, the Duke of Nozffolke Erle Marchall, the Erle of Surrey Constable foz that day, the Lozde Stanley Lozde steward, syz Wylliam Hopton Treasozer, and syz Thomas Percy Comptroller came in and serued the king solemnly with one dishe of Golde, & another of Syluer, and the Queene all in gylt Uessell, and the Byshop in Siluer. At the second course came into the hall syz Robert Dymmock the kings Champion makyng proclamation, that whosoeuer would saye that King Richard was not lawfull King, he woulde fight with him at the vtteraunce, and thzewe downe his gauntlet, and then all the hall cryed King Richard, King Richard. And so he did in thzee partes of the hall. And then one bzought him a Cup of Golde with Wine couered, and when he had dzonke as much as he woulde, he thzewe out the rest and departed with the Cup. After that the Heraultes cryed a largesse thzise in the hall, and so went vp to their stage. At the ende of dynner the Maioz of London serued the king and Queene with Ipocras, and had of eche of them a Cup of Golde with a couer of Golde. And by that tyme all was done it was darke night, and so the King and Queene returned to their Chambers, and euery man to his lodging.

Incontinent after thys feast he sent a solempne Ambassade to Lewys the French king to conclude a league and amity with him, trusting also to obteyne the tribute that king Edwarde his bzother had befoze out of Fraunce. But the French King so abhozred him and his crueltie, that he woulde neyther see noz here his Ambassadozs, & so in vaine they returned home againe.

Now after this triumphant cozonation, there fell mischiefes thick and thick, & as the thing euill gotten is neuer well kept, so thzough all the time of his vsurped reigne, neuer ceased their cruel murther, death, and slaughter, till his awne destruction ended it. But as he finished his time with the best death and most rightwise, that is to say his awne, so began he with the most pitteous and wicked, I meane the lamentable murther of his innocent Nephews the yong king and his tender bzother, whose death and finall foztune hath neuertheleſſe

so farre come in question that some remayned long in doubt whether they were in his dayes destroyed oz no. Not foz that onely that Parkyn Warbeck by many folkes malice, and mo folkes folly so long space abusing the wozlde, was as well with pzinces as with pooze people reputed and taken foz the yonger of these two: But foz that also that all things were in late dayes so couertly demeaned, one thing pzetended and another ment, that there was nothing so playne and openly pzooued, but that yet foz the common custome of close and couert dealing, men had it euer inwardly suspect, as many well counterfeit Jewels, make the true mistrusted. Howbeit, concerning ỹ opinion, with the occasions mouing either party, we shall haue place moze at large to intreate, in the stozie of the late Noble Pzince of famous memozie king Henry the seuenth, in the pzocesse of Parkyn. But in the meane season, foz this pzesent matter I shall reherse to you the dolozous ende of these two Babes, not after euery waye that I haue heard, but after that waye that I haue so heard by such men and such meanes as me thinketh it were herde but it should be true.

Close dealing is euer suspicious.

Kyng Richarde after his cozonation, taking his waye to Glocester, to visite in his newe honour, the towne, of which he bare the name befoze of old, deuised as he rode to fulfill that thing which he befoze had entended. And foz asmuch as his minde gaue him that his neue wes lyuing, men would not recon that he coulde haue right to the realme: he thought therefoze without delay to ridde them, as though the killyng of his kynsmen might ende hys cause, and make him a kindly king. Where vpon he sent one John Greene, whome he specially trusted, vnto sir Robert Brakenburie, constable of the tower, with a letter and credence also, that the same sir Robert in anye wyse should put the two children to death. This John Greene did his errand to Brakenbury, kneeling befoze our Ladye, in the Towze, who plainlye answered that he would neuer put them to death, to die therefoze. With ỹ which answere John Greene returned, recompting the same to king Richarde at Warwicke yet on his iourney, wherwith he toke such displeasure, & thought, that the same night, he sayd, to a secret page of his: Ah, whome shall a man trust? they that I haue bzought vp my selfe, they that I went would haue most surely serued me, euen those fayle me, & at my commaundement wyll do nothing foz me. Sir quod the page, there lieth one in the palet chambze without, that I dare well say, to do your grace pleasure, the thing were right hard that he would refuse, meanyng this by sir James Tirrell, which was a man of right goodly personage, and foz the giftes of nature wozthy to haue serued a much better Pzince, if he had well serued God, & by grace obterned to haue as much truth and good will, as he had strength and witte. The man had an high hart, and soze longed vpwarde, not risyng yet so fast as he had hoped beyng hindered and kept vnder by sir Richard Ratcliffe, and sir William Catesby, which longyng foz no moze partners of the Pzinces fauour, namelye not foz him, whose pzide they knewe would beare no pere, kept him in secret duktes out of all secret trust: which thing this page had well marked, and knowen: wherefoze, this occasion offered, of very speciall friendship spied his time to set him fozward, and in such wise to do him good, that all the enemies that he had (except the Deuill) coulde neuer haue done him so much hurt and shame, foz vpon the Pages wozdes, king Richard arose (foz this communi-

The destruction of king Edwardes children.

John Greene.

Robert Brakenburie Lieutenant of ỹ Towze.

Buckyngha louyth no partners.

cation had he sitting on a Jaques, a conuenient carpet for such a counsayle) and came out into the palet chambre, where he did find in bed the sayd James Tyrrell, and sir Thomas Tyrrell, of person like, & brethren of blood, but nothing of kinne in condicions. Then sayde the king merely to them, what sirs, be you in bed so sone? and called vp James Tyrrell, and brake to him secretly his minde, in this mischeuous matter, in the which he founde him nothyng straunge. Wherfore on the morowe he sent him to Brakinburie with a letter by the which he was commaunded to deliuer to the sayd James all the keyes of the Towre for that night, to the ende that he might there accomplishe the kings pleasure in such things as he there had geuen him in commaundement. After which letter deliuered and the keyes receyued, James appointed the next night ensuyng to destroy them, deuisyng before & preparyng ỹ meanes.

James Tyrell.

The Prince assone as the Protectour toke vpon him to be king, and left the name of Protectour, was thereof aduertised and shewed, that he shoulde not raigne, but his vncle shoulde haue the crowne. At which word the prince sore abashed began to sighe, and sayde: Alas I woulde mine vncle woulde let me haue my life, although I leese my kingdome. Then he that tolde him the tale vsed him with good wordes, and put him in the best comfort that hee coulde, but forthwith he and his brother were both shut vp, and all other remoued from them, one called blacke Will, or William Slaughter onely except, which were set to serue them, and foure other to see them sure. After which time, the Prince neuer tyed his pointes, nor any thing rought of hymselfe, but with that young babe his brother lyngered in thought & heauinesse, till this traiterous dede deliuered them of that wretchednesse.

The lamentable wordes of the yong king.

For James Tyrrell deuised that they should be murthered in their beds and no blood shed: to the execution whereof, he appointed Miles Forest one of the foure that before kept them, a fellow fleshe bred in murther before time, and to him he ioyned one John Dighton, his awne horsekeper, a big, broade square, and strong knaue. Then all the other beyng remoued from them, this Miles Forest, and John Dighton about midnight, the sely children lyng in their beddes, came into the chambre, and sodenly lapped them vp amongest the clothes, and so bewrapped them, and entangled them, keepyng downe by force the fetherbed & pillowes hard vnto their mouthes, that within a while they smored, and stifled them, & their breathes faylyng, they gaue vp to God their innocent soules, into the ioyes of heauen, leauing to ỹ tormentors their bodies, dead in ỹ bed, which after the wretches perceiued, first by the strugling, with the pangs of death, & after long lyng stil to be throughly dead, they layd the bodies naked out vpon the bed, & fetched James Tyrell to see them, which when he saw them perfitly dead, he caused ỹ murtherers to bury them at the stayre foote, metely deepe in the ground vnder a great heape of stones.

Miles Forest. John Dighton.

The yong king and his brother murdered.

Then rode James Tyrrell in great haste to king Richard, and shewed him all the maner of the murder, who gaue him great thankes, and as men say, there made him knight, but he allowed not their buriall in so vile a corner, saiyng that he woulde haue them buried in a better place, because they were a kinges sonnes: Lo the honourable courage of a king, for he would recompence a detestable murther with a solempne obsequie. Whereupon a priest of Sir Robert Brakenburies toke them vp, and buried them in such a place secretly as by the occasion of his death (which was very shortly after) which

which onely knew it, the very truth coulde neuer yet be well and perfectlye knowen. Some say that king Richard caused them to be taken vp, and closed them in lead, & to put them in a Coffin full of holes, hooked at the endes with two hookes of yron, and so cast them into a place called the black deepes, at the Thames mouth, so that they should neuer rise vp nor be seene againe. This was the verye truth vnknowen by reason that the sayde priest died so shortly, and disclosed it neuer to any person that would vtter it. And for a truth, when sir James Tyrrell was in the Tower for treason committed agaynst king Henry the seuenth: both he and Dighton were examined together of this poynt, and both they confessed the murder to be done in the same maner as you haue heard, but whether the bodyes were remoued, they both affirmed they neuer knewe. And thus as I haue learned of them that much knewe, and little cause had to lye, were these two noble Princes, these innocent tender children, borne of the most royall blood, and brought vp in great welth, likely long to liue, to reigne & rule in the realme, by trayterous tirannie taken and depriued of their estate, shortly shut vp in prison, and priuilye slaine and murdered by the cruell ambicion of their naturall Uncle and hys dispiteous tormentors: which thinges on euery part well pondered, God gaue this worlde neuer a more notable example, either in what vnsurete standeth this worldes weale, or what mischiefe worketh the prowde enterprice of an high heart, or finally what wretched ende ensueth of such dispiteous crueltie. For first to begin with the ministers, Myles Forest, at Saint Martines le graund, by peece meale miserably rotted away, John Dighton lined at Calice long after, no lesse disdeyned and hated then poynted at, and there dyed in great misery: But Sir James Tirrell was beheadded at the Tower hill for treason: And king Richard himselfe was slaine in the fielde, hacked, and hewen of his enemies hands, haried on a horseback naked being dead, his heare in dispite torne and tugged like a curre Dogge. And the mischefe that he tooke in lesse then three yeres, of the mischiefe that he did in three monethes be not comparable, and yet all the meane time spent in much trouble and paine outwarde, and much feare, dreade, and anguishe within. For I haue heard by credible report, of such as were secret with his chamberers that after this abhominable deed done, he neuer was quiet in his mind, he neuer thought himselfe sure where he went abroade, his bodie priuilye fainted, his eyen whirled aboute, his hande euer on his dagger, his countenaunce and maner like alwayes to strike again, he toke euill rest on nightes, lay long wakyng and musyng, foreweried with care and watch, rather slumbred then slept, troubled with fearefull dreames, sodeinly sometime start vp, leapt out of his bed and loked about the Chamber, so was his restlesse heart continually tossed and tombled with the tedious impression and stormie remembraunce of his abhominable murther and execrable tirannie.

The ende of the murderers of king Edwardes children.

The out and inward troubles of Tyrants.

King Richard by this abominable and mischieuous act, thinkyng himselfe well relieued both of feare and thought, woulde not haue it kept counsaile, but within a fewe dayes caused it to runne in a common rumor that the two children were sodainly deade, and to this entent as it is to be demed, that now none heyre male beyng alyue of king Edwardes bodie lawfully begotten, the people would be content with the more pacient heart, and quiet mind to obey him and suffer his rule and gouernaunce: but when the fame of this

deteſtable fact was reueled, and demulged through the whole realme, there fell generally, ſuch a doloꝛ and inward ſoꝛow into the heartes of all the people, that all feare of his crueltie ſet aſyde, they in euery towne, ſtreete, and place, openly wept, and piteouſly ſobbed. And when their ſoꝛrow was ſomwhat mittigate, their inwarde grudge could not refrayne but crie out in places publike, and alſo priuate, furiouſly ſaiyng, what creature of all creatures is ſo malicious and ſo obſtinate an enemie either to God, oꝛ to Chriſtian religion, oꝛ to humaine nature, which would not haue abhoꝛred, oꝛ at the leaſt abſteyned from ſo miſerable a murther of ſo execrable a tyrannye. To murder a man is much odious, to kill a woman is in maner vnnaturall, but to ſlay and deſtroy innocent babes, and yong infantes, the whole woꝛld abhoꝛreth, and the blood from the earth creyeth, foꝛ vengeaunce to almightie God. If the common people cryed out, I aſſure you the friendes of the Queene, and her children made no leſſe exclamation and complaint with lowde voice, lamentably criyng and ſaiyng, alas what will he doe to other, that thus ſhamefully murdereth his owne blood without cauſe oꝛ deſert? whom will he ſaue when he ſlaieth the pooꝛe Lambes cõmitted to him in truſt? now we ſee and behold that the moſt cruell tirannie hath inuaded the common welth, now we ſee that in him is neither hope of iuſtice noꝛ truſt of mercie, but abundaunce of crueltie and thyꝛſt of innocent blood. But when theſe newes were firſt bꝛought to the infoꝛtunate mother of the deade children yet beyng in Sanctuarie, no doubt but it ſtrake to her heart, like the ſharpe darte of death: foꝛ when ſhe was firſt infoꝛmed of the murder of her two ſonnes, ſhe was ſo ſodainly amazed with the greatneſſe of the crueltie, that foꝛ feare ſhe ſounded and fell downe to the ground, and there lay in a great agonie like to a dead coꝛps. And after that ſhe came to her memoꝛie, and was reuiued againe, ſhe callyng by name diuers tymes her ſweete babes, accounted her ſelfe moꝛe then mad that ſhe deliuered her yonger ſonne out of the Sanctuarie to his enemie to be put to death, thinkyng that next the othe made to God bꝛoken, and the duetie of allegeaunce toward her children violated, ſhe of all creatures in that poynt was moſt ſeduced and diſceyued. After long lamentacion, when ſhe ſaw no hope of reuengyng otherwiſe, ſhe kneled downe and cried on God to take vengeaunce foꝛ the deceytfull periury, as who ſayd that ſhe nothing miſtruſted but once he would remember it. What is he lyuyng that if he remember and beholde theſe two noble infantes without deſeruyng, ſo ſhamefully murthered, that will not abhoꝛre the fact, yea and be moued and toꝛmented with pitie and mercie. And yet the woꝛlde is ſo fraple, and our nature ſo blinde that fewe be ſtirred with ſuch examples, foꝛgetting and little conſidering, that oftentimes foꝛ the offences by the parents perpetrate and committed, that ſinne is punished in their line and poſteritie. This chaunce might ſo happen to this innocent children, becauſe king Edwarde their father and parent offended in ſtaynyng his conſcience: he made his ſolempne othe beꝛoꝛe the gate of the City of Yoꝛke (as you haue heard before) and pꝛomiſed and ſware one thing by his woꝛde, thinkyng cleane contrarie in his heart, as after did appere. And afterwarde by the death of the Duke of Clarence his bꝛother, he incurred (of likelyhoode) the great diſpleaſure towarde God.

After this murther thys perpetrated & that he had viſited his towne of Glouceſter

Glouceſter which he foꝛ his olde dignity both loued and with ample liberties and pꝛiuileges endued and garniſhed, he toke his iouney toward the Countie of Yoꝛke, where the people abuſing hys lawfull fauour, as he both fauoꝛed and truſted them in hys hart, had of late pꝛeſumed to attempt diuers rootes and riots contrarie to his lawes and enfringing of his peace, and vpon hope of his maintenaunce, were ſo eralted, that no Loꝛde, were he neuer of ſo great power could eyther pacifie oꝛ rule them till the king himſelf came perſonally thether to ſet a concoꝛde and an vnitie in that Countrie, and ſo he by long iourneying came to the Citie of Yoꝛke, where the Citizens receyued him with great pompe and triumph, and made diuers dayes playes and Pageiaunts in token of ioy and ſolace. Wherefoꝛe king Richarde magnified and much commended them and alſo did ſhewe himſelfe apparantly beꝛoꝛe them in habite ropall with Scepter in hande and Diademe on his head, and made pꝛoclamation that all perſons ſhould reſoꝛt to Yoꝛke on the day of the aſſenſion of our Loꝛde, where all men ſhould both beholde him and his Queene and Pꝛince in their high eſtates and degrees, and alſo foꝛ their good wylles ſhoulde receyue many thankes. At the daye appointed the whole Clergie aſſembled in Copes richelye reueſted and ſo with a reuerent ceremonie went about the Citie in Pꝛoceſſion, after whome folowed the king with his Crowne and Scepter appareled in his cirote Robe ropall accompanied with no ſmall number of the Nobilitie of hys Realme: after whome marched in oꝛder Queene Anne hys wife lykewiſe crowned, leading on her left hande Pꝛince Edwarde her ſonne, hauing on hys head a Demy Crowne appointed foꝛ the degree of a Pꝛince. The king was had in that triumph in ſuch honoꝛ, and the common people of the Noꝛth ſo reioyſed that they extolled and pꝛayſed him farre aboue the ſtarres. After thys ſolempne feaſt and glozious pompe he kept great counſayles there, as well foꝛ the oꝛdering of the Countrie in time to come, as foꝛ the bꝛydeling and puniſhing of ſuch as there had miſgouerned themſelues: and farther of the gentlemen of that Countrie, he augmented the number of hys houſhold, miniſters and ſeruaunts, in the which perſons he put his whole truſt and affiaunce. When all things were thus diſcreetely oꝛdered, he returned by Notyngham, and after came to London: whome moꝛe foꝛ dꝛead then foꝛ loue, the Citizens receyued in great companies. Thus king Richard by a newe inuented crueltye and late pꝛactiſed tirannie obteyned and grewe to high pꝛaiſe and honoꝛ, and then by the admiration and iudgement of the common multitude, he was moſt eſteemed to be eralted into heauen, when he couertly had intelligence that he was lyke to loſe hys eſtate, and could by no meanes haue long continuaunce in hys vſurped power: Foꝛ aſſuredly after the death of king Edwards children, when any bluſtering winde, perillous thunder, oꝛ terrible tempeſt chaunced oꝛ were apparauntly like to happen: Sodainly the people hauing in there freſh memoꝛie the miſchieuous act of their king and Pꝛince, would openly ſpeake and cry that God did take vengeaunce, and puniſhe the pooꝛe Engliſh men foꝛ the crime and offence of their vngracious king, whom they blamed, accurſed, and wiſhed to haue extreme toꝛtures. Although king Richarde harde often of theſe ſlaunderous woꝛdes and malicious ſaiyngs and knewe well by what perſons they were ſpoken, yet he durſt not wyth ſtrong hande be on the firſt inuentoꝛs reuenged, knowyng that ſome time it

A prowde and fooliſhe proceſſion.

is no wisedome to refuse or disdaine them that tell a ruler his duetie, or declare to him his misbehauior towarde the common welth or counsayle him to amende and chaunge hys yll lyfe. After this great felicitie, he fell agayne into a great feare and pensiuenesse of minde, & because he could by no meanes eyther correct or amend things that were passed, he determined by doing his duetie in all things to his commons, to blot and put out of memorie that note of infamie, with the which his fame was iustly spotted & stayned, and to cause the people to conceyue so good an opinion in him, that from thence forth no calamitie or trouble should be adiudged to happen to the common welth, eyther by his negligence or by his misgouernaunce (although it is harde and straunge shortly to turne and pluck out such qualities and vsages as haue of long time beene engrauen in a mans minde and rooted in his maners and conditions.) Therefore whether it was for the performaunce of his former entent of amendment, or (as the common fame flue abrode) that he tooke great repentaunce of hys mischieuous actes, and deuilishe doyngs, and pretended to haue the name of a good and vertuous man, by reason that he shewed himselfe more iust, more meeker, and more liberall (especially amongst the poore people) then before he had accustomed to doe, and so by thys meanes he surely trusted first to obteyne of God forgeuenesse, and after to remoone by little and little the enemitie and inwarde grudge that the common people bare in their mindes toward him, and in conclusion, to obteyne their friendly loue and assured fauour. He furthermore beganne and enterprised diuers things as well publike as priuate, the which he beyng preuented by sodaine death did neyther accomplishe nor bring to conclusion, for he begun to founde a College of a hundred priestes, which foundation with the founder shortly tooke an ende. To please the common people also, he in his high Courte of Parliament enacted diuers and sundrie good lawes and profitable estatutes and in especiall one agaynst straungers and forreyn wrought wares, not to be transported into this realme, which cōmodious act for the common welth if he had liued he fully purposed to haue auaunced and set forward and put in execution. But afterward euidently to all persons it appeared, that onely feare (which is not a mayster long in office and in continuall authoritie) and not iustice, caused king Richard at that verie time to ware better and amend his sinnefull lyfe, for shortly the goodnesse of the man which was but painted and deceauable, sodainly ware colde and vanished away. And from thenceforth not onely all hys counsayles, doyngs and proceedings, sodainely decayed and sorted to none effect: But also fortune began to frowne and turne her wheele downeward from him, in so much that he lost his onely begotten sonne called Edwarde in the thirde Moneth, after he had created him Prince of Wales.

The death of Edward the sonne of king Richard.

1484

And shortly after he was vnquieted by a conspiracy, or rather a confederacie betwene the Duke of Buckingham and many other gentlemen against him as ye shall here: But the occasion why the Duke and the king fell out, is of diuers folke diuerslie pretended. Thys Duke as you haue heard before assoone as the Duke of Gloucester after the death of King Edwarde was come to Yorke, and there had solempne funerall seruice done for king Edward, sent to him a secret seruaunt of hys called Persall, with such messages as you haue heard before. And after the Duke of Buckyngham came with three

Grudge betwene the Duke of Buckingham and King Richard.

three hundred horse to Northampton and still continued with him, as partener and chiefe organe of his deuises till after his coronation, they departed to all seeming verie friends at Gloucester. From whence assone as the Duke came home, he so highly turned from him and so vehemētly conspired against him, that a man would marueyle whereof the chaunge grewe in so shorte space. Some say this occasion was that a little before the coronation, the Duke required the king amongst other things to be restored to the Erle of Herfordes landes: And for as much as the tytle which he claymed by inheritaunce, was somewhat interlaced with the tytle of Lancaster, which house made a tytle to the crowne, and enioyed the same three discentes, as all men knewe, till the house of Yorke deprined the thirde king, which was Henry the first, king Richard somewhat mistrusted and conceyued suche an indignation, that he reiected the Dukes request with many spitefull and knappishe wordes, which so wounded the Dukes hart with hatred and mistrust, that he could neuer after endure to looke right on king Richard, but euer feared hys awne lyfe, so farre forth, that when the Protector should ryde to his coronation, he feyned himselfe sicke, because he would doe him no honor. And the other taking it in euill part, sent him worde to rise and ride, or he woulde make him to be caried. Wherevpon gorgiously apparelled and sumptuously trapped with burning cart naues of Golde embrodered, he roade before the king through London with an euill wyll and worse hart. And that notwithstanding he rose the daye of the coronation from the feast, fayning himselfe sicke, which King Richard sayde was done in hate and spight of him. And therefore men sayde that eche of them euer after lyued continually in such hatred and distrust of other, that the Duke looked verily to haue bene murthered at Gloucester, from which he in fayre maner departed: but surely suche as were right secret with both, affirme all this to be vntrue, and otherwyse men thinke it vnlikely, the deepe dissimuling nature of both these men well considered. And what neede in that greene worlde the Protector had of the Duke, and in what perill the Duke stood if he fell once in suspicion of that tyraunt, that eyther the Protector would geue the Duke occasion of displeasure, or the Duke the Protector occasion of mistrust: And surely men thinke that if king Richard had any suche opinion conceyued in him, he would neuer haue suffred him to auoyde his handes or escape his power: but verie true it is that the Duke of Buckyngham was an high minded man, and euil could beare the glorie of another, so that I haue heard of some that sawe it, that he at such time as the crowne was set vpon the Protectors head, his eye coulde neuer abide the sight thereof, but wryed his head another way: but men said he was not well at ease, and that was both to king Richarde well knowen and well taken, nor any demaunde of the Dukes request vncurteously reiected, but gently deferred, but both he wyth great giftes and high behestes in most louing & trustie maner departed from the king to Gloucester. This euery man iudged as he thought, but soone after his cōming home to Brecknocke, hauing there by king Richardes cōmaundement Doctor Morton Bishop of Ely, who before as you haue hard was take at the coūsail at ỹ towre, ward with him very familier, whose onelye wisedome abused his pride, to his awne deliueraunce, and the Dukes destruction. The bishop was a man of great naturall witte, very well learned, and of honourable behauiour, lacking

Doctour Morton Bishop of Ely, which afterward was Cardinall Morton.

king no wise wayes to winne fauour. Hee was first vpon the part of kyng Henry, while that part was in welth, and neyther left it nor forsoke it in no wo, but fled the realme with the Queene and the Prince. And whyle king Edwarde had king Henrye in prison, hee neuer returned but to the fielde at Barnet: after which fielde lost and vtterly subdued and all parte takings extynguished, king Edwarde for his fast fayth & wisedome, was not onely content to receyue him, but also wooed him to come, & had him from thenceforth both in secret trust, and speciall fauour whome he nothyng deceyued. For he beyng after king Edwardes death first taken by the tyraunt king Richarde, for his truth to king Edwarde found the meane to set the Duke of Buckingham in his toppe, & ioyned Gentlemen together in ayde of the Erle of Richmonde, which after was named king Henry the seuenth: First deuising the mariage betwene the Ladie Elizabeth, daughter to king Edward the fourth, by the which his faithfull & true seruice declared to both his maisters at once, was an infinite benefite to the realme, by the coniunction of the bloods of Lancaster, and Yorke, whose seuerall titles had long iniquieted the realme. This man afterwarde escaped from the Duke of Buckingham, and fled the realm, and went to Rome, neuer minding to meddle with the world, till king Henry the seuenth sent for him, and after made him Archebishop of Caunterbyrye, and Chauncelour of Englande, and after was made Cardinall, & lined well to all mens iudgements, and died well. But to returne to the former purpose he by the long, and often chaunges, as well of prosperitie, as aduerse fortune, had gotten by great experience the very mother and maistresse of wisedome, and depe insight in pollitique and worldly driftes, whereby perceiuyng nowe the Duke to common with him, fed him with faire wordes, and many pleasant prayses, and perceiuyng by the griefe of their communications, the Dukes pride now and then to balke out a litle, braide of enuy toward the glory of the kyng, and thereby felyng him easie to fall out, if the matter were well handeled, he craftely sought the wayes to pricke him forwarde takyng alwayes the occasion of his comming, & also kepyng himself close within his bands that he rather seemed to folow him then to lead him. For when the Duke began first to praise, and boast the king, & shew how much profite the realme should take by his reigne. Bishop Morton answered, surely my Lord, foly it were for me to lie, for I am sure if I would sweare the contrary, ye would not once beleue me, but if the world would haue gone as I would haue wyshed, ỹ king Henries sonne had had the crowne & not kyng Edward, then would I haue bene his true & faithfull subiect, but after that God had ordayned him to lose it, and king Edward to reigne, I was neuer so mad wo a dead man to striue against the quick, so was I euer to king Edward a faithful and true chapleyn, & glad would haue bene that his childr̃ should haue succeded him, howbeit if the secret iudgement of God, haue otherwise prouided, I purpose not to spurne against the prick, nor labor to set vp, that God pulleth downe. And as for ỹ late protectour, & now kyng: and with that worde he left, sauing that he said, that he had alreadie medled to much with the worlde, and woulde from that daye medle with his booke and beades, and no further. Then longed the Duke sore to heare, what he woulde haue sayde, because he ended with the king, and there so sodainely stopped, and exhorted him familierly, betweene them both to be bolde and to say whatsoeuer he thought, whereof he faithfully promised there

there shoulde neuer come hurt, and peraduenture more good then he woulde weene. And that he himselfe entended to vse his faithfull secret aduice, & counsayle, which he sayde was the onelye cause for the which he procured of the kyng to haue him in his custodie, where he might recon himselfe at home, or else he had bene put in the handes of them with whome he shoulde not haue founde like fauour. The Bishoppe right humbly thanked him, and sayde, in good faith my Lorde, I loue not much to talke of Princes, as of a thing not all out of perill, although the worde be without faulte, forasmuch as it shall not be taken as the partie ment it, but as it pleaseth the Prince to construe it. And euer I thinke on Isopes tale, that when the Lion had proclayned that on payne of death there shoulde no horned beastes come into the woode, one beast that had a bonche of flesh growyng out of his heade, fled a great pace: the Fore that sawe him flie with all the hast, asked him whether he fled? In faith quod he, I neyther wote, ne recke, so I were once hence, because of the proclamacion made against horned beastes. What foole quod the Fore, the Lyon neuer ment it by thee, for that which thou hast is no horne in thy heade. No mary quod he, I wot that well ynough, but if he saye it is a horne where am I then? The Duke laughed merely at the tale, and sayde, my Lorde I warraunt you, neyther the Lion, nor the Boze shall picke any matter at anye thing here spoken, for it shall neuer come neere their eares. In good fayth, sir sayde the bishop, if it did, the thing that I was about to saye taken aswell as before God I ment, it could deserue but thanke, and yet taken as I wene it woulde, might happen to tourne me to little good, and you to lesse.

Then longed the Duke much more to weete what it was, whervpon the bishop sayde. In good faith my Lorde, as for the late Protectour, sith he is nowe king in possession, I purpose not to dispute his title, but for the welth of this realme, whereof his grace hath nowe the gouernaunce, and whereof I my selfe am a poore member, I was about to wishe that to those good abilities whereof he hath alredie right many, little needyng my prayse, yet might it haue pleased God for the better store to haue geuen him some of such other excellent vertues mete for the rule of the Realme, as our Lorde hath planted in the person of your grace, and there left of again. * The Duke somwhat marueylyng at his sodaine pauses, as thoughe they were but Parentheses, with a high countenaunce sayde: my Lorde I euidently perceyue and no lesse note your often breathing, and sodaine stoppyng in your communication, so that to my vnderstandyng your wordes neyther come to any direct or perfect sentence in cõclusion, wherby either I might perceiue & haue knowlege what your inward intent is now toward the king, or what affection you beare toward me. For the comparison of good qualities ascribed to vs both, (for the which I my selfe knowlege and recognise to haue none, nor loke for no prayse of any Creature for the same) maketh mee not a little to muse, thinking that you haue some other priuye imagination, by loue or by grudge engraued and imprinted in your heart, which for feare you dare not, or for childishe shamefastnesse you be abashed to disclose and reueale, and especially to me beyng your friend, which on my honour doe assure you to be as secrete in this case as the deffe and dumme person is to the singer, or the tree to the hunter. The Bishop beyng somewhat bolder, considerying the Dukes promise, but most of all animated and encouraged because he knewe the Duke desirous

* Hetherto is written by sir Thomas Moore, that is to say, from the beginning of the history of king Edward the fift vntill this marke * saying one place which is noted in the first yere of this king.

desirous to be exalted and magnifyed, & also he perceyued the inward hatred and priuie rancor which he bare toward king Richard, was now boldened to open his stomack euen to the very bottome, entending therby to cõpasse how to destroy and vtterly confound king Richard & to depryue him of his dignity royall, or else to set the Duke so a fyre with the desire of ambiciõ, that he himselfe might be safe & escape out of al daunger & perill, which thing he brought shortly to conclusion, both to the kings destruction, and the Dukes cõfusion, & to his awne safegard, & finally to his high promociõ. And so (as I said before) vpon trust & confidence of the Dukes promise, the Bishop sayd: my singuler good Lord, sith the time of my captiuitie, which being in your graces custody, I may rather call it a liberall libertie more then a straight emprisonment, in auoyding ydlenesse mother and norisher of all vices, in readyng bookes and auncient Phamphlets, I haue found this sentence written, that no man is borne free and in libertie of himselfe onely, for one part of duetie he oweth or should owe to his parentes for his procreation due by nature: another part, to his friendes and kinsfolke for nereneesse of blood: But the native Country in the which he tasted first the sweete ayers of this pleasaunt and flatteryng worlde after his natiuitie, demaundeth as a debt by a naturall bonde not to be forgotten, which saiyng causeth me to consider in what case this realme my native Countrie now standeth, and in what estate and assuraunce before this time it hath continued: what gouernour we nowe haue, and what ruler we now haue, and what ruler we might haue, for I plainly perceyue the realme beyng in this case must nedes decay and be brought to vtter cõfusion. But one hope I haue incorporate in my breast, that is, when I consider and in my minde doe diligently remember, and dayly beholde your noble personage, your iustice and indifferencie, your feruent zeale and ardent loue towarde your naturall Countrie, and in like maner the loue of your Countrie toward you, the great learnyng, pregnaunt witte, and goodly eloquence, which so much doth abound in the person of your grace, I must nedes think this Realme fortunate, yea twise more then fortunate, which hath suche a prince in store, mete and apt to be a gouernor, in whose person being endued with so many Princely qualities, consisteth and resteth the verye vndoubted similitude and ymage of true honour. But on the other syde, when I call to memorie the good qualities of the late Protector, and now called king, so violated and subuerted by tyrannie, so chaunged and altred by vsurped authoritie, so clowded and shadowed by blind and insaciable ambicion, yea and so sodeinly (in a maner by a metamorphosis) transformed from politike ciuilitie, to detestable tyrannie: I must nedes say and iustly affirme, that he is neither mete to be a king of so noble a realme, nor so famous a realme mete to be gouerned by such a tyraunt: Was not his first enterprise to obteyne the Crowne begun by the murther of diuers noble, valiaunt, true, and vertuous personages? O a holy beginnyng to come to a mischieuous endyng, did he not secondarily procede contrary to all lawes of honestie, shamefully against his naturall mother, beyng a woman of much honour, and more vertue, declaryng her openly to be a woman geuen to carnall affection, and dissolute liuyng, which thing if it had bene true (as it was not in deede) euery good and naturall childe would haue rather murmned at, then to haue blased abroad and especially she beyng aliue. Declaryng furthermore his two brethren, and

and his two nephewes to be Bastardes, and to be borne in aduoutery, yet not therewithall this content: After that he had obteyned the garland for the which he so long thirsted, he caused the two poore innocentes his Nephewes committed to him (for especial trust) to be murdered and shamefully to be killed. The blood of which sely and little babes dayly crie to God, from the earth for vengeaunce. Alas my heart sobbeth, to remember this bloody and cruell monster, what suretie shall be in this realme to any person either for life or goodes vnder suche a cruell Prince, which regardeth not the destruction of his awne blood, and then lesse the losse of other. And most especially as oftentymes it chaunceth, where a couetous or a cruell Prince taketh suspicion, the smallest swarmyng that is possible (if the thing be misconstrued) may be the cause of the destruction of many guiltlesse persons: and in especiall of noble and welthie personages, hauyng great possessions and richesse: Such a Lorde is Lucifer when hee is entered into the heart of a prowde Prince, geuen to couetousnesse and crueltie. But nowe my Lorde to conclude what I meane towarde your noble person, I say and affirme, if you loue God, your linage, or your native Countrie, you must your selfe take vpon you the Crowne and Diademe of this noble Empyre, both for the maintenaunce of the honour of the same (which so long hath flourished in fame and renowne) as also for the deliueraunce of your naturall Countrie men, from the bondage and thraldome (worse then the captiuitie of Egypt) of so cruell a tyraunt and arrogant oppressor. For thus I dare say, if any forrein Prince or Potentate, ye the Turke himselfe would take vpon him the regiment here and the crowne, the Commons would rather admit and obey him, then to liue vnder such a blood supper and childe killer: but how much more ioyfull and glad would they be to liue vnder your grace, whom they all know to be a ruler mete and conuenient for them, and they to be louyng and obedient subiectes mete to liue vnder such a gouernor: dispise not, nor forsake not so manifest an occasion so louingly offered. And if you your selfe knowing the paine and trauaile that apperteyneth to the office of a king, or for any other consideration, will refuse to take vpon you the Crowne and Sceptre of this realme: Then I adiure you by the fayth that you owe to God, by your honour, and by your othe made to Saint George, patrone of the noble order of the gartier (whereof you be a Companion) and by the loue and affection that you beare to your native Countrie and the people of the same, to deuise some way how this realme now beyng in miserie may by your high discrecion and Princely pollicie, be brought and reduced to some suretie and conuenient regiment vnder some good gouernour by you to be named or picked out. For if you could either deuise to set vp againe the linage of Lancaster, or aduaunce the eldest daughter of king Edwarde to some highe and puissaunt Prince, not onely the newe crowned king shall small tyme enioy the glory of his dignitie, but also all ciuill warre should ceasse, and peace, profite and quietnesse should be set forth and embraced.

When the Bishop had thus ended his saiyng, the Duke sighed and spake not of a great while, which sore abashed the Bishop and made him chaunge couler: which thing when the Duke perceyued, he sayde, be not afrayd my Lord, all promises shall be kept, to morow we will common more: let vs go to supper, so that night they commoned no more, not a little to the vnquietyng

The wilfe dome of a Prince.

byquietyng of the Bishop, which nowe was euen as desirous to knowe the Dukes minde and entent, as the Duke longed the day before to knowe his opinion and meanyng. So the next day, the Duke sent for the Bishop, and rehersed to him in maner (for he was both wittie and eloquent) all the communication had betweene them before, and so pawsed a while, and after a little season puttyng of his bonet he sayde: O Lorde God creator of all thynges howe much is this realme of Englande and the people of the same bounden to thy goodnesse, for where we nowe be in veration and trouble, and with great stormes oppressed, sailyng and tossyng in a desperate shippe without good mayster or gouernor: but by thy helpe good Lorde I trust or long time passe that we shall prouide for such a ruler, as shall be both to thy pleasure, and also to the maintenaunce and defence of this noble Realme. And then he put on his Bonet, saiyng to the Bishop, my Lorde of Ely whose true heart and syncere affection toward me at all tymes, I haue euidently perceiued and knowen, and now most of al in our last priuie communication, and secrete deuising, I must nedes in heart thinke and with mouth confesse and say, that you be a sure friend, a trustie Counsaylor, a vigilant forseer, a very louer of your Countrie, & a natural Countriman: for which kindnesse for my part, I most louyngly render to you my hearty thankes nowe wyth wordes: hereafter trustyng to recompence and reward you with deedes, if life and power shall serue. And sith at our last communication, you haue disclosed, and opened, the verie secretes and priuities of your stomake, touching the Duke of Glocester nowe vsurper of the Crowne, and also haue a little touched the auauncement of the two noble families of Yorke and Lancaster: I shall likewise not onely declare and manifest vnto you, all my open actes, attemptes, and doynges, but also my priuie ententes, and secrete thoughtes. To the entent that as you haue vnbuckled your Bouget of your priuie meanynges, and secrete purposes to me: so shall all my clowdie worcking, close deuises, and secret imaginations, be (as cleere as the Sunne) reueled, opened, and made lightsome to you. And to beginne, I declare: that when king Edward was displeased, to whome I thought my selfe little or nothing beholdyng, (although we two had maried two sisters) because, he neyther promoted nor preferred me (as I thought I was worthie and had deserued) neither fauoured nor regarded me, accordyng to my degree and birth: For surely I had by him litle authoritie, and lesse rule, and in effect nothing at all: which caused me lesse to fauour his children, because I found small humanitie, or none in their parent. I then began to studie, and wyth good deliberation, to ponder and consider, howe and in what maner thys realme should be ruled and gouerned. And first I remembred an olde prouerbe worthie of memorie, that often rueth the realme, where children rule, and woman gouerne. This olde adage so sanke, and setled in my heade, that I thought it a great error and extreme mischiefe to the whole realme, eyther to suffer the yong king to rule, or the Queene his mother to be a gouernour ouer him, considerynge that her brethren, and her first children (although they were not extract of highe and nob'e lynage) tooke more vpon them, and more exalted themselues by reason of the Queene, then did the kinges brethren, or anye Duke in his Realme: Which in conclusion turned to their confusion. Then I beyng perswaded with my selfe in thys poynt, thought it

it necessarye both for the publique and profitable welth of thys Realme, and also for myne awne commoditye and better staye, to take part wyth the Duke of Gloucester: Whome I assure you I thought to bee as cleane without dissimulation, as tractable wythout iniurye, as mercifull wythout crueltie, as nowe I knowe hym perfectlye to be a Dissimuler, wythout veritye, a Tyraunt wythout pittie, yea and worse then the Tyraunt Phaleres, destitute of all truth and clemencie: And so by my meanes, at the first counsaile holden at London, when he was most suspected of that thyng that after happened, (as you my Lorde knowe well ynough) hee was made Protectour and defender, both of the kinge and of the realme, which authoritie once gotten, and the two children partly by my pollicie brought vnder hys gouernaunce, he beyng mooued with that gnawyng and couetous Serpent, desired to raygne & neuer ceased priuilie to exhorte and require (yea and some times with threatning termes) to perswade me and other Lords as well spirituall as temporall, that he might take vpon hym the crowne, till the Prince came to the age of foure and twentie yeres, and were able to gouerne the realme, as an hable and sufficient king: Which thing when he sawe me some what stick at, both for the straungenesse of the example (because no such president had bene seene) and also because we remembered that men once assended to the highest type of honor and authoritie will not gladly discende agayne, he then brought in instruments, autentike Doctors, Proctors, and notaries of the lawe, with depositions of diuers wytnesses testifiyng king Edwardes children to be Bastardes, which depositions then I thought to be as true, as nowe I knowe them to be fayned, and testified by persons with rewardes vntruely suborned. When the saide depositions were before vs red and diligently heard, he stood vp bare headed saiyng: Well my Lordes, euen as I and you sage and discreete counsailers woulde that my Nephew should haue no wrong: So I praye you doe me nothing but right. For these witnesses and saiyngs of famous Doctors being true. I am onely the vndoubted heyre to the Lorde Richarde Plantagenet Duke of Yorke, adiudged to be the verie heyre to the crowne of this realme by authoritie of parliament, which thinges so by learned men to vs for a veritie declared, caused me and other to take him for our lawfull and vndoubted prince and souereigne Lorde. For well we knewe that the Duke of Clarence sonne, by reason of the attayndor of his father was disabled to inherite, and also the Duke himselfe was named to be a bastarde, as I my selfe haue heard spoken, and that vpon great presumptions more tunes then one: so agayne by my ayde and fauour, he of a Protector was made a King, and of a subiect made a gouernour, at which time he promised me on his fidelitie, laiyng his hand in mine at Baynard Castell, that the two yong Princes should lyue, and that he would so prouide for them, and so maintaine them in honorable estate, that I and all the realme ought and should be content. But when he was once crowned king, and in full possession of the whole realme, he cast away his olde conditions as the Adder doth her skinne, verifiyng the olde prouerbe, honors chaunge maners, as the parishe priest remembreth not that euer he was parishe Clarke. For when I my selfe sued to him for my part of the Erle of Harfordes landes, which his brother king Edwarde wrongfully deteyned and withheld from mee, and also required to haue the

office of the high Constablechip of Englande, as diuers of my noble auncetors before thys time haue had, and in long discent continued. In thys my first fuyte shewing his good minde towarde me, he did not onely first delaye me, and afterwarde denay me, but gaue me such vnkinde wordes, with such tauntes and retauntes, ye in maner, check and check mate to the vttermost proofe of my pacience. As though I had put him downe and not set him vp: yet all these vngratitudes and vndeserued vnkindnesse, I bare closlye and suffered pacientlye and couertly remembred, outwardlye dissimulyng that I inwardly thought, and so with a painted countenaunce I passed the last sommer in his last company, not without many fayre promises, but without any good deedes. But when I was credibly enformed of the death of the two yong innocents, his awne naturall Nephewes contrarie to his fayth and promise, to the which God be my iudge I neuer agreed nor cõdiscended. O Lord how my vaynes panted, howe my body trembled and howe my hart inwardly grudged, in so much that I so abhorred the sight and much more the company of him, that I could no lenger abide in his Court, except I should be openly reuenged. The ende where of was doubtfull, and so I fayned a cause to departe, and with a merie countenaunce and a dispitefull hart I tooke my leaue humbly of him (he thinking nothing lesse then that I was displeased) and so returned to Brecknock to you. But in the iourney as I returned, whether it were by the inspiracion of the holy ghost, or by Melencolous disposition, I had diuers and sundrie imaginations howe to depriue this vnnaturall Uncle, and bloody Butcher, from his royall seate and princely dignitie. First I phantasied that if I list to take vpon me the crowne and imperiall Scepter of the realme, now was the time propice and conuenient. For nowe was the way made plaine, and the gate opened, and occasion geuen, which now neglected, should paraduenture neuer take such effect and conclusion. For I sawe he was disdayned of the Lordes tẽporall, abhorred and accursed of the Lords spirituall, detested of all Gentlemen, and despised of al the communaltie: so that I saw my chaunce as perfitely as I saw my awne Image in a glasse, that there was no person (if I had beene greedy to attempt the enterprise) could nor should haue won the ring or got the gole before me. And on this point I rested in imagination secretly with my selfe two dayes at Tewkesburie. And from thence so iorneying I mused and thought that it was not best nor conuenient to take vpon me as a conquerour, for then I knew that all men and especially the nobilitie, would with all their power withstand me, both for rescuing of possessions and tenors, as also for subuerting of the whole estate, lawes, and customes of the realme: Such a power hath a Conquerour as you knowe well ynough my Lorde. But at the last, in all this doubtfull case there sprang a new braunche out of my head, which surely I thought should haue brought foorth fayre flowers, but the sonne was so hote that they turned to drie weedes, for I sodainly remembred that Lord Edmond Duke of Sommerset my Grandfather was with king Henrie the first in the second and thirde degrees from John Duke of Lancaster lawfully begotten: So that I thought sure my mother being eldest daughter to Duke Edmonde, that I was next heyre to king Henry the first of the house of Lancaster. This title pleased well such as I made priuie of my cõsaile, but much more it encoraged my folish desire, and entent, in so much that clerely

clerely I iudged, and in mine owne minde was determinatlye resolued, that I was the vndoubted heire, of the house of Lancaster, and therevpon concluded, to make my first foundacion, and erect my new buildyng. But whether God so ordained, or by fortune it so chaunced while I was in a mase, either to conclude sodainely on this title, and to set it open amongst the common people, or to kepe it secret for a while, see the chaunce: as I rode betweene Worcester and Bridgenorth, I encountered with the Lady Margaret, Countesse of Richmonde, now wife to the Lorde Stanley, which is the verye daughter and sole heyre, to Lorde John Duke of Sommerset my grandfathers eldest brother. Which was as cleane out of my minde as though I had neuer sene her, so that she and her sonne the Erle of Richmonde be both bulwarcke and portcolice betweene mee, and the gate, to enter into the maiestie royall and getting of the Crowne. And when we had commoned a little concerning her sonne, as I shall shew you after, and were departed, she to our Lady of Worceter, and I towarde Shrewesberie: I then new chaunged and in maner amased, began to dispute with my selfe, litle consideryng that thus my earnest title was turned euen to a Tittill not so good as est amen. Eftsones I imagined whether I were best to take vpon me, by the election of the nobilitie, and commonaltie, which me thought easie to be done, the vsurpor kyng thus beyng in hatred, & abhorred of this whole realme or to take it by power, which standeth in fortunes chaunce, and harde to be atchieued and brought to passe. Thus rumblyng and tossyng, in the waues of ambiguitie, betweene the stone, and sacrafice, I considered first the office, duetie, and payne of a king, which surely I thinke that no mortall man can iustly, and truely obserue, except he be called, elected, and specially appointed by God, as king Dauid, and diuers other haue bene. But farther I remembered that if I once tooke on me the scepter, and the gouernaunce of the realme: That of two extreme enemies I was daply sure but of one trusty friende (which now a dayes begon a pilgrimage) I was neyther assured, nor credibly assertayned (such is the worlds mutation) for I manifestlye perceiued that the daughters of kyng Edwarde and their alies, and friendes, which be no small number, beyng both, for hys sake much beloued, and also for the great iniurie, and manifest tirannie done to them, by the newe vsurper, much lamented, and pitied, would neuer cease to barke if they cannot bite at the one side of me. Semblable my Cosin the Erle of Richmonde, his aydes and kinsfolke, which bee not of little power, will surely attempt lyke a fierce greyhounde, either to bite or to pierce me on the other syde. So that my lyfe and rule should euer hang by a heare, neuer in quiet, but euer in doubt of death or deposition. And if the sayde two linages of Yorke and Lancaster, which so long haue stryued for the imperiall Diademe should ioyne in one agaynst me, then were I surely mated and the game gotten. Wherefore I haue clerely determined, and with my selfe concluded, vtterly to relinquishe all such phantasticall imaginations concerning the obteyning of the crowne. But all such plagues, calamities and troubles (which I feared and suspected) might haue chaunced on me if I had taken the rule and regiment of thys realme, I shall with a rereedemayne so make them rebound to our common enemie that calleth himselfe King, that the best stopper that he hath at tennyce shal not well stop without a fault: for as I tolde you before, the Countesse of Richemonde in my returne from the newe

newe named King, meeting me in the high way, prayed me first for kindred sake, secondarily for the loue that I bare to my Grandfather Duke Humfrey, which was swosne brother to her father, to moue the King to be good to her sonne Henry Erle of Richemond, and to licence him with his fauour to returne agayne into Englande: and if it were his pleasure so to doe, shee promised that the Erle her sonne should marry one of king Edwards daughters at the appointment of the king, without any thing to be taken or demaunded for the sayde espousals, but onely the Kinges fauour, which request I sone ouer passed and gaue her fayre words and so departed. But after in my lodging when I called to memorie with a deliberate studie, and did circumspectly ponder them, I fully adiudged that the holy ghost caused her to moue a thing (the ende whereof shee could not consider) both for the securitie of the realme, as also for the preferment of her childe, and the destruction and finall confusion of the common enemy king Richard. Which thing, she neither then thought I am sure, as I by her words could make coniecture, nor I my selfe cast not her desire to be so profitable to the realme as I nowe doe perceyue, but such a Lorde is God, that with a little sparcle he kindeled a great fyre, and so finally to declare to you the verie conclusion to the which I am both bent and set, my mind is, and my power and purse shall helpe, that the Erle of Richmond very heyre to the house of Lancaster (in the quarell of the which linage, both my father and Grandfather lost their lyues in battayl) shall take to wyfe Lady Elizabeth eldest daughter to king Edward, by the which mariage both the houses of Yorke and Lancaster maye be obteyned and vnite in one, to the clere stablishment of the title to the crowne of this noble realme. To which conclusion, if the mothers of both parties and especially the Erle himselfe, and the Ladie wyll agree, I doubt not but the bragging Bore, which with his tuskes rascth euery mans skinne, shall not only be brought to confusion as he hath deserued but ỹ this Empire shall euer be certayne of an vndoubted heire, and then shal al ciuil and intestine warre cease, which so long hath continued to the paring of many mens crownes, & this realme shall be reduced againe to quietnesse, renowme, and glory. When the Duke had said, the Bishop, which fauoured euer the house of Lancaster, was wonderous ioyfull, and much reioyced to here this deuice, for now came the winde about euen as he would haue it, for al his imagination tended to this effect to haue king Richard subdued, and to haue the lines of king Edward, & king Henry the first againe raysed & aduaunced. But Lord how he reioysed to thinke how that by this mariage the linages of Yorke and Lancaster should be conioyned in one, to the very stedfastnesse of the publike welth of this realme. And least the Dukes courage should swage, or his minde should againe alter, as it did often before, as you may easily perceyue by his awne tale. He thought to set vp all the sayles that he had, to the entent that the ship of his pretensed purpose might come shortly to some sure port: And sayde to the Duke, my Lorde, sithe by Gods high prouision and your incomparable wisedome and pollicie, this noble coniunction is first moued, nowe is it conuenient, yea and necessary to consider, what personages and what friends we shall first make priuie of this highe deuice, and pollitique conclusion. By my truth, quod the Duke, we will begin with my Ladie of Richmond the Erles mother which knoweth where he is, either in captiuitie or at large in Britaine. For I heard

heard say that the Duke of Britayne restored him to libertie immediately after the death of king Edward, by whose meanes he was restrained. Sithe you will begin that way (sayde the Bishop) I haue an olde friend with the Countesse, a man sober, secret, and well witted, called Reignold Bray whose prudent pollicie I haue knowen to haue compassed thinges of great importaunce, for whome I shall secretly sende, if it be your pleasure, and I doubt not he will gladly come, and that with a good will. So with a little diligence the bishop wrote a letter to Reignold Bray, requiryng him to come to Brecknocke with speede, for great and vrgent causes touchyng his maistresse: and no other thing was declared in the letter. So the messenger rode into Lancashire where Bray was with the Countesse and Lorde Thomas Stanley her husband, and deliuered the letter, which when he had red, he tooke it as a signe or token of some good fortune to come, and so with the messenger he came to the Castell of Brecknock, where the Duke and the Bishop declared what thing was deuised, both for to set the realme in a quiet stedfastnesse, as also for the highe preferment of the Erle of Richemond sonne to his Ladye and maistresse: willyng her first to compasse howe to obteine the good will of Queene Elizabeth, & also of her eldest daughter bearyng the same name: and after secretly to send to her sonne into Britayne to declare what high honor was prepared for him if he would sweare to marry the Ladie Elizabeth allone as he was king, and in royall possession of the Realme. Reignold Bray with a glad heart forgettyng nothing geuen to him in charge, in great hast and with good speede returned to the Countesse his Ladie and Maistresse. When Bray was departed, and this great doubtfull bessell once set abroche, the Bishop thyrstyng for nothing more then for libertie: When he sawe the Duke pleasaunt and well minded towarde him, he tolde the Duke that if he were in his Isle of Elye, he could make many friendes to further that enterprise, and if he were there, and had but foure dayes warnyng, he little regarded the malice of king Richard, his Countrie was so strong. The Duke knewe well all this to be true, but yet loth he was that the Bishop shoulde depart, for he knewe well that as long as the Bishop was with him, he was sure of pollitique aduise, sage counsaile, and circumspect proceding. And so he gaue the Bishop fayre wordes, saiyng that he should shortly depart, and that well accompanied for feare of his enemies. The Bishop beyng as wittie as the Duke was wilye, did not tary till the Dukes companie were assembled, but secretly disguysed in a night departed (to the Dukes great displeasure) and came to the See of Ely, where he found money and friendes, and so sayled into Flaunders, where he did the Erle of Richemond good seruice, and neuer returned againe, till the Erle of Richemond after beyng king, sent for him, and shortly promoted him to the See of Cauntorburie. Thus the Bishop wound himselfe from the Duke when he had most neede of his ayde, for if he had taried stil, the Duke had not made so many blabbes of his counsaile, nor put so much confidence in the Welshemen, nor yet so rashely set forwarde without knowlege of his friendes as he did, which thinges were his sodein ouerthrow, as they that knewe it did report.

Reignold Bray.

When Reignold Bray had declared his message and priuie instruction to the Countesse of Richemond his Maistresse, no marualle though she was ioyous and glad both of the good newes, and also for the obteyning of such a high friend in her sonnes cause as the Duke was: wherfore she willing not to

sleepe this matter, but to further it to the vttermost of her power and abilitie, deuised a meanes how to breake thys matter to Quene Elizabeth then beyng in Sanctuare at Westminster. And therupon she hauing in her familie at that time for the preseruation of her helth, a certayne Welchman called Lewys learned in phisicke, which for his grauity and experience, was well knowne & much esteemed amongst great estates of the realme: with whom she vsed sometime liberally & familiarly to talke, now hauing opportunity and occasion to breake her minde vnto him of this weighty matter, declared that the time was come that her sonne should be ioyned in mariage with Lady Elizabeth daughter and heyre to king Edward, and that king Richard beyng taken and reputed of all men for the common enemie of the realme, shoulde out of all honor and estate be reiected, and of his rule and kingdome to be cleerely spoyled and expulsed: and required him to go to Quene Elizabeth (with whom in his facultie he was of counsayle) not as a messenger, but as one that came friendly to visite and consolate her, and as tyme and place shoulde require to make her priuie of this deuise, not as a thing concluded, but as a purpose by him imagined. This phisician dyd not long lynger to accomplish her desyre, but with good diligence repaired to the Quene being sit in the sanctuary at Westminster. And when he saw tyme conuenient for hys purpose, he saide vnto her: Madame, although my imagination be very simple, and my deuise more foolish, yet for the entier affection that I bere toward you and your children, I am so bolde to vtter vnto you a secret and priuy conceit, that I haue cast and compassed in my fantasticall brayne. When I well remember, and no lesse consider the great losse and dammage that you haue sustayned by the death of your noble and louing husbande, and the great dolour, & sorowe that you haue suffered, by the cruell murther of your innocent children: I can no lesse do of bounden dutie, then dayly to studie, and hourely imagin, not onely how to bring your hart to comfort and gladnesse, but also deuise how to reuenge the righteous quarel of you, and your children on that bloody bloodsupper, and cruell tirant king Richarde. And first consider, what battaile, what manslaughter, what mischiefe hath risen in this realme, by the dissencion betwene the two noble houses of Yorke and Lancaster, which two families (as I haue contrued) if they may be ioyned in one, I thinke, ye and doubt not but your line shall be agayne restored to the pristinate estate and degree, to your great ioy and comfort, and to the vtter confusion of your mortall enemie the vsurped king. You knowe verie well Madame that of the house of Lancaster, the Erle of Richemond is next of blood, which is lyuing and a lustie yong Batcheler, and to the house of Yorke your daughters now are heyres: if you could agree and inuent the meane how to couple your eldest daughter with the yong Erle of Richemond in matrimony, no doubt but the vsurper of the realme should be shortly deposed, and your heire againe to her right restored.

When the Queene had hard thys friendly motion (which was as farre from her thought as the man that the rude people say is in the Mone) Lorde how her spirites reuyued, and how her hart lept in her body for ioy and gladnesse. And first geuing lawde to almightie God as the chiefe auctheur of her comfort, secondarily to Mayster Lewys as the deuiser of the good newes and tydings, instauntly besought him that as he had bene the first inuenter

uenter of so good an enterprise, that now he would not relinquishe nor desist to folowe the same: requiryng hym farther (because he was apperteyning to the Countesse of Richemond, mother to the Erle Henry) that he would with all diligent celeritie resort to her, then lodging in her husbands place within the Citie of London, and to declare on the Queenes behalf to the Countesse, that all the friends and fautours of king Edwarde her husbande, should assist and take parte with the Erle of Richemond her sonne, so that he would take a corporall othe after the kingdome obteyned, to espouse and take to wyfe the Ladie Elizabeth her daughter, or else Ladye Cecile, if the eldest daughter were not then lyuing.

Mayster Lewys wyth all diligence so sped his businesse that he made and concluded a finall ende and determination of thys enterprise betweene the two mothers, and because he was a Phisitian and out of all suspition and misdeeming, he was the common currer and daylie messenger betwene them ayding and setting forth the inuented conspiracie agaynst king Richard. So the Lady Margaret Countesse of Richemond brought into a good hope of the preferment of her sonne, made Reygnold Bray her most faythfull seruaunt chiefe soliciter and priuie procurer of thys conspiracie, geuyng him in charge secretly to enuegle and attract such persons of nobility to ioyne with her and take her part as he knewe to be ingenious, faythfull, diligent and of actiuitie. This Reygnolde Brey within a fewe dayes brought vnto his lure (first of all taking of euery person a solempne othe to be true and secret) syr Gyles Daubenei, syr John Cheiney knight, Richarde Guylforde and Thomas Raine Esquiers and diuers other. The Countesse of Richemond was not so diligent for her part, but Queene Elizabeth was as vigilaunt on the other side and made friendes and appointed Counsellers to set forward and auaunce her businesse. In the meane season the Countesse of Richemond toke into her seruice Chriſtopher Vrswike an honest and a wise priest, and after an othe of him to be secret taken and sworne, she vttered to him all her minde and counsell, adhibityng to him the more confidence and truth for that he all hys lyfe had fauoured and taken part with king Henry the sixt, & as a speciall Jewell put to her seruice by syr Lewys her Phisitian. So the mother studious for the prosperitie of her sonne, appointed thys Chriſtopher Vrswike to sayle into Britayne to the Erle of Richemond and to declare and vtter to him all pactes and agreements betwene her and the Queene agreed and concluded: But sodainely she remembryng that the Duke of Buckyngham was one of the first inuenters, and a secret founder of this enterprise, determined to sende some personage of more estimation then her Chaplaine, and so elected for a messenger Hugh Conwey Esquire and sent him into Britayne with a great somme of money to her sonne, geuing him in charge to declare to the Erle the great loue and especiall fauour that the most part of the nobilitie of the realme bare toward him, the louing hartes and benevolent minds which the whole commonalty of their awne free wil frankly offred & liberally exhibited to him, wylling & aduising him not to neglect so good an occasion apparantly offred, but with al spede and diligence to addict & set his minde and full intention how to returne home againe into England where he was both wished & loked for, geuing him farther monicion and counsell to take lande and arriuall in the principalitie of Wales, where he should not doubt to find both

ayde,

aide, comfort and friends. Richard Guylford, lest Hugh Conwey might fortune to be taken or stopped at Plimmoth, where he entended to take shypping, sent out of Kent Thomas Ramme with the same instructions: & both made such diligence, and had such winde and wether, the one by lande from Caleys, & the other by water from Plimmoth, that within lesse then an houre both arrived in the Duke of Bzitaynes court, & spake with the Erle of Richmond, which from the death of king Edwarde went at his pleasure and lybertie, and to him counted and manifested the cause and effect of their message and ambassade. When the Erle had receiued this ioyfull message, which was the more pleasaunt because it was vnlooked for, he rendred to God his moste heartie thankes, hoping that such things as he with busie minde and careful intent had wyshed and desired should now come to passe, and now being put in comfort of his long longing, he brake to the Duke of Bzitayne all his secrets and priuie messages which were to him declared, aduertising him that he was entred into a sure and stedfast hope to obteyne and get the crowne and kingdome of the realme of England desying him both of his good wyll and friendly helpe towarde the achieuing of his offred enterprise, promysing him when he came to hys entended purpose to render to him againe equall kindnesse and condigne recompence.

Although the Duke of Bzitayne before that day by Thomas Hutton Ambassador from king Richarde had both by money & praiers bene solicitted and moued to put agayne into safe custodie the Erle of Richmonde, he neuertheleste promised faithfully to aide him, and his promise he truly performed.

1485 3 Wherevpon the Erle with all diligence sent into England againe Hugh Conwey and Thomas Ram, which shoulde declare his commyng shortly into Englande, to the entent that all thinges which by councel might be for his purpose prouided, shoulde be spedily and diligently done, and that all thinges doubtfull should of his friendes be prudently forseen, in auoyding all engins and snares which king Richarde hadde or might, set in disturbaunce of hys purpose, and hee in the meane season woulde make his abode still in Bzytaine, till all thinges necessary for his iorney were prepared and brought in a readinesse.

In the meane season the chiefetaines of the coniuracion in England began together many enterprises: Some in conuenient fortresses put strong garrisons: Some kept armed men priuily, to the entent when they shoulde haue knowlege of the Erles landing, they woulde beginne to sturre vp the warre: Other did secretly moue and sollicite the people to rise and make an insurrection: Other (amongst whome John Morton Bishop of Elye then beyng in Flaunders was chiefe) by priuie letters and cloked messengers, dyd sturre and moue to this new coniuration, al such which they certainely knew to haue a rooted hatred or to beare a cankard malice towarde king Richarde and his procedings.

Although this great enterprise were neuer so priuily handled and so secretly amongst so circumspect persons treated, compassed and conueyed, yet knowledge thereof came to the eares of kyng Richarde, which with the sodayne chaunce was not a little moued and astonyed. First because he had no host ready prepared: Secondarily, if he shoulde rayse an armie so sodainely, he knew not where to meete his enemies, or whether to go, or where to tary. Wherefore

Wherfore he determined to dissemble the matter as though he knew nothing till he had assembled his host, & in the meane season either by the rumor of the common people, or by the diligence of his espialles to search out all the counselles, determinations, ententes, and compasses of his close aduersaries, or else by pollecie to intercept and take some person of the same coniuration, considering that there is no more secret nor hyd espyall then that which lurketh in dissimulation of knowlege and intelligence, or is hydden in name & shadow of counterfeit humanitie and feined kindnesse. And because he knewe the Duke of Buckingham to be the chiefe head and aide of the cõiuration, he thought it most necessary to plucke him from that part, either by faire promises or open warre. Wherevpon he addressed his louyng letters to the Duke, full of gentle wordes, and most friendly speche, geuyng farther in charge to the messenger that caried the letter, to promise to the Duke on his behalfe, golden hilles, and siluer riuers, and with all gentle and pleasaunt meanes to perswade, and exhort the Duke to come to the Court. But the Duke as wilie as the king, mistrusting the faire flatteryng wordes, and the gape promises to him so sodainly, without any cause offered, knowyng the craftie castes of king Richardes bowe, which in diuers affaires before tyme he had sene practised, required the king to pardon him, excusing himselfe that he was so discased in his stomacke that skant he coulde take eyther refection or rest. King Richarde not beyng content with this excuse woulde in no wise admitte the same, but incontinent directed to the Duke other letters, of a more roughe & hawtier sort, not without taunting and biting termes, & checking wordes, commaundyng him all excuses set apart, to repaire without any delaye to his royall presence. The Duke made to the messenger a determinate aunswere that he woulde not come to his mortall enemie, whome he neyther loued, nor fauoured: and immediatly prepared open warre against him, and perswaded all his complicies and partakers that euery man shoulde in his quarter with all diligence rayse vp the people and make a commotion. And by thys meanes almost in one moment Thomas Marques Dorset came out of sanctuarie where he sith the beginnyng of king Richardes dayes had continued, whose life by the only help of sir Thomas Louel Esquier, was preserued frõ all daunger and perill in this troubleous worlde, gathered together a great bande of men in Yorkeshire. Sir Edward Courtney and Peter his brother Bishop of Exceter, raysed another armie in Deuonshire, and Cornewall. In Kent, Richard Guylforde and other Gentlemen, collected a great companie of Souldiours, and openly began warre. But king Richard which in the meane time had gotten together a great strength and puissance, thinking it not most for his part beneficiall to disparse and deuide his great armie into finall braunches, and perticulerly to persecute any one of the coniuration by himself, determined al other things being set aside, with his whole puyssance to set on the chiefe hed which was the Duke of Buckingham. And so remouyng from London, he tooke his iourney toward Salisbury, to the entent that in his iourney he might set on the Dukes armie, if he might know him in any place encamped or in order of battaile arrayed. The king was scarce two dayes iourney from Salisbury when the Duke of Buckingham accompanied with a great power of wilde Welshemen, whome he beyng a man of great courage and sharpe speche in maner agaynst their willes had rather thereto

The Duke of Buckingham conspireth against king Richard.

thereto inforced and compelled by Lordly and strait commaundement then by liberal wages and gentle reteynour, which thing was the very occasion why they left him desolate, and cowardly forsooke him. The Duke with all his power marched through the Forest of Deane entending to haue passed the riuer of Seuerne at Glocester, and there to haue ioyned in armie with the Courtneys, and other Westerne men of his confederacie and affinitie, which if he had done, no doubt but king Richard had bene in great ieopardie either of priuation of his realme, or losse of his life or both. But see the chaunce, before he could attaine to Seuerne syde, by force of continuall raine and moysture, the ryuer rose so high that it ouerflowed all the Countrie adioyning, insomuch that men were drowned in their beddes, and houses with the extreme violence were ouerturned, children were caryed about the fieldes, swimmyng in Cradels, beastes were drowned on hilles, which rage of water lasted continually ten dayes, in so much that in the Countrie adioyning, they call it to this day, the great water, or the Duke of Buckinghams great water. By this flood the passages were so closed that neyther the Duke could come ouer Seuerne to his Complices, nor they to him, duryng the which tyme, the Welchemen lingring ydely and without money, vittaile, or wages, sodainly scattered and departed: and for all the Dukes fayre promises, threatnyngs, and enforcementes, they would in no wise neither go farther nor abide. The Duke beyng thus left almost post alone was of necessitie compelled to flie, and in his flight was with this sodaine fortune maruelously dismayed: and beyng vnpurueyed, what counsaile he should take, and what way he should folow, like a man in dispaire not knowyng what to do, of very trust and confidence conueyed himselfe into the house of Humfrey Banaster his seruant beside Shrewesburie, whom he had tenderly brought vp, and whome he aboue all men loued, fauoured, and trusted, nowe not doubtyng but that in his extreeme necessitie he should finde him faythfull, secret, and trusty, entendyng there couertly to lurke till either he might raise againe a newe armie, or else shortlye to sayle into Britayne to the Erle of Richemond.

The great water.

But when it was knowen to his adherentes which were ready to geue battaile, that his hoste was scattered and had left him almost alone, and was fled and could not be found, they were sodainlye amased and stricken with a sodaine feare, that euery man lyke persons desperate shifted for himselfe and fled, some went to Sanctuary and to solytary places, some fled by Sea, whereof the most part within a fewe dayes after arriued safely in the Duchie of Britayn. Among which number were these persons, Peter Courtney Bishop of Excester, and Sir Edmond Courtney his brother, by king Henry the seuenth after created Erle of Deuonshire, Thomas Marques Dorset, John Lorde Welles, Sir John Burchier, Sir Edmond Wooduile, a valiaunt man in armes, brother to Queene Elizabeth, Sir Robert Willoughby, Sir Giles Daubeney, Sir Thomas Arundell, Sir John Cheyney and his two brethren, Sir William Barkeley, Sir William Brandon, and Thomas his brother, Sir Richard Edgecombe, all these for the most part beyng Knightes, John Halwell, and Edward Poynynges a politique Capitaine. At this very season John Morton Bishop of Ely, and Christopher Urswike priest, & an other companie of noble men soiourned in Flaunders,

ders, and by letters and Messengers procured many enemies agaynst king Richard, which dyng a vigilant eie, and a quicke remembrance, beyng newly come to Sa'isbury, hauing perfect notice and knowlege howe the Duke was fled, and howe his complices entended to passe out of the Realme. First he sent men of warre to all the next portes and passages to keepe straitly the sea coast, so that no person should passe outwarde, nor take land within the Realme without their assent and knowlege. Secondarily, he made proclamation, that what person coulde shewe and reuele where the Duke of Buckingham was, should be highly rewarded, if he were a bondman, he should be infranchised and set at libertie, if he were of free blood, he should haue a generall pardon, and be rewarded with a thousand poundes. Furthermore, because he vnderstoode by Thomas Hutton, which as you haue heard was newely returned out of Britayn, that Fraunces Duke of Britayn not onely refused to kepe the Erle of Richmond as a prisoner at his cõtemplacion, and for his sake, but also that he was redie to ayde and succor the sayde Erle with men, money, and all thinges necessary for his transportyng into Englande: Wherefore he rigged and sent out Shippes of warre well furnished and decked with men and artillary, to scoure and kepe that part of the Sea that lieth agaynst Britayn, to the entent that if the Erle of Richemond would aduenture to sayle toward Englande, either he should be taken captiue, or beaten & driuen from the coast of England. And moreouer, to the entent that euery coast, way, passage, and corner, should be diligently watched and kept, he set at euery doubtfull and suspected place men of warre, to seeke, searche, and enquire if any creature could tell tidings of the Duke of Buckingham, or of any of his confederation, adherents, fautours, or partakers.

Whyle this dulie serche was diligently applyed and put in execution, Humfrey Banaster (were it more for feare of losse of lyfe and goodes, or attracted and prouoked by the auaricious desire of the thousand poundes) he bewrayed his guest and Mayster to John Mitton then Shriefe of Shropshire, which sodaynely with a strong power of men in harnesse apprehended the Duke in a little groue adioyning to the Mansion of Humfrey Banaster, and in great haste and euill speede conueyed him apparelled in a pilled black Cloke to the Citie of Shrewesburie, where kyng Richarde then kept hys houshoulde.

Humfrey Banaster seruant vnto the Duke of Buckingham betrayed his maister.

Whether thys Banaster bewrayed the Duke more for feare then couetous, many men doe doubt: but sure it is, that shortly after he had betrayed the Duke his maister, his sonne and heyre waxed mad and so died in a Boyes Stie, his eldest daughter of excellent beautie was sodainely stricken with a foule leaperie, his second sonne very maruellously deformed of hys limmes and made lame, his yonger sonne in a small puddle was strangled and drowned, and he being of extreme age arraigned and found guiltie of a murther, and by his clergie saued. And as for his thousand pound king Richard gaue him not one farthing, saiyng that he which would be vntrue to so good a maister, would be false to all other, howbeit some say that he had a small office or a farme to stop his mouth withall. The Duke beyng by certayne of the kinges Counsell diligently vpon interrogatories examined what things he knewe preiudiciall to the kings person, opened and declared frankly and freely all the conuiration without dissimuling or glosing, trusting because he had

had truely and playnely reuelcd and confeſſed all things that were of hym required, that he ſhould haue lycence to ſpeake to the king which (whether it were to ſue for pardon and grace, or whether he being brought to hys preſence would haue ſticked him with a dagger as men then iudged) he ſore deſyred and required. But when he had confeſſed the whole fact and conſpiracy vpon Alſoulen day without arreignment or iudgement, he was at Salisburie in the open market place on a newe Skaffold beheadded and put to death. This death (as a reward) the Duke of Buckyngham receaued at the hands of King Richard, whome he before in his affaires, purpoſes and enterpriſes had holpen ſuſteyned and ſet forward aboue all Gods forbode.

The Duke of Buckyngham beheaded.

By thys all men may eaſely perceaue that he not onely loſeth both hys labor, trauayle and induſtrie, and farther ſteyneth and ſpotteth his lyne with a perpetuall ignomonie and reproche, which in euill and miſchiefe aſſiſteth and aydeth an euill diſpoſed perſon, conſidering for the moſt part that he for his friendlye fauour ſhould receyue ſome great diſpleaſure or infortunate chaunce. Beſide that God of his iuſtice in concluſion appointeth to him a condigne payne and affliction for his merites and deſertes.

Whyle theſe things were thus handeled and ordered in England, Henry Erle of Richemond prepared an armie of fyue thouſand manly Britons, and fortie well furniſhed ſhippes. When all things were prepared in a readyneſſe, and the day of departing and ſetting forward was appointed, which was the twelue day of the Moneth of October, the whole armie went on Shipborde and halſed vp their ſayles, and with a proſperous winde tooke the Sea: But toward night, the winde chaunged and the weather turned, and ſo houge and terrible a tempeſt ſo ſodainely roſe, that with the verie power and ſtrength of the ſtorme, the ſhippes were diſparcled, ſeuered and ſeperate a ſunder: ſome by force were driuen into Normandy, ſome were compelled to returne agayne into Britayne. The ſhip wherin the Erle of Richemond was, aſſociate onely with one other Barck was all night toſſed and turmoyled. In the morning after when the rage of the furious tempeſt was aſſwaged, and the yre of the bluſtering winde was ſome deale appeaſed, about the houre of noone the ſame day, the Erle approched to the ſouth part of the realme of Englande, euen at the mouth of the hauen of Pole, in the Countie of Dorcet, where he might playnely perceyne all the ſea bankes and ſhores garniſhed and furniſhed with men of warre and Souldiours, appointed and deputed there to defende his arrynall and landing, as before is mencioned. Wherefore he gaue ſtraight charge and ſore commaundement, that no perſon ſhould once preſume to take lande and go to the ſhore, vntill ſuch time as the whole Naule were aſſembled and congregate. And whyle he taryed and lyngered, he ſent out a Shipbote towarde the lande ſide to know, whether they which ſtoode there in ſuche a number and ſo well furniſhed in apparell defenſiue were hys foes and enemies, or elſe his friendes and comforters. They that were ſent to enquire, were inſtantly deſired of the men of warre kepyng the coaſt (which thereof were before inſtructed and admoniſhed) to diſſende and take lande, affirming that they were appointed by the Duke of Buckyngham there to awayte and tarie for the arrynall and landing of the Erle of Richemond, and to conduict him ſafely to the Campe, where the Duke not farre of laye encamped with a mightie armie and an hoſte

hoſte of great ſtrength and power, to the entent that the Duke and the Erle ioyning in puyſſaunces and forces together, might proſecute and chaſe King Richarde beyng deſtitute of men, and in maner deſperate, and ſo by that meanes, and their awne laboures to obteyne the ende of their enterpriſe which they had before begonne.

The Erle of Richemond ſuſpecting their flattering requeſt to be but a fraude (as it was in deede) after that he perceaued none of his ſhippes to appere in ſight, he waied vp his Ancors and halſed vp hys ſayles, hauing a proſperous and ſtreynable winde and a freſh gale ſent euen by God to deliuer him from that perill and ieopardy, and arryued ſafe and in ſecuritie in the Duchy of Normandy, where he to refreſhe and ſolace his Souldyours and people, tooke his recreation by the ſpace of three dayes, and clerely determined with part of his companie to paſſe all by land againe into Britayne. And in the meane ſeaſon he ſent Ambaſſadors to the French King called Charles the. viij. which newly ſucceeded hys father king Lewys the. xj. not long before departed to God, requiring of him a ſafeconduite and lycenſe to paſſe thorough his Countrie of Normandie into Britayne. The yong king hauing compaſſion of the miſfortune of the Erle of Richemond, not onely gently graunted and aſſigned to him a paſport, but alſo liberally diſburſed to him a conuenient ſomme of money for hys conduite and expenſes neceſſarie in hys long iourney and paſſage. But the Erle truſtyng on the French kings humanitie, aduentured to ſende his ſhips home into Britayne, and to ſet forward himſelfe by lande on his iourney, making no great haſte till hys meſſengers were returned, which beyng with the benefite ſo comforted, and with hope of proſperous ſucceſſe ſo encouraged, marched towarde Britayne with all diligence entending there to conſult farther with his louers and friendes of his affayres and enterpriſes. When he was returned agayne into Britayne he was certefied by credible information that the Duke of Buckynham had loſt hys head, and that the Marques Dorſet and a great number of Noble men of England had a lyttle before enquired and ſearched for him there, and were nowe returned to Vaynes. When he had heard theſe newes thus reported, he firſt ſorowed and lamented the firſt attempt, and ſetting forward of hys friendes, and in eſpeciall of the nobilitie not to haue more fortunately ſucceded. Secondarily, he reioyſed on the other part that God had ſent hym ſo many valyaunt and prudent Captaynes to be his companions in hys martiall enterpriſes, truſting ſurely and nothing doubting in his awne opinion, but that all hys buſyneſſe ſhould be wiſely compaſſed, and brought to a good concluſion. Wherefore he determinyng with all diligence to ſet forward hys newe begon buſineſſe departed to Renes and ſent certayne of his priuie ſeruitours to conduct and bring the Marques and the other noble men to hys preſence. When they knewe that he was ſafely returned into Bryteyne, Lorde howe they reioyſed, for before that tyme they myſſed hym and knewe not in what part of the worlde to make inquirie or ſerche for hym.

For they doubted and no leſſe feared leſt he had taken lande in Englande, and fallen into the hands of King Richarde in whoſe perſon they knew well was neyther mercy nor compaſſion. Wherefore in all ſpeedy maner they galoped toward hym, and hym reuerently ſaluted, which meeting after great ioy and ſolace, and no ſmall thankes geuen and rendered on both parts, they

aduisedly debated and commoned of their great businesse and weightie enterprise, in the which season the feast of the natiuitie of our Sauiour Christ happened, on which day all the Englishe Lordes went with great solempnitie to the chiefe Church of the Citie, and there eche gaue fayth and promise to other. The Erle himselfe first tooke a corporall othe, and on his honor promising that incontinent after he should be possessed of the crowne and dignitie of the realme of Englande, he would be conioyned in matrimonie with the Lady Elizabeth daughter to king Edward the fourth. Then all the company sware to him fealtie, and did to him homage as though he had bene that time the crowned king and annoynted Prince, promising faythfully and firmely assuring that they would not onely leese their worldly substaunce, but also be priuated of their lyues and worldly felicitie, rather then to suffer king Richarde that tyraunt longer to rule and reigne ouer them. Which solempne othes made and taken, the Erle of Richemond declared and communicated all these doynges to Fraunces Duke of Britayne, desiring and most hartily requiring hym to ayde him with a greater armie to conduct him into his Countrie, which so sore longed and looked for his returne, and to the which he was by the more part of the nobilitie and communaltie called and desired (which with Gods aid, & the Dukes comfort) he doubted not in short time to obteine, requiring him farther to prest to him a conuenient somme of money, affirming that all such sommes of money which he had receaued of hys especiall friends, were spent and consumed in the preparation of the last iourney made towarde Englande, which sommes of money after his enterprise once achieued, he in the worde of a Prince faythfully promised to repay and restore agayne. The Duke promised him ayde and helpe, vpon confidence whereof he rigged his shippes, and set foorth hys Nauie well decked wyth ordynaunce, and warlikely furnished with all thinges necessarye, to the entent to sayle forward shortly, and to lose no time.

In the meane season, king Richarde apprehended in diuers partes of the realme certaine gentlimen of the Erle of Richmonds faction and confederation, which eyther entended to sayle into Britain toward him, or else at his landing to assist and ayde him. Amongst whome, sir George Browne, sir Roger Clyfforde and foure other were put to execution at London, and sir Thomas Sentliger which had maried the Duches of Exceter the kings awne sister, and Thomas Ram and diuers other were executed at Excester. Beside these persons, diuerse of his housholde seruaunts, whome either he suspected, or doubted, were by great cruelties put to shamefull death. After this, he called a parliament, in the which he attaynted the Erle of Richmond and all other persons which were fled out of the realme for feare, or any other cause, as enemies to him, and to their naturall countrey, and all their landes goods, and possessions, were confiscate and seased to the kings vse. And yet not content with this pray, which no doubt was of no small valeur, and moment, he layed on the peoples neckes a great tare and tallage, and surely necessitie to that act in maner him compelled. For what with purging and declaryng his innocencie concernyng the murther of his Nephewes towarde the worlde, and what with cost to obtayne the loue and fauour of the communaltie (which outwardly glosed, and openly dissimuled with him) he gaue prodigally so many and so great rewardes, that now both he lacked, and skarce wist

The Erle of Richemond attaynted in Parliament.

wist honestly how to borowe. In this troublous season, nothing was more merueyled at, then that the Lorde Stanley had not beene taken and reputed as an enemie to the king, considering the working of the Ladye Margaret his wife, mother to the Erle of Richmonde, but forasmuch as the enterprise of a woman was of him reputed of no regarde or estimacion, & that the Lord Thomas her husbande had purged himselfe sufficiently to be innocent of all doynges and attemptes by her perpetrated, and committed, it was geuen him in charge to kepe her in some secret place at home, without hauyng anye seruaunt or companie, so that from thence forth she should neuer sende letter nor messenger to her sonne, nor any of his friendes, or confederates, by the which the king might be molested or troubled, or anye hurte or preiudice might be attempted against his realme and commonaltie. Which commaundement was a while put in execution & accomplished according to his dreadfull commaundement. Yet the wilde worme of vengeaunce wauering in hys heade, coulde not be contented with the death of diuerse Gentlemen suspected of treason, but also he must extende his bloodye furie against a poore gentleman called Collyngborne, for making a small ryme of three of his vnfortunate Counsaylers, which were the Lorde Louell, Sir Richarde Radclyffe, his mischeuous Mynion, and sir William Catesby his secret seducer, which Meeter or ryme was.

The Ratte the Cat and Louell our dogge,
Rule all Englande vnder the hogge.

Collingborne executed.

Meanyng by the Hog, the dreadfull wilde Bore, which was the kinges cognisaunce, but because the first line ended in Dog, the Metrician could not obseruyng the regiments of meeter ende the second verse in Bore, but called the Bore an Hogge. This poeticall schoolemaister corrector of Breeues and Longes, caused Collingborne to be abbreuiat shorter by the head, and to be deuided into foure quarters.

King Richarde beyng thus tormented, and tossed in his owne concepte and imagination, called to his remembraunce that confederacions, amities, and other honest bandes and packes, made, concluded, and appointed between Princes, and politique gouernours, are the cause efficient and especiall introduction that their realmes & countries are fortified with a double power, that is to saye, with their owne strength and the ayde of their friendes, deuised wyth him selfe to practise a league and amitie with the king of Scots, which not long before had made diuers incursions and rodes into the realme of Englande, where although he gat little, yet surely hee lost not much, and therevpon sued to haue a truce or peace concluded, which came euen as king Richarde hadde wished it. Wherefore commissioners were assigned for both partes to meete at Nothingham the seuen daye next ensuyng, at which tyme came thether for the kyng of Englande John bishop of Lincolne chauncelier of Englande, Richarde bishop of saint Asse, John Duke of Norffolke, Henry Erle of Northumberlande, Thomas Lord Stanley, George Stanley, Lord Straunge, John Gray, Lord Powes, Richard Lord Fitzhugh, John Gunthorpe, keper of the kings priuy seale, Thomas Barow, maister of ỳ rolles, Sir Thomas Brian chiefe Justice of the common place, Sir Richard Ratcliffe knight, William Catesby, and Richarde Salkeld esquiers. And for the king of Scottes, were deputed Colyn Erle of Ergile, Lorde Campell and

Lorde Chauncellor of Scotlande, William bishop of Aberdene, Robert lord Lyle, Laurence Lord Oliphant, John Drummond of Stobhall, Archibalde Qwhitelator Archdeacon of Lowdene and Secretary to king James, Lion king at Armes and Duncane Duncas. These Councellers diuers times mette, and after long debating, demaunding, and denying, in the ende of September they fullye concluded a peace, the Articles whereof are to long here to reherse.

When this league and amitie was thus concluded, finished, and sealed with all due circumstances therebnto required. Although king Richard iudged and demed himselfe somewhat the more stronger and quieter by force of this newe amitie, and concluded confederacie, yet to augment more the familiaritie begon betwene the king of Scottes and him, and to haue a double string for his Bowe, he entreated a newe aliaunce and mariage to be concluded betwene the Prince of Rothsay, eldest sonne to the king of Scottes, and Ladie Anne de la Pole, daughter to John Duke of Suffolke, and Ladie Anne sister to king Richard, which sister he so much fauoured, that he studying al the waies by the which he might aduaunce her offspring and linage, did not onely procure and seeke meanes how to make her daughter a Princesse, and consequently a Queene, but also after the death of his sonne, he proclaymed John Erle of Lincolne his nephewe and her sonne, heyre apparant to the Crowne of England, disenheritynge king Edwardes daughters, whose brethren before as you haue heard he shamefully killed & murdered.

The king of Scottes hauyng neede of friendes, but not so much neede as king Richard, which was of necessitie compelled to seeke ayders, and to entertayne fautours, the one for fauouryng of flatterers, and base borne personnes, and the other not onely for tyrannye and bnnaturall homicide, but also for the bsurpation of the Crowne beyng of all the realme detested and disdeyned, gladly accepted, and ioyously consented to king Richardes desire and coniunction of amitie. Wherefore the sayde Princes sent their Ambassadors and Counsaylors againe to the towne of Notingham, where the saide mariage was by writynges and instrumentes, couenaunted, condiscended, and agreed, and affiaunces made and taken by Proctors, and Deputies on both partes, and she immediately called Princes of Rothsaye, which name shee shortly lost by the short life of king Richard her louyng Uncle. Here may wel be noted the bnnaturall loue and disordered affection which this kinde kinseman shewed to hys blood: For he not remembryng the tirannie that he had executed agaynst his brothers sonnes, the wrong and manifest iniurie that he had done to his brothers daughters, both in takyng from them their dignitie, possessions, and liuyng, thought it should redound greatly to his honour and fame, if he promoted his systers childe (to whome he was nothing bound in conscience to make restitution) to the dignitie of a Queene, rather then to preferre his brothers daughter whome he had bntruely and by force disenherited, & of all their right depriued, to the mariage of a meane esquier: such was his brotherly kindnes, and such was his large conscience towards his brothers children.

After this league and mariage thus concluded and agreed, the king of Scottes disdeinyng that the strong Castell of Dumbarre should remaine in the Englishe mennes handes and possession, wrote a gentle letter to king Richard,

Richard, declaryng to him that where in the league cōcluded betwene them, it was agreed and appoynted that he should within .xl. dayes next ensuyng, expresse and declare his opinion and meanyng concernyng the Castell of Dunbarre, whether the sayde Castell should be occupied and stand still in the handes of the Englishe men, duryng the whole tyme of the truce, or else for the terme of sixe monethes onely. He nowe certified king Richard by his letters, that he was content that he and his should enioy the possession of the sayde Castell quietly and peaceably duryng the sayde truce and amitie: Neuertheless he required him for the loue and familiaritie that nowe both by treatie and alyaunce was sprong and knit betweene them, that he would redeliuer the saide Castell into his handes, which was bntruly possessed of the Englich Nacion by deliuery of the rebels and Traytors, contrary to al right, equitie, and conscience. King Richard dalied with pleasaunt letters, and fayre wordes, and so foded forth the king of Scottes, that he neuer had Dunbar deliuered while king Richard liued, after whose death, whether it were by treason or by appoyntment, the Castell was rendered to the king of Scottes, to his great contentation and reioysing. Albeit this league and amitie thus couenaunted and concluded, it might manifestly seeme to all persons, that all coniurations and confederacies against king Richard were extinct and put to silence, and in especiall consideryng, that the Duke of Buckingham and his alies were made out of his way, some by death, and some by banishment and exilyng into farre Countries and Regions. Yet king Richard more doubtyng then trustyng to his awne people and friendes, was continually vexed, tossed, and bnquieted, with feare of the returne of the Erle of Richemond and his complices and fautours, which dayly dread and hourely agonie, caused him to liue in dolefull miserie, euer bnquiet, and in maner in continuall calamitie. Wherfore he entendyng to be relieued and to haue an ende of all his doubtfull daungers, determined clerely to extirpate and pluck bp by the rootes all the matter & ground of his feare and doubtes. Wherefore after long and deliberate consultation had, nothing was for his purpose and entent thought either more necessarie or expedient then once againe with price, prayer, and rewardes, to attempt the Duke of Britayn in whose territorie the Erle of Richemond then abode, to deliuer the sayd Erle into his handes, by which onely meanes he shoulde be discharged of all feare of perill, and brought to rest and quietnesse both of bodie and minde. Wherefore incontinent he sent certain Ambassadors to the Duke of Britayn, which tooke vpon them (beside the great and ample rewardes that they brought with them into Britein) that king Richard shoulde yerely pay and aunswere the Duke of all the reuenues, rentes, and profites of the seignories, landes, and possessions aswell belongyng and appertainyng to the Erle of Richemonde, as to any other Noble or Gentleman, which then were in the Erles companie, if he after that time would kepe them in continuall prison and restraine them from libertie.

The Ambassadors furnished with these and other instructions, arriued in Britayne and came to the Dukes house, where with him they could haue no maner of communication concernyng their weightie affayres, by reason that he beyng faynt and weakened by a long and dayly infirmitie, began a little to wax pole and weake in his wit and remembraunce. For which cause

Peter Landoyse his chiefe Treasoyer, a man both of pregnant wit & great authoritie, ruled and adiudged al things at his pleasure & commaundement, for the which cause (as men set into high authority be not best beloued) he erected and prouoked against him the malice & euill will of the Nobility of Britayn, which afterward for diuers great offences by him during his authoritie perpetrate and committed, by their meanes was brought to death, and confusion. The Englishe Ambassadors moued their message and request to Peter Landoyse, and to him declared their maisters commaundement, instantly requiryng, and humbly desiryng him (in whose power it lay to do all thing in Britayne) that he would friendly assent to the request of king Richard, offeryng to him the same rewardes and landes, that they should haue offered to the Duke.

Peter Landoyse.

This Peter which was no lesse disdeyned then hated almost of all the people of Britayne, thought that if he did assent and satisfie king Richardes petition and desyre, he should be of power and habilitie sufficiently to withstand and refell the malicious attemptes and disdainfull inuentions of hys enuious aduersaries. Wherefore he faythfully promised to accomplishe king Richards request and desyre, so that he kept promise with him, that he might be able to withstand the cankard malice of his secret enemyes. This act that he promised to do, was not for any grudge or malice that he bare to the Erle of Richemonde, for as you haue heard before, he deliuered him from peril of death at Saint Malos, when he was in great doubt of life and ieopardie, but as cause riseth we euer offend, and that cursted hunger of golde, and execrable thirst of lucre, and inwarde feare of losse of authoritie, driueth the blinde mindes of couetous men and ambicious persons to euilles and mischiefes innumerable, not remembring losse of name, obloquise of the people, nor in conclusion the punishment of God for their merites, and desertes. But fortune was so fauourable to the publique welth of the realme of Englande, that this deadly and dolorous compact tooke none effect or place. For while Postes ranne, and letters were sent to and fro for the finishing of this great enterprise betwene king Richard and Peter Landoyse, John Morton Bishop of Ely soiournyng then in Flaunders, was of all this craftie conueyaunce certified by his secret and sure friendes: Wherefore he sent Christopher Urswike (which at that verye season was come out of Britayne into Flaunders) to declare to the Erle of Richemonde howe all the deceyt and craftie working was conueyed and compassed, geuyng him in charge to counsaile and aduise the Erle in all haste possible with all his companie to retire out of Britayne into Fraunce. When these newes were brought to the Erle he then kept house in Vannes, and incontinent dispatched again Christopher Urswike to Charles the French king, requiryng him that he and his, might safely passe into Fraunce, which desyre beyng obteyned, the messenger shortly returned to his Lorde and Prince. The Erle well perceiuyng that it was expedient and necessarie with all speede and diligence, to loke to this weightie matter, callyng very fewe to counsaile, he made inquirie and searche of all secrete and by wayes, and sent before all his noble men, as though for a certaine familiaritie and kindenesse they should visite and comfort the Duke, which then for recreation and chaunge of ayre, lay on the borders and confines of Fraunce. And secretly he gaue charge to the Erle of Pembroke which was

was the leader and conducter of his companie, that when they approched the marches and limits of Britayn, they should diuert and take the next way into Fraunce. The noble men somewhat suspicious of thinges newely imagined, without any tariyng, scouryng the wayes as fast as their horses could runne, came out of the Duchie of Britayn, into the Duchie of Angeou in the dominion of Fraunce, where they taryed the Erles commyng, which two dayes after departed out of Vannes, onely accompanied with fiue seruitors, as though he had gone secretly to visite a familiar friend of hys in a small village adioinyng. No man suspected that he would depart, considryng that a great multitude of Englishe men were left and continued in the Citie, but after that he had passed directly fiue myles forwarde, he sodainly turned into a solitarie Wood next adioinyng, where clothing himselfe in the simple Cote of his poore seruaunt, made and appoynted his sayde minister, leader and maister of his small companie, and he as an humble Page diligently folowed and serued his counterfeit gouernour, neuer restyng nor themselues refreshing, except the baityng of their horses, till they by wayes vnknowen, nowe this way, nowe turnyng that way, came to their companie, abidyng them in Angiers.

The fourth day after the Erle of Richemonde was thus departed, that craftie marchaunt Peter Landoyse, trusting still after his pray, promised by king Richarde, was ready to set forwarde his crew of souldiours, which he priuily had consigned with certaine trustie capitaines for that onely purpose appointed and elected, to perfourme and achieue his pretensed enterprise, dissimulyng and feinyng them to be conducted and hyred by him to serue ỹ Erle of Richmonde, and hym to conduyte in his returne towarde his natiue countrey, meaning none other thing but to apprehende him and the other Noble men in his retinue, which no such fraude suspectyng, nor yet any treason ymaginyng, vnware and vnprouided and destitute of all ayde, and them to cast and commit sodainelye into continuall captiuitie and bondage, to the entent that by this wretched & naughtie act, he might satisfie the charitable request, & louyng desire of good kyng Richarde, more for his owne profite then kyng Richards gayne. But when this craftie dissembler Peter Landoyse, which was no wyser then an olde Fore, perceaued that the Erle was departed, (thinkyng that to be true that he imagined) Lorde how currours ranne into euery coast, how light horsemen galloped to euery streyt, to folow & deteyne him, if by any possibilitie he coulde be pursued and ouertaken, and him to apprehende and bring captiue into the Citie of Vannes. The horsemen made such diligence, and with such celeritie set forwarde their iorney, that nothyng was more likely then they to haue obtayned, ye and seased their praye. For the Erle of Richmond was not entred into the realme of Fraunce, scarce one houre, but the folowers came to the limittes and confines of Britayne, and durst aduenture no further, but vainely without their desire sorowfully returned. At which season were left at Vannes about the number of three Englishe men, which not beyng called to counsaile, and vnaware of this enterprise, but knowyng of the Erles sodeine departure were so incontinently astonyed, that in maner they were all in dispayre both of him and their awne suretie and sauegarde. But fortune turned her saile, and otherwise it happened then their feare them encombred. For the Duke of Britayne nowe beyng

yng somewhat recouered, was sore displeased, and nothing contented that the Erle of Richmond was in his dominion so vncurteously tracted and entreated, that he should be by fraude and vntruth compelled to leaue and flie out of his Duchie and Countrie contrary to his honour. Wherefore he toke great displeasure with Peter Landoyse his Treasorer, to whome (although he knewe not and was ignorannt that all the drift was driuen and deuysed by him) he laide the fault and imputed the crime. Wherefore he sent for Edward Wooduile, and Edward Bowmynges valiannt Esquiers of England, and deliuered vnto them money sufficient for their conduite, willyng them to conuey the rest of the Englishe men beyng in Britayn, to the Erle of Richmondes presence. When the Erle was thus furnished and appoynted wyth his trustie companie, and was escaped all the daungers, Labirinthes, and snares that were set for him, no maruaile though he were iocond and glad of the prosperous successe that happened in his affayres. Wherefore, least he should seeme to be blotted with the note of ingratitude, he sent diuers of hys Gentlemen to the Duke of Britayne, the which should publishe and declare to him on the behalfe of the Erle, that he and his, were onely by his benefite and fauour conserued and deliuered from the imminent daunger that they were like to be trapped in. Wherfore at that time he rendred to him his most hartie thankes in wordes, trustyng and not doubtyng but in time to come liberally to recompence him with actes and deedes.

After thys the Erle tooke his iourney to Charles the French king, lyeng then at Langes vpon the ryuer of Leyre, to whome after great thankes geuen for manifolde pleasures by him to the Erle shewed, he disclosed and manifested the cause and occasion of his accesse and repayre to his person. After that he required of him helpe and succour, to the intent that by his immortall benefite to him at that time shewed, he might safely returne to the nobilitie of hys realme, of whome he was greatly called to take vpon hym the crowne and Scepter of the realme, they much hated and abhorred the tyrannie of king Richard. King Charles promised him ayde and comfort, and bade him be of good courage and make good cheere, for he assured him that he woulde gladly shewe to him his benenolent minde and bountifull liberalitie. Which king from thence remoued to Mountargis, leadyng with him the Erle of Richemonde, and all the Noble personages of hys retinue and faction.

Whyle the Erle was thus attendaunt in the French Court, John Vere Erle of Oxforde (which as you haue heard before was by king Edwarde kept in prison wythin the Castell of Hammes) so perswaded James Blount Capytayne of the same fortresse, and Syr John Fortescewe Porter of the Towne of Caleys, that he himselfe was not onely dismissed and set at libertie, but they also abandonyng and leauing their fruitfull offices, condiscended to go wyth him into Fraunce to the Erle of Richemonde and to take his part remaynyng in the Castell before hys departure, he fortefied the same both with newe munitions and new Souldiours. When the Erle of Richemond sawe the Erle of Oxforde, he was raupshed with an incredible gladnesse, that he being a man of so high nobilitie, of such knowledge and practise in feates of warre, and so constaunt, trustie, and assured (which alwaye had studied for the maintenaunce and preferment of the house of Lancaster) was

was now by Gods prouision delyuered out of Captiuitie and imprisonment, and in time so necessary & conuenient come to his ayde, succour and aduancement, in whome more surer then any other he might put hys trust and confidence, and take lesse paine and trauayle in hys awne person. For it was not hid from hym that suche as had euer taken part with king Edwarde before thys time, came to doe him seruice eyther for malice that they bare to king Richarde, or else for feare to lyue vnder his cruell rule and tyrannous gouernaunce.

Not long after the French king returned agayne to Paris, whome the Erle of Richemonde folowed, entending there to solicite his matter to the conclusion. Wherevpon he besought king Charles to take vpon him the whole tuition and defence of him and hys cause, so that he and hys company beyng by hys meanes ayded and comforted, should confesse and saye, their welth, victorie and aduauncement to haue flowed and budded forth of his bountyfulnesse and liberalitie, which they would God wylling shortly reacquite. In the meane season dyuers Englishe men which eyther fled out of Englande for feare, or were at Paris to learne and studie good litterature and verteous doctrine, came voluntarily and submitted themselues to the Erle of Richemond, and vowed and sware to take his part. Amongst whom was Richarde Fore a priest, a man of great wyt and no lesse learning, whom the Erle incontinent receaued into secret familiaritie, & in briefe tyme erected and auaunced him to high dignities and promotions, and in conclusion he made hym Bysshop of Wynchester.

In the meane season king Rychard was credibly aduertised what promises and othes the Erle and his confederates had made and sworne together at Renes, and how by the Erles meanes all the English men were passed out of Britayne into Fraunce. Wherefore beyng sore dismayed and in a maner desperate, because hys craftie Cheuesaunce tooke none effect in Britayne, imagined and deuised how to infringe and disturbe the Erles purpose by another meane, so that by the mariage of Ladie Elizabeth his Neece he should pretend no clayme nor tytle to the crowne. For he thought if that mariage fayled, the Erles chiefe combe had bene clerely cut. And because that he beyng blynded with the ambicious desyre of rule before thys time, in obteyning the kingdome, had perpetrate and done many cursed actes and detestable tyrannies, yet according to the olde Prouerbe, let hym take the Bull that stale away the Calfe, he thought all factes by hym committed in times passed to bee but of small moment and not to be regarded in comparison of that mischieuous imagination, which he nowe openlye began and attempted. There came into hys vngracious minde a thing not onely detestable to be spoken of in the remembraunce of man, but much more cruell and abhominable to be put in execution. For when he reuolued in his wauering minde how great a fountayne of mischiefe towarde him should spring if the Erle of Richemond should be aduaunced to the mariage of hys Neece, which thing he heard saye by the rumour of the people that no small number of wise and wittie personages enterprised to compasse and bring to conclusion. He clerely determined to reconcile to hys fauour his brothers wyfe Queene Elizabeth eyther by fayre wordes or liberall promises, firmely beleuing her fauor once obteined, that she would not stick to commit (and louingly credite) to him

the

A subtile and lewde practise of king Richard.

the rule and gouernaunce both of her and her daughter, & so by that meanes the Erle of Richemond of the affinitie of hys Neece should be vtterly defrauded and beguiled. And if no ingenious remedy could be otherwise inuented to saue the innumerable mischiefes which were euen at hande and lyke to fall, if it should happen Queene Anne hys wyfe to depart out of thys present worlde, then he himselfe would rather take to wyfe hys Cosyn and Neece the Ladie Elizabeth, then for lack of that affinitie the whole realme should run to ruyne, as who sayde, that if he once fell from hys estate and dignitie, the ruyne of the realme must needes shortly ensue and folowe. Wherefore he sent to the Queene beyng in sanctuarie dyuers and often messengers, which first should excuse and purge him of all thinges before against her attempted or procured, and after shoulde so largely promise promotions innumerable, and benefices, not onely to her but also to her sonne Lorde Thomas Marques Dorset, that they should bring her if it were possible into some wanhope, or as men say into a fooles paradise. The messengers beyng men both of wyt and grauitie, so perswaded the Queene with great and pregnaunt reasons, what with fayre and large promises, that shee began somewhat to relent, and to geue to them no deafe eare, in so much that she faythfully promised to submit and yeelde her selfe fully and frankely to the kings will and pleasure. And so shee putting in oblition the murther of her innocent children, the infamie and dishonour spoken by the king her husbande, the lying in auoutrie layed to her charge, the bastardyng of her daughters, forgetting also the faythfull promise and open othe made to the Countesse of Richmond mother to the Erle Henry, blynded by auaricious affection and seduced by flattering wordes, first deliuered into king Richards hands her fiue daughters, as Lambes once agayne committed to the custodie of the rauenous Woolfe. After she sent letters to the Marques her sonne beyng then at Parys with the Erle of Richemond, wylling him in any wise to leaue the Erle and without delay to repaire into Englande, where for him were prouided great honors and honorable promotions, assertayning him farther that all offences on both parties were forgotten and forgeuen, and both he and she highly incorporate in the kings hart. Surely the inconstancie of thys woman were much to be marueyled at, if all women had bene founde constaunt, but let men speake, yet women of the verie bonde of nature will folowe their awne kinde. After that king Richard had thus wyth glorious promises and flattering wordes pleased and appeased the mutable minde of Queene Elizabeth, which knewe nothing lesse then that he most entended, he caused all his brothers daughters to be conueyed into his palace with solempne receauing, as though with his newe familier and louing entertainment they should forget, and in their minds blot out the olde committed iniurie and late executed tirannie. Nowe nothing was contrariant and obstacle to hys deuilishe purpose, but that hys mancion was not voyde of his wyfe, which thing he in any wise adiudged necessary to be done. But there was one thing that so much feared and stayed hym from committing this abhominable murther, because as you haue heard before, he began to counterfeit the ymage of a good and well disposed person, and therefore he was afeard least the sodaine death of his wyfe once openly knowne, he shoulde leese the good and credible opinion which the people had of him, without desert conceaued and reported.

The inconstancie of Queene Elizabeth.

reported. But in conclusion euill counsayle preuayled in a wyt lately minded to mischiefe, and turned from all goodnesse. So that his vngracious desire ouercame his honest feare. And first to enter into the gates of his ymagyned enterprise, he abstayned both from the bed and company of his wyfe. After he complayned to dyuers noble men of the realme, of the infortunate sterylitie and barennesse of hys wyfe, because she brought forth no fruit and generatiō of her body. And in especial he accompted to Thomas Rotheram Archbyshop of Yorke (whom lately he had deliuered out of warde & captiuitie) these impediments of his Queene & diuers other, thinking that he would reueale & open to her al these things, trusting the sequele hereof to take his effect, that she hering this grudge of her husband, & taking therfore an inward thought, would not long lyue in this world. Of this the Bishop gathered (which well knew the complexion and visage of the king) that the Quenes daies were short, and that he declared to certain of his secret friends. After this he procured a common rumour but he would not haue the author knowne) to be published and spred abroad among the common people that the Queene was dead, to the intent that shee taking some concepte of thys straunge fame, should fall into some sodayne sickneesse or greeuous maladie, and to proue if afterward shee should fortune by that or any other wayes to leese her lyfe, whether the people would impute her death to the thought or sickneesse, or thereof would lay the blame to him. When the Queene heard tell that so horrible a rumour of her death was sprong amongst the commonaltie, she sore suspected and iudged the worlde to be almost at an ende with her, and in that sorowfull agony, shee with lamentable countenaunce and sorowfull chere, repayred to the presence of the king her husbande, demaunding of hym, what it should meane that he had iudged her worthy to die. The king answered her wyth fayre wordes, and wyth smyling and flattering leasinges comforted her, bydding her to be of good cheere, for to his knowledge shee should haue none other cause. But howsoeuer that it fortuned, eyther by inward thought and pensiueneesse of heart, or by infection of poyson (which is affirmed to be most likely) within a few dayes after the Queene departed out of thys transitorie lyfe, and was with due solempnitie buried in the Church of Saint Peter at Westminster. Thys is the same Anne one of the daughters of the Erle of Warwike, which as you haue heard before at the request of Lewys the French king, was maried to Prince Edward sonne to king Henry the sixt.

A rumor spred abroade of ỹ Queenes death.

The Quene wife to king Richard the third sodainly dead.

The king thus (according to his long desire) losed out of the bondes of matrimonie, began to cast a foliche phantasie to Lady Elizabeth his Neece, making much suit to haue her ioyned with him in lawfull matrimonie. But because all men, and the mayden her selfe most of all, detested, and abhorred, this vnlawfull, and in maner vnnatural copulacion, he determined to prolong and deferre the matter til he were in a more quietnesse. For all that very season he was oppressed with great, weightie, and vrgent causes, and businesses on euery side, consideryng that dayly part of the nobility sailed into Fraunce to the Erle of Richmond: Other priuily fauoured and aided certaine of the coniuration, so that of his short ende, fewe or none were in doubt. And the common people for the most part were brought to such desperation, that manie of them had rather be reputed and taken of him in the number of his enemies, then to abide the chaunce and hazarde to haue their goodes taken as a spoyle

ſpoyle of victozy by his enemies. Amongeſt the noble men whome he moſt miſtruſted, theſe were the pzincipall, Thomas Lozde Stanley, Sir William Stanley his bzother, Gilbert Talbot and fiue hundzed other, of whoſe purpoſes although king Richarde were not ignozaunt, yet he gaue neither confidence noz credence to any one of them, and leaſt of all to the Lozde Stanley becauſe he was ioyned in matrimonie with ỹ Lady Margaret, mother to the Erle of Richmond, as afterward apparauntly ye may perceiue. Foz when the ſayde Lozd Stanley would haue departed into his countrey to viſit his family and to recreate and refreſh his ſpirites (as he openly ſayde) but the truth was to the entent to be in a perfite readineſſe to receiue the Erle of Rychemond at his firſt arriuall in Englande: the king in no wiſe would ſuffer him to depart befoze that he had left as an hoſtage in the Court, Geozge Stanley Lozd ſtraunge his firſt begotten ſonne and heire. While king Richard was thus troubled and vexed with imaginacions of the troubleſous time that was like to come: Loe, euen ſodainly he herde newes that fyze was ſpzong out of the ſmoke, and the warre freſhly begon, and that the Caſtell of hammes was deliuered into the hands of the Erle of Richmond, by the meanes of the Erle of Oxenfozde, and that not onely he, but alſo James Blount raptaine of the Caſtell, were fled into Fraunce to aide the Erle Henry. Wherefoze he thinkyng it great pollicie to withſtande the firſt bzunt, ſent the moſt part of ỹ garriſon of Caleis, to recouer againe, by fozce the Caſtell of Hammes. They which were in the Caſtell perceauing theie aduerſaries to appzoch, pzepared municions and engins foz their defence, and ſent alſo to the Erle of Richemond, to aduertiſe him of their ſodayne inuaſion, requiring him of haſty ayde and ſpeedy ſuccour. The Erle ſtepyng not this firſt begon aſſault, ſent ỹ Erle of Oxenfozde, with an elected company of ſouldiours to raiſe the ſiege, and reſcewe the Caſtell: Which at their firſt arriuyng, pitched their campe not farre from their enimies. And while king Richardes men gaue vigilant eie, waityng leaſt the Erle of Oxenfozde ſhoulde take anye aduauntage of them that lay on that ſide of the Caſtell. Thomas Brandon with. xxx. appzoued men of warre, by a marish which lay on the other ſide, entred into the caſtell. The ſouldiours within greatly encouraged, and much comfozted by this new ſuccour and ayde, greued the enemies by ſhoting from the walles moze then they were accuſtomed to do. And they of the Caſtell vexed their enemies on the fozepart: the Erle of Oxenfozde no leſſe moleſted and vnquieted them on the other part, which was the occaſion that king Richards men offered of their owne mere motion, licence to all beyng within the Caſtell to departe in ſafetie with bagge and baggage nothing excepted: which condicion the Erle of Oxenfozde commyng onelye foz that purpoſe to deliuer his louyng friendes out of all perill and daunger, & chiefely of all, his olde hoſteſſe Jane Blount wife to James Blount the capiteyne, would in no wiſe foꝛſake oz refuſe. And ſo leauyng the Caſtell bare and vngarniſhed, both of vitaile and artilerie, came ſafe to the Erle of Richmond ſoiourning in Paris. Duryng this time, kyng Richarde was credyblye infozmed of his inquiſitozs and eſpyalles that the Erle of Richmond was with long ſuite in the court of Fraunce ſoze wexied, & deſiryng great ayde, coulde obtaine ſmall reliefe: In ſo much that all thing went ſo farre backwarde, that ſuch things as were with great diligence, and no leſſe deliberation, purpoſed, and determined to be ſet foz-

warde,

warde, were now daſhed and ouerthzone to the ground. King Richard either beyng to light of credence, oz ſeduced and deluded by his craftie taletellers, greatly reioyſed as though he had obtayned the ouerhande of his enemyes, with triumph and victozie, and thought himſelfe neuer ſo ſurely deliuered of all feare and dzeadfull imaginations, ſo that he neded nowe no moze once foz that cauſe eyther to wake oz breake his golden ſleepe. Wherefoze he called home againe his ſhippes of warre, which he had appointed to kepe the narowe Seas, and diſpatched all ſuch Souldiours as he had deputed to keepe certayne garriſons, and to ſtoppe certayne paſſages as you haue hearde befoze. Yet leaſt he might foz lack of pzouiſion be ſodainly trapped, he ſtraightlye charged and gaue in commaundement to al noble men and in eſpecial ſuch as inhabited neere to the ſea coaſt, and on the Frontiers of Wales, that accozding to the vſage of the Countrie, they ſhould keepe diligent watch and ſtrong warde, to the intent that his aduerſaries in no wiſe ſhould haue anye place opoztune, eaſely to take lande without defence oz rebuttyng back. Foz the cuſtome of the Countries adioyning neere to the ſea is (eſpecially in the time of warre) on euery hill oz high place to erect a Bekon with a great Lanterne in the top, which may be ſene and diſcerned a great ſpace of. And when the noyſe is once bzuted that the enemies appzoche nere the lande, they ſodeinly put fire in the Lanternes and make ſhowtes and outrages from towne to towne, and from village to village. Some ronne in poſt from place to place admoniſhyng the people to be redie to reſiſt the ieopardie, and defend the perill. And by this pollicie the fame is ſoone blowen to euery Citie and towne, inſomuch that aſwell the Citizens as ỹ rurall people be in ſhoꝛt ſpace aſſembled and armed to refell and put backe the new arriued enemies.

Now to returne to our purpoſe, king Richard thus ſomewhat eaſed of his accuſtomed penſiueneſſe, began to be ſomewhat moze merier, and toke leſſe thought and care foz outward enemies then he was wont to do, as who ſay, that he with pollitique pzouiſion ſhoulde withſtande the deſtinie which hong ouer his heade, and was ozdeyned in briefe time ſodainly to fall. Such is the fozce and puiſſaunce of deuine iuſtice, that euery man ſhall leſſe regard, leſſe pzouide, leſſe be in doubt of all things, when he is moſt neereſt puniſhement, and nert to his miſchaunce foz his offences and crimes.

About this ſeaſon, while the Erle of Richemond was deſiryng ayde of the French king, certain noble men were there appoynted to rule the realme of Fraunce during the minozitie of king Charles, which amongeſt themſelues were not of one opinion. Of which diſſention, Lewys Duke of Oꝛliaunce was the chiefe ſturrer, which becauſe he had maried Ladie Joane ſiſter to the French king, toke vpon him aboue other the rule and adminiſtration of the whole realme. By reaſon of which controuerſie, no one man onely was ſuffered to rule all: wherefoze the Erle of Richemond was compelled to make ſute to euery one of the counſaile ſeuerally one after another, requiryng and deſiryng them of ayde and reliefe in his waightie buſineſſe, and ſo his cauſe was pzolonged and deferred. Duryng which time, Thomas Marques Dozſet which was as you haue heard entiſed by his mother to returne again into England, partly deſpairyng in the good ſucceſſe of the Erle of Richemond, & partly onerate and vanquiſhed with the fayze gloſyng pzomiſes of king Richarde: ſecretly in the night ſeaſon ſtale out of Paris, and

with all diligent expedition tooke his iourney towarde Flaunders. When relation of his departure was made to the Erle of Richemond, and the other noble men, no maruaile though they were astonied and greatly amased. Yet that notwithstandyng they requyred of the Frenche king that it might be leful to them in his name and by his commaundement to take and stay their Companion, confederate, and partaker of all their counsaile, in what place within his realme and territorye so euer they could finde him. Which petition once obtayned, they sent out Curriers into euery part, amongest whom Humfrey Cheiney playing the part of a good blood hound, followed the tract of the flier so euen by the sent, that he ouertoke and apprehended him not far from Compeigne and so what with reason, and what with faire promises beyng perswaded, he returned again to his Companions. The Erle of Richmond vnburdened of this misaduenture, least by lingryng of dayes, and prolongyng of time, he might leese the great opportunitie of thinges to him offered and ministred: also least he should further wound or molest the mindes of his faythfull and assured friendes, which dayly did aspect and tary for hys comming, determined no lenger to protract and deferre the time, but with all diligence and celeritie to attempt his begon enterprize, and so obteinyng of king Charles a small crewe of men, and borowyng certaine summes of money of him, and of diuers other his priuate friendes. For the which he left as debter, or more likelier as a pledge or hostage, Lorde Thomas Marques Dorset (whome he halfe mistrusted) and Sir John Burchier, he departed from the French Court, and came to the Citie of Roan. While he taryed there makyng prouision at Harflete in the mouth of the riuer of Seyne for all thinges necessary for his naupe, tidynges were brought to him that king Richard beyng without childzen, and nowe Widower, entended shortly to marry the Lady Elizabeth his brothers daughter, and to preferre the Ladie Cicile her sister to a man found in a Clowde, and of an vnknowne linage and familie. He tooke these newes as a matter of no small moment (and so all thinges considered) it was of no lesse importance then he tooke it for. For this thing onely toke away from him and al his Companions their hope and courage that they had to obteine an happie enterprise. And therefore no marueile though it nipped him at the verie stomacke: when he thought that by no possibilitie hee might attaine the mariage of anye of king Edwardes daughters, which was the strongest foundation of his buildyng, by reason whereof he iudged that all his friendes in England would abandon & shrinke from him. Wherefore makyng not many of his counsaile, after diuers consultations he determined not yet to set forward, but to tary and attempt how to get more ayde, more friendes, and more stronger succors. And amongest all other, it was thought most expedient to allure by affinitie in his ayde as a Companion in armes, Sir Walter Herbert, a man of an auncient stocke, and great power amongest the Wellshemen, which had with him a fayre Ladie to his sister, of age ripe to be coupled in matrimonie. And for the atchieuyng of this purpose, messengers were secretly sent to Henry Erle of Northumberland (which had before maried another sister of Sir Walter Harbertes) to the entent that he should set forward all this deuice and purpose, but the wayes were so narowly watched and so manye spyes laide, that the Messenger proceded not in his iourney and businesse. But in the meane season,

son, there came to the Erle a more ioyfuller message from Morgã Kidwelly learned in the temporall lawe, which declared that Rice ap Thomas, a man of no lesse valiauntnesse then actiuitie, and John Sauage an approued Capitaine, would with all their power be partakers of his quarrell. And that Reignold Bray had collected and gotten together no small summe of money for the payment of the wages to the Souldiours and men of warre: admonishing him also to make quicke expedition, and to take his course directlye into Wales. The Erle of Richemond because he woulde no longer lynger and werye his friends, liuyng continually betweene hope and feare, determined in all conuenient haste to set forward, and caried to his shippes armour, weapons, vitaile, and all other ordinaunces expedient for warre.

After that all thing was in a readynesse, the Erle being accompanied onely with two thousand men and a small number of shippes, weyed vp his ancors and halsed vp his sayles, in the Moneth of August, and sayled from Harflet with so prosperous a winde that the seuenth daye after hys departure he arryued in Wales in the euening, at a port called Milforde Hauen, and incontinent tooke lande and came to a place called Dalle, where he heard say that a certain company of his aduersaries were layed in garrison, to defende his arriuall all the last winter. And the Erle at the sonne rising remoued to harfford west, beyng distant from Dalle not fully ten mile, where he was ioyfully receaued of the people, and he arryued there so sodainely that he was come and entred the towne at the same time when the Citizens had but knowlege of his comming. Here he heard newes which were as vntrue, as they truely were reported to him in Normandy, that Rice ap Thomas, and John Sauage with bodye and goodes were determined to ayde king Richard. While he and his companie were somewhat astonied of these newe tidinges, there came such message from the inhabitauntes of the towne of Pembrooke that refreshed, and reuiued their frosen hearts and daunted courages. For Arnold Buttler a valiaunt captaine, which first askyng pardon for his offences before time committed against the Erle of Richemonde, and that obtayned, declared to him that the Penbrochians were redy to serue and geue their attendaunce on their naturall and immediate Lorde Jasper Erle of Penbrooke. The Erle of Richmond hauyng his armie thus increased, departed from Herforde west to the towne of Cardigan beyng fiue mile distant from thence. While the souldiours were refreshing and trimming themselues in their campe, straunge tidinges sprong among them without any certaine authour, that sir Walter Herberd which lay with a great crewe of men at Carmarden, was now with a great armie ready to approch and bid them battaile. With which newes the armie was sore troubled, and euerye man assaied his armure and proued his weapon, & were prest to defend their enemies. And as they were in this fearefull doubt, certaine horsemen which the Erle had sent to make inquirie and search, retourned and reported al the countrey to be quiet and no let nor impediment to be laide or cast in their iourney. And euen at the same time the whole armie was greatly recomforted by reason that the comming of Richarde Griffyth, a man of great nobilitie, the which notwithstanding ỹ he was confederate with Sir Walter Herbert, and Richarde ap Thomas, yet at that very instant he came to the Erle of Richmonde with all his company, which were of no great number. After hym

the same day came John Morgan with his men. Then the Erle aduaunced forward in good hast, making no repose or abode in any one place. And to the entent to passe forward with sure and short expedicion, he assaulted euerie place where his enemies had set any men of warre, which with small force, and lesse difficultie he briefely did ouercome and banquishe. And sodeinly he was by his espialles assertayned that Sir Walter Harbert and Rice ap Thomas were in harnesse before him redie to encounter with his armie and to stop their passage. Wherefore like a valiaunt Capitein he first determined to set on them, and eyther to destroy or to take them into his fauour, and after with all his power and puyssance to geue battaile to his mortall enemie king Richard. But to the entent his friendes shoulde knowe in what redinesse he was, and howe he proceded forwarde, he sent of his most secret and faythfull seruauntes with letters and instructions to the Ladie Margaret his mother, to the Lorde Stanley his brother, to Sir George Talbot, and to other his trustie friendes, declaryng to them, that he beyng succoured and holpen with the ayde & relefe of his friends, entended to passe ouer the riuer of Seuerne at Shrewsburie, and so to passe directly to the Citie of London, requiryng them as his speciall trust and confidence was fixed in the hope of their fidelitie, that they would meete him by the way with all diligent preparation, to the entent that he and they at time and place conuenient might communicate together the depenesse of all his doubtfull and waightie businesse. When the Messengers were dispatched with these commaundementes and admonicions, he marched forward toward Shrewsburie, and in his passyng there met and saluted him Rice ap Thomas with a goodly bande of Welshemen, which making an othe and promise to the Erle, submitted himselfe wholy to his order and commaundement. For the Erle of Richemond two dayes before made to him promise, that if he would sweare to take his part and be obedient to him, he would make him chiefe gouernour of Wales, which part as he faythfully promised and graunted, so after that he had obteyned and possessed the realme and Diademe, he liberally performed and accomplished the same. In the meane time, the Messengers that were sent, diligently executed the things geuen to them in charge, and laden with rewardes of them to whome they were sent, returned to him the same daye that he entred into Shrewsburie, and made relation to him that his friendes were redie in all poyntes to do all thinges for him which eyther they ought or might do. The Erle Henry brought in good hope with this pleasaunt message, continued forth his entended iourney, and came to a little towne called Newport and pitching his campe on a little hil adioining, reposed himselfe there that night. In the Euening the same daye came to him Sir George Talbot, with the whole power of the yong Erle of Shrewsburie then beyng in warde, which were accompted to the number of two thousand men. And thus his power encreasyng, he arriued at the towne of Stafford, & there pawsed. To whom came Sir William Stanley accompanied with a fewe persons, and after that the Erle and he had commoned no long time together, he reuerted to his Souldiors which he had congregate together to serue the Erle, which from thence departed to Lichefielde, and lay without the Walles in his campe all the night. The nexte Morning he entred into the towne, and was with all honour like a Prince receyued. A day or two before, the Lorde Stanley hauing

uing in his band almost fiue thousand men, lodged in ỹ same towne, but hearyng that the Erle of Richemond was marching thetherward, gaue to hym place, dislodging him and his, and repayred to a towne called Adreston, there abidyng the comming of the Erle, and this wylie force did this act to auoyde all suspicion, beyng afrayd least if he should be seene openly to be a fautor or ayder to the Erle his sonne in lawe before the day of the battaile, that king Richard which yet did not vtterly put in him diffidence and mistrust, woulde put to some cruell death his sonne & heyre apparant George Lord Straunge whome king Richard as you haue heard before, kept with him as a pledge or hostage, to the entent that the Lorde Stanley his father should attempt nothing preiudiciall to him.

King Rychard at thys season keepyng his house in the Castell of Notyngham was informed that the Erle of Richemonde with such banished men as fled out of Englande to him were nowe arryued in Wales, and that all things necessarie to his enterprise were vnprouided, vnpurueyed and verie weake, nothing meete to withstand the power of such as the king had appointed to resist hym. Thys rumour so enflated his minde, that in maner disdayning to here speake of so poore a company, determined at the first to take little or no regarde to this so small a sparcle, declaryng the Erle to be innocent and vnwise, because that he rashely attempted suche a great enterprise with so small and thinne a number of warlike persons, and therfore he gaue a definitiue sentence, that when he came to that poynt that he should be compelled to fight agaynst hys wyll, he eyther should be apprehended a lyue, or else by all likelyhood he shoulde of necessitie come to a shamefull confusion, and that he trusted to be shortly done by Sir Walter Harbert and Rice ap Thomas, which then ruled Wales with egall power and lyke authoritie. But yet he reuoluyng and casting in his minde that a small warre begon and wynked at and not regarded, may turne to a great broyle and trouble, and that it was prudent pollicie not to contempne and disdeyne the little small power and weakenesse of the enemie, be it neuer so small, thought it necessarie to prouide for after clappes that might happen and chaunce. Wherefore he sent to John Duke of Norffolke, Henry Erle of Northumberland, Thomas Erle of Surrey, and to other of his especiall and trustie friends of the Nobilitie, which he iudged more to preferre and esteeme hys welth and honor then their awne eyches and priuate commoditie, wylling them to muster and viewe all their seruaunts and tenantes, and to elect and choose the most couragious and actiue persons of the whole number, and with them to repayre to hys presence with all speede and diligence. Also he wrote to Robert Brakenbury Lieutenaunt of the Tower, commaunding him with his power to come to his armie and to bring with him as felowes in armes, Sir Thomas Burchier, and Sir Walter Hungerforde, and dyuers other Knightes and Esquiers in whome he cast no small suspicion. Whyle he was thus ordering hys affayres, tydinges came that the Erle of Richemonde was passed Seuerne & come to Shrewsburie without any detryment or encombraunce. At which message he was sore moued and broyled with Melancoly and dolour, and cryed out, asking vengeaunce of them that contrarie to their othe and promise had so deceaued him. For which cause he began to haue diffidence in other, in so much that he determined himselfe out of hande the same

day to meete with, and reſiſt his aduerſaries. And in all haſt ſent out eſpials to view and eſpie what way his enemies kept and paſſed. They diligently doyng their ductie, ſhortly after returned, declaring to the king that the Erle was encamped at the towne of Lichfield. When he had perfite knowledge where the Erle with his armie was ſoiourning, he hauing continuall repaire of his ſubiectes to him, began incontinently without delay to marſhall and put in order his battayles (like a valyaunt Capitaine and polletique leader) and firſt he made his battayles to ſet forwarde fiue and fiue in a ranke, marchyng toward that way where his enemies as was to him reported entended to paſſe. In the middle part of the armie he appointed the traffick and cariage appertayning to the armie. Then he (enuironed with his garde) with a frowning countenaunce and cruell viſage mounted on a great whyte courſer and followed with his footemen, the wings of horſemen coaſtyng and rangyng on euery ſide: And keeping thys aray, he with great pompe entred the towne of Leyceſter after the ſonne ſet. The Erle of Richemond rayſed hys campe and departed from Lychefield to the towne of Tomwoorth thereto nere adioyning, and in the mid way paſſing, there ſaluted him Sir Walter Hungerford, and Sir Thomas Burchier knightes, and dyuers other which receiued and ſubmitted them to his pleaſure. For they beyng aduertiſed that king Rychard had them in ſuſpition and gealoſie, a little beyonde ſtony Stratford left and forſooke priuily their Captayne Robert Brakenbury, and by wandering by night, and in maner by vnknowne pathes and vncertayne wayes ſearchyng, at the laſt came to the Erle Henry. Dyuers other noble perſonages, which inwardly hated king Richarde worſe then a Toade or a Serpent, did likewiſe reſorte to hym with all their power & ſtrength. There happened in this progreſſion to the Erle of Richemonde a ſtraunge chaunce worthy to be noted: for albeit that he was a man of haute and valyaunt courage, and that his army encreaſed, and daylie more and more he waxed mightier and ſtronger, yet he was not a little afeard, becauſe he in no wiſe couldе be aſſured of hys father in lawe Thomas Lorde Stanley, which for feare of the deſtruction of the Lorde Straunge his ſonne (as you haue heard) as yet enclyned to neyther partie. For if he had gone to the Erle, and that notefied to king Richard, his ſonne had ſhortly bene executed. Wherefore he accompanyed with twentie lyght horſemen lyngered in his iourney, as a man muſing and ymagyning what was beſt to be done. And the more to aggrauate his penſiueneſſe, it was ſhewed him that king Richarde was at hande with a ſtrong power and a great armie. Whyle he thus heauily dragged behinde his hoſte, the whole armie came before the towne of Tomworth, and when he for the deepe darkneſſe couldе not perceaue the ſteppes of them that paſſed on before, and had wandered hether and thether, ſeeking after his companie, and yet not once heering any noiſe or whiſpering of them, he turned to a verie little Village, beyng about three myles from hys armie, taking great thought and much fearyng leaſt he ſhould be eſpied, and ſo trapped by king Rychards ſkoute watch. There he taryed all night, not once aduenturyng to aſke or demaunde a queſtion of any creature, he being no more amaſed with the ieopardie and perill that was paſſed, then with thys preſent chaunce, ſore feared that it ſhould be a pronoſtication or ſigne of ſome infortunate plague afterwarde to ſucceede. As he was not merry beyng abſent from his armie likewiſe

A ſtraunge chaunce that happened to the Erle of Richemond.

lykewiſe his armie muche marueyled and no leſſe mourned for his ſodayne abſence.

The nexte morning earely in the dawning of the daye he returned, and by the conduyte of good fortune eſpyed and came to his armie, excuſing himſelfe, not to haue gone oute of the waye by ignorannce, but for a polletie deuyſed for the nonce he went from hys Campe to receyue ſome glad meſſage from certayne of his priuie friendes and ſecrete alyes. Thys excuſe made, he priuilie departed agayne from hys hoſte to the towne of Aderſtone, where the Lorde Stanley and Syr William hys brother with their bandes were abidyng. There the Erle came firſt to his father in law, in a litle cloſe, where he ſaluted him, and Sir William his brother, and after diuers and many friendly embracings, eche reioyced of the ſtate of other, and ſodainly were ſurpriſed with great ioy, comfort, & hope of fortunate ſucceſſe in al their affaires, and doyngs. Afterwarde they conſulted together how to geue battayle to king Richarde if he wouldе abide, whome they knewe not to be farre off with an houge army. In the euening of the ſame day, ſir John Sauage, Sir Brian Sanforde, Sir Simon Digby, and many other, leuyng king Richarde, turned and came to the part of the Erle of Richmonde, with an elect company of men. Which reuſall of king Richardes parte, by men of ſuch experience, did augment and encreaſe both the good hope and the puiſſaunce of the Erle of Richmonde.

In the meane ſeaſon, kyng Richarde (which was appointed nowe to finiſhe hys labour by the verie deuine iuſtice and prouidence of God, which called him to condigne puniſhment for his miſchieuous deſertes) marched to a place meete for two battayles to encounter by a Village called Boſworth, not farre from Leyceſter, and there he pitched hys fielde, refreſhed hys ſouldyours and toke his reſt. The fame went that he had the ſame night a dreadfull and a terrible dreame, for it ſeemed to him beyng a ſleepe that he ſawe dyuers ymages like terrible Deuils which pulled and haled him, not ſuffering him to take any quiet or reſt. The which ſtraunge viſion not ſo ſodainly ſtrake his hart with a ſodaine feare, but it ſtuffed his head and troubled his minde with many dreadfull and buſie imaginations. For incontinent after, his hart being almoſt damped, he pronoſticated before the doubtfull chaunce of the battayle to come, not vſing the cheerefulneſſe and mirth of minde, and of countenaunce as he was accuſtomed to doe before he came towarde the battayle. And leaſt that it might be ſuſpected that he was abaſhed for feare of his enemies, and for that cauſe looked ſo pitteouſly, he recyted and declared to his familier friends in the morning his wonderfull viſion and terrible dreame. But I thinke this was no dreame, but a punction and prick of hys ſinnefull conſcience, for the conſcience is ſo much more charged and aggrauate as the offence is greater and more heynous in degree.

The dreame of king Richard the thirde.

Now to returne agayne to our purpoſe, the next day after king Richard beyng furniſhed with men and all abiliments of warre, bringing all his men out of their campe into the playne, ordered hys forewarde in a marueilous length, in which he appointed both horſemen and footemen to the entent to imprint in the hartes of them that looked a farre off, a ſodayne terror and deadly feare, for the great multitude of the armed Souldiours: and in the fore front he placed the archers like a ſtrong fortified trench or Bulwarke:

ouer

ouer thys battayle was Cappitaine John Duke of Norfolke with whome was Thomas Erle of Surrey hys sonne. After this long vantgard folowed king Rychard hymselfe, with a strong company of chosen and approoued men of warre, hauing horsemen for winges on both the sides of hys battaile.

After the Erle of Richemond was departed from the communication of hys friendes as you haue heard before, he began to be of a better stomack and of a more valyaunt courage, and with all diligence pitched his field iust by the campe of his enemies, and there he lodged that night. In the morning betime he caused his men to put on their armure and apparell themselues readie to fight and geue battayl, and sent to the Lord Stanley (which was now come with his band into a place indifferently betwene both the armies) requiring him with his men to approche nere to his armie and to help to set the Souldiours in arraye, he aunswered that the Erle should set his awne men in a good order of battail while he would array his company, and come to him in time conuenient. Which answere was made otherwise then the Erle thought or would haue iudged, considering the opportunitie of the tyme, and the wayght of the businesse, and although he was therewithall a little vexed, & began somwhat to hang the lip, yet he without any time delaying compelled by necessitie, after thys maner instructed and ordred hys men. He made hys forewarde somewhat single and slender, according to the small number of his people. In the Frount he placed the archers, of whome he made Capitayne John Erle of Oxforde: to the right wyng of the battayle he appointed Sir Gylbert Talbot to be the leader: to the left wing he assigned Sir John Sauage, and he with the ayde of the Lorde Stanley accompanied with the Erle of Penbroke hauing a good companie of horsemen, and a small number of fotemen: For al his whole number exceded not fiue thousand men, beside the power of the Stanleys, whereof three thousand were in the field vnder the Standard of Sir William Stanley: The kings number was double as much and more. When both these armies were thus ordered, and al men redie to set forward, king Richard called his Chiefetaines together and to them sayde.

The oration of king Rychard the thirde.

Most faythfull and assured felowes and friends, although in the adoption and obteyning of the Garlande, I being seduced and prouoked by sinister counsayle dyd commit a naughty and detestable act. Yet I haue with straite penaunce and salt teares (as I trust) clerely purged the same offence, which abhominable crime I require you of friendship as cleerely to forget, as I daylie doe remember to lament the same. If you will nowe diligently call to remembraunce in what case and perplexitie we stande, and in what doubtfull perill we be in: Then, I with you, and you with me, must needes this day take labor & pain to kepe and defend with force, that preheminence and possession which by your prudent deuises I haue gotten and obteyned. I doubt not but you knowe, how the Deuill, continuall enemie to humaine nature, disturber of concorde and sower of sedition, hath entred into the hart of an vnknowne Welchman, (whose father I neuer knewe nor him personally saw) exciting him to aspire and couet our realme, crowne, and dignity, and thereof clerely to depriue and spoyle vs and our posteritie: ye see farther how a companie of traytors, theefes, outlawes, and runnagates of our awne nation be ayders and partakers of his fact and enterprise, redie at hande to ouercome

ouercome and oppresse vs: You see also what a number of beggerly Britons and faynt harted Frenchmen be with him arriued to destroy vs, our wyfes and children. Which imminent mischiefes and apparaunt inconueniences, if we will withstande and refell, we must liue together like brethren, fight together lyke Lyons, and feare not to die together lyke mey. And if you consider and wisely ponder all things in your minde, you shall perceyue that we haue manifest causes, and apparaunt tokens of triumph and victorie. And to begin with the Erle of Richmond Capitayne of thys rebellion, he is a Welche milksop, a man of small courage and of lesse experience in martiall actes and feates of warre, brought vp by my brothers meanes and mine lyke a Captiue in a close cage in the Court of Fraunces Duke of Britayne, and neuer sawe armie, nor was exercised in marciall affaires, by reason whereof he neyther can nor is able of hys awne wyt or experience to guyde or rule an hoste. For in the wyt and pollecie of the Capitayne, consisteth the chiefe adeption of the victorie and ouerthrowe of the enemies: wherfore aduaunce forth your standards, and euery one geue but one sure stroke, and surely the iourney is oures. And as for me, I assure you, this day I will triumph by victorie, or suffer death for immortall fame.

This exhortacion encouraged al such as fauoured him, but such as were present more for dreade then loue, kissed them openly, whome they inwardely hated, other sware outwardely to take part with such, whose death they secretlye compassed, and inwardely imagined, other promised to inuade the kings enemies, which fled and fought with fierce courage against the king: other stoode still and loked on, entendyng to take parte wyth the victors, and ouercommers. So was his people to him vnsure and vnfaythfull at his ende, as he was to his Nephewes vntrue and vnnaturall in his beginning.

When the Erle of Richmond knew by his foreriders that the king was so nere embattayled, he rode about his armye, from ranke to ranke, from wing to wyng, geuyng comfortable wordes to all men, and that finished (beyng armed at all peces sauyng his helmet) mounted on a litle hill so that all his people might see and beholde him perfitly, to there great reioysing. For he was a man of no great stature, his countenaunce was cherefull and couragious, his heare yelow, like the burnished golde, his eies gray, shinyng, and quicke, prompte and readie in aunswering, but of such sobrietie, that it could neuer be iudged whether he were more dull then quicke in speaking (such was his temperaunce.) And when he had ouer loked his armie ouer euery side, he pawsed a while, and after with a lowde voyce, and bolde spirit spake to his companions, these or like wordes folowyng.

The oration of king Henry the seuenth

If euer God gaue victory to men fighting in a iust quarrel: or if he euer ayded such as made warre for the welth, and tuition of there owne naturall countrey: or if he euer succoured them which aduentured there lyues for the reliefe of innocentes, suppressing of malefactors, and apparaunt offenders: No doubt my felowes, and friendes, but he of his bountyfull goodnesse wyll this day send vs triumphaunt victory, and a luckey iorney ouer our prowde enemies, and arrogant aduersaries: for if you remember, and consider the very cause of our iust quarell, you shall apparauntly perceiue the same to be true, godly, and vertuous. In the which I doubt not but God wil rather aide vs (ye and fight for vs) then see vs vanquished and ouercome, by such as neither

ther feare him, nor his lawes, nor yet regarde iuſtice or honeſtie. Our cauſe is ſo iuſt that no enterpriſe can be of more vertue, both by the lawes diuine & ciuile; for what can be a more honeſt, goodly, or godly quarell then to fight againſt a Captayne, beyng an homicide, and a murderer of his owne blood, and progenie? an extreme deſtroyer of his nobilitie, and to his and our countrey, and the poore ſubiectes of the ſame, a deadlye maile, a fyre brande, and a burden vntollerable? beſide him, conſider who be of his bande and company ſuch as by murther and vntruth committed againſt there owne kinne and lynage, ye againſt their Prince and ſoueraigne Lorde haue diſherited mee, and you, and wrongfully deteyne and vſurpe our lawfull patrimony, and lineal inheritaunce: For he that calleth himſelfe kyng, keepeth from me the Crowne and regiment of this noble realme and countrey, contrary to all iuſtice and equitie. Moreouer I aſſure you, that there be ponder in that great battayle, men brought thither for feare, and not for loue, ſouldiours by force compelled, & not with good will aſſembled: perſons which deſire rather the deſtruction, then ſaluacion of their maiſter and Capitayne: And finally a multitude whereof the moſt part will be our friendes, and the leaſt part our enemyes. For truely I doubt which is greater, the malice of the ſouldiours towarde there captaine, or the feare of him conceiued of his people: for ſurely this rule is infallible, that as yll men dayly couet to deſtroy the good, ſo God appointeth the good to confounde the ill, and of all worldly goods the greateſt is, to ſuppreſſe tirauntes, and relieue innocents, whereof the one is euer as much hated, as the other is beloued. If this be true (as clarkes preache) who will ſpare ponder tirant, Richard Duke of Goceſter vntruly calling himſelf king, conſidering that he hath violated, and broken both the lawe of God and man, what vertue is in him, which was the confuſion of his brother, and murtherer of his Nephewes? what mercy is in him that ſleyeth his truſtie friendes, aſwell as his extreme enemies? who can haue confidence in him, which putteth diffidence in all men? Yf you haue not red, I haue heard clerkes ſaye, that Tarquine the prowde for the vice of the body loſt the kingdom of Rome, & the name of Tarquine banniſhed the Citie for euer: yet was not his fault ſo deteſtable as the fact of cruell Nero, which ſlew hys owne mother, & opened her entrayles to beholde the place of his conception. Beholde ponder Richard which is both Tarquine and Nero: Ye a tyrant more then Nero, for he hath not only murdered his nephew being his king & ſouereigne lord, baſtarded his noble brethren, and defamed the woombe of his bertеous and womanly mother, but alſo compaſſed all the meanes and waies that he could inuent how to deflowre, and carnally to knowe his owne Neece vnder the pretence of a cloked matrimonye, which Ladye I haue ſworne, and promiſed to take to my make and wife, as you all knowe and beleue. If this cauſe be not iuſt, and this quarell Godly, let God the geuer of victory iudge & determine. Therefore let all feare be ſet a ſide, and like ſworne brethren let vs ioyne in one, for this daye ſhall be the ende of our trauaile and the gayne of our labor eyther by honorable death, or famous victory: And as I truſt, the battayle ſhall not be ſo ſowre, as the profit ſhall be ſweete. Remember the victory is not gotten with the multitude of men, but with the courages of hartes & valiauntneſſe of mindes. The ſmaller that our number is, the more glory is to vs if we banquiſh, if we be ouer come, yet no laude is to be attributed to the victors,

tors, conſidering that tenne men fought againſt one. And this one thing I aſſure you, that in ſo iuſt and good a cauſe, and ſo notable a quarrell, you ſhall fynde me this day, rather a dead carion vppon the colde grounde, then a free priſoner on a carpet in a Ladies chamber. Let vs therefore fight like men. And now auaunce forward true men againſt traitors, pitiful perſons againſt murtherers, true inheritors againſt vſurpers, the ſhorges of God againſt tirauntes, diſplay my banner with a good courage, march forth, and begin the battaile like hardye conquerers, the battaile is at hande, and the victory approcheth, and if we ſhamefully recule or cowardlye flie, we, and all oure ſequele be deſtroyed, and diſhonored for euer. This is the day of gayne, & this is the time of loſſe, get this day victory, and be conquerers, and leſe this daies battaile, and be villaines, and therefore in the name of God and ſaint George let euery man couragiouſly auaunce forth his ſtandard.

These therefull wordes he ſet forth with ſuch geſture of his bodye and ſmyling countenaunce, as though all readie he had vanquiſhed his enemyes, and gotten the ſpoyle.

The battaile betweene king Richard and king Henrie the ſeuenth.

He had ſcantly finiſhed his ſaiyng, but the one armie eſpied the other, Lorde howe haſtily the Souldiours buckeled their Helmes, howe quicklye the Archers bent their Bowes, and fruſhed their feathers, howe redily the Byllmen ſhooke their Billes, and prooued their ſtaues, redie to approch and ioyne when the terrible Trompet ſhould ſound the bloodie blaſt to victorie or death. Betweene both armies there was a great marreſſe which the Erle of Richemond left on his right hande, for this entent that it ſhould be on that ſide a defence for his part, and in ſo doyng he had the Sunne at his back and in the faces of his enemies. When king Richard ſawe the Erles companie was paſſed the marreſſe, he commaunded with all haſt to ſet vpon them, then the Trompettes blewe, and the Souldiours ſhowted, and the kinges Archers couragiouſly let flie their arrowes, the Erles Bowmen ſtood not ſtill, but payed them home againe. The terrible ſhotte once paſſed, the armies ioyned, and came to hande ſtrokes, where neither Sworde nor Bill was ſpared, at which encounter the Lorde Stanley ioyned with the Erle. The Erle of Orforde in the meane ſeaſon fearyng leaſt while his companie was fightyng, they ſhoulde be compaſſed and circumuented with the multitude of his enemyes, gaue commaundement in euerie ranke that no man ſhoulde be ſo hardy as go aboue ten foote from the Standard, which cõmaundement once knowen, they knit themſelues together, & ceaſed a little from fighting: the aduerſaries ſodainly abaſhed at the matter, and miſtruſtyng ſome fraude or deceyt, began alſo to pauſe and left ſtrikyng, and not againſt the willes of many which had liefer haue had the king deſtroyed then ſaued, and therefore they fought very faintly or ſtoode ſtill. The Erle of Orforde bringyng all his bend together on the one part, ſet on his enemies freſhely againe, the aduerſaries perceiuyng that, placed their men ſlender and thin before, and thicke and brode behinde, beginnyng againe hardly the battaile. While the two forewardes thus mortally fought, eche entendyng to banquiſhe and conuince the other, king Richarde was admoniſhed by his eſpialles, that the Erle of Richemond accompanied with a ſmall number of men of Armes was not farre of, and as he approched and marched toward him, he perfectly knewe his perſonage by certaine demonſtrations and tokens which he had learned

and

and knowen of other. And beyng inflamed with yre, and vered with outragious malice, he put his Spurres to his horse and rode out of the syde of the range of his battaile, leauyng the auauntgardes fightyng, and like a hungrie Lyon ranne with speare in rest towarde hym. The Erle of Richemonde perceaued well the king furiously comming towarde hym, and because the whole hope of hys welth and purpose was to be determined by battayle, he gladly proffered to encounter wyth hym bodye to bodye, and man to man. King Richarde set on so sharpely at the first brunt, that he ouerthrew the Erles standard bearer, & slue sir William Brandon his standard bearer, (which was father to sir Charles Brandon by king Henry the eight created Duke of Suffolke) and matched hande to hande with Sir John Cheiney, a man of great force and strength which would haue resisted him, but the said John was by him manfully ouerthrowne, and so he makyng open passage by dint of Sworde as he went forwarde, the Erle of Richmond withstoode his violence & kept him at the swordes point without aduantage longer then his companions eyther thought or iudged, which beyng almost in dispaire of victory, were sodeinly recomforted by Sir William Stanley, which came to succors with three. M. tall men, at which very instant king Richardes men were driuen back & fled, and he himself manfully fighting in the middle of his enemies was slaine and brought to his death as he worthely had deserued.

Sir William Brandon father to Charles Duke of Suffolke.

In the meane season, the Erle of Oxforde with the ayde of the Lorde Stanley, after no long fight discōfited the forewarde of king Richard, whereof a great number were slaine in the chase and flight, but the greatest number which (compelled by feare of the king, & not of their mere voluntary motion) came to the field, gaue neuer a stroke, & hauyng no harme nor domage, safely departed, which came not thether in hope to see the king prosper & preuail, but to here that he should be shamefully confounded & brought to ruyne.

In this battaile dyed fewe aboue the number of a thousande persons: And of the Nobilitie were slaine John Duke of Norffolke, which was warned by diuers to refraine from the fielde, insomuch that the night before he should set forward toward the king, one wrote on his gate.

Iacke of Norffolke be not to bolde,
For Dickon thy maister is bought and solde.

Yet all this notwithstandyng he regarded more his othe, his honor, and promise made to king Richard, like a Gentleman, and a faythfull subiect to his Prince, absented not himselfe from his maister, but as he faithfully liued vnder him, so he manfully died with him to his great fame and lawde. There were slain beside him, Water Lord Ferrers of Chartley, Sir Richard Ratcliffe, and Robert Brakenbury Lieutenaunt of the Tower, and not manye Gentlemen mo. Sir William Catesby learned in the lawes of the realme, and one of the chiefe Counsaylors to the late king, with diuers other were two dayes after behedded at Leycester. Amongest them that ranne away, were Sir Fraunces Vicount Louel, and Humfrey Stafford, and Thomas Stafford his brother which tooke Sanctuary in Saint Johns at Gloucester. Of captiues and prisoners there was a great number, for after the death of king Richard was knowen and published, euery man in maner vnarmyng himselfe, and castyng away his abilimentes of warre, mekely submitted themselues to the obeysaunce and rule of the Erle of Richemond: of the

the which the more part had gladly so done in the beginnyng if they might haue conueniently escaped from king Richardes espiailes, which hauyng as cleere eyes as Lynx, and as open eares as Midas ranged and searched in euery quarter. Amongest these was Henrie the fourth Erle of Northumberland, which whether it was by the commaundement of king Richard putting diffidence in him, or he did it for the loue and fauour that he bare vnto the Erle, stoode still with a great companie and intermitted not in the battaile, whiche was incontinently receyued into fauour and made of the Counsaile. But Thomas Hayward Erle of Surrey which submitted himselfe there, was not taken to grace, because his father was chiefe Counsaylour, and hee greatly familiar with King Richarde, but committed to the Tower of London, where he long remayned, and in conclusion deliuered, and for his truth and fidelitie after promoted to high honors, offices, and dignities. On the Erle of Richemondes part were slaine scarce one hundreth persons, amongest whome the principall was Sir William Brandon his Standard bearer.

This battaile was fought at Bosworth in Leycester shire the. xxij. day of August, the whole conflict endured little aboue two houres. King Richard as the fame went, might haue scaped and gotten sauegarde by flying: For when they which were next about his person sawe and perceyued at the first ioyning of the battaile the Souldiours faintly and nothyng couragiously to set on their enemies, and not onely that, but also that some withdrewe themselues priuily out of the preasse and departed. They began to suspect fraude, and to smell treason, and not onely exhorted but determinately aduised him to saue himselfe by flight: and when the losse of the battaile was imminent and apparaunt, they brought to him a swift and a light horse to conuey him away. He which was not ignoraunt of the grudge and ill will that the common people bare towarde him, castyng away all hope of fortunate successe and happy chaunce to come, aunswered (as men say) that on that day he would make an ende of all battayles, or else there finishe his life. Such a great audacity, and such a stoute stomacke reigned in his bodie, for surely he knewe that to be the day in the which it should be decided & determined, whether he should peaceably obteyne and enioy his kingdome during his life, or else vtterly forgo and be depriued of the same. And so this miser at the same verie poynt had like chaunce and fortune, as happeneth to suche which in place of pyght iustice, and honestie, folowyng their sensuall appetite, loue, vse, and embrace, mischiefe, tirannie, and vnthriftinesse. Surely these be examples of more vehemencie, then mans tongue can expresse, to feare and astonne such euill persons as will not liue one houre vacant from doyng and exercisyng crueltie, mischiefe, or outragious liuyng.

Bosworth fielde.

When the Erle had thus obteyned victory, and slaine his mortal enemy, he kneeled downe & rendred to almighty God his heartie thanks. And afterward beyng replenished with incomparable gladnesse, ascended vp to the top of a little Mountaine, where he not onely praised & lauded his valiaunt souldiours, but also gaue vnto them his hartie thankes, with promise of recompence for their fidelitie and valiaunt factes, willyng and commaundyng all the hurt and wounded persons to be cured, and the dead carcasses to be deliuered to the sepulture. Then the people reioyced & clapped their handes cryyng

vp to heauen, king Henry, king Henry. When the lord Stanley sawe the good will and gladnesse of the people, he toke the Crowne of king Richard which was founde amongest the spoyle in the field, and set it on the Erles heade, as though he had bene elected king by the voyce of the people, as in auncient tymes past in diuers realmes it hath bene accustomed, and this was the first signe and token of hys good luck and felicity. I must put you here in remembraunce howe that king Richard puttyng some diffidence in the Lord Stanley, which had with hym as an hostage the Lord Straunge his eldest sonne which Lord Stanley as you haue heard before, ioyned not at the first with his sonne in lawes armie, for feare that king Richard would haue slaine the Lorde Straunge his heyre. When king Richard was come to Bosworth, he sent a Pursuant to the Lorde Stanley, commaundyng him to aduaunce forward with his companie, and to come to his presence, which thing if he refused to do, he sware by Christes passion that he would strike off his sonnes hed before he dyned. The Lorde Stanley answered the Pursuant that if the king did so, he had more sonnes aliue, and as to come to him he was not then so determined: When king Richard heard this aunswere he commaunded the Lorde Straunge incontinent to be behedded, which was at that very same season when both the armies had fight eche of other. The Counsaylors of king Richard ponderyng the tyme and cause, knowyng also the Lorde Straunge to be innocent of his fathers offence, perswaded the king that it was nowe tyme to fight and not tyme to execution, aduisyng him to kepe the Lorde Straunge as a prisoner till the battaile were ended, and then at leysure his pleasure might be accomplished. So as God would king Richarde brake his holy othe, and the Lorde was deliuered to the kepers of the kings Tentes to be kept as a prisoner, which when the fielde was done and their maister slaine, and proclamation made to knowe where the childe was, they submitted themselues as prisoners to the Lord Straunge, & he gently receiued them and brought them to the newe proclaymed king, where of him and of his father he was receyued with great ioy and gladnesse. After this, the whole campe remoued with bagge and baggage, and the same night in the Euening king Henrye with great pompe came to the Towne of Leycester. Where aswell for the refreshyng of his people and souldiours, as for preparyng all thinges necessary for his iourney toward London, he rested and reposed himselfe two dayes. In the meane season, the dead corps of king Richard was as shamefully carped to the towne of Leycester, as he gorgeously the day before with pompe and pride departed out of the same towne. For his bodie was naked and dyspoyled to the skinne, and nothing left about him not so much as a clowte to couer his priuie members, and was trussed behinde a Pursyuant of armes called Blaunche Senglier or white Boze, like a Hogge or a Calfe, the head and armes hangyng on the one syde of the horse, and the legs on the other syde, and all by sprinckled with mire and blood, was brought to the gray Friers Church within the towne, and there lay like a miserable spectacle: but surely considerynge his mischieuous actes and vngracious doynges, men may worthely wonder at such a captiue, and in the sayde Church he was with no lesse funerall pompe, and solemnitie enterred, then he would to be done at the buryng of his innocent Nephewes, whom he caused cruelly to be murthered, and vnnaturally to be quelled.

King Henry the seuenth crowned in the field.

The shamefull carying of the dead corps of king Richard.

When

When his death was knowen, fewe lamented, and many reioyced, the proude braggyng whyte Boze (which was his badge) was violently rased and plucked downe from euery signe and place where it might be espyed, so vile was his lyfe, that men wished the memorie of him to be buryed with hys carren corps: He reigned two yeres, two monethes, and one day.

Thus ended this Prince his mortall life with infampe and dishonour, which neuer preferred fame or honestie, before ambicion, tirannie, and mischiefe. And if he had continued still Protector, and suffered his nephewes to haue liued and reigned, no doubt but the Realme had prospered, and he much praysed and beloued, as he is now abhorred and despysed, but to God which knewe his inwarde thoughtes at the houre of hys death, I remit the punishment of his offences committed in his life.

Henry the seuenth.



Sone as the Erle of Richemond returned from the field afore sayde, and was entred into the towne of Leycester, he was there by sounde of Trumpets proclaymed king of thys realme, by the name of king Henry the seuenth, which was the .xxij. day of August. 1485.

Now after that king Henry had not onlye obteyned the triumphant battayle afore sayde agaynst hys malicious enemie kyng Richarde, but also by that glorious victorie he gatte the Diademe and possession of the state royall and princely preheminence of this famous Empire and renowmed kingdome as afore sayde. He hauing both the ingenious forecast of the subtill Serpent, and also fearing the burning fyre lyke an infant that is a little singed with a small flame: did first before his departure from Leycester send Sir Robert Willoughby knight to the maner of Sherhutton in the Countie of Yorke, for Edward Plantagenet Erle of Warwike, sonne and heire to George Duke of Clarence then being of the age of .xv. yeres, whom king Richarde had kept there as a prisoner during the tyme of his vsurped reigne, and surely the king was not afeard without a cause, for he muche mistrusted least by this yong man, some euill disposed and enuious persons of hys glorie and aduauncement, might inuent some newe occasion of remuyng of battayle agaynst him, which beyng euen from his infancie with many encombrances and troubles vexed & endaungered, desired nothing more hartily then nowe to lyue in peace and quietnesse. Sir Robert Willoughby according to his commission receaued of the Constable of the Castell, the Erle Edwarde, and hym conueyed to London, where the yongling borne to perpetuall calamitie was incontynent in the Tower of London put

Edwarde Plantagenet Erle of Warwike, sonne and heyre to George duke of Clarence committed to the Tower of London.

vnder safe and sure custodie. There was beside him in the same Castell of Sherphutton the Lady Elizabeth eldest daughter to king Edward, whome king Rychard foolishly phantasying and deuilishly dotyng did entende to marry as you before haue heard, but the Damosell did not only disagree and refuse that matrimony, but abhorred and detested greatly his abhominable desire. At the which most importunate and detestable concupiscence, the common people of the realme so much grudged and maligned that they did not onely attribute the fault and crime to the king, but much more cryed out and blamed hys priue Counsaylors which did not dissent, but consent to so pernitious a counsayle, and so shamefull a conclusion: But God of his onely goodnesse preserued the christian minde of that vertuous and good Virgyn, and from that shamefull and filthie act, did graciously protect and defend her: The which Lady not long after accompanied with a great number as wel of noble men as honorable Matrons, was with good spede conueyed to London and brought to her mother.

King Henry entereth into London.

In the meane season, the king remoued forward by iorneys towarde London, and euen as he passed, the common people on euerye side of the wayes assembled in great numbers, and with great ioy clapped their handes and showted, cryyng king Henry, king Henry. But when he approched nere the Citie, the Maior, the Senate, and the Magistrates of the same beyng all clothed in Violet, met him at Shordiche, and not onely saluted and welcomed hym with one voyce in generall, but euery person particularly preased and aduaunced himselfe, gladly to touch and kisse that victorious handes which had ouercome so monstruous and cruell a tyraunt, geuing laudes and praysings to almyghtie God, and rendering immortall thankes to hym, by whose meane & industrie the cõmon welth of the realme was preserued from final destruction & perpetuall calamitie, & the authors of the mischiefe rooted vp and plucked away. And with great pompe and triumph he rode thorough the Citie to the Cathedrall Church of Saint Paule, where he offred hys three Standardes. In the one was the ymage of Saint George, in the second was a red fierie Dragon, beaten vpon white and greene Sarcenet, the thirde was of yelowe Tarterne, in the which was paynted a dunne Cowe. After hys prayers sayde and Te deum song, he departed to the Bysshops Palace and there soiourned a season, during which time, playes, pastymes and pleasures, were shewed in euery part of the Citie.

When these solempnities and geuing of thanks were done and passed: according as other kings had bene accustomed, he congregated together the sage Counsaylors of hys realme: in which counsayle lyke a Prince of iust fayth and true of promise, detesting all intestine and ciuill hostilitie, appointed a daye to ioyne in matrimonye the Ladye Elizabeth heyre of the house of Yorke, with his noble personage heyre to the lyne of Lancaster: which thing not onely reioysed and comforted the hartes of the nobles and gentlemen of the realme, but also gayned the fauour and good myndes of all the common people, much extolling and praysing the kings constaunt fidelitie, and his pollitique deuise, thinking surely that the daye was now come that the seede of seditious factions, and the fountayne of ciuill dissention should be stopped, banished, and cleerely extinguished.

After thys, he with great pompe was conueyed to Westminster, and there

there the thirtie daye of October was with all ceremonies accustomed, annoynted and crowned kyng by the whole assent as well of the commons as of the Nobilitie, and was named king Henry the seuenth of that name, Frederike the thirde then beyng Emperour of Almayne, Maximilian hys sonne then beyng newely elected king of Romaynes, Charles the eyght reygning ouer the French nation, and Iames the thirde rulyng the realme of Scotlande. Which kingdome he obteyned and enioyed as a thing by God elected and prouided, & by hys especiall fauour and gracious aspect compassed and achecued. In so much that men commonly reported that .797. yeres passed, it was by a heauenly voyce reuealed to Cadwalader last king of Britons that his stock and progeny should reigne in thys land and beare dominyon agayne: Wherevpon most men were perswaded in their awne opinion that by this heauenly voyce he was prouided and ordeyned long before to enioy and obteyne this kingdome, which thing king Henry the first did also shew before, as you haue heard declared. Wherefore he beyng by right and iust tytle of temporall inheritaunce, and by the prouision of deuine puruayaunce thus crowned and proclaymed king: First of all vsyng the antique example of the Athenians, which is to pardon and put out of memorie all crymes and offences before tyme agaynst hym or hys lawes perpetrated or committed, he called hys high court of Parliament at Westminster the seuenth day of Nouember for the stablyshing of all things as well concerning the preseruation and mayntenaunce of hys royall person, as the administration of iustice and preferment of the common welth of thys realme and dominion, in the which he caused to be proclaymed that all men were pardoned acquyted and cleerely discharged of all offences, paynes of deathe and executions, and should be restored to their landes and moueable goodes, which would submit themselues to his clemencie & by othe be bound truely to serue and obey him as their souereigne Lord, & who so would be obstinate and refuse to returne to hys part, should be accepted and taken as a publike enemy to him and his Countrey. By reason of which proclamation, a great number that came out of diuers Sanctuaries and priuileged places obteyned grace, forgetting clerely the diuersitie of factions and voyce of partaking. After this he began to remember his especiall friends and fautors, of whom some he aduaunced to honour and dignity, and some he enriched with possessions and goodes, euery man according to his desert and merite. And to begin, Iasper his Uncle Erle of Penbrooke, he created Duke of Bedforde, Thomas Lorde Stanley he promoted to the Erle of Darby, and the Lorde Chandew of Britayne his especiall friend he made Erle of Bathe, Syr Gyles Dawbeny was made Lorde Dawbeny, Syr Robert Willoughby was made Lorde Brooke which be in their degree Barons and Peeres of the realme. And Edwarde Stafford eldest sonne to Henry late Duke of Buckyngham, he restored to his name, dignitie and possessions, which king Richard did confiscate and attainted. Beside thys, in this Parliament was this notable act assented to and concluded as foloweth.

King Henry the seuenth crowned king

Charles the eyght french King.

Iames the thirde king of Scotter.

Parliament holden at Westminster and a general pardõ graunted.

To the pleasure of Almightie God, wyelth, prosperitie and suretie of this Realme of Englande, and to the singuler comfort of all the kings subiectes of the same, in auoyding all ambiguyties and questions: Be it ordeyned, establyshed and enacted by this present Parlyament, that the inheritaunce of the Crovvne of thys realme of Englande,

An act of Parliament for the stablishment of the inheritaunce of the crowne.

and also of Fraunce, with all the preheminence and dignity royall to the same appertayning, and all other seigniories to the king belongyng beyond the sea, with the appurtenaunces thereto in any wise due or ppertayning, shall rest, remayne and abyde in the moste royall person of our nowe soueregne Lorde king Henry the seuenth, and in the heyres of hys body lawfully commyng, perpetually with the grace of God so to endure, and in none other.

And beside this act, all attaynders of this king, enacted by king Edward and king Richarde were adnichilated, and the recorde of the same adiudged to be defaced and put out of memory, and all persons attaynted for his cause, and occasion, were restored to their goodes, landes, and possessions. And in conclusion, diuerse of the actes made in the time of king Edwarde, and kyng Richarde were adnulled and reuoked and other more expedient for the vtilitie of the common wealth were made and concluded. When all things necessary were discretly ordered and the parliament for the time dissolued, the king thought it not necessarye to put in oblivion his friendes and hostages beyng beyonde the sea: wherefore with al diligence he redemed the Marques Dorcet, and Sir John Bourchier whome he hadde left as pledges at Paris for money there before borowed. And sent also into Flaunders for John Morton Bishop of Elye.

These actes perfourmed, he stablished in his house a graue counsayle of wyse and pollitique men, by whose iudgement, order, and determination, the people might be gouerned according to iustice and equitie, and that all causes might be finished and ended there, without great bearing or expence in long suit. And for hearing and decidyng these causes iustly and spedily, he sware of his counsaile diuers noble and discrete persons, which for their politey, wit, and singuler grauitie, were highly estemed and renoumed, whose names followe, Jaspar Duke of Bedforde, John Erle of Orenforde, Thomas Stanley, Erle of Darby, John Bishop of Ely, Sir William Stanley, Lord chamberleyn of his houshold, Sir Robert Willoughby, Lord Brooke, Lord Stuarde of his houshold, Gyles Lorde Dawbeney, John Lorde Dynham after made Treasorer of Englande, Sir Reignold Bray, Sir John Cheiney, Sir Richarde Guildforde, Sir Richard Tunstall, Sir Richarde Edgecomb, Sir Thomas Louell, Sir Edmond Powonyngs, Sir John Risley, with diuerse other wise men, which as the time required he called to his counsaile and seruice nowe one, and nowe another.

Counsaylors to king Henrie the seuenth.

Although by this election of wise and graue councellers al things semed to be brought to a good and perfect conclusion, yet there lacked a wrest to the harpe, to set all the stringes in a monacorde and tune, which was the matrymoney to be finished betwene the king, and the Lady Elizabeth, daughter to kyng Edwarde, which like a good Prince according to his othe and promise, he did both solempnise and consummat in briefe time after, that is to saye, on the .xviij. day of January. By reason of which mariage peace was thought to discende out of heauen into Englande, considering that the lynes of Lancaster and Yorke, beyng both noble families equiuolent in riches, fame, and honour, were nowe brought into one knot and conuered together, of whose two bodies one heyre might succede, which after their time shoulde peaceably rule and enioye the whole monarchy and realme of Englande.

The marryage of king Henry with the Ladie Elizabeth daughter of king Edward the fourth.

These things thus passed, albeit that apparauntly all things semed to be reduced

reduced to a good poynt and set in a sure stay. Kyng Henry beyng made wise and expert with troubles and mischiefes before past, remembred that it was wisedome to feare and prouide for the crafty wyles and lurkyng traps of hys secret enemies, remembryng all men for the most part embrued and exercised in planting of diuision and sowyng dissencion, can not lightly leaue their pestiferous appetite, and seditious occupation: wherefore, for the sauegarde and preseruacion of his owne body, he constituted and ordayned a certayne number aswell of good archers as of diuers other persons beyng hardye, strong and of agilitie to geue dayly attendaunce on his body, whome he named Yomen of the crowne, which president men thought that he learned of ỹ french kyng when he was in Fraunce: For men remembre not anye king of Englande before that tyme which vsed such a furniture of daylye souldiours. Yet forasmuch as to auoyde and eschew all doubtfull daungers and perilles vnlooked for, lytle auayleth outwarde warre, except there be a sure stay, and a stedfast backstande at home, aswel for the sauegarde and securitie, as for the good gouernaunce of such as be left behynde. He therefore sommoned againe hys great court of parliament, whereto he woulde that there shoulde bee elected the most prudent and grauous persons of euery countie, Citie, port, and Borough, and in especiall such as he in al his daungers, calamities, miseries and tumulteous affaires, vsed, trusted, and fauoured, as partakers, councelers, and companions both of his wo, and aduersitie, and also of his triumph and glorious victory, whose mindes and studies he perfitly knewe to bee fixed and set in the politique regiment, and prudent gouernaunce of the publique welth of his realme and dominion. Not forgetting, but hauing in fresh memory that he for that cause principally was so sore desired, and instantlye called of the English nacion his naturall countrimen. Estemyng it as a chiefe and principall part of hys duetie to see his realme, both adourned and beautified with good and profitable lawes, and statutes, and also to florish in vertuous exercises, and good and ciuyll maners, which shoulde be an occasion to cause all men to hope, that all thing would continually amend, from euil to good, from good to better, and from better to the best. Thys sure foundacion king Henry layde at the beginning of his raygne, entending theron continually to builde.

The first yeamen of the crowne now called yomen of the Garde.

A parliament

In this same yere a new kynde of sickenesse came sodainely through the whole region, euen after the first entring of the kyng into this Isle, which was so sore, so paynefull and sharp, that the like was neuer hearde of, to any mans remembraunce before that tyme. For sodainely a deadly and bourning sweate inuaded their bodies and vexed their bloud, & wyth a most ardent heat infested the stomacke, and the head greeuously: by the tormenting and vexacion of which sickenesse, men were so sore handled, and so painefully pangued, that if they were layed in their bedde, beyng not able to suffer the importunate heate, they cast away the sheetes and all the clothes lyng on the bed. If they were in their apparell and vestures, they woulde put of all their garments euen to their shirtes. Other were so drye that they dranke the colde water to quench their importunate heat & insatiable thirst. Other that could or at the least woulde abide the heate and stinch (for in deede the sweate had a great and strong sauour) caused clothes to be layde vpon them asmuch as they coulde beare, to dryue out the sweate, if it might be. All in maner assone as the sweate tooke them, or within a shorte space after yelded vp theyr ghost.

The sweating sickenesse

ghost. So that of all them that sickned, there was not one amongest an hundreth that escaped: Insomuch, that beside the great number which deceased within the Citie of London, two Maiors, successiuely dyed of the same disease within eyght dayes and sixe Aldermen. And when any person had fully and completely sweat. xxiiij. houres (for so long did the strength of this plague holde them) he should be then cleerely delyuered of his disease: Yet not so cleane rid of it, but that he might shortly relaps and fal agayne into the same euill pit, yea againe and twise againe, as many a one in deede did, which after the thirde tyme dyed of the same. At the length by studie of Physitions and experience of the people driuen thereunto by dreadfull necessitie, there was a remedie inuented: For they that surueyed, considering the extremitie of the paine in them that deseased, deuised by things mere contrariaunt, to resist and withstand the furious rage of that burnyng furnesse, by luke warme drinke, temperate heat, and measurable clothes. For such persons as relapsed agayne into the flame after the first delyueraunce, obserued diligently and marked such things as did them ease and comfort at their first vexation, and vsyng the same for a remedie and Medicine of their payne, adding euer somewhat thereto that was comfortable and wholesome. So that if anye person euer after fell sick agayne, he obseruing the regiment that amongest the people was deuysed could shortly helpe himselfe, and easily temper and auoyde the strength and malice of the sweat. So that after the great losse of many men, they learned a present and a speedie remedie for the same disease and malady, the which is this: If a man on the day time were plagued with the sweate: then he should straight lye downe with all his clothes and garments, and lye still the whole. xxiiij. houres. If in the night he were taken, then he should not rise out of his bed for the space of. xxiiij. houres, and so cast the clothes that he might in no wise prouoke the sweate, but so lye temperately that the water might distill out softly of the owne accorde, and to abstayne from all meate if he might so long sustayne and suffer hunger, and to take no more drinke neyther hote nor colde, then wyll moderately quench and delay his thirstie appetite. And in this his amending, one point diligently aboue all other is to be obserued and attended, that he neuer put his hand or foote out of the bed to refreshe or coole himselfe, the which to doe is no lesse payne then short death. So you may playnely see what remedy was by the daylie experience deuised and inuented for this straunge and vnknowne disease, the which at that time vexed and greeued onely the realme of England in euery towne and village as it did diuers tymes after. But lo, here after, it sayled into Flaunders, and after into Germany, where it destroyed people innumerable for lack of knowlege of the English experience.

In order and remedie for such as haue the sweteyng sickenesse.

1486 2 And this yere the great Conduyt in Chepe in London, at the charges and expences of Thomas Ilam Alderman of London, was newlye edified and made. And also this yere the Crosse in Chepe was newly buylded, and towardes the charges thereof, one Thomas Fisher Mercer gaue fiue hundreth Markes.

When all thinges by the king were appeased at London, and that he had set and appointed all his affayres in good order and sure state, as he with him selfe coniectured, he thought it best to make his progresse into the other quarters of his realme, that he might weede, rote out and purge the mindes of

of men spotted and defiled with the contagious smoke of dissention, and priuie factions, and especially the Countie of Yorke, which were priuie fautors and comforters of the contrary part, and not without a cause. For king Richard more loued and regarded the Northrenmen, then any subiectes within his whole realme, which thing to king Henry was not vnknowen: Wherfore he the more studyed to kepe them in due obeysaunce and faythfull obsequie, whome he knewe of long custome to haue borne their heartes and fauourable myndes to his aduersaries: therefore in the prime time of the yere he tooke his iourney towardes Yorke, and because the feast of Easter approched, he turned to the Citie of Lincolne, where he tarved durynge the solemnitie of that feast: and makyng there his abode, he was certified that the lord Louell, and Humfrey Stafford were departed out of Sanctuary in Colchester: but to what place or whether, no man as yet could tell. For which cause the king little regardyng the tale, went forth his appoynted iourney to Yorke: And allone as he was there receyued and setled, it was bruted, and openly shewed to the king himselfe, that Fraunces Lord Louell, was at hand with a strong and mightie power of men, and woulde with all diligence inuade the City: also that the forenamed Humfrey Stafford, and Thomas his brother were in Worcester shire, and there had raysed a great bande of rude and rusticall people, and had cast lottes what part shoulde assault the Gates, what men should scale the walles of the Citie of Worcester, and who should kepe the passages for lettyng of rescues and ayders.

Fraunces Lord Louell.

Humfrey Stafford. Thomas Stafford.

At the first heeryng of this, the king estemed it for vaine and vncertain, and therefore was with it but little moued: but after that he was certified by the letters of credence sent from his friendes, that all was true that was by the common voyce spoken & published, he was afflicted with no small feare. And surely not without a cause, for he wisely considered that he had neyther a competent armie redie prepared, nor harnesse, nor weapons, for them that were present. And also he was nowe in such a doubtfull place, where he neither could nor might conueniently gather an hoste together, consideryng that in the same Citie, the memorie of king Richard his mortall enemie was yet recent and liuely, and not all forgotten of his friendes, but because the matter required diligent speede, least that by long tariyng the power of his aduersaries by dayly aydes might be encreased and multiplied, he commaunded the Duke of Bedford with three thousand men not strongly armed, to do a great enterprise (for their breast plates for the most part were made of tanned leather) to encounter and set vpon them with all hast and diligence, and made him priuie what he himselfe entended to do. After this the king gathered together an hoste in euery place where he might retain them. The Duke setting forward after the fashion of an eger and fierce Capitaine, came nigh to the Tentes and campe of his enemyes, where he consulted and communicated his minde with certaine Capitaines and sage souldiours of his companie, by what way he might traine and allure them to peace, without battaile or bloodsheddyng. After which deliberation and aduicement had, it was decreed that the Heraultes should proclaime openly, that all such should haue grace and pardon that would cast downe their weapons and harnesse, and as faythfull Subiectes submit themselues to their naturall soueraigne Lorde. The which proclamation auayled and much profited: For the Lord Louell:

Rebellion.

Louell: either for some feare or diffidence that he had in his people and souldiours, or fearyng himselfe on his owne behalfe, fled priuily in a night from his compaine, and left them without a head, as a flocke of sheepe without a shepheard, which departure when it was to his armie disclosed, they put off their armure and came directly to the Duke, euery man humbly submittyng himselfe and desiryng pardon for their offences, wholy trustyng in the kings mercie and fauourable goodnesse. So by this politique wisedome and wise meanes of the good Duke, this great rage & fierce route of sturdie and valiant traytors which was prepared agaynst the king & were like to haue bene the slaughter of many a man, were pacified and represſed & brought to good conformitie and obedient subiection. And the Lorde Louell Chiefteine and chiefe leader of this tumult and rebellion, fearyng more perill and daunger, then renoume or fame of chiualrie, neuer tariyng the doubtfull chaunce of battaile, fled in all post haste into Lancashire, and there for a certaine space loytered and lurked with Sir Thomas Broughton knight, which in those quarters bare great swynge, and was there in great authoritie. Humfrey Stafford also heeryng of this mischaunce happened to the Lorde Louell, in a great dolor and agonie: and for feare, in like maner fled and tooke Sanctuary in a village called Culnaham, two miles from Abingdon. But because the Sanctuary was not a sufficient defence (as it was proued before the iustices of the kings bench) for traytors, he was taken by force from that place, and brought to the Tower, and from thence conueyed to Tyborne and there put to execution: But his ponger brother Thomas, that was with him, was pardoned and remitted, because he was thought not to haue done it of hys owne will and malicious minde, but thorow the euill counsaile and mischieuous perswasion of his elder brother.

Humfrey Stafforde taken out of of the sanctuarie and executed.

Thomas Stafford pardoned.

After that the king had thus by pollicie of his Counsaile appeased and represſed this tumulteous sedicion which greatly vexed and vnquieted hys spirites, and had reduced to reason and conformitie the rude and babiyng people of the North parties, and in especiall the inhabitaunts of the Countie of Yorke, he returned to London, and shortly after that to Winchester, where Queene Elizabeth his wife was deliuered in the moneth of September, of a fayre Prince named Arthure at his baptisme. Of which name Englishe men no more reioyſed then outward nacions and foreyne Princes trembled and quaked, so much was that name to all nacions terrible and feareful: And from Winchester he returned backe againe to London.

The birth of Prince Arthur.

1487

In this meane tyme, of a small matter and the same altogether beyng false and fayned, there was an open pathe, and an apparant high way made for a greater inconuenience to ensue. The which matter for the subtile iuglyng and craftie conueyaunce of the same, no lesse deceptfull, then lidger de meyne in the hand of a Juggler, was to be estemed amongst all wise men at the first a very bolde and ouer presumptuous an act to be attempted: But the tyme well weyed, and considered, it was not so monstruous that it were worthie great wonderyng and admiration, consideryng that many persons of late, either borne in the wombe of continuall dissention, or nourished with the milke, or suckyng the pappes of ciuill sedicion, could not liue well in rest, and lesse forbeare their vsuall custome of mouyng strife and dayly debate. Among the which vngracious flocke, there was one sir Richarde Simond priest,

priest, a man of a base and obscure familie, which from his birth delited in fraude and craftie conueiyng, and yet was he well learned, but not so well learned as wilye, nor so wilye as vngracious. Which Sir Richarde Symond had allected a scholer called Lambert Symenell, one of a gentle nature, and pregnaunt wit, to be the organe and conduyte by whome he would conuey his false feyned enterprize and attempt. The deuill chiefe maister of mischiefe, put in the wicked minde and venemous brayne of thys most pernicious, disloyall, and trayterous person, to commence, and deuyse howe he might make his childe and Scholer Lambert to bee the right enheritour to the Crowne of Englande, and so thereof to make him King, and to promote himselfe to the chiefe Archebishoprieke, or some highe potestate within the realme. The chiefe foundation of his occasion was (by the which he was the more bolde) that the fame went, and many men surely supposed king Edwardes children not to be dead, but to be fledde secretlye into some straunge place, and there to be liuyng, and that Edward Erle of Warwicke sonne and heyre to the Duke of Clarence, either was or shoulde be put to death shortly. These rumours although they were false and vaine, and without all likelihoode of veritie or truth, encouraged this Priest much, to thinke and iudge the tyme to bee come that thys Lambert might assume and take vppon him the persoune and name of one of king Edwarde the fourthes Children, and to clayme and make tytle both to the Realme, and Kingdome, hauyng sure knowlege that neither friendship shoulde want, nor ayde should lacke: and considering that cancard hatred rooted and founded vpon mischieuous factions and seditious deuisions be so perdurable and in maner euerlasting, that they can neuer be clerely expirpate or digged out of their rotten hartes, but that they will with hande and foote, tooth and naple further if they can their pretensed enterprise. And thys poore priest brought into this foolishe paradise thorough his owne phantasticall imagination, enformed and taught the childe diligently at Oxenforde where he went to Schole, both instructing hym wyth princely behauior, cyuile maner and frutefull litterature, declaryng to hym of what high parentage, and of what noble progeny he was lineally dissended, thus perswadyng and teachyng hym his lesson clarkely and craftily for hys purpose, that the people hearing the chylde thus rehearsyng hys stock so sagely, myght the rather geue credite to hys deceptfull pretence and false coulloured inuention: Sone after the rumor was blowen abroad that Edward the yong Erle of Warwike was broken out of prison. And when Syr Symond heard of thys, he now intending thereby to bring his inuented purpose to a conclusion, chaunged the childes name of baptisme, and called him Edward after the name of the yong Erle of Warwike, the which were both of one peres and of one stature, and then he with his pupille sayled into Irelande, there opening his minde, and declaring his matter to certaine of the Irishe nobilitie, whom he knewe by true fame and report to beare but little fauour to king Henry nor his partakers, and hauing othe and promise of ayde to hym sworne and made, he shewed them that he had saued and preserued the Duke of Clarence sonne from death, and had for verie good will brought him into that Countrie and region where he knew that both king Edward and al his stock were fauoured and loued aboue all other. This matter was beleued straight of the nobilitie

Sir Richard Symonds a Priest.

Lambert Symenell.

bilitie which so shewed and published this feyned fable and ymagined inggelyng from one to another, tyll at the last it was accompted to be as true as the Gospell without any controuersie. In so much that the Lorde Thomas Gerardyne Chaunceloz of all the Countrey defrauded by this illusion vnder the colour of playne truth, receaued him into his Castell, and wyth honoz and reuerence him entertayned as one that descended from the high progeny of the blood royall, and began much to aide and helpe him. First calling together all his friends and louers and such other as were of band oz affinity, declaring first to them the comming of thys childe, and after affirming that the crowne and scepter of the realme of right appertayned to this yong Prince as sole heyre male left of the line of Richard Duke of Yorke: Exhoztyng and desiring them both foz the childes sake and his awne, as he was true inheritour to the crowne, to helpe and assist hym to obteyne the Garland and possession of the same by hys Grandfather to hym lyneally descended. And soafter communicatyng the same matter with other of the nobilitie, euery man promised accozding to hys power, ayde of money, men and munitions. By thys meanes the same was shortly bruted throughout all Ireland, and euery man was wylling to take his part and submit themselues to him, calling him of all handes king. So that nowe they of thys sect thus compassed and sorted, thought to haue in other places their companions and fozthterers of their malicious purpose, and straight forth they sent into England certayne priuie messengers to desire them, whome they knewe to haue bene true and faythfull friendes to king Rychard, now to continue in their accustomed loue and faythfull friendship toward hys Nephewe and to helpe the chylde wyth treasure and substaunce as farre as they conueniently might. And that hys power might be the stronger to ouercome hys enemies and to obteyne hys pretensed purpose, he and his confederates sent messengers into Flaunders to the Ladie Margaret syster to king Edward, and late wife to Charles the Duke of Burgoyne, to further hys purpose wyth all her power and helpe. Thys Duke Charles hauyng no childzen by thys Lady Margaret, left one sole daughter named Mary behinde hym, begotten of hys first wyfe daughter to the Duke of Burbone, which was maryed to Maximilian sonne to Frederick the Emperour, on which wyfe he had engendered two childzen, the one Phylip, and the other Margaret. The which two childzen after the death of the Ladie Marie their mother, this Ladie Margaret late wyfe to Duke Charles so entirely beloued, & so motherly nourished, that she both foz her motherly loue toward the yong childzen, & also foz the good administration of iustice in their Countries was highly reputed and esteemed, and bare great authozity and swynge throughout all Flaunders and the lowe Countries thereto adiacent. Thys Ladie Margaret although she knewe the familie and stock of the house of Yorke to be in maner destroyed and vtterly defaced by her brother king Richard, yet not beyng saciate noz content with the long hatred and continuall malice of her parents which subuerted and ouerthrew almost the progeny and linage of king Henry the first, and the house of Lancaster, noz yet remembzing the newe affinitie and strong alyaunce that was lately concluded, by the which the heyres of both the houses and progenies were vnited and conioyned together in lawfull matrimony, lyke one forgettyng both God and charitie, inflamed wyth malice, inuented and practised all mischiefes,

Thomas Gerardine lozd Chancellor of Ireland.

Margaret Duchesse of Burgoyne & sister to kyng Edward the fourth.

mischiefes, displeasures and dammages that shee could deuise agaynst king Henry the seuenth. And farther in her furie and frantike moode (accozding to the saiyng of the wise man, there is no malice equiualent noz aboue the malice of a woman) she wzought all the wayes possible how to compasse his destruction as the principall head of her aduerse part and contrary faction. Therefoze this Ladye knowyng of this tumulteous sect and conspiracie, prepared and sodainly deuised against king Henry (although she knewit to be but a feyned and paynted matter and not woozth two strawes) yet (hauing such an occasion to wozke her malice vpon) she promised gladly to the messengers not onely to maintaine, ayde, further and succour their purposed entent with money and substaunce, but with all the labour and payne that she might, to encourage, stomack and entise many other to be ayders, assisters and partakers of the same conspiracie, and shortly to ioyne with the Chieuetaines of the sayde enterprise.

When king Henry was certefyed of these doyngs by messengers sent into England, no maruayle although he was none otherwise then he had occasion, sore vexed and mooued, considering that by the discepte and fraude of such a dunghill knaue, and vile borne villeyne, so great a sedition should be excited and sturred against him: Neuertheless, he lyke a circumspect and prudent Prince, well considering and foreseyng, that if this enterprise came to passe, that the finall ende would be the bloodie and mortall warre, in the which for the most part, the large campe of all mischiefe is commonly opened and shewed, many innocent men on both partes should perishe and come to ruine and confusion without desert oz offence. For which reason before all things he determined to attempt and proue, if that he might without any battail oz stroke stryken (the end wherof is euer doubtfull) to pacifie and reduce these rebels to reason and due subiection, before that this euil newly planted weede should stray and wander ouer the good herbes of hys whole realme. Therefoze he called his whole counsayle together at the Charterhouse beside his royall manner called Richemond, and there consulted how to pacifie this sodayne rage secretly begon, without any moze disturbaunce oz open trouble: which motion of all men was thought meete to be assayed and prosecuted with effect. And that before any other thing were attempted and begon, that a generall pardon should be published to all offendozs that were content to receaue the same, and after would be true, loving and obedient to the king their souereigne Lorde accozding to their bounden duetie and allegeaunce: Thinking that if that pardon were any lenger space delayed oz prolonged, that in the meane season (as the prouerbe sayeth, tarying dzaweth perill) Sir Thomas Broughton knight which had hid and kept the Lorde Louell from the king a great season, and was at hande with dyuers of hys friendes, in so troubleous and perillous a time, vtterly dispairing of pardon and remission, and as men without hope of any grace, setting all on fire and seuen, should sodainely moue a newe insurrection agaynst hym, and vnquiet him in some place, where he had least resistaunce: Wherupon the king gaue a generall pardon throughout all England (without exception of any offence) yea euen to them that had committed high treason agaynst hys maiestie and royall person. Furthermoze, after long consultation had and all things well considered, it was thought by the whole senate foz the time then present

Richemond the kinges lodging.

A generall pardon.

Sir Thomas Broughton knight.

most necessarie and conuenient to auoyde that erronious rumour, rumbling and blasting abroade, that the sonne of the Duke of Clarence was in Englande, and that he personally should be shewed abroad in the Citie and other publique places, whereby the vntrue opinion falsely affirming that he was in Irelande might be amongst the commonalty repressed, and accompted as a vayne and imagined fable.

The Ladie Elizabeth wife to king Edward the fourth condemned to forfeyt & lose all her landes because she had submitted herself to king Richard

In this solempne counsayle diuers and many thinges of the realme were there debated and concluded: and amongst other, it was determined that the Lady Elizabeth wyfe to king Edward the fourth, should lose and forfeyt all her landes and possessions, because she had voluntarily submitted her selfe and her daughters wholy to the handes of king Rychard, contrary to the promise made to the Lordes and nobles of this realme in the beginning of the conspiracie imagined agaynst king Richarde, which at her desire and request left all that they had in Englande, and fled to king Henry into Britayne, and there receaued a corporall othe of him to mary her eldest daughter, which offer shee abode not by, but made it frustrate and voyde, through whose double doynges it had like to haue succeded, that neyther the mariage could take place, nor yet the Noble men which at her request tooke king Henryes part, might not returne agayne without ieopardie of lyfe, but liue still in perpetuall banishment and miserable exile. This was a greeuous offence and a heynous cryme: howbeit the sequele thereof well digested, it was thought by some men that she deserued not by equitie of iustice so great a losse and so great a punishment: For surely she did not so great hurt or hinderaunce to king Henry and his confederates by her reconcilation to king Richard, but ten times more she profited and aduaunced their cause. For by her submission made to hym, he neglecting Gods lawes, honest order and christian religion, presuming to heape mischiefe vpon mischief, desyred of her the mariage of her daughter his natural nece, which thing he would not haue thought lykely to haue obteined: The Queene & her daughters still for feare of him continuyng in Sanctuarie. Which vnlawfull desire (considering for that entent he had rid his wyfe out of the worlde) prouoked the yre of God and the swoorde of vengeaunce agaynst him, whereby his fynall ruyne and destruction shortly after ensued to his miserable confusion, and to the exaltation of king Henry and auauncement of his whole company.

The death of the Lady Elizabeth wife of king Edwarde the fourth.

By this folly and inconstancie of the Queene, shee incurred the hatred and displeasure of many men, & for that cause liued after in ỳ Abbey of Barmandsey beside Southwarke, a wretched and a miserable life, where not many yeres after she deceased, and is buryed with her husband at Windsore. Such are all worldly chaunces, nowe in prosperitie and aboundaunce, mutable and chaungeable, and full of inconstancie: And in aduersitie often chaunge from euill to good and so to better, to the entent that they that be in welth and flowe in the abundaunce of all thinges, shall not thinke themselues in suretie to tary still in that degree and state: and that they that be in miserie and calamitie shall not despayre and mistrust God, but liue in hope, that a better day of comfort and gaine will once appere and come. And yet although fortune ruleth many things at her will and pleasure, yet one worke that this Queene hath made cannot bee forgotten nor put in obliuion. At what tyme that king Edwarde her husband reigned, she founded and erected a notable

a notable College in the vniuersitie of Cambridge, for the findyng of scholers desirous of good lyterature and learnyng, and endued it with sufficient possessions for the long maintenaunce of the same, which at this day is called the Queenes College, a name surely meete for such a place, wherein scholers diligently studiyng in all doctrine and sciences, proue excellent Clerkes, and come to great honoures.

The queenes college in Cambridge.

When all thinges in this counsaile were seriously concluded and agreed to the kings minde, he returned to the Citie of London, geuyng in commaundement that the next Sunday ensuyng, Edward the yong Erle of Warwike should be brought from the Tower through the streetes of London, to the Cathedrall Church of Saint Paule. This yong Gentleman (as he was commaunded) shewyng himselfe openly to euery bodie in the Procession time tarryed there the highe masse, hauyng communication openly with many noble men, and with them in especially that were suspected, and thought to haue bene partakers of the commocion against the king, to this purpose and effect, that they might perceyue the fonde Irishemen, for a vaine shadowe and vntrue fiction vnaduisedly to procure and moue warre agaynst him and hys realme, without any iust cause or lawfull occasion. Howbeit to euill disposed persones or braineleese men, this medicine nothing auayled nor profited. For the Erle of Lyncolne sonne to John de la Pole Duke of Suffolke, and Elizabeth sister to king Edward the fourth, thynkyng it not meete to neglect and omit so open an occasion of newe trouble and mischiefe offered, determined to vpholde, fortefie, and bolster the entent and purpose of the Irishe men, least that they might be seduced, and caused to desist and leaue off their begon enterprise: And doubtlesse the man beyng of great wit and intelligence, and of no small iudgement, but halfe infected with the venemous scab of the late ciuile battaile, could not with a quiet mynde suffer king Henrie beyng principall head of the contrary faction to reigne in quiet, but consultyng with Sir Thomas Broughton, and certeine other of his trustie friendes, purposed to saile into Flaunders to his Aunt the Lady Margaret Duchesse of Burgoin, late wife to Duke Charles, trustyng by her helpe to make a puyssaunt army of men, and to ioyne with the Companions of the new rayled sedition. Therfore, after that the king had dissolued ỳ Parliament, which then was holden: he fled secretly into Flaunders to the Ladie Margaret, where Fraunces Lorde Louell landed certaine dayes before. And there they beyng altogether, euery man accordyng to his minde reasoned, and debated what was best to do. After long communication had, this finall conclusion was agreed vpon, that the Erle of Lyncolne and the Lorde Louell shoulde go to Ireland, and there attende vpon her counterfeyt nephewe, and to honour him as a king, and with power of the Irishemen to bring him into England, and sending for all theyr friendes, should without delay geue battaile vnto king Henry: So if their doynges had good and prosperous successe, then the foresayde Lambert (misnamed the Erle) should by the consent of the Counsayle be deposed, and Edward the true Erle of Warwicke to be deliuered out of prison, and after by the authority and ayde of his friendes of the Nobilitie, should be published, proclaymed, and annoynted king.

Edward Erle of Warwicke shewed openly thorough the streetes of London.

The Erle of Lyncolne sonne to John de la Poole Duke of Suffolke.

Elizabeth sister to king Edward the fourth.

Fraunces lord Louell.

But king Henry thinking his Nobles to be well appeased with the sight of Edward the very sonne of the Duke of Clarence, nothing mistrustyng any

man to be so foolishe to inuent, feigne, or counterfeit any thing more of him, or any so mad or vndiscrete (especially of his realme) as to beleue that Lambert was verye Edwarde, onelye myndyng the suppressyng of the wretched Irishe men, studyed how to subdue and represse there bolde enterprise. And heeryng sodeinely that the Erle of Lincolne with other were fled, and gone to his aduersaryes, beyng therewith sodeinly moued: thought euen wyth strong hand and marciall power to ouercome his enemies and cruell willers, whose maliciousnesse he could by no counsaile nor pollicie eschew nor auoide. And beyng thus determined, he commaunded certeine of his Capitaynes to prepare an hoste of men out of euery part of his Realme, and them to bryng and conduite into one place assigned, that when his aduersaryes should come forwarde, he might with his populous multitude and great power sodainly set on them, and so ouercome and banquishe them altogether. And mistrusting that other would folowe the Erle of Lyncolne into Flaunders, he caused the East partes, and all the borders thereaboutes to be diligently kept, that none other might escape or geue them succour. And comming to the towne of Saint Edmondes bury, he was certified that the Lorde Thomas Marques Dorcet was comming to excuse and purge himselfe before him, for certeine thinges that he was suspected to haue done lightly when he was in Fraunce. To whome the king did send the Erle of Oxforde to apprehend him ridyng on his iourney, and to conuey him to the Tower of London, to trie his truth, and proue his patience: For if he were his friend, as he was in dede, he should not be discontented to suffer so little a reproch, and rebuke for his Princes pleasure: If he were not his friend, there to tary in safetie that he might do no damnage nor hurt to him. And from thence the king went forth to Norwiche, and so to Walsyngham, and shortly after he returned to London

Thomas Marques Dorcet taken and sent to the Tower.

In this meane tyme the Erle of Lincolne and the Lorde Louell, had gotten by the ayde of the Lady Margaret, about two thousande Almaines, wyth Martyne Swarde a noble man in Germany, and in marciall feactes very expert, to be their cheuetayne, and so sayled into Irelande. And at the cytie of Dyuelyn, they caused yong Lambert to be proclaymed and named kyng of England, after the most solempne fashion, as though he were there of the very heyre of blood royall lyneally borne and discended. And so wyth a great multitude of beggerly Irishmen, all most all naked and vnarmed sauyng shaynes and mantelles, of whome the Lorde Thomas Gerardine was capitayne and conductor, they sayled into Englande with this newe feynde king, and landed for a purpose at the pyle of Fowdrey within lytle of Lancaster, trustyng there to be ayded with money by Sir Thomas Broughton one of the chiefe companyons of this vnhappy conspiracy.

Martyn Swarde a Capitaine of the Germanes.

Lambert landeth in Englande with a great power of me.

The kyng not sleepyng his matters, but mistrustyng and smellyng the storme that folowed, before the enemies arriued, dispatched certayne horsemen throughout all the west partes of the realme, chiefely to attende the comyng and arryuall of his enimies: secondarely to wayte for such espialles as came out of Irelande, and them to apprehend and compell to shewe and declare the secretes of their enemies. When he had gathered all his host together, ouer the which, the Duke of Bedforde, and the Erle of Orenforde, were chiefe captaynes, he went to Couentry, where he being, his light horsemen

men according to their duety returned & certified hym that the Erle of Lyncolne was landed at Lancaster with his new king. The which when the kyng vnderstoode was so, he consulted with his nobilitie and counsellers to knowe if it were for the best to encounter with them out of hande, or to let them dragge a while, for this matter both required counsaile and also spede. After they had layed their heades together, and well debated the matter, it was determyned that they shoulde set vpon them without any further delay, least that their powre by long sufferaunce, and delaying of tyme, myght bee augmented and greatly multiplied. And so after such aduisement taken, he remoued to Nottyngham, & there by a lytle wood called Bowzes, he pitched his fielde: to whome shortly after came the Lorde George Talbot Erle of Shrewsbury, the Lord Straunge, sir John Cheynie, valyaunt capitaines, with many other noble, and expert men of warre. For the kyng hadde commaunded, and geuen in charge before, that all persons of the counties adioyning that were able and of strength to cary weapon, shoulde be readie in an houres warning, in case that any neede shoulde require. Therefore pycked felowes, and hardy personages, and such as were lyke men, were chosen in all the hast, and of this sort a great armie was assembled and gathered together: So the kinges armie was wonderfully encreased, and from tyme to tyme greatly augmented.

In this space, the Erle of Lyncoln beyng entred into Yorkeshire, passed softly on his iourney without the spoyling, or hurtyng of any man, trustyng thereby to haue some company of people resort vnto him: but after that he perceaued fewe or none to folowe him, and that it was to no purpose to returne backe, considerying his enemies were all ready to set vpon him, he determined firmely to trie the fortune of battaile, remembryng that the chaunce of warre doth stande euer vpon .vj. or vij. & that king Henry not two yeres before with a small powre of men, vanquished kyng Richarde and all his mightie armie. And herevpon putting a sure confidence vpon his companie, directed his way from Yorke to Newarke vpon Trent, to the entent that there he (as he trusted) augmenting his company myght set vpon the king, whome he knewe to be but two dayes iourney from him. Albeit, before he came there, king Henry was in his bosome and knewe euery houre what the Erle did, and came the night before that hee fought, to Newarke, and there approched neere his enemyes, sooner then they loked for him, and there tarying a litle, went three myles farther and pitched his fielde & lodged there that night. The Erle of Lincoln certefyed of his comming, was nothing aferde, but kept still on his iourney, and at a lytle village called Stoke nigh to the kyng and his army planted his campe. The next day folowyng, the king deuided his whole number into three battayles, and after in good array approched nigh to the towne of Stoke, where was an equal and plain place for both the parties to darraine the battaile.

When the place was appoynted and ordeyned to trie the vttermost by stroke of battaile, the Erle set forth his armie, and geuyng a token to his companie, set vpon his aduersaries with a manly courage, desyrying his souldiors that day to remember his honour, and their awne lyues. And so both the armies ioyned and fought earnestly and sharpely, insomuch that the Almanes beyng tryed and expert men of warres and martiall feates, were in

all things, aswell in strength as pollicie equall and equiuolent with the Englishe men: but as for Martin Sward theyr chiefe Capitaine and leader, not many of the Englishe men, both for valiaunt courage of a stoute stomacke and strength, and nymblenesse of bodie was to be compared or resembled with his manhoode. Of the other syde, the Irishe men, although they fought hardily, and stucke to it valiauntly, yet because they were after the maner of theyr Countrie almost naked, without harnesse or armure, they were striken downe and slain lyke dull and brute beastes, whose deathes and distructions was a great discouragyng and abashement to the residue of the companie.

The battaile of Stoke.

Thus they fought for a space so sore and so egerly of both partes, that no man could well iudge to whome the victorye was like to enclyne: but at length, the kinges forewarde beyng full of people and well fortifyed with winges, which onely both began and continued the fight, set vpon the aduersaryes with such a force and violence, that first they oppressed and killed such Capitaynes one by one as resisted their might and puyssaunce, and after that put all the other to fearefull flight, the which were eyther apprehended as captiues and prisoners in their flight runnyng away, or else slain and brought to confusion in a small moment. But when this battaile was finished, and fought out to the extremitie, then it well appered what highe prowesse, and manly stomackes was in the kinges aduersaries. For there their chiefe Capitaines, the Erle of Lyncolne, and the Lord Louell, Sir Thomas Broughton, Martyn Swarde, and the Lord Gerardine Capitaine of the Irish men were slaine and found dead. Howbeit, some affirme that the Lorde Louell tooke his horse and would haue fled ouer Trent, but he was not able to recouer the further syde for the highnesse of the banke, and so was drowned in the riuer. There were killed at that battaile with their fiue capitaynes before rehersed, of that partie about foure thousand: Of the kings part there were not halfe of them which fought in the forewarde, and gaue the onset, slaine or hurt: Then was Lambert the ponglyng which was falsely reported to be the Dukes sonne of Clarence, and his maister Sir Richard Simond priest, both taken, but neyther of them put to death, because that Lambert was but an innocent poore soule, a very childe, and was not of age to do any such enterprice of his awne deuice, and the other was a priest, which yet to the entent he might remember that the stone oftentymes falleth on the head of him that casteth it into the ayre, and that many a man maketh a rod for his awne taile when he entendeth it for another, this priest for penaunce was committed to perpetuall prison and miserable captiuitie. But this Lambert in conclusion was made the kinges faulkener, after that he had beene a turne broche, and executed such vile offices in the kings Kitchyn and Scullarie for a space. And thus was all the highe enterprice that Ladie Margaret had deuised and set foorth at this tyme, turned to naught and brought to none effect, and to an euill conclusion. Of which chaunce, when shee was aduertised and enformed in the Countrie of Flaunders, she was very sorie at the heart & much lamented and bewayled, that her imagined purpose sorted to such an infortunate ende and effect, incontinently deuisyng, practisyng, and imaginyng some great and more difficile enterprise, by the which she might vexe and vnquiet yet once again the king of England & his whole region: Which purpose, euen as she inuented it, so she set it forward, as shall be shewed hereafter plainly.

The Erle of Lincolne and Lord Louell slayne.

Martyn Swarde slaine.

Lambert and sir Symond his maister taken.

After

After that king Henry had thus assuaged and appeased these matters beyng of so great a moment and weight, with no great motion, tumult, or trouble, he commaunded that no man should kyl or slay the Erle of Lyncolne, but that he should be brought to him alyue, to the entent that he might shewe and bewray both the fountayne and originall beginning of thys seditious conspiracie. But the fame is, that the souldiours would not so doe, fearing least paraduenture the sauyng of his onely life (as it should haue beene in deede) the lyfe of many other should haue bene lost, or at the least in ieopardie. This battayle was fought on a Saturday being the .xvj. day of June. In the which yere also Thomas Burchier Archebyshop of Cauntorbury dyed, into whose rome John Morton late Byshop of Elye, a man of equall learning, vertue and pollecie with his predecessours, whome Alexander of that name the sixt Byshop of Rome created Cardinall, and the king preferred him to the office of the high Chauncelour of Englande: Nowe to returne to my purpose.

John Morton Bishop of Ely.

After this victorie, then the king did execution of such rebels and traytours as were taken in the field, eyther at the battayle, or in the chace. And shortly after, he went into Yorkeshire, and there costed the Countrie, ouerthwart, searching by his espialles and priuie enquyries, whether his aduersaries gathered any other army against him, entending earnestly to wede out, and purge his lande of all seditious seede, and double harted fruyte, if it were possible, and suche as were founde culpable in any one point, were committed to prison, and eyther punished by fine or extinct by death.

In the midst of August he by iorneying arryued at Newcastell vpon Tyne a verie proper towne, situate on the hether part of Northumberland, where he taried the remnaunt of the Sommer, and being there, sent in Ambassade into Scotland to king James the thirde, Richarde Fore which not long before was made Byshop of Exceter, and with hym Syr Richard Edgecombe knight Comptroller of his house. The summarie of their commission was to conclude a truce for a time, or a long league and amitie. For king Henry estemed it both honorable & profitable if he might haue perfite peace and assured amitie with Princes adioyning and his next neighbours. And before all other, king James of Scotlande, to the intent that his subiectes hauing knowledge of the amitie and despairyng vtterly to haue anye refuge, comfort or succour of the Scottes, or other their neighbours adioyning, contrarie to their olde vsage, might the better be continued in the fayth, duetie and loyaltie towardes their Prince and souereigne Lord. The Ambassadours when they were come into Scotlande to the king, were of him both gently entertayned, and after the most louing fashion receaued and fully harde. To whome at the first he shewed the good hart and minde, that he hymselfe continually bare, and yet did intend to shewe towards king Henry, although hys subiectes were of a contrarie minde and opinion, playnely protestyng and declaryng to them his Vassals to be both by nature & wylfull disposition, dyuers and contrarie euer to the Englishe nation: thinking surely that they for the most part would neuer consent and long agree with the Englishe men, according to their olde subtile dealing: wherefore least that he should offende or minister cause of occasion to them (as in deede all men were not his friendes in Scotland at that time) he desired the Ambassadors

Richard Fox Bishop of Exceter.

to

A truce taken with Scotland for seuen yeres.

to be content with a truce and abstinence of warre for seuen yeres not onely in open audience, but on his honor promised firmely in secret communication, that he for hys part would kepe continuall peace with the king of Englande during their lyues, but apparauntly he promised that or these seuen yeres should be passed and fully fynished, that he woulde renue agayne the truce for other seuen yeres, so that king Henry and he should lyue in peace, and most assured amitie, during their natural liues. And this did king James conclude with king Henry, because that he knewe himselfe, hys actes, yea and hys name to be had in such despite and hatred of the more part of hys disloyall people, that nothing (whatsoeuer he did) was esteemed, regarded, well spoken of or had in any price: Such was the malicious hart burning of the Scottes against their naturall Lorde. The Ambassadors perceauing the hartie minde and faythfull beneuolence of thys king towardes their maister king Henry, accepted and assented to his offer, and ratefyed the same: And returning home shewed the king all the matter in order as it was proponed and concluded. Wyth which tydings, he perceauyng the king of Scots good minde towardes hym, and apparauntly perceauing that as that tempestious and stormie season requyred, it was not to hys small commoditie and profite, reioyced marueilously that his Ambassade came to so good an effect: & shortly reculed back agayne from Newcastell to Yorke, and so towarde hys Citie of London. And in the way beyng at Leycester, diuers Ambassadors sent from Charles the Frenche king came to hys presence, which declared and shewed to hym that their king Charles had recouered many townes, Cityes and garrisons which before that time were possessed and holden of Maximilian king of Romaines and Archeduke of Austrych, and that he nowe moued battayle agaynst Fraunces Duke of Bryteyn, because he kept, ayded and succoured in his territorie and dominion dyuers noble princes and high personages of the realme of Fraunce, which were Traytors and rebels agaynst him, hys realme and seigniorie, of the which the chiefe leader was Lewys Duke of Orlyaunce: And therefore he desired hym for the olde friendshyp and familiaritie practised betweene them, that he would eyther ayde, assyst, and helpe hym, or else stande neuter betweene both parties, neyther helping nor hurting any of both partes.

Ambassadors sent frō Charles the French kyng.

Lewys duke of Orliance.

King Henry well remembryng that although he had found much friendshyp at the French kinges hande in his necessitie, and that by him partly and his he obteyned his kingdome, yet for as much as he espied vpon what vnsure grounde thys quarell was begonne against the Brytones, with thys message was not well contented nor yet pleased. For he which sawe as farre in the Frenche kings brest as his Phisition did in hys bryne, knewe perfectly that he had neyther occasion by any iust tytle to inuade the Duchye of Briteyne, nor yet anye displeasure ministred to hym, by reason whereof he might iustly haue any shadow to make a quarrell to the Duke of Briteyne, but onely to delate, amplifie and spreade forth his auethorie, dominion, and possession. For the Frenche king and his counsaile knewe well that Duke Fraunces was an impotent man, sore diseased and well striken in age, and had neuer any heyre male to inherite and possede his Duchie, wherefore they determined by some meanes easily to compasse that the Duchie of Briteyne should shortly come vnder their rule and subiection, and so without grounde or

or good cause made open warre agaynst the Duke and his Nacion. King Henry perceiuyng that this new attempted enterprize nothing sounded to his profite, callyng to mynde and considering, that if the Duchie of Briteyn and the people of the same which had bene euer friendly and louing to the Englishe Nacion, and was alwayes for their entercourse to his realme both necessary and profitable, should come vnder the thraldome and subiection of the French king, that dammage more then profite were like to ensue and folow, determined with himselfe to ayde and take part with the Duke, perceiuyng well that all his affayres was nowe in perill and set in a broyle and hasard. The occasion that moued him therevnto was, the kindlyng of the fatherly loue and tender affection which the Duke euer shewed him, sith his first arriuall and entryng into Briteyne, and his fidelitie to him alway apparauntly shewed during the tyme of his there abidyng and residence. On the other part when he remembred the great benefite that he had taken and receiued at the Frenche kinges hande by his bountifull and princely liberalitie, thought it both necessary, honest, and consonant to reason, to forget the vnthankefull offence agaynst the Duke of Briteyn committed, and to perswade and aduise the Frenche king to desist from beryng and inuadyng the Duke of Britayne, least any scruple or sparke of ingratitude might growe or kyndle betweene them two. Thys matter was so doubtfull and so full of ambiguities, that the king in long consultation lefte no question nor doubt vnasked nor vndiscussed, and yet no aunswere nor no conclusion could satisfie or please his doubtfull minde and gentle hart, loth to offende any of them, of whom he had receyued either benefite or friendshyp: But in conclusion, he fell to this full determination, that if battail should nedes succede and folow, then he of very dutie was specially bound not to denie nor forsake the Duke of Briteyne, to whome he was so much beholdyng, but to ayde, assist, and comfort him with all his power, and openly to kepe from him all wronges and iniuries, and to defend and resist all his aduersaryes and enemyes. Yet in the meane season, least he should of the other part make his highe friend his extreme enemie, his aunswere was to the Ambassadors that he would take trauayle and study both to his great paine and cost, that betwene the Frenche king theyr soueraigne Lorde, and the Duke of Briteine, both beyng his indifferent friendes some gentle pacification, or friendly accorde might be concluded and taken. And so assone as the kinges Ambassadors were dismissed, he sent on message Christopher Vrswike to Charles the Frenche king: First to declare in hys behalfe howe ioyous he was of the victorie that he had obteyned vppon Maximilian king of Romaines. Secondarily, what tumult and insurrection was here in England, and howe by mere force and manhood he had banquished and repressed the rebelles and traytors, & either destroyed or brought to subiection the whole rablement and number. Thirdely, offeryng himselfe as a meane and intercessor of peace and amitie betwene the Frenche king Charles and the Duke of Briteyne: geuyng him farther in charge, that if he shou'd perceyue the Frenche king to geue open eare to his request, and to encline to his desyre, that then he should without delay resort to the Duke of Briteyn, and desyre him to be content at his desyre to endeuour himselfe to an honourable peace and concorde, rather then to warre and doubtfull dissention, which peace with Gods grace he little doubted, the Duke beyng willyng.

Christopher Vrswike.

lyng, shortly to compasse and bring to conclusion. While Christopher Urswike was trauaillyng in this commission, king Henrie returned with great triumph to his Citie and Chamber of London, hauing the victory and ouerhande of his enemyes, and rebellious aduersaries, whereof the Citizens were very glad, & greatly reioysed. And sone after this, the king bountifully and liberally rewarded all such persons, which not onely did hazarde their goods, their possessions, liuyngs, & substance, but also their liues & bodyes in his defence and quarell. And not long after, he deliuered Thomas Marques Dorset out of the Tower of London, acceptyng him to his high fauor & olde familiaritie, because his truth and fidelitie had bene tryed and proued by sundry and diuers arguments and assayes. Duryng this time, the king for the perfite loue and syncere affection that he bare to his Queene and wife Lady Elizabeth, caused her to be crowned & anoynted Queene on saint Katherines day in November with all solemnitie to such a high estate and degree appertelnyng. In the meane season Christopher Urswike was come to the french king lying at Tholouse, and of him after the most louyng & friendly fashion that could be, receyued and enterteyned. And assoone as he had shewed and declared his message, the French king shewed himselfe outwardly, although inwardly he otherwise entended, to be therwith contented and that very well pleased that the king of England should be the meane of peace, and Arbitrer indifferent betwene the Duke and him. Thys aunswere made, the Englishe Ambassadour toke his iourney streyght thence as he was commaunded into Britteyne, and shewed the Duke vpon his maisters behalfe all things geuen him in charge and commission: But the Duke (because himselfe had beene long sicke, and thereby his memory and wyt was decayed and appaired) he appointed to heare the message with other of his Counsellers, Lewys Duke of Orleaunce which was fled thether out of Fraunce. When this Duke had heard the Ambassadors declare their message, perceauing that it touched a peace which he thought sounded neyther to hys profite nor pleasure, wherefore he beyng somewhat tickled with the message answered and sayde, that it was more meete and conuenient that king Henry (considering and remembring the great kindnesse and humanitie that he had receyued at the Dukes hande) should withall the power and strength he might, helpe the Duke of Britteyne beyng by the Frenchmen inuaded with yron, fyre, and bloud, then to attempt or procure any fryuelous or vaine composition or concorde. Yea and although he had neyther receaued nor remembred any benefite done to hym by the Duke, yet should he consider that the Countrie of Britayne was in maner a Bulwarke and a strong wall for the Englishe men in defence of the French men, the which if it should come into the hands of the French nation, then were his continuall enemies next to the gate of his realme, which thing he would not suffer if he remembred the prouerbe that sayth, when thy neyghbors house is a fyre, thy staffe standeth next the dore. After that Christopher Urswike had receaued thys aunswere then he returned agayne into Fraunce, and there taried certayne dayes, declaring to king Charles what aunswere was made to hym by the Britteyns, and shortly after returned into Englande agayne.

Thomas lord Marques Dorset deliuered out of the Tower.

The coronation of Quene Elizabeth.

1488

Whyle these things were thus in doing, the French king besieged with a great puissaunce the strong Citie of Nauntes in Britteyne. And the more greedier

greedier that he was of his purpose, and the more hast he made for gayning his prayse, so much the more did he exhort the king of England with letters, wrytings and fayre wordes, by sundrie and diuers messengers for to treate and conclude a peace, betwixt the Duke of Britteyne and him, fearing least when he had almost runne his race, king Henry would put him beside hys sadell, whome he did halfe suspect to be a back friend of hys, and prone and readie to take the Britons part.

Wherefore he sent in Ambassade Barnarde a Scot borne, called the Lorde Daubeny, in all haste to king Henry, to desire him in anye wise to make some ende whatsoeuer it were of this warre and controuersie. And therevpon the king beyng desirous of the same, which had rather all things might be ended by peace then by dint of sworde, least that he should be driuen to take part with the Brytons agaynst the French nation, elected among all other three Ambassadors. The first was John Saint, Abbot of Abyndon, John Lilye borne in Luke, the Bysshop of Romes Collector, and Doctor of lawe, and Richarde Edgecombe knight, a fatherly, wise and a graue personage, which for the renuing of the olde amitie, were commaunded first to repaire to the French king, and after that to the Duke of Britteyne, to whom he gaue a long commission with sufficient instructions. But or euer these Ambassadors proceeded on their iorney, John Lilie fell sick on the gowte, so that he was not able to trauayle in so long a iorney, and so weightie a businesse, for whome was elected and chosen Christopher Urswike, and so they three sayled into Fraunce (as they were commaunded) and when they had commoned a space with the French king, concerning the forme of the peace and concord to be concluded, Rycharde Edgecombe, and Christopher Urswike, departed streight to the Duke of Britteyne, thinking, ye and nothing doubting, but they should knit vp the knot, and finall conclusion of their Ambassade, according to their awne request and desire, but all their hope was vayne, and turned to a vanitie. For the Duke vpon great deliberation, constauntly denyed and refused euery condition by them offered or demaunded. Which things, when they succeeded not according to their expectation, the Ambassadors returned back to the French king agayne, and there to him declared what was their aunswere and finall resolution, and yet making there abode in Fraunce, they declared to the king of England by their letters all their actes and exploit. But or their letters came to the kings handes, Sir Edward Lorde Wooduile Uncle to the Quene, a valyaunt Capitayne, and a Champion, eyther abhorring ease and idlenesse, or inflamed with ardent loue and affection towarde the Duke of Britteyne, desyred very earnestly of king Henry, that if it were his will and pleasure, that he with a conuenient number of good men of warre might transport himselfe into Britteyne for the aide & defence of Duke Fraunces, the kings assured and proued friend. And lest it should sow or kindle any dissention or ingratitude betwene the French king & him, he saide that he would steale priuily ouer, without any licence or passport, as though no man should thinke or doubt but he were fled ỹ realme, But the kyng which had a firme confidence, that peace shoulde be made by the politique prouision & wyse inuention of his elected Ambassadors, would in no wyse geue the bridle to his hasty desire, but straightly forbade hym to attempt any such enterprise, thinkyng that it stode not with his honor to offende

Ambassadors sent first to the French king, & then to the Duke of Britteyn.

Edward lorde Woodville.

sende the French kyng, to whome he would shew as much amitie and humanitie as he might. Yet this Lord Woodville hauing playne repulse and denall of the kyng, could not thus rest, but determined to worke his businesse secretly without any knowlege of the king, & went straight into the Ile of Wight, whereof he was made ruler and captayne, and there gathered a crewe of tall and hardy personages, to the number of foure hundred, and with prosperous wynde and wether, arryued in Britayne, and ioyned himselfe with the Brytons against the French power and nacion. The rumor of thys doyng was soone blowen into the court of Fraunce, which made the Ambassadours of Englande not finally abashed, who knowyng perfectly the Frenche hearties to be prone and ready at all tymes to reuenge and doe out rage to such as displeased them, were sodainelye afrayde least the common people coulde not withholde their handes from quarelyng or fraiyng. Albeit the law of armes and the truth it selfe did defende and preserue them from iniury. But whiles the Ambassadors were in this perylexity, and feare of daunger, and whyles the Frenchmen suspected this fact to be done by a cautel of king Henry, there came other new messengers from him to the French kyng, to purge himselfe to his friend of the suspected ingratitude, certifiyng him that the lord Woodville without his knowledge or consent, was sayled ouer in to Brytaine with so small a number of men, which small handefull, neither becommed a prince to sende or set forwarde, neyther yet coulde doe to the Britaynes, anye great ayde or succour: To the which message and excuse, albeit the French kyng gaue but small credence, yet he somewhat mitigate of his anger, dissimuled the matter (according to the French nature) with a flatteryng countenaunce. So the Ambassadours renuyng a league and amitie betweene their kyng and him for .vij. monethes, returned into Englande agayne, and shewed the kyng all such thinges as they had eyther heard or sene there. The kyng of Englande well perceyued by the report of hys newlye returned Ambassadors, that the French kyng wrought all his feates by subtill craft and cloked collusion, treating and mocioning peace and concorde, when he desired nothing so much as discorde, and warre, and that purpose he auaunced and set forwarde with saple and ower, to the vttermust point of his habilitie. Wherfore kyng Henry beyng assured of all the French kinges actes and doynges, determined now with all speede to set forth out of hande all such thinges as here before he had concluded, concerning the warre of Britayne, as ye haue heard. Wherefore he called his high court of Parliament, and there first consulted with the peres and communalty of his realme, for the aidyng of the Duke of Britayn. Then for the maintenance of the warres, diuers summes of money were graunted and geuen, beside certayne decrees and actes made for the profite of the common wealth. And assone as the Parliament was ended, he caused musters to be had in certayne places of his realme, & souldiours meete for the warre to be put in a readinesse. Yet least peraduenture he might seeme willingly to breake the amitie, which was betweene ỹ french king & him, he sent diuers notable Ambassadors into Fraunce, to certifie the French kyng, that of late he had kept a solempne Parliament, in the which it was condiscended and agreed by the Lords temporal and spiritual, & knights of counties, and magistrates of Cities, and boroughes of his realme, not onely considering the reliefe, comfort, and ayde that he hadde receyued at the Dukes

Dukes hande, both for the sauegarde of his life, and for the recouering of his enheritaunce and kyngdome, but also remembring that Britayne of auncient tyme was subiect and vassall to the realme of Englande, which countrey also hath bene friendly, and aiders to the English nacion when it was vexed, both with forayne powers and domesticall sedicion, to ayde, comfort, and assist the British nacion with all their strength, might, and habilitie against all their enemies, friendly admonishing him that he should eyther ceasse from his warre in Britaine newly begon, or else not to be grieued if he did agree (as reason would) to the iudgement and determination of the Lordes and Prelates of his realme, assuryng him in the worde of a king that his armie should onely defende in the Duchie of Britayne, not to inuade or make war in the French kynges realme or territories, but onely to defende the Duchie of Britaine.

With these commaundementes the English Ambassadours departed, and declared to the french kyng all the minde and wil of their king and soueraigne Lorde. Which message he dissimuled as litle to regard as the bityng of a flee, as though the Englishmen in the battayle, which he knewe to be at hande, coulde doe no enterprise (as it happened in deede) eyther necessary to be feared, or worthy to be remembred. The cause of his so saiyng was thys he knowyng that his army was puissaunt and strong in Britayne, and that the Britaynes had but a fewe English men with the Lorde Woodville, of whome he passed litle, and seyng that Englande had not yet sent anye armie thether for the Dukes succour, iudged surely that his army would doe some great exployt (as they did in deede) before eyther the Duke should be pursueyed or any aide ministred. And as he imagined, so it folowed, for ỹ french men so sore oppressed the countrey of Britayne, and brent and destroyed Cities, and besieged the towne of Fongeres, so that the Duke of Britaine was encouraged by the Duke of Orliaunce, and other rebels of the French king manfully to fight and geue battaile to the French army. And so the .xxv. day of July they set forwarde, and came to a towne which the Frenchmen hadde gotten, called sainct Aulbyne. The Frenchmen were not ignorant of their coming, but put themselues in a readinesse. Of which army was Capitaines, the Lord Lewys of Treuoyle, viscount of Thonars a Gascoin, Adyran Lord of Mountfalcoysse. On the Britons part were chiefetaynes, Lewys, Duke of Orliaunce, and the Prince of Orenge, which because they and other of the Frenchmen were all on horsebacke, were mistrusted of the Britones, least they would at their most neede flye. The battaile of Fongieres in Britayne.

Wherefore they discended on foote, and the Duke and the Prince put themselues in the battaile of the Almanes: The Marshal of Rieux was appointed to the vauntgard. The middle warde was deliuered to the Lorde Dalebret, and the reregard to the Lorde Chateaw Bryand, and to make the Frenchemen beleue that they had a great number of Englishe men (notwithstandyng there were but foure hundreth with the Lorde Woodville) they apparepled a thousand and seuen hundreth Britons in Cotes with red crosses, after the Englishe fashion, when both the armies were approchyng to the other, the ordinaunce shot so terribly and with suche a violence, that it sore dammaged and encombred both the parties. When the shot was finished, both the vauntgardes ioyned together with such a force, that it was marualle to beholde. The Englishemen shot so fast, that the Frenche men in the fore-

ward, were faine to recule to the battayle where their horsemen were. The rereward of the French men, seyng this first discomfiture began to flie, but the Capitaynes retired their men together againe, & the horsemen set fiercely on the Britaynes, and slewe the most part of the footemen. When the forewarde of the Britaynes perceyued that their horsmen nor the Almaynes came not forwarde, they prouided for themselues and fled, some here, and some there, where they thought to haue refuge or succor. So that in conclusion the Frenche men obteyned the victorie, and slue all suche as ware red Crosses, supposyng them all to be Englishe men. In this conflict were slaine almost all the Englishe men, and fiue thousand Britaynes. Amongest whom were found dead the Lorde Wooduile, and the Lorde Iames Galeas borne in Naples. And of the Britaynes there were slaine the Lorde of Leon, the Lorde Mountfort, the Lorde Pontlabbe and many noble and notable persons of the British nacion. Of the French nacion were slain. xij. hundred persons. The Prince of Orenge, and the Duke of Orliaunce were taken prisoners, which Duke (although he were next heyre apparaunt to the Crowne of Fraunce) should haue lost his head, if Ladie Jane his wife which was sister to Charles the French king, had not obteyned perdon and remission of his trespasse and offence. Howbeit, he was long after kept prisoner in the great Tower at Bourges in Berry. This infortunate metyng chaunced to the Britaynes on a Monday, beyng the. xxvij. day of July. in the yere of our redemption. 1488. and in the fourth yere of king Henry the seuenth.

An army sent by the king of Englande to ayde the Duke of Britayne.

When these newes were brought into Englande, the king foreseeyng what was like to chaunce, thought it necessary to hasten and set forward the matter before concluded, wherfore with al spede he sent Robert Lord Broke, Sir John Cheyney, Sir John Middleton, Sir Raufe Hilton, Sir Rychard Corbet, Sir Thomas Leighton, Sir Richard Laton, and Sir Edmond Cornewall, all lusty and couragious Capitaynes with. viij. thousande men well armed, and warlike furnished to ayde and assist the Britaynes agaynst the Frenche men. These holy men of warre had such prosperous wind that they arriued in Britayn euen as they would wishe or desire. But when the French men knewe of their landyng. whome they knewe by no small experience (and especially so long as they were freshe and lustie) to be of great courage: wherefore at the beginnyng they were all blanke, and for feare kept themselues craftily and politikely within their campe. And after that, they sent forth a small companye of light horsemen, the which to werie and abate the stout stomackes of the Englishe men, made in diuers places of the armie, skirmishes, outcryes, and alaromes. So for a certaine space they vsed this kinde of daliyng with the Englishe men, but euer the losse turned to the Frenche men. But beholde, while this warre was thus set forwarde, Fraunces Duke of Britayn departed out of this life, so that the Englishmen were in a doubtfull Laberinth, and in a great ambiguitie. For the chiefe rulers of the Britaynes, beyng some of them corrupted with money, and some stirred with desyre of deuision and controuersie, fell into deuision among themselues, so that they seemed not to regarde the defence of their naturall Countrie, but rather minded the destruction and vtter confusion of the same. Which diuision the Englishe men perceiuyng, and also consideryng that it was in the middest of Winter, in the which tyme it was not wholesome for men

Fraunces Duke of Britayne deceased.

men to lie in the frostie and moyst fieldes, they were compelled in maner by necessitie, within fiue monethes that they went forwarde, to returne backe againe into England.

After this Charles the Frenche king hauing thus the vpper hand of the Britaynes, perceiuyng that Maximilian King of Romaines laboured to haue in mariage, Anne sole heyre to Fraunces Duke of Britayne, for her ponger sister was late deade, which he thought was neyther for his profite, nor aduauntage, concluded a peace with the Britaynes. By which treatie he had the Lady deliuered into his possession, and after her deliuerance, he refusyng the mariage of the Ladie Margaret, daughter to the foresayde king of Romaines, espoused the Ladie Anne Duchesse of Britayn, by which meanes the Duchy of Britain was annexed to the Crowne of Fraunce, as hereafter shall appere when it tooke effect, which was not two yeres after.

Now to the money layde out, as concerning the charge of thys battaile. It was decreed by the three estates (as you haue heard) before that any souldiours were sent into Britayne, that for the expence of that warre, euerye man should be taxed and assessed at the summe of his substaunce, & should pay the tenth peny of his goodes, for the maintenaunce of the warre in Britayn. Which money the most part of them that dwelt in the Bishoprike of Durham and Yorkeshire, refused vtterly to pay, eyther thinking themselues ouercharged with the greatnesse of the same, and therewith greeued, or excited and procured through the euill counsaile and seditious persuasion of certaine persons, which priuily conspired agaynst the king, to put him to newe trouble and busines. Therefore such as were by the kings commaundement made Collectors and gatherers of the summe taxed, after that they could not get the money according to the extractes to them by the Cõmissioners deliuered, made their complaint priuily to Henry the fourth Erle of Northumberland, chiefe ruler of the North parties. And he immediatly vpon the knowlege thereof, signified to the kings grace by hys letters, that the people greatly grudged and murmured, making open proclamation that they haue beene charged of late yeres with innumerable incommodities and oppressions, without any defaut or desert, and that nowe there was a houge some required of them, which neyther they were able to satisfie so great a demaunde, nor yet would once consent to paye any one peny of the sayde summe required. The king commaunded the Erle in any wise by distresse or otherwise according to his discretion, to exact the money of the people, and by compulsion to enforce such to payment as whyned most at it, lest that it might appere that the decrees, actes and statutes, made and confirmed by hym and hys highe Court of Parliament, should by hys rude and rusticall people be contemned and despised. The rude, rashe, and vnaduised people, hearing thys aunswere of the king, by and by, violently set vpon the Erle, by the procurement of a simple felowe called John of Chambre, whome the Erle intreated with fayre wordes to come to reason, but they laiyng to hys charge that he was the chiefe author and principall causer of thys taxe and tribute paiyng, both hym and diuers of hys houshold seruaunts, furiously and shamefully murthered & killed. Diuers affirme that the Northren men bare against this Erle continuall grudge, sithe the death of king Richard, whom they entirely loued and highly fauored, which secret Serpent caused their furie to wade

1489

Rebellion for the payment of a Taxe.

John of Chambre murdered Henry the fourth Erle of Northumberlande.

faether then reason could retract or restrayne. Although thys offence were great and heynous, yet there succeeded after a more mischiefe and a greater inconuenience. For incontinent the Northren men to cloke this murther and manslaughter, by a violence put on their armure and assembled in flockes, and elected to them a Capitane called Sir John Egremonde knight, a person no lesse seditious then factious, and desirous of trouble, and ordred themselues lyke men of warre, and passyng by the Countryes, they publyshed and declared that they would byd battayle to the king, onely for the defence of their common libertie and freedome, which he would pluck, and by hys extreme power take from them. But when their cause should be decided with blowes and handstrokes, their furie was allwaged and cooled, their hartes were in their heeles, and their stomackes as colde as any stone, and euery one wyshed that thys tumult were quenched, which was nowe a readie not smoking but enflamed: And in conclusion euery man ranne away, some this way, and some that way, as men amased when they lack counsayle. When euery man was returned, the matter was ended as they imagined, but while they diligently laboured to saue their lyues by flight, they sought their awne destruction. For the most part of them were punished by death or by imprisonment for the same offence. For the king heeryng of thys tumultuous businesse, sent foorth Thomas Erle of Surrey, whome not long afore he had deliuered out of the Tower, and receaued to his grace and speciall fauour (as he was both for hys wyt and fidelitie well worthy) with a competent crewe of men into the North partes, which skirmished with a certayne company and discomfited them, and tooke a lyue John a Chambre the first beginner of this rebellion. The king himselfe roade after the Erle into Yorkeshire, of whose comming the slaues and sturdie rebels were so abashed and afrayde, that they fled more and lesse, which afterward were apprehended and greeuously punished, according to their demerites and deseruing. Yet the king of his magnificent minde, pardoned the innocent and rurall people, and plagued and executed the inuenters of the mischiefe, and the furtherers of the same. For John a Chamber was hanged at Yorke vpon a gibbet, set vpon a square payre of Gallowes, lyke an Archetrayt our, and his complices and lewde disciples were hanged on the lower Gallowes round about their maister, to the terrible example of all other. But Sir John Egremond, whome these seditious persons preferred to be their Capitayne, fled into Flaunders to the Ladie Margaret Duches of Burgoyne, which euer enuied the prosperitie of king Henry.

Sir John Egremond knight, rebelleth.

John a Chambre taken and beheaded.

Sir John Egremond fled into Flaunders.

When thys fooliche enterprise was thus quenched, the king gaue commission and charge to Sir Rychard Tunstall knight, a man of great wit, policie and discretion, to gather and receaue the subsidie to him due of the people, and he himselfe returned shortly to London, leauyng the Erle of Surrey to rule the North partes, perceauing well the Englishe men, not so much to grudge at the payment of the tare or trybute, as they did grone at the excessiue and importable summe vpon them assessed, remembryng the olde prouerbe, loue me little and loue me long.

Before this time, Maximilian king of Romaines, which as you haue heard in the time of king Edward the fourth, had contrarie to the minde and will of the French king espoused Ladye Marie, daughter and heyre to Lewys

Maximilian king of Romaines.

wys the French king, and by her had issue a son called Philip and Margaret which was affied to Charles the seuenth French king & by him repudiate & forsaken was so sore offended & greatly grieued with the Flemings, but most of all with the Gauntoys & Brugians, for kepyng from him perforce his son & heyre duke Philip, which neither by gētle request nor cruel manace would deliuer the son to his naturall father and lawfull parent. Wherfore the king Maximilian assembled a cōpany of Almaines & Duerlanders (for he did not greatly put his cōfidence in the Brabanders nor Hollanders) & made sharpe war on the Flemings, in the which he little preuayled. For the Flemings sent to the French king for aid & succor, which being glad of ỳ request, sent Philip de Creuecure Lord Desquerdes, cōmonly called the Lorde Cordes into the confines of Flaunders with a great armie of men, to ayde and succor the Flemings trusting by that meanes, to obtein both the possession of the yong infant Duke Philip & the whole cōtry of Flaunders. Wherfore Maximilian entendyng to allure the Flemings from the French men, began first to practise with them of Bruges, of which towne the grauest men, some condiscended and agreed to reason, requiring him to come to their towne, and sent to him with their request, the Sculd called Peter Longoll with dyuers other, to aduertise him that at his comming thether, he should find them conformable to his will & request. Upon trust whereof he entred into ỳ towne small accompanyed, thinking that the lords & Senate would ioyously haue receaued and welcommed him. But the matter turned cleane contrarie, for the light witted persons, to whome peace was treason, taking this occasion to them offered, cryed to harnesse. When they which had brought the king into the towne, saw the tumult of the people, & that no man came to their relief, they left their lord post alone, & fled into corners. The warden of the Smithes was the chiefe of the route, which bade the king to take pacience a whyle, & he should haue a gentle imprisonment, & so conueied him to the house of John Grosse, iudge of the audience. Then the Almaines were al banished the towne, & the lords of Gaunt were sent for, which taried not long. When they had the pray ỳ they expected, first dyuers Citizns which they thought fauorable to Maximilian they beheaded. Mathew Spert, one of his chiefe cōsailors & trusty friends, was sent to Gaunt, & there put to death. Then John Capenoll a busie Marchant, would in all hast haue ridden to induct the French king as their soueraigne lord, to whom the most part would in no wise agree nor cōsent, nor yet intended to dishinherit ỳ yong duke Phylip of his grandfathers inheritance.

Maximilian taken prisoner in the towne of Bruges.

Mathew Spert.

When execution was done of the wise and sad counsaylers, the newe made rulers caused their Prince king Maximilian to be brought to ỳ towne house, and there they layde to his charge, that he had not obserued the treatie, which they of Gaunt and Bruges had concluded with the French king. Secondarily, they alleged that he put high Almaynes in offices and great authoritie, which without their assent would haue chaunged and inhaunced their coyne and money to their great preiudice and detriment. Many other fond and foolishe articles they layde to him, which the eares of euery honest creature knowyng the duetie of the subiect to his prince, would abhorre and detest, to the which he so wisely and boldely answered, that in part he asswaged their malice, and mitigated their rage. Insomuch that he was more gentler intreated then he was before. For if his answere had bene to them displeasaunt,

Note howe ỳ the subiectes charge their Prince.

pleasaunt, or if he had manaced them but one worde, I thinke in their furie they would haue dispatched him out of his lyfe and lande. The Gauntoys woulde haue delyuered him to the Frenche king, but the Brugians woulde not assent. They of Gaunt desired to haue him in their custodie in Gaunt, but the Citizens of Bruges vtterly denied his deliuerye. Wherefore the Gauntoys in great displeasure departed. After whose departure the Brugians were content to set him at libertie, so that he and diuers of his nobilitye should sweare on the holy Sacrament, not onely to remit, pardon and forgeue all offences perpetrated and committed by them of Flaunders, but also should sweare and promise, neyther to remember nor reuenge the same. Thys othe he sware in the great Church of Bruges, and the Lorde of Rauestan called Philip Mounseur, and the Lorde of Beuers and diuers other sware the same, adding therebnto, that if he did attempt any thing contrary to his othe and promise, then they sware to take part with the good townes of Flaunders agaynst him and his adherents. And vpon this promise he was deliuered, and frankly set at libertie.

Frederick the Emperor

But Fredericke the Emperour coulde not forget the reproch and despite that was shewed to him in his sonne, & the great iniury and wrong that was done to his sonne, partlye to his dishonour, scourged Flaunders wyth sharpe warre and mortall afflictions (Maximilian lyng in quiet, and nothing attemptyng) but Philip Mounseur, Lord of Rauestan, the which toke his othe with kyng Maximilian, to shew that the warre was renouate without his knowlege and assent, forsooke Maximilian his Lorde, and tooke the townes of Yper & Scleuse with both the Castles of the same Hauen, which he manned, and vitepled, & kept two yeres against the power of Maximilian till he rendred them to Sir Edward Powynynges, sent thether by the kynge of Englande, as you shall hereafter well perceyue. Beside this, the forsayd Philip not only exacted and stirred the Gauntoys, Brugians & other townes of Flaunders, to rebell against their soueraigne Lorde, but also sente to the Lorde Cordes to ayde him to conquere such townes of Flaunders, as were not of their opinion and confederacy. This Lorde Cordes, which vntruelye reuolted from Duke Charles of Burgoyne, beyng his bringer vp and chiefe preferrer to Lewys the French kyng (as you haue heard before) was glad of this, and so sent to the ayde of the Flemings eight thousande Frenchmen, willyng them to take and conquer such townes, as were in the way betwene Fraunce and Burges, or Calice and Burges. The Captaynes folowyng his deuyse, besieged a litle walled towne, called Dipenew, to whome came foure thousande Flemynges with vittayle and artillery, sent from Philippe Mounseur. They layde siege on the Northside of the towne in a Marysh grounde, then beyng drie, and so deepely ditched their campe, and so highlye trenched it, on which trench they layde their Ordinaunce, that it was in maner impossible to enter into their campe, or to doe them anye displeasure or damnage. The kyng of Englande was dayly aduertised of these doynges, which nothing lesse desired then to haue the Englishe pale and territory enuironed with French fortresses. For he perceaued well that if the Frenchemen gat Dipenewe, they woulde afterwarde assayle Newport and Graueling, and consequentlye, what with force, and what with corrupcion of rewardes, their purpose was to haue the possession of Duke Philippe and all Flaunders.

Flaunders, which should not be to the profit of him nor his subiectes. Wherfore sodainely with great expedition he sent ouer to the Lorde Dawbeney to Calice, the Lord Morley with a Crew of valiaunt archers and souldiours to the number of a thousand men, wyth priuy instructions, what they should do.

When they were landed, they pupblished and saide that they came to defende the English pale, if the Frenchmen or Fleminges woulde attempt any maistryes there. But their enterprise was all otherwise. For on a Tuesday at the shuttyng of the gates at night, the Lorde Dawbeney Chiefetayne of the army, the Lorde Morley, Sir James Tirrell, Capitayne of Guysnes, Sir Henry Willoughby, Sir Gylbert Ta'bot, Sir Humfrey Talbot, Marshall of Calice, and diuers other Knightes, and Esquiers, and other of the garrison of Hammes, Guysnes and Calice, to the number of two thousande men, or there about, issued priuily out of Calice, and passed the water of Graueling in the morning betymes, and left there for a stale and to kepe the passage, sir Humfrey Talbot with fiue score Archers, and came to Newport, where they found the soueraigne of Flaunders, with fyue hundred Almaines, and there they commoned, and pansed that night.

On the next day as they came secretly toward Depinew (see the chaūce) at a place of execucion, neere the high way, was a Gauntoys (which was come out of the army for a spie, and apprehended by them of Dipenew) led to hangyng which amongst the English men knewe sir James Tyrrell, and called to hym for comfort and succour, promising him that if he would saue hys lyfe, he would guyde them where they should enter on the Gauntoys, to their honour and aduauntage, and he would be the first assaylaunt of all the companye. When his promise was regarded, after request made to the Borough maisters and Capitaynes of the towne, he was pardoned but not deliuered. The next day in the morning, after they had ordered their arme, their guyde conueyed them out at the Southgate of the towne by a high banke set with Wyllowes, so that the Gauntoys could not well espie them, and so secretly came to the ende of the Campe of their enemies, and there pansed. The Lorde Dawbeny commaunded all men to sende their horses and Wagons back, but the Lorde Morley sayde he would ryde tyll he came to handstrokes (but he was deceyued) so they passed on tyll they came to a lowe banck and no deepe diche, where their Ordinaunce laye, and there the Archers shot altogether euery man an arrowe, and so fell prostrate to the grounde, their enemies discharged their Ordinaunce all at once, and ouershot them, the Archers rose and shot agayne, and bet them from their Ordinaunce. The Almaynes lept ouer the diche with their morish pikes, the Englishe men in the forefront waded the diche, and were holpen vp by the Almaynes. and set on their enemies, and slue and tooke many prisoners. The other Englishe men hasted by the cawsey to enter in at the North gate of the Campe, where the Lorde Morley beyng on horseback in a riche Coate was slayne with a Gonne. When hys death was knowne, euery man kylled hys prisoner, and slue all such as did withstand them to the number of eight thousand men, insomuch that of two thousand that came out of Bruges (as the Flemishe Chronicle reporteth), there came not home an hundred. There were slayne in the sayde place two chiefe Capitaynes, George Peccanet, and Anthony Nyewnhome. On the Englishe part was slayne the Lorde Morley.

The Lorde Morley slain.

This was called Dixmew field.

ley, and not an hundred mo. The Englishe men tooke their ordinaunce and sent it to Newport with all their spoyle and great horses. And by the waye hearing certayne Frenchmen to be at Ostend, they made thetherward, but the French men fled, and so they burned part of the towne, and came againe to Newport, where the Lorde Dawbeny left all the Englishe men that were hurt or wounded, and carped with him the dead Corpes of the Lord Mory, and buried it honorably at Calice. This field was profitable to the Englishe men, for they that went forth in cloth, came home in silke, and they that went out on foote, came home on great horses, such is the chaunce of victory.

The Englishe men had a great victory.

The Lorde Cordes beyng at Yper with xx. thousande men was sore discontent with this ouerthrow: wherfore he thinking to be reuenged, came and besieged the towne of Newport stronglye (the which Capitaine Monseur de Warwede, before Capitaine of Dipenew, and all the Gentlemen of Westflaunders, and the three principal Cities of Flaunders, and pittayled the French hoste so well, that all thinges was to good cheepe) they without shot at the walles, and brake them in many places, and they within sore grieued them without with their artillary. But the Englishe men that were hurt at Dirmewe fielde before, and might eyther stand or drawe Bowe, neuer came from the walles. One day the Frenchmen gaue a great assault to a Tower, and perforce entered it, and set vp the Banner of the Lorde Cordes: But as God would, during the time of the assault there arryued from Calice a Barke with. lxxx. freth English Archers, which came straight to the Tower. The women of the towne, perceiuyng the English men come, cryed with lamentable and lowde voyces, help Englishmen, help Englishmen, shoote English men, shote Englishmen, so that, what with the helpe of such as before were wounded and hurt men, and of the couragious hartes of the newe come Archers. and the stout stomackes and diligencie of the women, which as fast as the Englishe men strake downe the enemies, the women were redie to cut their throtes, they wanne againe the Tower, and slue the Frenche men, and rent the Banner of the Lord Cordes, and set vp the Penon of saint George. Then the Frenchmen, supposyng a great ayde of Englishmen, to haue beene come to the towne by sea, left the assault. And the night folowyng the couetous Lorde Cordes (which so sore longed for Calice, that he would commonly say, that he would gladly lye seuen yeres in hell, so that Calice were in the possession of the French men) brake vp his siege and shamefully returned to Hesding. And the English men glad of this victory, returned again to Calice.

James king of Scottes in great hatred of his subiectes.

This yere also, the realme of Scotland suffered an infectious and mortall plague, because the name of James the thirde, king of Scottes was so odious, so hated and disdeyned of the whole Nobilitie of the realme of Scotland, chiefely because they perceyued that he set more by vile borne villaines and light persons, then by the Princes and Nobles of his realme, as I haue declared to you in the historie of king Edwarde the fourth, which mischiefe, and vngrate discommoditie, after they had tollerated and pacientlye suffred no small tyme to their great grudge and displeasure. They now thought it most expedient for their purpose and welfare, euen by force of armes to recouer their former libertie, and auncient freedome. Therefore makyng priuily a conspiracie together against their Prince and souereigne Lorde, compassed his death and destruction. Yet that it might not be thought that they did entend

tend the destruction of their native Countrie, they made the kinges sonne named after his father James, Prince of Rothsay (a childe borne to goodnesse and vertue) their Capitaine, in maner agaynst his will, openly protestyng, that they purposed the confusion and deposyng of an euile king, and wretched Prince, and not the subuersion and destruction of their Countrie: by which craftie imagined inuention, they might eyther cloke or put away from them all suspicion, of their purposed vntruth and shamefull disloyaltie. Whereof the king beyng credibly informed, was vexed and sore tormented in his minde for this cause in especiall, that he should haue ciuile dissention with his awne subiectes and native Countrimen, yea, and agaynst his awne sonne beyng made Capitaine of that vntrue and peruerse company, whome next to himselfe he loued, fauored, and honored, imaginyng with himselfe that this commocion founded to none other effect, but that the head should fight and striue with the other members and partes of the naturall bodie: and yet on the other syde, not to resist shortly their newe begon enterprise, might easily encourage and enflame the malicious hartes of his domesticall enemyes, with more boldnesse to attempt farther mischiefe and inconuenience. Therefore to the intent to make a plaister for both these sores to be healed: First to appease and asswage the fury and rumor of the people, being this in a rage, he prepared an armie of men. After that he sent Ambassadours to his sonne and the Nobilitie assembled with him, for a loue, peace, concord, and vnitie to be concluded amongest them. Also he sent letters to the king of Englande and the French king, requiryng them that they would vouchsafe with their good and Godlye counsaile to helpe and assay to mittigate and asswage this furious enormitie of his rude and sauage people, which was practised and begon through the perswasion and procurement of certein pernicious and seditious persons. And besides this, he wrote to the Bishop of Rome Innocent for the same matter, in the which he earnestly desired and prayed him that he would of his goodnesse sende some one Legate to these rebelles of his Nobilitie, to charge and commaund them, that they settyng aside all warre and hostilitie, to embrace quietnesse, rest, and vnitie.

The miserable estate of James king of Scottes.

This miserable decrepite and aged king, thinkyng that both delaying and continuance of time, and also the entreatyng and hartie prayers of his friendes and alyes would quenche their inordinate wildenesse and furious rage, and perswade them to sobrietie and good conformitie, had rather with these, and other semblable medicines remedie this yong springyng sore, then he would haue it experimented, & tryed with ciuill battaile, which he thought to be a thing both vngodly and vnnaturall. For all this, no medicine, no counsaile, no wholesome precepts could appease or pacifie the angrie mindes and ragyng wittes of the Scottishe Nobilitie, so much were they addicted and bent to this folly and vnreasonable madnesse. Insomuch, as to the messengers sent from him to them beyng their souereigne Lorde they made thys vnreasonable and vnhonest answere, that is: if he woulde resigne the title of his Crowne and Realme, and depose himselfe of his royall dignitie, then they woulde common with him of a peace, or else their eares were stopped from heeryng of any entreatie or perswasion. The same answere brought the Ambassadour of England and Fraunce to theyr Princes, which sore lamented the peruerse fortune and mischaunce of their friend the Scottishe

king,

king, as though they had bene partakers of his affliction: But Adrian the Bishop of Romes Legate, of whom we will speake more hereafter came to late, and as who should say, a day after the faire.

James the thirde king of Scottes shamefully slayne and murdered.

When nothing could moue or pierce the stony harts or frostie mynds of the nobilitie of Scotland: In conclusion they met together in a pitched field, where after great slaughter of many men, the poore sely king fledde into a Mylle for succour, whether he was folowed and prosecuted, and there shamefully murdered, and vnreuerently, (not like a Prince, or a crowned king) left starke naked like a stinkyng carion. Then the Princes of Scotland being saciat and filled with the blood and slaughter of their souereigne Lorde and king (thinkyng that they had well reuenged the olde displeasures to them done and committed by king James the thirde) set vp in the trone and estate royall, the Prince his sonne, & named him James the fourth of that name.

James the fourth king of Scottes consented to the murther of his owne father.

Before this time, as you haue heard, Innocent Bishop of Rome had sent in Legacie Adrian of Castella, a man of Heturia, borne in the towne of Corneto, called in the old time Newcastell, which should haue gone to Scotland, to haue pacified by his authoritie and commaundement this troublesome businesse, moued and stirred betweene the king and his subiectes. Yet this man, although he made many great iourneyes, when he came to England, was informed of the king, (to whom he had certaine commaundements and messages to say from the Romishe Bishop) that he came to late to accomplishe the commission of his Legacie, assertainyng him that the Scottish king was dead, gently aduisyng him, that he should not moue one foote farther but tary still in England, where he was not past two dayes, but that he was plainly certified by the Bishops of Scotland of the kinges death. This Adrian taried certaine monethes after this in England, and was made much off, and highly commended and lawded to the king by John Morton Bishop of Cauntorbury, which for the good learnyng, vertue, and humanitie, that he sawe and perceyued to be in him, shewed to him all poyntes of humanitie and friendship, that a friend might do to a friend. And vpon his commendation, the king thinking this man worthie to be loked vpon, and mete to do the king pleasure, much phantasied and more fauoured this Legate Adryan, insomuch that he was Orator and solicited his cause, both to Innocent, and also to Alexander the first, Bishops of Rome. And after this, for his diligent seruice, he so loued and fauored him, that he made him Bishop of Herford, and shortly after that resigned and geuen ouer, he promoted him to the Bishopryke of Welles and Bathe. And not long after this Adryan was returned with these honoures to Rome, where he was promoted successiuely by al the degrees of spirituall dignities, into the College and societie of Cardinalles. For Innocent first made him his Collector in England, and also one of the seuen Protho notaries. After this Alexander the first had him as one of his priuie counsaile, and promoted him to the degree of a Cardinall: But who is that I pray you that will marualle at this, which aswell may be geuen to fooles and dizerdes, as to wise and learned men? There is another praise of this Adrian, and the same in maner eternall: The man was of profound learnyng, and knowlege, not vulgare, but straunge, newe, and difficile, and in especiall he was a man of a ripe iudgement, in electyng and choosyng fine termes, and apt and eloquent wordes, which first of our tyme, after that golden worlde of

Adrian a Cardinall of Rome.

of Tullie, moued men with his writyng to immitate and followe the most approbate, and allowed authours that were of eloquencie, and taught the trade and phrase to speake fine, pure, fréshe, and cleane latyne, so that by his example and document, eloquence flourisheth at this houre in all places of Christendome, wherefore after my iudgement, sayth Hall, he is not worthie to be put in oblision: but nowe to my purpose.

The Britishe affayres in the meane season, because that all discord was not appeased, began again now to flow out and to trouble, and set all things in a newe broyle and businesse. For Maximilian king of Romaines beyng without a wife, before this tyme, made suyte to Fraunces Duke of Briteyn, to haue in mariage the Ladie Anne his daughter, to the which request the Duke gently condiscended. And one, which by prorie wooed for him: to the entent that the Ladie should perfourme that she promised on her fayth and honour, he vsed a newe inuention and tricke, after this maner. When the Ladie did take her Chamber, the night after the affiaunce, she was layde naked in the Bride bed, in the presence of diuers noble Matrones and Princes, called thether as witnesses. The Procurator or Deputie for the husband which represented his person, was layde in the place of her husband, and put one of his legges into the bed vp to the hard knee, in the sight and companie of many noble personages, as who sayde that the virgin had bene carnally knowne and so the matrimonie perfite and consummate, and they two as man and wife. But this fonde newe found cerimonie was little regarded, and lesse esteemed, of him that onely studied and watched howe to surrept and steale this Turtle out of her mewe and lodgyng. For Charles the French king (as no man can blame him) was desyrous and greedy to be coupled in mariage, with so great an inheritor, and reputing the marryage made with Maximilian, to be of no validite and effect, the more busily and incessantly he made sharpe warre, and scourged the Briteynes, to the entent he might both haue the Ladie and her Dominions also at his will and pleasure. But he imagined that the king of England would cast a trumpe in his way, and be an impediment to his purpose, by sendyng into Briteyn a newe armie of Englishe men, for he had intelligence by his priuie fautours.

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A fond cerimonie in the accomplishement of matrimonie.

King Henry, and Ferdinando king of Spaine, were fully decreed to ayde, assist, and defend the Duchesse and Duchie of Briteyn, in all ieopardies and aduentures, to the entent that they agaynst theyr wil and affection should not be by force compelled to submit themselues to the subiection & grieuous yoke of the French king, for the which cause, these two Princes were ioyned in a league and confederacie, to resist, and to remoue this manifest wrong and apparant iniurye. Wherefore he sent in all post hast the Lorde Fraunces of Lucenborough, Charles Marignane, and Robert Gagine, minister of the bone homes of the Trinity, to king Henry for a peace to be confirmed and had, which when they came before the kinges presence, were accepted and entertayned after the best maner. And when they were demaunded of the effect of their message, their request was that king Charles, as chiefe and supreme Lorde ouer the seignorie and Duchie of Briteyn, might without any spot of ingratitude to be imagined or conceyued by king Henry, lawfully order and depose at his will and pleasure, the mariage of Ladie Anne of Briteyne, as his ward and Orphan, without any let and disturbance of the king of Englande,

lande, or any of his alyes and confederates. King Henry thereto would not condiscend, but still harped on this string, that the virgin, which was lawfully knit in matrimonie with Maximilian king of Romaynes, thoulde not be compelled agaynst her will and promise (beyng contrary to all lawe, right and equitie) to take any other person then him to her spouse and husband, for that it was cleerely repugnant to all veritie and lawe, both of God and man. So when they had lyngred the tyme, and consumed many dayes in vaine argumentes and superfluous reasons, without any of theyr requestes obteyned: after long debating and consultation, they were resolued on this point, least it should be thought that all their Legation had bene in vaine, & brought to no efficacie or purpose, a forme of a league and amitie thoulde be drawne with condicions, clauses and couenauntes. And for the farther furtheraunce of that purpose, it was thought necessary and expedient that the king of England should send Ambassadors to the Frenche king, which in his name, and by his authoritie might briefely conclude and finishe the league and treatie that was in communication framed and begon. Whereupon king Henrye dismissed the French Ambassadors laden with great and large rewardes into their Countrie, and dispatched and sent straight after them by his commission and authority, Thomas Erle of Ormond, and Thomas Goldsten Prior of Christes Church in Cauntorbury his Ambassadours to Charles the Frenche king, instructyng them fully of all thinges that he would haue eyther moued or determined.

Alexander Bishop of Rome.

In this meane space, Alexander Bychop of Rome the sixt of that name which succeeded after Innocent, a man full of diligence, and of wit pregnant, sent Lyonell Bychop of Concorde Legate, to the French king for certayne matters, among other thinges, gaue him in charge to conclude a peace and vnitie betwene king Charles and king Henry. When he had declared hys message to the French king fully, and had easily obteyned all things that he required, then he began to moue vnto the French king and his nobles, with a long and prolixe exhortation to make and conclude a perpetuall peace, betwene him and the king of Englande. And when he perceaued the French men to make no great denial of hys request, he determined to attempt and moue King Henry to consent and agree to the same desire and petition: and tooke his iourney towardes England, and at Calice he encountered the Ambassadours both of Englande and of Fraunce, which receyued him into the towne of Calice, with many ceremonies and great reuerence. Where after they had communed the matter a certayne space, as concerning their affayres and busynesse, they departed toward the French king, and the Bychop was transported into England. The king honorably and gently entertayned this Legate Lyonell, and gaue good eare to his pleasaunt and eloquent oration, wherein he perswaded hym with many flattering and glosing wordes, to enter into a league and amitie with king Charles of Fraunce, and the French Nation. To the which request, the king made answere that he would be glade and ioyous, if it might be compassed and brought about (after long trouble and pernitious dissention) to liue in peace and mutuall amitie with all christen men. Bychop Lyonell, perceyuing the kings minde and intent went back agayne to Fraunce with all speede and diligence (and as it was meete and decent for the Bishop of Concorde) he determined to extirpate and driue out

out of the kings memorie all olde reconynges and iniuries done to him heretofore, and plant if it myght be, in hys hart and minde, the verie goodly and gracious grayne of concorde and vnitie.

The Englishe Ambassadors then beyng with the french king purposed and set forth articles and conclusions of peace. The french men prudently made answere, so that on both parties the matter was politiquely and artificially proponed and answered. The Englishe Ambassadors, to the entent that they might assent and obtayne a fewe things, which they much desired, required and demaunded many great and diuers things. The french men on the other side, minding to assent to no one demaund, at the ende, did denie and refuse all the Englishe mens desires, and conditions, and were sore angrie and mooued with their great requestes and highe demaundes. And in the meane season, trustyng more to their Coffers then to their chiualrie, as the maner of their Countrey is, for to obteyne their purpose, they spared not to disburse and launche out treasure, giftes, and rewardes innumerable, which is the very cause that they conquere more with crownes of Golde, then with speare and shielde, or dynt of sworde in battayle. So that shortly after the french king sent to the noble men of Bryteyne great and many rewardes, solicityng and prayeng them all to become hys subiects and vassals. And in especiall he allured and entised the Ladie Anne by such honorable Matrones and Ladyes, as had the gouernaunce and education of her, to confirme her selfe true to him in due obedience and loue, and not disdeyne to be coupled in such a noble mariage, with so high and mightie a Prince, as king Charles was. And least peraduenture the Damosell fearing the rigour of the Ecclesiasticall lawes would not consent to him for offending her conscience and breaking of her promise: To aduoyde that scruple, he caused diuers to perswade and put in her head and tyttle in her eare, that the mariage made with Maximilian was of no strength and lesse efficacie, considering that it was concluded and made without the consent and wyll of hym, which is the chiefe Lorde and ought to haue the gouernaunce ouer her as his warde, and the whole Duchie of Bryteyn, assuring her that she was deluded, and that the mariage with Maximilian was neuer consummate nor perfite. And thys was the very cause that no sure concorde or peace could be concluded and agreed betwene these two Princes. And where as the french king had long kept with him the Ladie Margaret, daughter to Maximilian & her solemply espoused at Amboys, he sayde that that mariage might be lawfully dissolued agayne, because the Lady was of that age, that she coulde neyther be geuen nor yet taken in mariage, for the which cause he might lawfully forsake and honestly put her from him.

By this craft and perswasion they led and entised the fayre mayden, suspecting none euill, and brought her to this poynt, that in conclusion, she beyng proclaymed by diuers, Princes of Bryteyne, suborned and corrupted with meede contrary to their duetie and allegeaunce, was content to condissende and agree to that the French men demaunded, and not onely to submit her selfe to the French king, but also to take him to her make and husbande, by the reason whereof warre might cease, which with violencie and impression of the same, had troubled and afflicted all her whole Countrie. To this mariage agreed all the Nobilitie of Bryteyne, which helde of the Frenche

part, thinking it verily for the auauncement of the common weale and their ease, because to trust to the power of Maximilian, which was of no puyssaunce, they thought it vayne and of no efficacie. And when the French king had compassed and ordered his matters of thys fashion, priuily with the Lady Anne, he hastened the mariage with all the expedition and diligence that was possible: So that the Englishe Ambassadors returned agayne to their Countrie, and nothing done or agreed vpon their matter.

King Henry, still pacientlye forbearyng and sufferyng till such tyme that he perceaued more plainly what way the worlde went: and vnderstandyng before the returne of his Ambassadors, that the Frenchmen meaned none other but playne guyle, and deceipt, determined no more with peaseable messages, but with open warre to finish and determine all controuersies and displeasures betweene him and the French kyng. Wherefore he sommoned his courte of Parliament, and there declared first the cause why hee was iustlye prouoked to make warre against the French kyng: And after desired them of their benevolent aide of men and money for the maintenaunce of the same. The cause of this battail, euery man did allow, and to the setting forth of the same promised all that they could make. The king cõmending them for their true and louyng hartes, to the entent hee might not aggrauate the common people, with payyng of great taxes, and summes of money, whome hys minde was euer to kepe in fauour, would first exact money by a litle and a litle of the benevolent minde of the richer sorte, and this kindeof exaction was first practised by king Edward the fourth, as it apereth before in his story. Therfore he consulted with his friendes, to inuent how to gather together a great summe of money, and published abrode that by their open giftes, hee would measure and search their benevolent harts and louing minds toward him, so that he that gaue most should be iudged to be his most louing friende, and he that gaue litle, to be esteemed according to his gift. So by this meanes the king gathered innumerable summes of money, with some grudge of the people for the extremitie shewed by the commissioners in diuerse places.

A parliament

A benevolence.

You haue heard before howe Philip Mounsure, Lorde of Rauestone by the ayde of Bruges and Gaunt had taken the towne, and two Castels of Scluce and was become aduersarie to Maximilian, by reason of the three chiefe Cities of Flaunders: Nowe ye shall vnderstande that he did not onelye so fortifie as well with munitions as men, both the towne and the two Castels, but also gat into the Hauen diuerse shippes and Barkes, and by this meanes he spoyled and toke prisoners all nations, passing eyther by sea or by lande to the mart at Andwarp, or into Brabant, Zealande, or Frislande, and was euer plentifully victuyled out of Fraunce and Picardy to the great damage of the Englishe men, which were spoyled dayly, and taken prisoners: Which thing Maximilian king of Romaines could not well remedy, nor the kyng of Englande without great cost and losse of men. For to it behoued an armie, both by sea and lande, for when hee was set for by lande, he fled to the sea: And when he was chased on the sea, he sought refuge in his two stronge Towers, and euer he had succours from Bruges and Gaunt. Nowe was a litle towne two myle from Bruges, and a hed lying to Scluce. The king of Romanes did oftentymes attempt the apprehending of this towne, to the entent that the Brugians should haue no recourse to the Hauen of Scluce, nor

Philip Mounsure.

nor the Sluysians should haue no succour out of the towne of Bruges. But there were slayne a great number of gentlemen of Germany, for they within made no signe of defence, till all their enemies were in their daunger, and so slewe and destroyed them. There was a great Duke in Almayne, called Duke Albert of the vpper Saxony, a great friend to the king of Romaynes, which made himselfe Neuter, and neuer intermitted with the affayres of Flaunders, a man of no lesse policy, then valiaunt hardinesse. This Duke required of the Lordes of Bruges, that he might enter peaceablye into their towne, according to his estate, with a certayne number of men of armes to communicate with them diuers matters of great weyght, and of no smal importaunce, and sent before his cariages and herbingers to make prouision. The estates of Bruges little doubted to admit so small a nũber into so populous a company, ye though the number were double, and especially, because they heard saye that he would lodge in the towne all night, wherefore no man thought of that craftie policie that he had inuented. His elected and warlike company entred into the Citie in good order, and he folowed, they that went before enquired after Innes and lodgings, as though they would repose themselues there all night, and so went forth still in order asking for lodging, till they came to the gate that goeth directly towarde the forsayde towne of Dam, distant from Bruges a Flemish mile, which is called the Bulwarke of Bruges. The Capitaynes and inhabitantes of the towne of Dam suspecting no harme to come out of Bruges, thinkyng that their friendes knowyng some sodayne chaunce comming, to haue sent to them aide and succours, and so nothing mistrusting, did let them enter, and toke the towne of Damme, and so that towne, which coulde not be wonne by force of armes, was by a slight and policy attrapped and surprised, to the great detriment, and displeasure of the towne of Bruges, for now had they no recourse to the Sea, which stop so continuyng, no doubt, but the towne of Bruges muste nedes fall in ruyne and vtter decay.

When Duke Albert of Saxony had gotten Dam, he certefied the kyng of Englande that he would besiege Sluyse by lande, if it pleased his maiestie to minister any ayde by the sea. King Henry which was wise, and forecastyng in all his affaires, remembring that Sluyse was the denne of theues to them that trauerse the seas towarde the East parties, incontinent dispatched sir Edwarde Downinges, (a valiaunt Knight and hardie Captayne) wyth twelue shippes well furnished with bolde souldiours, and strong artillerye. Which sir Edwarde sayled into the hauen, and kept Philip Mounsure from sertyng by the sea. The Duke of Saxon besieged the one Castell, lying in a Church ouer against it, and the English men assaulted the lesse Castel dayly, and issued out of the shippes at the ebbe, and although they stoode in the water to the knees, yet they neuer gaue their enemies one day to rest or play by the space of .xx. dayes, and euery day slue some of their aduersaries, and on the Englishe part were slaine, Uerre brother to the Erle of Oxford and fiftie mo.

The Lord Philip of Rauestone, had made a bridge of Boates betweene both the Castelles, by the which one might succor the other. Which Bridge the English men in a night set on fyre. Then he perceiuyng that he must nedes leese his Castelles by force, and that the Flemynges coulde not ayde him,

yelded the Castels to Sir Edward Powynyngs, and the towne to the Duke of Saxony, vpon certaine conditions. When the Duke and the English Capitaine met in the towne, there was betwene them great salutations and sir Edward kept the Castelles a while, of whome the Almanes demaunded stipend and salary, because that the Duke had nothing to pay. Then these two Capitaines so handled them of Bruges, that they were content not onely to submit themselues to the Lorde Maximilian, but also to pay and dispatche the Almaynes. And so sir Edward Powninges tarved there a long space, and returned to the king before Boleyn. And so they which by reasonable order, would not be gouerned: by vnreasonable conditions were brought to conformitie and order.

The recouerie of the Citie of Granado from the Turkes.

The.vi. day of Aprill this present yere, the king commaunded all the nobilitie of his realme, to assemble at the Cathedrall Churche of Saint Paule in London, where after Te Deum solempnly song, the Archbishop of Cauntorbury standyng on the steppes before the Queere dore, declared to the people, howe the famous Citie of Granado, which many yeres had beene possessed of the Moores or Mawritane nation, beyng infidels & vnchristined people, and nowe of late besieged by a great tyme by Donfernando and Elizabeth his wife, king and Queene of Spaine, Aragon and Castell. And the sayde infidels, by reason of this siege brought to great penurie and miserie, for lacke of vittaile and necessary viand, perceivyng that all succours were clerely stopped and kept away from them, and so brought into vtter dispaire of aide or comfort: after long consultation had amongst them, rendred themselues and their Citie, to the sayd king.

About this season, Maximilian king of Romaynes hauing the vpperhande of the Flemynges, by the ayde of the king of Englande (as you haue heard before) entended to reuenge himselfe of the french king, for that he had forsaken and put away his daughter Lady Margaret, and sent her home to him, entending as he thought to take to his wife the Lady Anne of Bryteyn. But because he was not of sufficient habilitie of himselfe to susteyne and furnisshe the warre, he determined to desire king Henry to take part with hym. Wherevpon he sent James Cantibald Ambassador, a man of great grauitie, to exhort and require the king of England, to enter his companie and societie in armes, faythfully promising on his honour that he would in semblable matters of his, take his part with ten thousand men at the least, for the space of two yeres whensoeuer he should require him. And because it is his chaunce to trie the fortune of battayle and to moue the warre, he promised to certifie king Henry fire Moneths before that he would inuade or occupie the territorie of his enemies. And by this message Maximilian greatly enflamed and set a fyre king Henryes hart to beare with hym. And as he was myuded before this time as you haue heard to ayde and assist the Britones in the extremitie of their perill, he nowe reconed the time to be come, that he must collect an armie to helpe them nowe at a pinche in their most perill and daunger, to the intent to restore agayne the Britishe nation to their auncient libertie, and to expulse the French nation, which thirsted for the blood and destruction of the poore Brytons, and he was the more ardently therevnto encouraged, because he perceaued Maximilian himselfe so earnestly set and bent toward that enterprise, and therefore he made hys answere to James the

the Ambassadour, that he would be ashamed to be found slack or vnprouided at any time of Maximilian hys fellow and companion in armes. And so these matters well brought to effect on both parties, the king dismissed the Ambassadour from his presence.

Creplegate.

Thys yere the gate in London called Creplegate, was new buylded at the cost and charges of Sir Edmond Shaw knight late Maior of London.

Gracious streete Conduyte.

And the sayde yere was the bewtifull Conduyt in Gracious strete, buylded by the Executors of Syr Thomas Hill knight and Grocer of London, and late Maior of the sayde Citie, as doth appere by certayne Verses written vpon the same Conduyt.

And this yere in Julie was Henry the kinges seconde sonne borne at Grenewiche beside London, which succeeded his father in the kingdome of Englande by the name of king Henry the eyght.

1491
7

Charles the French king espouseth Ladie Anne Duchesse of Bryteyne.

In this very season Charles the french king receaued Ladie Anne as his pupille into his handes, and with great solempnitie her espoused, hauing with her for her dower the whole countrey of Bryteyn: and so by thys meane the Britons became subiect to the french king. Maximilian being certefied of thys, fell into a great rage and agonye, for that he was not content with the forsaking and refusing of his daughter Lady Margaret, but also had taken and rauished awaye from hym his assured wyfe Ladie Anne Duches of Bryteyne. And calling vpon God for vengeaunce and punishment for suche an heynous and execrable fact, cryed out and rayled on him, wysshing him a thousand deathes. Yet after that he was pacified, and came to hymselfe agayne, & had gathered his wyts together, he thought it was most expedient to reuenge his honor and dignitie so manifestly touched with dint of swoorde. And being in this minde, sent certaine Ambassadors to King Henry with his letters, desiring him with all diligence to prepare an armie, and he himselfe would doe lykewise, to inuade the French kings realmes with fyre, swoorde and blood.

King Henry hearing of this, and putting no diffidence in the promise of Maximilian, whome he knewe to haue a deadly hatred and long grudge agaynst the French king, caused a muster to be made in all the partes of hys realme, and put hys men of warre in a readynesse armed and weaponed, according to their feates: beside thys he rygged, manned and vitayled his Mayne readie to set forward euery houre, and sent Curryers into euery shire to hasten the souldiours to the sea side.

An armie prouided for the ayde of Maximilian agaynst the French king.

After the message was declared, there came without any delay an houge armie of men, as well of the low sort & commonalty, as other noble men, harnessed and armed to battail, partly glad to helpe their prince & do him seruice, and partly to buckle with the French men, with whom the English men very wyllingly desyre to cope & fight in open battail. And immediatly, as monition was geuen, euery man with his bande of Souldiours repayred to London.

After that all this armie was arrayed, and euen readie to set forwarde, whereof were chiefetaines and leaders, Jasper Duke of Bedford, & John Erle of Oxforde beside other, the king sent Christopher Vrswike his Almoner, and Syr John Ryseley knight to Maximilian, to certefie him that the king was all in a redynesse, and would shortly arryue in the continent lande, assone as he were aduertised that Maximilian and his men, were readie and

prepared to ioyne with him. The Ambassadors sayled into Flaunders, and after their message done, they sent two letters in all hast to king Henry, the which not onely sore vnquieted and vexed him, but also caused him to take more thought, care and studie on hym then he did before: for they declared that no Prince could be more vnprouided or more destitute of men & armure, nor no more lacking all things, appertayning to warre, then was Maximilian, and that he lay lurking in a corner, sore sick of the fluxe of the purse, so that he had neyther men, horses, munitions, armure nor money, neuertheless his minde and wyll was good, if his power and habilitie had beene correspondent, and therfore there was no trust to be put in his ayde or puyssaunce. Their lettres both dismayed and made sorowfull the king of England, which lyke a prudent Prince did well consider, that it were both ieopardous and costly, for him alone to enterprise so great a warre. And on the other part, if he should desist and leaue of his pretensed purpose, all men might call him coward and recreant Prince. Beside thys, he thought that his awne nation would not take hys tarying at home in good nor fauourable part, considering that sithe they had geuen so large money for the preparation of all things necessarie and conuenient for the same, they might conceaue in their heades and imagine, that vnder colour and pretence of a dissimuled warre, he had exacted of them notable summes of money, and now the treasure was once payed, then the warre was done, and his cofers well enriched, and the commons enpouerished. So that at thys time he doubted and cast perilles on euery side and part, and beside thys, he was not a little sorie that Maximilian author of this warre did absent himselfe, and defraude him of his societie and assistance. And while he studied and mused what counsayle he should best take in such a doubtfull case, he lyke a graue Prince, remembring the saiyng of the wiseman, worke by counsayle, and thou shalt not repent thee, assembled together al his Lords and other of his priuate counsayle, by whose myndes it was concluded and determined, that he should manfully and courageously perceaue and procede in this broched and begonne enterprise, recording well with themselues, and affirming plainely that all chiualrie and martiall prowesse, the more difficile and heard it is to attayne to, the more renowned is the glorie, and the fame more immortall of the vanquisher and obteyner. Therefore by thys counsayle of his friends and Senate, he made proclamation that euery man should set forward into Fraunce, and yet opening how Iudasly Maximilian had deceaued hym, least that they knowyng the whole fact, should not be so courageous to go towarde that battayle and proceede forwarde on their iourney. And therefore to prouide and foresee all perils and daungers that might ensue, he so strengthened and augmented his armie in suche number before he tooke ship, that he with his awne power might discourage and ouercome the whole puyssaunce of his aduersaries.

Maximilian vnhable to make any prouision for the warre, vtterly against his promes made to king Henrie.

King Henry brought into great perplexitie.

When he had thus gathered and assembled his armye, he sayled to Calice the first day of October, and there encamped himselfe, tarying there a certeyn space to see his men harnessed and apparelled, that neyther weapon nor any engine necessary for his iourney should be neglected. At which place all the army had knowlege by the Ambassadors, which were newly returned out of Flaunders (for they did not know of it before) that Maximilian could make no preparation for lacke of money, and therefore there was no succor to

The noble & valiant courage of king Henrie the seuenth.

to be loked for at his hand. At the which report, the Englishe men were nothing abashed nor dismayed, trustyng to their awne puyssaunce & companie.

In the meane season, although the French king was as well with courage replenished, as with men furnished meete to trie a battaile, yet all thys notwithstandyng he made semblaunce, as though he desyred nothyng more then peace, beyng not ignorant that peace to be obteyned was of no small valure and price, and yet he determined to make more expence in gettyng of peace, then in settyng forth of warre, and regarded so much the lesse the treasure to be dispensed for the acquiryng of buttie and concorde, forasmuch as he was afrayde that he beyng diligent to resist the inuasion of the Englishe men, that the Britons whereof the most part bare the yoke of his subiection contrary to their hartes and mindes, would sodeinly rebell and set themselues at libertie, and plucke their heades out of his Coller, and set vp another Duke & gouernour. And at the same very time he was inuited and desired of Lewys Sforcia Duke of Millain, to warre against Ferdinand king of Naples, at whose desyre he was prest & ioyous, thinkyng that he had that occasion sent to him from God, for the which he long before thyrsted & sore wished. The which kingdome he pretended to be due to him by succession, and entended long before to acquire and conquer it by force of armes, as his very right and enheritaunce. For when Reyne Duke of Angeou last king of Scicile, departed without any heyre male of his wife lawfully begotten, he did adopt to his heyre of all his realmes and Dominions, Lewys the .xj. father to the thirde king Charles, to the entent that he should deliuer Queene Margaret his daughter out of the handes of king Edward the fourth, as you haue well before perceyued, wrongfully and without cause disenherityng his Cosyn, Godsonne, and heyre, Rene Duke of Lorayne, and Barre. For the which cause he did the more busily procure and labour for the amitie, fauour, and friendship of his neighbours round about him, that when all thinges were appeased and set in good stay at home, he might the better employ his whole force and puyssaunce on his warre in Italy. Wherefore beyng much desyrous to haue all thinges pacified and set in a perfite concorde and securitie, he sent Philip Creuecur Lorde Cordes his chiefe Counsaylor and diligent officer to entreate and perswade the king of Englande to be reconciled and made againe as a newe friend to the french king. He not forgettyng his message, sent letters to king Henry before he passed the sea, and arriued in the firme lande, by the which he notified to him, that he of his bounden dutie and obseruaunce, which he ought to the King his maister, and to the profite of his realme, would take pain to inuent some meane and way, that his highnesse and king Charles his mayster beyng disseuered in amitie, and made extreme enemyes, onely for the cause of Maximilian newely elected king of Romaynes, should be reducted and brought againe into their pristine estate and accustomed familiaritie, doubtyng not to bring his ship to the port desyred, if it might stand with his pleasure to sende some of his counsaylors to the confines and borders of the Englishe pale, adioynyng to Fraunce, there to here what reasonable offers should be declared and proffered: which condicions of peace should be so reasonable and so ample, that he doubted not, but that he might with his great honour breake vp his campe, and retire his armie backe againe into his awne seignory and dominion.

The French king entreateth the king of England for peace.

The

The king of Englande grauely consideryng that Britayne was clerely lost, and in maner irrecuperable, beyng nowe adioyned to the Crowne of Fraunce by mariage, which Duchie his whole minde was to defende, and that Maximilian what for lacke of money, and what for mistrust that he had in his awne subiectes, lay still lyke a Dormouse nothyng doyng, perceiuyng also that it should be both to his people profitable, and to hym great honour to determine this great warre without losse or bloodshed, appointed for commissioners the Bishop of Excester, and Syles Lorde Dawbeney to passe the seas to Calice, to commen with the Lorde Cordes of articles of peace to be agreed vpon and concluded.

When the Commissioners were once met, they so ingeniously and effectuously proceeded in their great affayres, that they agreed that an amitie and peace should be assented to and concluded, so that the conditions of the league should be equall, indifferent, and acceptable to both partes as after shall be declared.

Boleyne besieged.

While the Commissioners were thus consultyng on the Marches of Fraunce, the king of England as you haue heard, was arriued at Calice, where he prepared all thinges necessary for such a iourney. And from thence he remoued in foure battailes, nere to the towne of Boleyn, and there pitched his tentes before the towne, in a place mete and conuenient, and determined to geue a great assault to the towne. In the which fortresse was such a garrison of warlike Souldiours, that valiauntly defended the towne, and the same so replenished with artillary and municions of warre, that the losse of the Englishemen assaultyng the towne, shoulde be greater dammage to the realme of England, then the conquerying and gainyng of the same shoulde be gaine or profite. Nowbeit the kings dayly shot, rased and defaced the walles of the sayde towne: But when euery man was prest and redie to geue the assault, a sodaine rumor rose in the armie, that a peace was by the commissioners taken and concluded, which bruite as it was pleasaunt and delectable to the Frenche men, so it was to the English nation bitter, sowre, and dolorous, because they were prest and redye at all tymes to set on their enemyes, and refused neuer to attempt any enterprice, which might seeme eyther to be for their laude or profite: they were in great fumes, angrye, and euill content, railyng and murmuryng amongest themselues, that the occasion of so glorious a victory to them manifestly offred, was by certain conditions to no man, nor yet to the king commodious or profitable, refused, put by and shamefully slacked: But aboue all other, dyuers Lordes and Capitaynes, encouraged with desire of fame and honour, trustyng in this iourney to haue wonne their spurres, which for to set themselues and their band the more gorgeously forwarde, had exchaunged and borowed diuers and sundrie summes of money, and for the repayment of the same, had morgaged and layde to gage their landes and possessions, sore grudged and lamented at this sodaine peace, and spake largely agaynst the kinges doynges, saiyng and affirmyng, that he as a man fearing & dreadyng the force and puissaunce of his enemies, had concluded an inconuenient peace without cause or reason: But the king as a wise man & most prudent Prince to asswage the indignation & to pacifie the murmour of the people, declared what dammage and detriment, what losse and perdition of many noble Capitaynes and strong Souldiours must of necessitie

A peace concluded with Fraunce.

sitie happen and ensue at the assault of a towne, and especially when it is so well fortified with men and munitions, as the towne of Boleyne at that present tyme was: protestyng farther, that he might bee iustly accused and condemned of iniquitie and vntruth, except he did preferre the sauegarde of their lyues, before his awne welth, helth, and aduauntage.

When he had thus prudently quyeted and appeased the mindes of hys men of warre, he returned backe againe with his whole armie to the towne of Calice, where he began to smell certaine secret smoke, which was lyke to turne to a great flame, without it were well watched and politikely sene to. For by the craftie inuention and deuilish imagination of the Ladie Margaret, Duchesse of Burgoyn, a newe ydoll was set vp in Flaunders, and called Richard Plantagenet, second sonne to king Edward the fourth, as though he had bene resuscitate from death to life, which sodeyne newes more stack and fretted in his stomacke, then the battaile which nowe was set late forward, and more paine he had (not without great ieopardie of himselfe) to appease and quenche this newe sprong conspiracie, then in makyng peace with the French king his enemie. And so he was content to accept and receyue (and not to offer and geue) the honest condicions of peace of his enemye profered except hee woulde at one tyme make warre both at home in his awne Countrie, and also in foreyne and externe nations. Wherefore king Henry foreseeyng all these thinges concluded with the Frenche king, to the entent that he beyng deliuered of all outwarde enmitie, might the more quickly prouide for the ciuile and domesticall commocions, which he perceyued well to bee buddyng out. The conclusion of the peace was thus, that the peace should continue both their lyues, and that the French king should pay to king Henry a certaine summe of money in hande, accordyng as the Commissioners should appoynt for his charges sustayned in hys iourney: Which (as the king certefyed the Maior of London by his letters the.ix.day of November) amounted to the summe of seuen hundred. xlv. thousand ducates, which is in sterlyng money. C. lxxvj. M. CC. l. pound, & also should yerely for a certein space pay or cause to be paied, for the money that ỹ king of England had sent and exspended in the tuition and ayde of the Britaynes. xv. M. Crownes, which yerely tribute, although the French king were afterwarde bered and troubled with the warres of Italy, yet he yerely satisfied, cõtented and payed the same, euen vnto the tyme of his sonne king Henry the eyght.

Margaret Duchesse of Burgoyne.

Richard Plantagenet duke of Yorke, second sonne of king Edwarde the fourth.

The conclusion of the peace.

Also in this soiourning and besieging of Boleyne (which we spake of before) there was fewe or none killed, sauyng onely one John Sauage knight, which goyng priuely out of hys pauilion with Sir John Risely, roade about the walles to viewe & see their strength, was sodaynely trapped and taken of his enemies. And he being inflamed with yre, although he were captiue, of his high courage disdeyned to be taken of such vilaynes, defended his lyfe to the vttermost and was manfully (I wil not say wilfully) slaine and oppressed, albeit sir John Riseley fled from them and escaped their daunger.

The king hauing put all things in an order beyond the Seas, did then with speede returne into Englande, and first of all things he elected into the societie of saint George, commonly called the order of the Garter, Alphonse Duke of Calabres sonne, according to his desire, which Alphonse was sonne and heyre to Ferdinand king of Napels, and after king of the same realme,

tyll

Alphonse son & heire to Ferdinando king of Naples made knight of the Garter.

till he was ouercome by king Charles. And after, the king sent Christopher Carsewise, Ambassadour with the Sartier, Coller, Mantell, and other habiliments appertayning to the companions of the sayde noble order. Which Ambassadour arryuing at Naples, deliuered to the Duke the whole habite, with all the ceremonyes and due circumstaunces therevnto belonging. Which the Duke very reuerently receaued, and with more reuerence reuested himselfe with the same in a solempne presence, thinking that by thys apparell and inuestiture, he was made a friend and companion in order with the king of Englande, whose friendshyp obteyned, he feared nothyng the assaults or inuasions of his enimies. And thys was the cause that he desired so much to be companion of that noble order, firmely beleeuing that the king of Englande souereigne of that order, should be ayder and maintayner of hym agaynst the French king, whome he knew would passe the mountaynes and make warre on hym. But this custome of assistence in orders was, eyther neuer begonne, or before clerely abolished: For in our time there haue bene many noble men of Italy, companions as well of the Golden Flese in Burgoyne, as of the order of Saint Mighell in Fraunce, that haue beene banished and driuen away from their naturall Countrey, and yet haue not bene ayded by the souereigne nor companions of the same order. For surely the statutes and ordinaunces of all the sayde orders doth not binde them to that case, but in certayne poynts. After thys the Duke dimissed the Ambassadour, and rewarded him most Princely.

But now let vs retorne to the new sonne of king Edward: And first to declare his lignage and beginning you must vnderstand that the Duches of Burgoyn so norished and brought vp in the seditious and vnhappie factions of false contriuers and founders of discorde, coulde neuer cease nor be in quyet, except she shoulde trouble and vnquyet the kyng of Englande, for no desert or displeasure by him to her committed, but onely because he came and descended of the house of Lancastre, euer being aduerse and enimie to her lyne and lynage. For which only cause she compassed and inuented how to cast a scorpion in his bosome, and to infect his whole realme with pestiferous discorde. To the intent that he being vanquished and brought to confusion, both the boyling heate of her malicious hart might be fully saciated with his innocent bloude, and also aduaunce and preferre some darling of her faction to his Empire, rule and dignitie. And principally remembring that the Earle of Lincoln, which was by her set forth and al his company had small fortune and worse successe in their progression and enterprice, contrarie to her hope and expectation she beganne to deuise and spinne a new webbe. And as the deuill prouideth venemous sauce to corrupt banckettes, so for her purpose she espied a certaine young man, of visage beutifull, of countenance demure, of witte subtile, craftie and pregnaunt, called Peter Warbecke. And for his dastard cowardnes of the Englishmen, in derision called Perkin Warbeck, according to the duche phraise, which chaunge the name of Peter to Perkin, to yong'inges of no strength nor courage: Which yong man trauelyng many countreys, coulde speake English and many other languages, and for his basenesse of stock and birth was knowne of none almost, and onely for the gaine of his lyuing from his childehoode was of necessitie compelled to trauaile diuerse realmes and regions. Therefore the Duches thinkyng to haue

Peter warbeck comenly called Perkin Warbeck.

to haue gotten God by the foote, when she had the deuill by the tayle, and adiudging this yong man to be a meete organe to conuey her purpose, and one not vnlike to be the Duke of Yorke, sonne to her brother king Edward, which was called Richard, kept him a certaine space with her priuily, and him with such diligence instructed, both of the secretes, and common affayers of the realme of England, and of the lignage, dissent & order of the house of Yorke, that he lyke a good Scholer not forgetting his lesson coulde tell all that was taught him promptly without any difficulty: & besides, he kept such a princely countenaunce, and so counterfeyte a maiestie royall, that all men in maner did firmely beleue that he was extracted of the noble house and familie of the Dukes of Yorke. For surely it was a gift geuen to that noble progenie as of nature in the roote planted that all the sequele of that lyne and stocke did study and deuise how to be equyualent in honor and fame with their forefathers and noble predecessors.

When this Duches had framed her cloth mete for the market, and imagined that all thinges was readye and prepared for the confusion of king Henrie, sodeinly she was enformed that the sayde king of England prepared a puissant armie against Charles the French King. Then she considering the opportunitie of the time, as who woulde saye, a time wished and a daye desyred to achieue and bring to passe her malicious inuencion. Wherefore she sent Perkyn Warbeck, her new inuented Mawmet first into Portingall, and so craftelie into the realme of Irelande, to the entent that he being both wyttie and wylye might moue, inuegle and prouoke the rude and rusticall Irishe nation (being more of nature enclined to rebellion then to resonable order) to a new conflict & a seditious commocion. This worshipfull Perkyn, arriuing in Ireland, whither it were more by his craftie witte, or by the malitious exhortacion of the saluage Irish gouernors, within short space entred so farre into their fauoures, and so seriously perswaded and allured them to his purpose, that the greatest Lordes and Princes of the countrie gaue such fayth and credit to his wordes, as that thing had bene true in dede, which he vntruly set forth & declared: And as though he had bene the very son of king Edward, they honored, and exalted him with all reuerence and due honoure, promising vnto him ayde, comfort and assistaunce of all thinges to the feat of warre, necessarie and appertayning.

Perkin warbeck arriueth in Ireland.

In the meane season these newes were made knowne to Charles the French king, then being in displeasure with king Henry, which without delay sent for Perkyn into Irelande, to the intent to sende him against the King of England which was inuading Fraūce (as you before haue heard.) This fleming Perkyn was not a litle ioyfull of this message, thinking by this onely request to be exalted into heauen, when he was called to the familiaritie and acquaintaunce of Kinges and Princes: and so with all diligence sayled into Fraunce, with a verie small naule, not so small as smally furnished. And comming to the kings presence was of him royally accepted, & after a princely fashion entertained, & had a gard to him assigned, whereof was gouernor the lorde Congreshal. And to him at Paris resorted Syr George Neuell bastard, Syr John Tayler, Rouland Robinson and an hundred English rebelles. But after that a peace, as before is said was apoynted and concluded betwixt him and the king of England, the said king Charles dismissed the yong man,

The French king entertayneth Perkyn.

and

and would no lenger kepe him. But some men saye which were there attending on him, that he fearing that kyng Charles, wouldе deliuer him to the king of Englande, beguiled the Lorde Congrechall, and fled away from Parys by night. But whether he departed without the French kings consent or disassent, he deceiued in his expectacion, and in maner in dispaire, retourned againe to the Lady Margaret his first foolish foundresse.

The Duches thinking euery houre from his departure a whole yere, vntill such time as she heard from him, and effectuously desiring to knowe which way Ladie fortune turned her wheele, hearing him to be reiected out of the French court was in a great agony and much amased: But when shee was assertayned of his arriuall in Flaunders, shee no lesse reuiued, then he that hath in stead of the sworde of execution, a pardon and restitution of his lyfe. And at his comming to her presence, she receaued him with such gladnesse, and with such a comfort (as in dede she could dissemble alone aboue all other) as though she had neuer seene nor knowne him before, that what in trust to preferre him to the preheminence by her ymagined, and what for the hope that she had to destroy king Henry, shee fell into such an vnmeasurable ioy, that she had almost lost her wyt and senses. And that thys her gladnesse might be notefied and made apparaunt to euery man, she first reioyced of her Nephewes helth and welfare: And secondarily she much thrusted and sore longed, not once, but dyuers and sundrie times in open audience, and in solempne presence to here him declare and shewe by what meanes he was preserued from death and destruction, and in what Countries he had wandered and sought friendship: And finally, by what chaunce of fortune he came to her court and presence. To the entent that by the open declaration of these feyned phantasies, the people might be perswaded to geue credite and beliefe that he was the true begotten sonne of her brother king Edward. And after this she assigned him a garde of thirtie persons in Surrey and blewe, and highly honoured him as a great estate, and called hym the whyte Rose, Prince of Englande.

Perkyn was named the Prince of Englande.

By reason whereof the Nobilitie of Flaunders were to hym diligent, and wyth due reuerence did him all the pleasure that laye in their power or offices. And to be short, the more that this poeticall and feyned inuention was shadowed with the pretence of sincere veritie, the more fayth and assured credence, was geuen to it. In so much, that many one thought hym to be preserued, onely by the will and mightie power of almightie God, and to be conueyed at the first daunger by some faythfull friend of king Edward his father into some straunge Countrie, and so escaped the violent tirannie of hys Uncle king Richard. The fame and brute of thys iuggeled miracle was almost in one moment blowne ouer all the Countrie of Flaunders, but in England it was blased in euery place sooner then a man could thinke or deuise it: In which Countrie more then in other places it was receaued for an vndoubted truth, and that not onely of the common people, but also of diuers noble and worshipfull men, of no small estimation, which sware and affirmed it to be true. After this brute that Richard sonne to king Edwarde was yet liuyng, and had in great honor amongst the Flemynges, there began sedition to spring on euerie side. For not onely they that were in Sanctuaries, for great and heynous offences by them committed, but also manye other that were

were fallen into debt, and doubtyng to be brought to captiuitie and bondage, assembled together in companies, and were passed ouer the Sea into Flaunders to their counterfayte Richarde sonne to king Edwarde, otherwise named Perkyn Warbeck. After this many of the noble men conspired together some through rashnesse and hastie credite induced thereunto, some beyng so earnestly perswaded in their awne conceipt, as though they knewe perfitly that thys Perkyn was the vndoubted sonne of king Edward the fourth, solicited, stirred and allured to their opinion all such as were friends and fauorers of the house of Yorke. Other through indignation, enuie and auarice, euer grudging and thinking they were not sufficiently rewarded for their paines and partes taken in the kings behalfe and quarrell. Other whome it grieued and vexed to see the worlde stande still in one staye, and all men to lyue in peace and tranquilitie, desirous of some chaunge, ranne headling into that furie, and seditious coniuration.

Thys rumour and bayne fable of this twise borne Duke Rychard, deuided all Englande, and drewe the realme into partakings and seuerall factions, so that the mindes of all men were vexed eyther with hope of gayne and preferment, or with feare of losse and confusion. Albeit the king and his counsayle and other his faythfull friendes, not a little marueyled that any person (beyng in his right wyt) could induce in his minde or finde in his hart falsely to thinke that such a pernitious fable & feyned matter should haue any truth in it. Notwithstanding many of the Noble men (as he well then perceaued) tooke and reputed it to be a thyng true and vnfeyned. So that he then sawe as farre as Lynx with his bright eyes, that thys newe inuented fable would make some broyle and discorde in his realme: Except it were manifestly published and openly declared to be a feyned fable, and a craftie imagined mischiefe. Other persons, to whome warre, sedition, and strife, were as pleasaunt as delicate fare, were very ioyous of these newes, beleuing no fraude nor deceyte to be hidden vnder this golden tale, and therefore they determined to send messengers, to the Ladye Margaret to knowe when Rycharde Duke of Yorke might come conueniently into Englande, to the intent that they beyng therof certefied, might be in a redynesse to help and succour him at his first arryuall.

Vaine rumors causeth great troubles.

So by the common consent and agreement of the coniured confederats, sir Robert Clifford knight, & sir Wylliam Barley were sent into Flaunders, which playnely shewed to the Duches all the secret intents and priuie counsayles of the friendes and fauourers of the newe found Duke. The Duches this message did gladly accept, & louingly imbrace, and of their tydinges was not a little ioyous, easily by hir perswasion inducing to their heades, that all things that were spoken of Duke Rychardе were true and vnfeyned. And afterward brought them to the sight of Perkyn, the which counterfeyted the countenaunce and the maner and fashion of Rychardе Duke of Yorke, praising his vertues and qualities, with the which he was indued aboue the Mone. The sayde Sir Robert Clifford, when he had sene and well aduised the yong man, beleued surely that he was extracted of the blood royall, and the very sonne of king Edward the fourth, and thereof he wrote a letter of credite and confidence into Englande to his companyons and felowes of his conspiracie, & to put them out of all doubt he affirmed that he knew hym to be

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Sir Robert Clifford and Sir William Barley procured the setting vp of Perkyn Warbecks.

king Edwardes sonne by his face and other lyniaments of his body. And when these letters came to England, the Chiettaynes of this businesse, to the entent to stirre the people to some new commotion and tumult, & to set foorth some cause of matter apparaunt, caused it openly to be diuulged & published, that it was true and not feyned that was spoken and sayde abroade of the Duke of Yorke: but it was done by such a secret craft, that no man could tell who was the author and founder of that rumour.

When the king perceaued that this vayne fable was not banished out of the mad brepnes of the commen people, he thought it expedient both for the sauegarde of himselfe and also of his Countrey, to prouide some remedie to represse this imminent mischaunce, not a little suspecting, that some conspiracie had bene concluded and agreed, because that Sir Robert Clyfford had late fled priuily into Flaunders. Wherefore he sent certayne knightes that were chosen and picked men of warre, with a band of Souldiours into euerie part to keepe the shores and the Sea costes surely, that no man might passe ouer into anye forepne lande beyonde the Sea, nor repaire into thys realme without search or passport or sauecondupt by him geuen, & all streytes passages, and bye pathes were kept and searched, so that no man vnapprehended could passe to the Sea coast, nor make any conuenticle or assemble without he were espied and taken. And to the intent that many men, beyng both of England and other places for verie malice by this newe inuention enflamed and indurate, should no farther runne in their madnesse, he secretly sent wise espialles to all the Cities of the lower Fraunce, within the Archedukes dominion, and the confines of the same, to search and prie out of what progeny this misnamed Richarde was dissended and brought forth, promising highly to rewarde and thanke such persons, which would manifest and open the secret doubtes and deuises of the same matter: and beside thys he wrote to his trusty feendes to do the same. So they sailynge into fraunce deuided and seuered themselues euery man into a symple and prouince. And when certayne of them repayred to the towne of Turnay, they were there certefied by the testimony of manye honest persons that this feyned Duke came but of a low stocke, and of a base parentage, and was named there Peter Warbecke. And so shortly after the kinges inquisitors returned in Englande, reportyng to the king what they had knowen and hearde: Of which thing the king was also more plainly certified by his trustie and faythfull friendes, both by letters and truthie messengers.

Wherevpon seyng that now the fraude was openly espyed, he determined to haue it published and declared with all diligent celeritie, both in the realme of England, and also in all partes beyond the sea, in the prouynces of forepn Princes, and straunge Potentates. And for the same cause he sent to Philip Archeduke of Burgoyn, and to his counsaylors (because that he was not yet of full age, apt and conuenient to take the regiment of his Countries and seignoryes) Sir Edward Powninges, a valiant knight, and Sir William Warram Doctor of the lawes, a man of great modestie and learnyng, that they should openly to them declare, that the yong man beyng with the Ladie Margaret, was dissended of a base and obscure parentage, and that he had falsely and vntruly vsurped the name of Richarde Duke of Yorke, which long before was murthered with his brother Edward in the Tower of

of London, by the commaundement of King Richard their Uncle, as many men liuyng can testifie. And to thinke and say otherwyse then this that apertly is knowne, it were the highest poynt and degree of madnesse, forasmuchas it is probable by an inuincible reason, and an argument infallible, that king Richard their naturall vncle, in dispatchyng and destroiyng Prince Edwarde the eldest sonne of king Edwarde his brother, was in no suretie of his realme or vsurped dominion, if he had permitted Richard the ponger son to liue and continue: For then might he as next heyre to his brother haue lawfully and by iust title claymed the Scepter and Diademe royall, which was his fathers, and after diuoluted to his elder brother. And therefore they should desyre the Archeduke, and the Princes of his Counsayle, that it would please them to geue no credite, nor themselues suffer any more to be blinded or seduced with such mere impostures and craftie illusions being full of vntruth and apparant falsehed, nor yet to ayde or assist such a craftie marchant, which had falsely fayned his name and stocke, and in especially agaynst him, which in fewe yeres passed, had succoured and relieued Maximilian their Lorde beyng sore oppressed, and almost ouercome, both with the extort power and puyssaunce of the French king, and also with the cruile discorde, and intestine rebellion of his awne subiectes and Vassals. With these commaundementes the Ambassadours sayled into Flaunders, and were there gently receyued, and louyngly entertayned of the Archeduke Philip and his Counsaile. And after that they were commaunded to declare the intent of their Legation, Doctor William Warram priest, made before them a pleasaunt and an eloquent oration, shewyng therein discretely the mynde and desyre of the king his mayster: And in the latter ende of his oration, he a little rebuked the Ladie Margaret, and hit her on the thombes, saiyng that shee nowe in her olde age, within fewe yeres had produced and brought forth two detestable monsters, that is to say, Lambert (of whome reherfall was made before) and the other Perkyn Warbeck. And beyng conceyued of these two great babes, was not of them deliuered in eyght or nine monethes as nature doth require, and as all other women commonly do, but in the .C. and. lxxx. monethes, she brought them forth out of her wombe: for both these at the least were fiftene yeres of age before that she woulde bee brought in bed of them and shewe them openly.

And when they were newly crept out of her wombe they were no infantes, nor suckyng children, but lustie ponglynges, and of age sufficient to bid battaile to kinges. Althoughe these tauntes and leastes did anger and trouble the Ladie Margaret, yet Perkin was more vered and encombred with the thinges declared, in this oration, and in especiall because his fraude, and falce feyned iuggelyng was brought to light & opened: yet the Duches beyng therewith more incenced then quenched, nothing refraynyng her olde malice and cancard hatred, but entendyng to cast hote Sulpher to the newe kindled fyre, determined clerely to arme and set forwarde prietie Perkyn agaynst the king of England with speare and shield, might and mayne.

When the Ambassadors had done their message, and the Archedukes Counsaile had long debated whether Perkyn were the true sonne of King Edward the fourth, they aunswered the Ambassadors: that to the entent to haue the loue and fauour of the King of England, assuredly after that tyme,

the Archeduke nor they would neyther ayde nor assist Perkyn nor his Complices, in any cause or quarell. Yet notwithstandyng, if the Ladie Margaret persistyng and continuyng in her malice towardes the king, would be to him aidyng and helpyng, it was not in their power to let or withstande it, for because she in the landes assigned to her for her dower, might frankely and freely do and order all things at her owne wyll and pleasure without contradiction of any other gouernor.

1493 9 When this aunswere was geuen to them, they returned againe into England. After that, King Henry lokyng circumspectly to his matters, purposed to pacify the stormes and blastes that he perceyued to be growyng, rather by pollicie and counsaile, then by doubtfull warre and manslaughter, if his nobilitie would therevnto condiscend. For he well considered that of one busines ryseth another, and of one small sparcle commeth a great flame. And therfore streight he sent forth certain espialles into Flaunders, which should feine themselues to haue fled vnto the Duke of Yorke, and by that meanes serche foorth and seeke out the whole entent of theyr coniuration, and after what way they entended to proceede in the same. Other were sent also to allure and entice Sir Robert Cliffords, and William Barlye to returne into England, promisyng to them franke and free pardon of all offences and crymes committed, and promocions and rewardes, for obeiyng to the kinges request. These Spyes so trauayled in their affayres and businesse, that they brought to passe all thinges to their maisters desyre. For first they had perfite knowlege of the names of certaine conspirators agaynst the king. After they perswaded sir Robert Clifford to leaue off that foolishe opinion, which had no sure ground nor foundation to stay it selfe vpon. Albeit William Barley could not be brought from his begon enterprize, but that he would go forwarde hedlong with the same, which taryed not long in that lewde opinion. For within two yeres after this, he repentyng him of his foly, beyng reclaymed, and hauyng pardon geuen him of the king, repayred home to his native Countrie, detestyng him and his foolishe blindenesse. When the espials had sped their purpose, one after another stale away priuily from the feyned Duke, and returned into Englande, bringyng wyth them the names of certaine, which were chiefe of that conspiracie. Other taryed still behinde to accompanie sir Robert Cliffords, when he returned againe into England, whose returne marueylously discomfited and abated the courages, and hartes of the conuirators, for they perceyued dayly that their enterprize moze and moze fainted, and that they were by a little and little damnified and hurted. And yet they sawe no man whome they might perfitely put diffidence in, nor yet once mistrust.

When the king had knowlege of the chiefe Capitaynes of thys tumult by the ouerture of his spies, which were returned, he caused them all to bee apprehended, and brought to London before his presence. Of the which the chiefe were John Ratcliffe Lorde Fitzwater, sir Simond Mountforde, sir Thomas Twhaytz knights, William Dawbney, Robert Ratcliffe, Thomas Cressenor, and Thomas Astwood. Also certaine priestes and religious men, as sir William Richeford Doctor of diuinitie, and sir Thomas Poynes, both Friers of Saint Dominikes order, Doctor William Sutton, sir William Worsely Deane of Paules, and Robert Leyborne, and sir Richard Lessey.

The chiefe of the conspiracy to haue aduaunced Perkyn warbecke and to haue deposed king Henry the seuenth.

Other

Other that were guiltie of the same cryme, heeryng that many of theyr company were taken, fled and tooke Sanctuary. And the other that were taken were condempned all of treason, of the which there was behedded, Sir Symound Mountforde, syr Robert Ratcliffe, and William Dawbeney, as auctiours and chiefe Capitaynes of this businesse. The rest were pardoned. Also sir John Ratcliffe Lorde Fitzwater, was pardoned of his lyfe, but after that he came to Calice, and there layd in holde, he was behedded, because he corrupted the kepers with many promises to haue escaped out of the same entendyng as was thought to haue gone to Perkyn.

King Henry of England, partly grieued with the king of Romaynes for breakyng his promise, when he should haue associated him in his iourney agaynst the French king, and partly displeased with the Flemynges, but principally with the Lady Margaret, for kepyng and settyng forwarde Perkyn warbecke, not onely banished all Flemishe wares, and marchandises, out of his realme and dominions, but also restrained all Englishe marchaunts from their repayre and traffique, into any of the landes and territories of the king of Romaynes, or the Archeduke his sonne, causyng the Marte of Marchandises and commodities of this Realme to be kept at his towne of Calice. wherefore the sayde king and his sonne banished out of their landes and seignories all Englishe clothes, yarne, tynne, leade, and other commodities, vpon great forfeytures and penalties. The restraint made by the king sore grieued and hindred the Marchantes, beyng aduenturers: For they by force of this commaundement had no occupying to beare theyr charges and support their continuance and credite. And yet one thing sore nipped their harts, for the Easterlynges which were at libertie, brought into the realme suche wares as they were wont and accustomed to doe, and so serued their customers thzough out the whole realme: By reason wherof the maisters beyng destitute of sale and traffique, neyther retayned so many conenaunt seruants and apprentices as they before were accustomed, and in especiall, Mercers, Habardashers, and Clothworkers, nor yet gaue to their seruauntes so great stipend and salarie, as before that restraynt they vsed to do. For which cause the sayde seruauntes entendyng to worke their malice on the Easterlynges, the Tuesday before Saint Edwardes day came to the Stiliard in London, and began to rifle and spoyle such Chambers and Warehouses as they could get into: so that the Easterlynges had much a do to withstand and repulse them out of their gates. And when their gates were shut and made fast, the multitude rushed and beate at the gates with Clubbes and Leauers to haue entred, but the Easterlynges by the helpe of Carpenters, and Smythes, which came to their ayde by water out of the Borough of Southwarke had so strongly chored and fortefyed themselues, that they could not preuail. The Maior of London heeryng of this ryot, assembled the Maiestrates and officers of the Citie together, and so beyng furnished both with men and weapon, set forward toward the Stiliard. Assone as the comming of the Maior was declared and knowen to the riotous persons, they fled away lyke a flock of sheepe: howbeit he apprehended diuers of the malefactors, and committed them to seuerall prisons. And vpon the inquirie before the kinges Commissioners, there were found guiltie aboue. lxxx. seruauntes & apprentices (and not one housholder) which were confederate together to make this attempt,

King Henry the .vii. forbad the trade of English men into Flaunders.

The marte kept at Calice.

The king of Romanes and ỹ Archeduke his son banished out of Flaunders all Englishe wares.

Ryot made vpon the Easterlinges.

tempt, and swoyne in no wyse to discouer or reuele the same: Whereof, some that were the Chiefteynes and beginners of this mischieuous riot, were sent to the Tower, and there long continued. But in conclusion, because none of their maysters were founde trespassers of this naughtie act, the king of hys goodnesse pardoned their offence, and restored them to their libertie.

1494 / 12 Shortly after, syr Robert Clifford, partlye trusting on the Kings promise, and partly mistrusting the thing, because he knew that diuers that were accused to be partakers of that faction and conspiracie were put in execution: and therfore perceyuing that there couldenot be a more pernicious nor more desperate begonne thing then that deuilishe enterprice, retourne disdeynlye againe into Englande. The kinge beinge certefied before of his comminge, went streight to the Towre of London the morow after the day of Epiphany and there taried till such time that syr Robert Clifford was there presented to his person, which thing he vsed vnder this pretence, that if Syr Robert Clifford had accused any of the Nobilitie to be partakers of this naughtie felowship and deuilish pretence, that then euery such person might be called thether without suspection of any euill, & there straight to be attached & cast in holde.

But before I go any farther I will shew the opinion that at that tyme raine in many mens heddes of this knyghtes going into Flaunders. Some men helde this opinion, that king Henrie for a policye did send him as a spie to Flaunders, or else he woulde not haue so sone receyued him into his grace and fauour agayne: Neuertheless, this is not like to be true by diuers reasons and apparaunt arguments, first after that attempt begon by syr Robert, he was in no small daunger himselfe, and by that he was not a litle noted, and his fame blemished, but also his friendes were suspected and had in a ielosy. Secondarily he was not after that in so great fauour, nor so esteemed with the kyng as he had beene in times past, because he was blotted and marked with that crime and offence. And therfore he bearing his fauour to the house of Yorke entending in the beginning to administer displeasure to king Henry, sayled to the Lady Margaret, being seduced and brought in beliefe that Perkyn was the verie sonne of king Edwarde. But to my purpose, when syr Robert came to the presence of the king, he kneeling on his knees most humblie, besecheth him of grace and pardon, which he shortly obtayned. And after that beyng requyred of the maner and order of the conturacion, and what was done in Flaunders, he opened euery poynt to his knowlege, & after disclosed the names, as well of the ayders and fautours as of the deuisers and beginners. Amongst whom he accused syr William Stanley, whom the king had made his chiefe chamberlein, and one of his priuie counsaile. When he had so sayde, the king was greatly dismayed and grieued, that he should be partaker in that grieuous offence, considering first that he had the gouernaunce of his chamber, and the charge and comptrolment of all such as were next to his body, and also calling to remembrance the manifolde gentlenesse and friendship, which he had receaued at his hande, but in especiall not forgetting that benefite aboue all other, that only by his aide and succour, he had vanquished and ouerthrowen his mortall enemy king Richard. Wherefore, at the beginnyng he could in no wise be perswaded nor beleue that he was such a priuye conspiratour, or malicious offender, but when the crime was openly proued and probably affirmed, then the king caused him to be restrayned from his

Sir Robert Clifforde greatly abused with the opinion that he had of Perkyn. &c.

his libertie in his owne Chamber within the quadrate Tower. And there appoynted him by his priuie counsaile to be examined. In which examination he nothing denyed, but wisely and seriously did consent and agree to all thinges layde to hys charge, if he were in anye of them culpable or blame worthye.

The report is, that this was his offence. When communication was had betweene him, and this sir Robert Clifford, as concernyng Perkyn which falsely vsurped the name of king Edwardes sonne, Sir William Stanley sayd and affirmed there, that he would neuer fight nor beare armour agaynst the yong man, if he knew of a truth that he was the vndoubted sonne of king Edward the fourth. This poynt argueth and proueth him at that tyme, beyng moued with melancholye, to beare no great good will to king Henry, whereof suspicion first grewe, and after this ensued the accusation of Sir Robert Clifforde.

Then the king doubtyng what to do with him, did consult and breath with himselfe of this sodaine chaunce. For he feared least that his brother Lord Thomas Stanley, in whome he had found great friendship, would take this matter grieuously. And if he should remit that fault, that he abusing his lenitie and mercie, would be the more bolder to offende, and trespasse more highly. Albeit at the last, seueritie tooke place, and mercy was put back, and so he was arreigned at Westminster, and adiudged to die, and according to that iudgement was brought to the Tower hill the .xvj. day of Febzuary, and there had his head stricken off. What was the occasion and cause why the sincere and faythfull minde that sir William alwayes before bare to king Henry, was turned into cancard hatred and despite, and why the especiall fauour that the king bare towarde him was transmuted into disdeyne and displeasure, diuers men allege diuers causes, affirmyng that when king Henry (what other mutuall benefites the one had receyued of the other, I wyll now pretermit and ouerpasse) in that battail in the which he bereft king Richard both of his life and his kingdome, being associate and accompanied but with a small number, and circumuented by king Richardes armie, and in great ieopardie of his life, this Sir William beyng sent from the lord Stanley his brother with a good companye of strong and hardie men (which Lord Stanley was nere the fielde with a great armye) came sodainly and fortunately to the succours of king Henry, and saued him from destruction, and ouerthrewe king Richard as before you haue heard. Surely this was a benefite aboue all benefites to be remembred, by the which king Henry was not only preserued aliue, but also obteyned the Crowne and kingdom, which great benefite, after the kingdome once obteyned, he did neyther forget, nor yet left vnrewarded. For the Lorde Thomas Stanley he inuested with the sword of the countie of Darbie, and beside other great giftes and offices geuen to William Stanley, he made him his chiefe Chamberleyn. This Sir William, although he were in great fauour with the king, and had in great and high estimation, more remembring the benefite done to the king, then the rewardes and gratuities of his liberalitie receyued, thinkyng that the vessell of Dile (according to the Gospell) would ouerflow the brimmes, and as some say, desiryng to be Erle of Chester, and thereof denyed, beganne to grudge and disdeyne the king his highe friende: and one thing encouraged him

Sir William Stanley beheaded.

him much, which was the riches and treasure of king Richard, which he only possessed at the conflict of Bosworth: by reason of which abundaunce of riches, and great power of people, he set naught by the king his souereigne Lorde and Maister. When the king perceyued that his stomake beganne to canker and waxe rustie, he was with him not a little displeased, and so when both their hartes were enflamed with melancholy, both lost the fruit of their long continued amitie and fauour. And so it often chaunceth, that when men do not consider nor yet regarde the great benefites to them exhibited, they rendre againe hatred for liberalitie, and for bread geuen, they yelde againe Scorpion. Nowe to returne to the matter.

At this time the king thought it best, yea and very necessary, not only to take hede about him, but also to vse some sharpe punishment and correction of the offences of his subiectes, to the entent that the late begonne sedition might the soner be represselled, and for this cause specially that some persons voyde of all honest feare and reuerent dread, had taken such courage and audacitie to them, that they feared not to speake euill of their king and souereigne Lorde, with most spitefull and contumelious wordes, as though they neither feared nor would obey him, or his precepts and commaundementes, expectyng dayly and hourely the arriuall and landyng of the fayned Richard Duke of Yorke, nowe lately risen from death to lyfe. But when knowlege of the slaunderous and opprobrious wordes were brought to the kinges eares, he caused diuers persons to suffer condigne punishment for their heynous offences, whereby their complices well perceiuyng that their enterprice had no prosperous successe nor tooke any good effect, and especially such as rashely began to make mastries, and farther seeyng what preparation was made and prouided agaynst their troubleous commocion and frantique enterprice, they of their awne swinge pacified themselues, & began to turne to their king and naturall liege Lorde.

1495 11 After the death of Sir William Stanley, Gyles Lorde Dawbeney, a man of great fidelitie and circumspection, was elected and made the kinges chiefe Chamberleyne. When the king had thus politiquely weeded out the euill and corrupt hearte of his Englishe subiectes, and had pacified and brought all his realme to a peaceable and a quiet life. Then he perceyued that it was necessary also to purge and clense his realme of Ireland, to the entent that the venemous seede sowne and planted two yeres past, amongest the wilde and sauage Irishe persons by Perkyn Warbeck might be cleane digged and rooted vp. Wherefore he sent sir Henry Deane, late Abbot of Langtony, a man of great wit and diligence (whome he made Chauncelor of the Isle) and Sir Edward Pownynges knight, with an armie of men into Ireland, to serche and purge all such townes and places where Perkyn was receyued, relieued or fauoured. And if they espyed any of hys affinitie or faction, then he would they should be punished with all extremitie to the terrible example of all other that would encline to that vnfortunate parte. And first, after their arriuall into Ireland, they called in the kinges name the nobilitie of that countrie to a counsaile, where they beyng assembled all together, the Chauncelor with a gentle exhortation required them first to persist in due obedience and fidelitie towardes their king, and to ayde his Capitayne Syr Edward Pownynges with their might, power, and strength, agaynst suche rebelles

rebelles which eyther through blindnesse and folly, or else through desyre and appetide to do euill, sustayned and ayded Perkyn with harnesse, men, or money. Euery man promised openly to helpe with all their power and might: But they promised not so quickly, but they performed it as slowly, for few or none eyther ayded or assisted him, as who would say, that they loued the Englishe nation more with their outwarde countenaunce, than in their inwarde heartes and mindes. But when they heard that sir Edward Pownynges was come to persecute all such as were fautors and friendes to Perkin Warbeck, there was no man, although he were but a little defiled with that sedicious infection, but he fled out of hand into woodes and marises for the defence and sauegarde of themselues, there consultyng together, after the maner of their Countrie, in what places they might best lye in wayte to hurt and skirmishe with the Englishe men, or else if nede shoulde so requyre to fight with them hande to hande.

In Ireland are two maner of people.

In Irelande there be two kinde of men, one soft, gentle, ciuile, and curteous: And to these people, as to the most richest, and best nurtered persons, doth many marchant men of the Countryes adioynyng, dayly resort. But because the most resort thether is of the Englishe nation, the Irishe men folow and counterfeyt their ciuile maners, and honest conditions. And by reason of the common trade and entercourse betwene them, they haue learned the Englishe tongue, and can both speake and vnderstand it. And all this kinde of people is vnder the subiection and dominion of the king of England. The other kinde is cleane contrary from this, for they be wylde, rusticall, foolishe, fierce, and for their vnmanerly behauior, and rude fashions, are called wilde and sauage Irishemen. And these men haue many gouernours and seuerall rulers, which kepe continuall battaile, and dayly warre amongest themselues, for the which cause they be more fierce, more bolde and hardie then the other Irishe men, and they be very desyrous of newe thinges, & straunge sights and gasyngs, and after robbery, theft, and rapine, & in nothing so much delightyng as with tumulteous, sedition, and continuall strife. And to these wilde Coltes, Perkyn shewed himselfe first, easily perswadyng them to beleue that he was the same very person whom he falsly fained & counterfeited.

Sir Edward Pownynges.

Wherefore Sir Edwarde Pownynges according to his Commission, entendyng to punishe such as haue bene ayders and aduaunsers of Perkins foolishe enterprice, with his whole armie, marched forwarde agaynst thys wylde Irishemen, because that all other beyng faultie of that offence, fled and resorted to them for succor and defence, to the entent that they both together might be able to resist and defye there enemyes: But when he sawe that his purpose succeded not as he wished it, both because the Irish lords sent him no succor, according to their promises, & also considering that his number was not sufficient to set on the wilde people beyng dispersed amongest woodes, mountaynes, and marises, was of necessitie compelled to recule and returne fretting and vered in his stomach, because he suspected that Geralde Erle of Kyldare beyng then the kinges Deputie, was the cause and occasion that he had no succors nor ayde sent to him, and so he was enformed of such as bare to the Erle no good will. And therefore sodeinely he caused the Erle to bee apprehended, and as a prisoner brought him in his companie into England: Where when he was examined and certaine matters of treason layde to hys charge,

Gerard Erle of Kildare.

charge, he auoyded them all, & cleerely (such was his wit and innocencie) quit himselfe, and layd the burthen in other mens necks: Whom the king dismissed and sent hym into Ireland agayne, there to be his Deputie and Lieutenaunt as he was before. The king like a pollitique Prince had many great and weighty considerations, which refrained him from vsing of any seuerity or extremitie against this Erle, contrary to the minds & willes of his malicious aduersaryes. One was the great authoritie and strenge that he bare amongest the Irishe nacion: Also the condicion and state of the tyme, wherin he sauoured some sedicion to be in brewyng: and chiefly of all the assured hope and affiaunce that he conceyued in him.

So that nowe the king beyng out of all feare of battaile, did take hys progresse into Lancashire the. xvb. day of June, there to recreate his spirits and solace himselfe with his mother the Ladie Margaret, wife to the Erle of Darby, which then lay at Lathome in that Countrie. While these things were thus done in England, Perkyn Warbeck then beyng in Flaunders, although he had taken great sorowe and care for that his craftie conueyaunce was espyed and openly knowen, and also that king Henry had afflicted and punished diuers of his confederates and alyes, and thereby in dispayre of all the ayde and succor that was to him promised and appointed: yet he determined not to leaue the hope and trust that he had conceyued in his mad head to obteyne the Crowne and realme of England, and so gatheryng a great armie of valiaunt Capitaynes of all nations, some bankeroutes, some false Englishe Sanctuarie men, some theeues, robbers, and vacabondes, which leauyng their bodily labour, desiryng onely to lyue of robbery and rapine, came to be his seruauntes and souldiours. And so beyng furnished with this rabblement of knaues, tooke such shippes as his friendes had prouided for him, and departed out of Flaunders, entendyng to arriue in England whersoeuer the winde brought him. And by chaunce of fortune he was driuen vpon the Kentishe coast, where because the sea was calmed, he cast his ancors, and there made his abode, and sent certeine of his retinue to the land to signifie to all the Countrie, that he was so furnished of all thinges meete and conuenient for his enterprise, that their was no doubt but the victory would encline to his part. And by this meanes to make serche and enquirie whether the Kentishe men would take his part and folow him as their Capitain, which before tymes was not timerous nor afrayed of their awne mynde in troublous seasons to moue warre agaynst their Princes. The Kentishmen heering that this feyned Duke was come, and had heard that he was but a painted Image, doubtyng a space what to do, whether to helpe him, or to resist his power, at the last remembryng what euill chaunces their forefathers had, and howe small a profite such as haue rebelled haue gayned, thought it neyther expedient nor profitable for them to ayde and assist him that came rather to spoyle, destroy, and waste the Countrie, then to conquere it for theyr welth and commoditie. And this they firmely coniectured because he had none other with him but Alienes and straunge people, which woulde take and accompt euery Church, Towne, Chappell, house, and euery priuate man as a pray and a lucre, and not as their native Countrie. Wherfore they fearyng the sequell, determined still to abide true to theyr king and prince, and to fall vpon such as were newe come to land out of their shippes. And while they

Margaret mother to king Henry the seuenth wife to the Erle of Darby.

Perkin with such power as he could make arriueth to land in Kent.

they were assemblyng of themselues together, other should by fayre promises allure and call vnto them the great number out of the ships, and so geue them battaile. And so vsyng this guile, they promised all to folowe him, and to fight vnder his banner: Howbeit the prolongyng of tyme draue Perkyn into a suspicion, which well remembred that a communalty is not accustomed sagely to consult, but sodainly and rashely to run headlong euer into rebellion and new stirred commocion. Wherfore Perkyn determined not once to sette foote out of his ship till he sawe all thing sure without any daunger. And although he mynded not to take land himselfe, yet he suffered certaine of hys Souldiours to go on lande, which persons beyng a prette way from theyr shippes, were sodeinly trapped and compassed by the Kentishemen, and at one stroke vanquished and driuen backe to thier shippes, and there were taken prisoners an hundreth, and. lx. persons, wherof foure were named Capitaynes, Mountforde, Cozbet, Whitebelt, Quintine or otherwise Genyn. which rebelles were brought by sir John Pechy Shirife of Kent, to London rayled in ropes like horses drawyng in a Cart. And after vpon their arrainment, confessed their offence, and were executed, some at London, and other in the townes adioinyng to the sea Coast. Wherfore Perkyn failyng of his purpose, fled backe into Flaunders, and there taryed, consultyng with his friendes vntill such tyme as he had better prepared for thinges to come, more prudently then he had done before tyme.

The fodeyne apprehencion of Perkyns people.

The execution of Perkyns Capitaines.

Perkyn sayeth into Flaunders

In this very season departed to God Cicile Duchesse of Yorke, mother to king Edward the fourth & king Richard, at her Castell of Barkamstede, a woman of small stature, but of much honour and high parentage, and was buryed by her husband in the College of Fodringey.

Cicile Duches of Yorke mother to king Edward the fourth deceassed.

The king beyng aduertised that his enemyes had made entraunce into his realme, left off his progresse, and purposed to returne to London againe, but beyng certefyed the next day after of the luckie speede and fortunate, chaunce, continued and went forth of his progresse, sendyng to them Sir Richard Gilforde, both to prayse the fidelitie and manhood of the people, and also to render to them his most hartie thankes for their good seruice to him done, with faythfull promise not to forget them hereafter in theyr suites, requestes, and petitions. Also that they might not haue any successe hereafter into those partes, the king commaunded the watches to be kept all along the Sea coastes, and Bekons to be erected according to the auncient vsage and custome of the Countrie.

Peter and his Capitaynes takyng counsayle together in Flaunders, were of one assent resolued to this point, that there was nothing more surer to them, then to proceede quickly with their entended enterprice. And when they perceiued that their was neyther people, towne, nor Countrie in England that would associate them in their phantasticall frensye, which nothyng was asswaged, least that by delayng of tyme and long space, king Henrye might fortify and make strong all daungerous places, and passages with Souldiours and men of warre, which thing they heard say that he neyther forgate nor forefollowed, and beside that he was not a little afearde, that hys long tarying should discomfort his priuy friendes within the realme of England. Wherefore he gathered together his vngracious companie, and determined first to saile into Irelande, there to augment his number. And from thence

thence if it were possible to sayle into the west parts of England. And if there were any let or impediment in that place, then he determined to sayle streight into Scotland, knowyng that seldome or neuer is perfite concorde and amitie betweene the Scottes and the English nation. When this gentle counsail was dissolued, and winde and weather serued, he set vp his sailes, and hauing a prosperous gale after his phantasie, sailed into Ireland, where he reposed himself a space. And remembryng that the hope of victory consisted not whole in the Irishe nation, which beyng naked men without harnesse or armure, were not able to combat with the Englishemen: wherefore when the winde serued him, he departed from Corffe and arryued in Scotland, and comming to the kinges presence, with great solemnitie, framed his tale after the forme and fashion folowing.

The arriuall of Perkyn Warbeck first in Ireland and then in Scotland.

The oration of Perkyn Warbeck made to Iames ỹ Scottishe king.

I thinke it is not vnknowne to you, most noble king and puissant prince into what ruine the stocke, house, and family of Edward the fourth of that name king of England, is nowe of late brought to, and fallen in, eyther by Gods permission, or by diuine punishement, whose vndoubted sonne (if you knowe not alredie) I am, and by the power of almightie God, preserued aliue to this houre, from the mightie hand of a tyraunt. For my father kyng Edward when he dyed, appoynted his brother Richard Duke of Gloucester to be our gouernour, protector, and defender, whom the more that he loued, and studied to aduaunce and promote, the better he thought that he would loue, fauour, and tender his children. But alas my infortunate chaunce, I may say, howe hath his trust bene turned into treason: and his hope turned into hinderaunce: All men knowe, and I feele. Oure Uncle was not the tutour and preseruer of our stocke and lynage, but the confounder and destroyer of our blood and progenie. For that tyraunt blinded and glutted with the desyre of rulyng and souereinetie, commaunded Edward my brother and me to be slaine, and dispatched out of this mortall lyfe. Wherevpon that person, to whome the weightie and cruell charge was committed and geuen, to oppresse and destroy vs poore innocent infantes, the more that he abhorred this heynous and butcherly offence, the more he feared to commit it. And so wauerryng in minde, and doubtfull what to do, at the length, willyng in part to saciate the bloodie thirst of the vnnaturall tyraunt, and in part to abstayne from so mischieuous and detestable homicide, destroyed my brother, and preserued me, like the good priest Iosada which saued little Ioas when all the children of the blood royall, were commaunded by Athalia the Queene to be slaine and vtterly destroyed. And farther, to the entent that my life might be in a suretie, he appointed one to conuey me into some straunge Countrie, where when I was furthest off, and had most nede of comfort, he forsooke me sodainly (I thinke he was so appoynted to do) and left me desolate alone without friend or knowlege of any relefe or refuge. And so king Richarde did obteyne the crowne as a pray mischieuously gotten, by the dispatchyng away of my brother and me. So that I thus escapyng, by reason of my tender infancie, forgat almost my selfe, and knewe not well what I was, but after long wandryng from Countrie to Countrie, and from Citie to Citie, I perceyued and learned a little and little what was my estate and degree, and so in conclusion came to mine awne Aunt the Lady Margaret lyng in Flaunders, which ioyfully

ioyfully receyued and welcommed mee, as the onely type and garland of her noble stirpe and linage, but forasmuch as she beyng onely dowager of the Duchie of Burgoyn, and hauyng nothing but her dower proper vnto her selfe, was not of power to helpe me with men and munimentes of warre as she would gladly haue done for the recouery of my fathers realme and rightfull inheritaunce, I therefore am driuen to seeke farther ayde and succour. And therefore by her counsaile and aduertisement, with this small handfull of men of warre and Souldiours, I am repayred to your presence for succours, of whome (as the publike fame is spred ouer the whole worlde) there was neuer man by wrong or iniury banished or driuen out of his Countrie, region, or inheritaunce, or by extort power and tiranny kept out of the same (as I my selfe from mine infancie haue bene) whose request was frustrate and repulsed at your hande. Therefore by the maiestie of your realme and Countrie, I desyre, and heartily with prayer as I can, I beseech and exhort you to helpe & relieue me now in my extreme necessitie. And if it chaunce me by your ayde and succour to recouer and possesse my fathers realme and dignitie, not onely I, but all the kinges of our linage which hereafter shall obteyne the same, shall be so much bound vnto you, that they must nedes thinke that doyng to you all the pleasure and benefites that they can, yet with all the thankes that can be geuen, your great kindnesse can neuer be recompensed.

The answere of the king of Scottes.

When he had thus sayde, the king bad him be of good comfort, and promysed him that whatsoeuer he were, it should neuer repent him of his comming to him. And after this the king assembled his counsell together, and demaunded of euery man seuerally what they sayde, of these things which Perkyn had both declared and requyred, or whether they would take anye farther deliberation to aduise themselues what to doe in so great and weightie a matter. They that were of greatest experience and of the wysest sorte did proue by many apparant arguments that his sayings were but dreames and phantasies, and of no force nor truth, and therefore they thought it not conuenient to encomber themselues with any longer consultation. Another sort, which was not verie great, neyther of wyt nor experience, but greater in number, esteemed this matter very profitale to the common wealth, considering it ministred to them occasion to make warre in Englande. And although they had knowlege what good successe Perkyn had enioyed in all his former attemptes, yet they esteemed that now all things should succede according to their expectation, if hys cause (although it were as light as a fether) were assumed and taken in hande to be defended, considering that when the warre was once open and begon, and if Perkyn did preuayle, he would denie nothing conuenient to his friendes and helpers. Or else at the least they doubted not but king Henry would make to them large and ample offers and conditions of peace, rather then king Iames shoulde take part with his aduersary and mortall enemie.

Perkin called Duke of Yorke.

When thys counsayle was geuen by the more number, it was well accepted, and the Scottishe king, whether he were blynded by errour, or else did dissimule the matter, began to haue Perkyn in great honour, and caused him openly to be called Duke of Yorke. Also, that this might be more apparaunt to the people that he was so in deede, he caused Ladye Katheryn daughter to Alexander Erle of Huntley, hys nigh kinsman and of a highe

Perkyn maryeth with Katherin the daughter of Alexander Erle of Huntley.

linage in Scotland, to be espoused to him. And this affinitie he caused to be made for thys ende and purpose, partly that he might extenuate the euil wil and malice which was lyke to succeede of this matter, for that it might be notoriously blasted and knowne abroad, that he had peace and amitie with the King of Englande, and partly least he might be accused of to much light credence, if Perkyn were founde and prooued to be another man then hee was reported.

When all things were prepared for the warre: Thys Perkyn swelling with ioye that he after his awne phantasie had made the Scottes to be hys partakers. And to the intent that they should put no diffidence in the sequele of his enterprise, and to encourage them the more, he pronounced surely that he should haue great succour and ayde of his friends in Englande, sent euen from the farthest part thereof, assoone as euer the Trumpet of warre was blowen. The Scottes although they had but little confidence and lesse trust in his wordes, yet putting their hope more in the gayne of spoyle then in the gayning of the victorie by battail, armed themselues in all the hast, and marched toward the confines and borders of England. Albeit the Scottish king minding not to be to rashe, mistrusted the Englishe men knowing Perkyn to be arryued in Scotlande, had layde some armie for the defence of the Frontyers, sent out certaine light horsemen to espie and searche if the husbandmen of the Countrie were assembled in armure to defende their enemies. The horsemen ranging ouer the fieldes and playnes belonging to their enemies, seing all things quiet returned to their king, and certified him that now was the time most apt and conuenient to inuade the realme and set on the Englishe nation. Then the Scottishe king marchyng toward Englande with all his puyssaunce, first proclaymed openly, that all such should onely be pardoned that would take part and submit themselues to Richarde Duke of Yorke, and fight in his cause and quarell. And to the entent to discourage and daunt the hartes of the poore commons, so that for very feare they should be enforced and compelled to submit themselues to thys newe founde Mawmet, they made so cruell and deadly warre and that not lyke men, whose nature is to be satisfied with the slaughter of men, and to be mercifull to the impotent and sick persons, brent townes, spoyled houses and killed men and children, and delighted with the swetenesse of spoyle and prayes, wasted all the Countrie of Northumberlande, and had gone fourth farther, but that they perceaued no ayde or succour to come out of England to attend vpon thys newe Duke. And the souldiours being fully laden with blood and spoyle, refused to go one foote farther at that tyme, and the Countrie rose on euery part, which made the king suspect some armie to approche. Wherfore he determined rather to returne with his assured gaine, then to tarrie the newe named Dukes vnsure and vncertaine victorie, and so he returned agayne into Scotland.

The Scottishe king wyth an armie inuadeth Perkyn and entreth into England.

It is a worlde to remember in this place of a certaine kynde of fonde mercie and foolishe compassion, by the which Perkyn was so fore mooued that it seemed him to regarde nothing more then the commoditie of another man. For whyle the Scottishe king thus bered and harred the poore inhabitaunts of the borders of Northumberland, so that nothing was heard but roring, weeping and lamenting. This new inuented Duke beyng returned into

into Scotland, euen lyke himself, which wrought all thing with fraude and deceit, perceauing that no concourse nor resort of Englishmen shewed themselues in open apparaunce, to minister to him any ayde or succour, and fearyng not a little that the boxe of hys craftie dealing, and bagge of his secret counterfeyting should be disclosed and set in an open glasse, by reason wherof he should be hated and had in contempt and disdeyne of the Scottish people, as though he had bene therunto prouoked by a naturall inclination and pitie (to the intent to hide and cloke his subtill suborнation) cried out openly, Oh, my stony and hard frosen hart which art not once moued nor yet afflicted with the losse and slaughter of thyne owne naturall subiectes and vassales. And at that glorious sighing, he beseeched the Scottishe king that from thence forth he would not afflict and plague his people, nor deforme and deface his naturall realme and countrie with such terrible fyre, flame and hauock. As who would say, that he beyng ouercome with the perfite loue of his native Region, began now to haue compassion and to lament the cruell destruction of the same. The Scottishe king which began to perceaue which waye the winde blewe, aunswered him agayne, Sir mee thinketh you take much paine, and very much imagine howe to preserue the realme of another prince which is not youres (but I thinke you would gladly haue it) but my mind giueth me that you be as farre from the obteyning of the same, as you be nere the soyle and sight of the Countrey, considering that you call England your land and realme, and the inhabitaunts thereof your people, and subiectes, and yet not one man, neyther gentleman nor yoman will once shew himselfe to ayde or assist you in the warre begon for your cause, and in your name within your realme, to the which you be both (as you say) inheritour, and by your people desired and called vnto. And so the king reproued the lightnesse of this yong fond foundling, and euery day more and more neglected and lesse phantasied and gaue credite to him, noting well and wisely that neyther his wordes, with his deedes, nor the sequele of factes with his promises were neyther agreeable nor consonant.

The Nobles inhabitting in the Northe partes, hearing the clamour of the common people, and perceauing that they fled to auoyde the crueltie of the Scottes, were sodainely abashed, and fortefied their holdes, and manned their fortresses readie to defend their enimies, layng embushements in the wayes, where they imagined that their enimies would resort. And without delay certified the king, of the Scottes inuasion and enterprise. The king was not a little abashed at this sodayne chaunce, and troubled also with his awne businesse at home, not onely fearing his outwarde enemies but also his awne nobles and naturall subiectes least anye of them would slep from him to the other part, and put him to farther trouble and veration. Wherefore assone as he heard these newes, considering the matter to be of no small importaunce and meete to be foreseene, with all diligence prepared remedies to resist and withstande the first brunt of so great a sourge newely begon. But the sodayne retrete of the Scottes agayne asswaged all the Englishmens swift and speedy prouisions: For when they were once laden with prayes and spoyles, they returned home againe or the Englishe men could assemble together.

When the King was truly certified that the Scottishe King was retur-

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ned, he geuing praise to his capitaines and other inhabiting on the borderes of his realme, which had duly and truly serued him at that time, did staye to ouertake, and to be reuenged for the malicious inuasions of the Scottishe king. And yet fearing least his enimies should be encouraged with this great gaine of spoyles and praye, he determined by dent of swoorde and mortall warre to reuenge and reforme the manifest iniurie and apparant wrong to him by king James and his people done and committed. Wherefore he assembling his court of parliament, declared the cause of the instant warre, and what remedie he himselfe had inuented and deuised, perswading with manye strong arguments and reasons, that it should be for the profite and benifite of the publique & common welth to prosecute & follow the warre by his mortall enemies begon & attempted. To this opinion all his nobilitie (which were no lesse offended with this prowde brag of the Scottish nation then he himselfe) did willingly agree and gladly assent. And to the maintenaunce of the warre and toward the charges of the same, a certaine subsedy and tax of monie was with one assent by the whole parliament liberally & freely geuen and graunted: Which payment although it was but easy and small, yet many of the common people which euer abhorre suche taxes and exactions, grudged sore to pay the same.

A mutine of the people for a small tax.

At this parliament also and conuocation, ther was such certaine lawes, actes and statutes confirmed and made, as were thought most necessarie and expedient for the publique weale of the realme. And thus the king dissoluing his court of parliament, and prepared for warre out of hand. In this meane season the king of Scots not sleping his matters because he perceaued well that the Englishmen would shortly reuenge their losse & harme, with no lesse diligence gathered an host and puyssant army, that either he might withstand and resist the English powre inuading his realme & coũtry, or else of fresh enter vpon the borderers: and going forth to spoyle, rob & make hauoke againe. And so these two valiaunt Princes minded nothing more then the one to hurt and prejudice the other. But the king of Englande sore pricked and wounded with the iniurie to him committed, was so sore moued against the Scottyth King, that he would not respite nor deferre one houre tyll he were reuenged. And so prepared a puissaunt and strong armie to inuade Scotland, and therof ordayned for chiefetaine Gyles Lorde Dawbeney his chiefe chamberlaine, a man of no lesse wytt then pollycy and of no lesse policie then hardinesse.

When the Lorde Dawbeney had his army assembled together and was in his iorney forward into Scotland, he sodainly was stayed and reuoked againe, by reason of a new sedicion and tumult begon within the realme of Englande for the subsedie which was graunted at the last parliament for the defence of the Scottes, which of the most part was truly satisfied and payde. But the Cornish men inhabiting in the least part of the realme, and the same part also barreyn and wythout all pleasantnesse, complayned and grudged greatly, affirming that they were not hable to pay such a great somme as was of them demaunded. And so what with angre, and what with sorrowe, forgetting their due obeysaunce, began rashly to speake of the king himselfe. And after leauing the matter, lamenting, yellyng and cryng, maliciously said that the Kings counsayle was the cause of this pollyng and shauyng. And so being in this rage manaced to death the aucthoures (as they imagined) of this

A rebellion in Cornewall.

this mischiefe and sorrow, whome they threatned shortlye to dispatche out of this world. And so being in a roare two of the same affinitie, the one called Thomas Flamock gentelmã, learned in the lawes of the realme, & the other Michell Joseph a smith, men of high courages and stoute stomackes, tooke vpon them to be capitaines of this vngracious flocke and seditious company. Who cryed out that it was a shame (for a smalle commocion made of the Scots, which was asswaged and ended in a moment) they should be exacted and polled, and such great exactions layde vpon their necks, and especially on the Cornishmen, which they affirmed to be but poore men, and being in a barrein and vnfruitefull countrye gate their liuing hardly by mynyng and digging tynne and mettall oute of the grounde both daye and night with great turmoyle and labour: And therefore they had rather dye and suffer extreme punishment, then liue in such calamitie and wretchednesse. And they layde the faulte and cause of this exaction to Jhon Morton Archebishop of Cantorburie, and to sir Reignold Bzey, because they were chiefe of the Kinges preuie counsayle. Such rewards haue they that be in great aucthoritie with kings and princes. For if any thing proceede well according to the minde and pleasure of the communaltie, that is euer referred and gratefied to the king or gouernour. But contrariwise, if any thing be done, eyther by chaunce or by counsell that soundeth not well in their eares, or is contrarie to their opinion or phantasie, they will laye it straight to the counsell saiyng that they haue perswaded him to doe this and that.

Thomas Flamock. Michell Joseph.

John Morton Archebishop of Cantorburie. Sir Reignold Bzey.

These Capitaynes exhorted the common people to put on harnesse, and not to be afearde to folowe them in this quarell, promising them that they should doe no dammage to any creature, but onely to see punishment and correction done to such persons which were the aucthours and causers that the people were molested and vexed with such vnreasonable exactions and demaunds. And if they perceyued any person (as they espied many in deede) which did impugne and reprone their mad, vnreasonable and seditious counsell, affirming that it was the highest point of madnesse for a man to put his life in hazard for that thing, which he ought meekely and humbly to require and desire of his Prince and soueraigne Lorde. Then they called them dastardes, fooles, and cowardes, and taunted and rebuked them with most shamefull reprochs. So these vnhappie Capitaynes nothing more desired then to bring their flock and themselues to finall perdition and vtter confusion. With these bragges and motions a great part of the people were elenate and encouraged, and condiscended to doe as the Capitaynes and the most of the multitude would agree and appoynt. Then the Capitaynes praysing much the hardynesse of the people, when all things were prepared meete for their vnfortunate iourney, set forwarde with their armie, and came to Taunton, where they slue the Prouost of Peryn which was one of the Commissioners of the subsedie, and from thence came to Welles, and so entended to go to London where the king then soiourned.

When the king was aduertised by his Collectors and officers of al these doings and attemptes, he was marueilously astonnyed, & especially because at that one time he was enuyroned with double warre, both externe and intestyne. And because perill did depende on both, he was in great doubt which of both he should most regarde. And as he was musing of this matter

James Twichet lorde Audeley chief of the rebelles.

he was asserteyned that James Twichet Lorde Audeley and diuers other of the Nobilitie were associate with the Cornishemen, and were in great haste and no good speede marchyng toward London. The king perceiuing the ciuile warre to approche and drawe neerer and neerer, almost to his verye Gates, determined with all hys whole powre to resist and repelle the same. And after that tumult appeased and suppressed he would with all expedition set vpon Scotlande. Wherefore he reuoked againe the Lorde Dawbeney, which as you haue heard, was with a puyssaunt armie going into Scotlande, whose armie he increased and multiplyed with many picked and freshe warryers, that he might the better, and with lesse labor ouercome these rebels. Also mistrusting that the Scottes might new (hauing good opportunitie seyng him troubled with this ciuile discorde) inuade the realme agayne, and so spoyle and destroy the borderers, he appointed the Lorde Thomas Hayward Erle of Surrey, a puyssaunt and politique Capitayne (which was taken prisoner at the ouerthrow of king Richarde as you haue heard, and after set at libertie, and within two yeres next after was made high Treasurer of England, after the death of John Lord Dynham) to gather a bande of men in the Countye Palantine of Durham, and they with the ayde and helpe of the inhabitaunts adioyning and the borderers, to drive out and expell the Scottes from of the borders, if they should fortune againe to inuade, vntill such time that the Cornishmen were subdued and pacified (which he thought easie to be done) he might sende to them the foresayde Lorde Dawbeny agayne with all his power and armie. When the Nobles of the realme heard of this tumultuous businesse and commocion, they came to London, euery man with as many men of warre as they could put in a readynesse to ayde the king if neede should be: In the which company, there was the Erle of Essex, the Lorde Mongey with diuers other.

At this time and season, Charles the French king returning from the warres that he had at Naples, sent Ambassadors to enforme the king of the prosperous successe and victorie that he had obteyned in Italie, and gaue to them in charge to desyre of the king of England nothing so much as the contynuaunce of his amitie and fauour towarde their maister and soueraigne Lorde. For the French king sore desired to continue in perfite peace and amitie with the king of Englande. And not without a cause, for he had sore vexed and combred himselfe and his people with suche Italian snares and craftie engines, out of the which at this day his successors can not cleane be ryd, and delyuered.

When the king was informed that king Charles Ambassadors were come to Calice, he sent certaine of his Nobilitie, honourably to receyue them, and so to conuey them to Douer, and there for a pollicie to make their abode till the rebellion were extinct and suppressed, and not one worde thereof to be sounded in the eares of the Ambassadours: Which commaundement was circumspectly kept and obserued.

And nowe the Cornishe men departyng from Welles (where they receyued theyr chiefe Capitaine, James Lorde Audeley) went to Salisbury and from thence to Winchester, and so to Kent, where they looked for helpe, but they were deceaued: for the Erle of Kent, George Lorde of Burgany, John Brooke Lorde Cobham, Sir Edward Pownynges, Sir Richarde Guil-

Guildeford, Sir Thomas Burchier, John Peche, William Scot, and a great number of people were not onely prest and redie to defende the Countrie from all mischiefe and destruction, but also bent and determined to fight and combate with such as would not be obedient to their naturall soueraigne Lord, and to his lawes and preceptes. Also the Kentishe men themselues, partly remembryng that other commocions haue bene to their dammage and great hinderance, and partly beyng vnder the defence of their nobilitie, as vnder the Erle and other, would not so much as come nere to the rebelles, nor yet eyther make countenaunce or once speake to any of them, to the entent that the king should in no wise conceyue any poynt of vntruth or treason in the poorest of them. Which thing so daunted and dismayed the heartes and courages of many of the brute and rurall Cornishemen (which seeyng themselues deceyued and defrauded of their chiefe hope and succours, and fearing the euil chaunce that might happen to them) that they to saue themselues fled priuily in the night from their awne compaine and Companions. The Capitaynes of the rebelles perceiuyng that they coulde haue no ayde of the Kentishe people, puttyng their onely hope to theyr awne power and fortitude (for surely they were men of great strength, and of no lesse force than valiaunt courage) brought them to blacke heath foure myles from London, and there in a plaine vpon the toppe of an hill they ordered their battailes, eyther redie to fight with the king if he would assaile them, or else to assault and beat the Citie of London: For they thought verily that the king was so affrayed of theyr puyssaunce, that he minded nothing lesse then to encounter with their armie. And therefore beyng enflamed with arrogancie, nothyng mistrustyng, but firmely beleuyng that the victory was sure in their handes, they determined to enter into the Citie of London and to assault the Tower, wherein the king (as they thought) had priuily enclosed himselfe. But king Henry wrought cleane contrary to their minde, for he neuer thought to geue them battaile till he had them farre from their dwellynges and Countrie, so that they should be out of all hope, of ayde and comfort. And when they were with their long and tedious iourney wery ed and tyred, and that their furye were somewhat allwaged and fell to repentaunce of their mad commotion, and frantike progression, then he would in some place conuenient for his purpose compasse and enclose them to his aduauntage and their destruction as he did in dede afterward. In the meane season there was great feare thorough the Citie, and cryes were made, euerie man to harnesse, to harnesse, some ranne to the gates, other mounted on the walles, so that no part was vndefended, and continuall watch was kept by the Maiestrates of the City, least the rebelles beyng poore and nedie would disrende from their campe, and inuade the Citie, and spoyle and robbe the ryches and substaunce of the Marchauntes. But the king deliuered and purged their hartes out of this feare, for after that he perceyued that the Cornish men were al the day readie to fight and that vpon the hill, he sent straight John Erle of Orforde, Henry Burchier Erle of Essex, Edmond de la Poole Erle of Suffolke, and Sir Ryes ap Thomas, and sir Humfrey Stanley noble warriours, with a great company of archers and horsemen to compasse the hill on the right syde & on the left, to the entent that all by wayes beyng stopped and forclosed, all hope of flight should be taken from them: and incontinent, he beyng as well encouraged

Blackheth fielde.

couraged with manly stomacke and desyre to fight, as furnished with a populous armie, and store of artillary, set forward out of the Citie and encamped him in Saint Georges fielde, where he the fryday at night then lodged.

On the Saterday in the morning, he sent the Lorde Dawbeney with a great companie to set on them earlye in the morning, which first gat the bridge at Detford Strande which was manfully defended by certeyne Archers of the rebelles, whose arowes as is reported were in length a full yeard. While the Erles set on them on euery syde, the Lorde Dawbeney came into the field with his companie, and without long fighting the Cornishe men were ouercome, but first they tooke the Lorde Dawbeney prisoner, and whether it were for feare or for hope of fauour, they let him go at libertie without any hurt or detriment. There were slaine of the rebelles which fought and resisted two thousande men and mo, and taken prisoners an infinite number, and amongest them the blacke Smith and chiefe Capitaynes which shortly after were put to death. This Myghell Joseph, surnamed the blacke Smith one of the Capitaynes of this donghill, and drasse sacked ruffians, was of such stowte stomacke and haute courage, that at the same time that he was drawen on the Hardle towarde his death, he sayd (as men do report) for that mischieuous and vngracious act, he should haue a name perpetuall, and a fame permanent and immortall. So (you may perceyue) that desyre of vaine glory and fame, enflameth, and encourageth aswel poore and meane persons, as the heartes of great Lordes and puyssaunt Princes to trauayle and aspire to the same. Some affirme that the king appoynted to fight with the rebelles on the Monday, and preuentyng the tyme by pollicie, set on them vpon the Saterday before, beyng vnprouided and in no array of battaile, and so by that pollicy obteyned the field and victory.

The Lorde Dawbeney take prisoner by the Cornish men, but they set him againe at libertie.

Myghel Joseph the blacke smith taken & executed.

When this battaile was ended, the king wanted but three hundred of al his companie that were slaine at that present conflict. Also the Capitaynes apprehended and taken he pardoned, sauyng the chiefe Capitaynes and first aucthours of that mischiefe, to whome he woulde neyther shewe mercie nor lenitye. For he caused the Lorde Audeley to be drawen from Newgate to the Tower hill in a Cote of his awne armes painted vpon paper, reuersed and all to torne, and there to be behedded, the. xxbiij. day of June. And Thomas Flamock, and Myghell Joseph he commaunded after the fashion of traytors to be drawen, hanged, and quartered, and their quarters to be pitched on stakes and set vp in diuers places of Cornewall, that their sore punishments and terrible executions for their trayterous attempts and foolishe hardie enterprises, might be a warnyng for other hereafter to abstayne from committyng lyke cryme and offence. But because he was certifyed that their Countrimen beyng at home in Cornewall were by this scourge little mollified or quieted, and were redie to moue againe and begynne newe commocions and conspiracies, if any vngracious or euill minded person woulde eyther moue or pricke them forwarde, he turned his purpose, and caused them to be set vp in London and other places, least that by such meanes he should wrap himselfe in more trouble at that tyme when he went about with all his wit and counsaile to represse and asswage all domesticall and ciuill sedecion, to the entent that he might the more seriously and intentiuely set forwarde a puyssaunt army agaynst the braggyng and vnfaythfull Scottes, beyng content at that

James Lord Audeley drawen and hanged.

Thomas Flamock and Myghell Joseph hanged drawen and quartered.

that tyme, that fortune had so smyled on his syde.

While this businesse was thus handled in England, the king of Scottes beyng certified of it by his espialles, that there was none armie raysed in England, eyther to withstand his power or destroy his Countrie, and hering also that king Henrie and his Nobles were vexed and sore troubled with the commocion of the Cornishe men, and in a ciuile discorde and dissention amongest themselues: Wherefore he thought it necessarye to anticipate the warre before hande. For well he knew, that assoone as king Henry had subdued and ouerturned his aduersaryes, that he would with his whole puyssaunce inuade his Realme and dominions: And therefore he inuaded the frontiers of the realme of Englande, wastyng the Countrye, burnyng the townes and murtheryng the people, sparyng neyther place nor person. And while his light horsemen were ridyng to forage, and destroy the Bishoprike of Durham, and there burned all about, he with another companie went about to assault the Castel of Norham standyng on the riuer of Twede, which deuideth England and Scotland. The Bishop of Durham which at that tyme was Richard Fore, had well furnished it both with men & munitions, wisely foreseeing and imagining, that the Scottish king (as sone as he knew that there was ciuile discord and vnnaturall warre moued within the realme of Englande) would with all his power inuade and harry the borders and countries adioinyng to his land. This Richard Fore was before called Bishop of Excester, and for his singuler vertues and great grauitie was after that made Bishop of Bath and Welles, and last of all, promoted and exalted to the Bishoprike of Durham.

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The Scots inuade Englande.

Richard Fox Bishop of Durham.

The Bishop from tyme to tyme aduertised the king of all thinges that there chaunced (which then was at London) and sent in all post hast to the Erle of Surrey to come to rescue, which was then in Yorkeshire and had collected a great army and a warlike company. When the Erle heard of these newes, he perceiuyng that all thinges were not boyde of ieopardie, made no long tariyng, but with all diligence marched forward, and after him folowed other noble men out of all quarters of the North, euery one bringyng as many as they could gather for the defence of their naturall Countrye and Region. Amongest whom the chiefe rulers and leaders were these whose names ensue.

Raufe Erle of Westmerland.	Thomas Baron of Hylton.
Thomas Lorde Dacres.	Sir Wylliam Percy.
Raufe Lorde Neuell.	Sir William Boulmer.
George Lorde Straunge.	Sir Wylliam Gascoyne.
Rychard Lorde Latimer.	Sir Raufe Bygod.
George Lorde Lumley.	Sir Raufe Bowes.
John Lorde Scrope.	Sir Thomas a Parr.
Henry Lorde Clifford.	Sir Raufe Clerker.
George Lorde Ogle.	Sir John Constable.
Wylliam Lorde Conyers.	Sir John Ratclyffe.
Thomas Lord Darcy.	Sir John Sauell.
¶ Of knightes.	Sir Thomas Strangueys.

wyth many other well proued and warlike men, which although in degree they were not egall with these great Lordes and knightes, yet in manhood and

and pollecies of warre and valiaunt courage, they were to them in all feates equiualent. The number was little lesse then twentie thousande men, beside the Nauie whereof the Lorde Brooke was Admyrall.

When the Scottes had dyuers dayes assauted and beaten the Castell of Norham, to the no lytle detriment and dammage therof, and could make no batrie to enter into the same, they determined of their awne minde to reise their siege and returne, and that so much the soner because they heard saye that the Erle of Surrey was within two dayes tourney of them with a great puyssaunce. Wherfore king Jamy thought it to small purpose to tarie any lenger in besieging the Castell, raysed his siege and returned into hys awne realme: When the Erle knewe of the kinges returne, he folowed after wyth all haste possible, trustyng surely to ouertake hym and to geue hym battayle.

When the Erle was entred into Scotland, he ouerthrewe and defaced the Castell of Cawdrestenes, the towre of Hetenhall, the towre of Edington, the Towre of Fulden: and he sent Norrey king at armes to the Capitayne of Hayton Castell, which was one of the strongest places betweene Berwyke and Edenborough to delyuer him the Castell, which he denied to doe, affirming that he was sure of speedie succours and swift aide. The Erle perceauing the deniall, layde his ordinaunce to the Castell, and continually bet it from two of the clock in the morning till fiue at night, in such wise that they within rendered vp the fortresse, their lyues onely saued. And when the Erle had receyued the Scottes, he with his miners rased and ouerthrewe the Castell to the playne grounde. The Scottishe king was within a myle of the siege, and both knewe it and sawe the smoke, and yet would not once set a foote forwarde to saue or rescue his Castell. And while the Erle laye at Hayton, the king of Scottes sent to him Marchemount, and another Heraulde, desyring him at his choyse eyther to fight with whole puissaunce agaynst puyssaunce, or else they two to fight person to person, and hande to hande, requiring that if the victorie should fall to the Scottishe king, that then the Erle should delyuer for his raunsome the towne of Berwyke, with the Fychegarthes of the same. The Erle iopously, lyke a couragious Capytayne receyued this message and made aunswere, that he was readie in the playne fielde to abide the battayle with his whole armye, prayeng him to come forward with hys puyssaunce, and after that he thanked him hartily of the honour that he offered him, for surely he thought himselfe much honored that so Noble a Prince would vouchsafe to admit so poore an Erle to fight with him body to body, asserteyning him farther that the towne of Berwike was the king his maisters and not his, ℔ which he neither ought nor would laye to pledge nor gage without the kings assent, but he would put his body in pledge which was more precious to him then all the townes of the world, promising on his honour, that if he tooke the king prisoner in the singuler Combate, that he would release to him all his part of his fine and raunsome, and if it chaunced the king to vanquishe and apprehende him, he would pay gladly such a raunsome as was meete and conuenient for the degree of an Erle. And when he had rewarded and dismissed the Heraulds, he set his armie in a readynesse, abidyng the comming of the king of Scots, and so stood all daye. But the Scottishe king not regarding his offers, nor performing his

his great crakes and boastes, beyng afrayde to cope with the Englishe nation, shamefully and sodeynly fled in the night season with all his power and company. When the Erle knewe that the king was returned, and had bene in Scotland fiue or seuen dayes, beyng daylie and nightly vered with continuall winde and vnmeasurable rayne, could not cause his people to continue in that tempestious and vnfertyle and barrein region, with good aduise retreated agayne with his whole armie to the towne of Berwike, and there dispersed his armie euery man into hys Countrie, tarying there himselfe till he knewe the pleasure of the king in furthering or protracting the warres of Scotlande: But in the meane season one Peter Hyalas a man of no lesse learning then prudent wyt and pregnant policie, was sent Ambassadour from Ferdinand King of Spayne, vnto the King of Scottes, to moone and entreate a peace and an vnitie to be had betweene him and the king of Englande. For of King Ferdinand and Elizabeth his wife (to which woman none other was comparable in her time) there was nothing more desyred nor wished then by the coniunction of mariage betweene Arthure Prince of Wales heyre apparaunt to king Henry, and Lady Katheryn the daughter of king Ferdynand and Quene Elizabeth a new affinity and alyaunce might be kept and begon betwene the realme of England & the Countrie of Spaine. And also he fauoured somewhat the king of Scottes, for which cause he offered himselfe as a meane and mediatour of a peace betweene both the princes, their territories and dominions.

Peter Hialas an Imbassadour from Ferdinand king of Spaine sent to intreate a peace betwen England and Scotland

This Peter Hyalas solicited and moued by all honest meanes and deuices kyng James to assent to a vnitie and concorde: and when with long soliciting he conceaued some good hope to growe in this waightie businesse hee wrote vnto the king of Englande, that it would please him to sende one of his Nobilitie or counsell to be associat with him in concluding with the Scottish king. The king of England which euer (so it were not to his dishonour, hurt or detriment) was not only a louer of peace, but also a norisher, and a furtherer of amitie and quietnesse, and especially at this time when he was vered with the ciuile sedition of his owne proper sheepe and flock, committed the charge of this weyghty matter to Richarde Fore Bishop of Durham, which laye on the Englishe borders in his castell of Norham. The Bishop according to the kinges apoyntement went honorablye into Scotland, where he and Peter Hyalas at the towne of Jedwoorth reasoned with the Scottish commissioners as concerning this peace to be had. Sire hundred conditions were purposed on the one part & the other, but after long protracting of time & much debating and arguing, not one was accepted nor alowed, and one thing aboue all other dashed the whole treatie: For king Henrie instantly required to haue Perkyn Warbecke the fountaine and chiefe cause of all this tumulte and vnquietnesse, the perturber of hym and his whole realme: But the king of Scottes fyrmely denied to consent to any article that might sounde to his reproch or dishonour: And also now he beganne to smell and sauour the iuggeling and false counterfeyting of his new gest Perkyn Warbeck: Yet because that Perkin was alied to him by matrimony, he thought it both vnhoneste, vnreasonable and vnnaturall to betray his allie, and deliuer him to death and confusion. Wherefore when they had reasoned the matter and diuers other vrgent and weyghtie causes by diuers dayes of

Richarde Fore Bishop of Durham.

meeting,

meeting, and that for the contrarietie of opinyons, no firme peace coulde be concluded. In stede of peace a truce was concluded for certayne yeres vpon condition that James king of Scottes should conuey Perkyn Warbeck out of hys realme, seigniories and dominions.

While these things were reasoned and at the last concluded in the confines of England and Scotlande, king Henry caused the Ambassadoures of the French king, to be brought to his presence, and he them receiued with all benignitie, which as it is shewed before were stopped at Douer of their iourney vntyll such time as the insurrection of the Cornishmen were suppressed and extinguished. And with lyke entertaynement he embraced at the same very season the Lorde of Camphire & other Ambassadors of Philip Archeduke of Austrich and Duke of Burgoyne, comming to hym for the conclusion and continuaunce of an amitie, and to haue the English marchants to resorte to their countrie agayne, which from thence before were prohibited and forbidden. Whych request being verye agreable to the quyetnesse and tranquility of his realme, and especially at that time, he did fauourably graunt and benignly assent vnto. And so being confederate & alyed by treaty & league with all his neighbors marchyng on euerie side of his realmes and regions, he gratified with his most hartie thanks kyng Ferdynand and the Queene his wife, for they were the mediators, organes & instruments by the which the truce was concluded betwene the Scottish kyng and hym, and rewarded Peter the ambassadour liberally and bountifully.

A peace and treatie of the entercourse concluded betweene the house of Austrich and Burgoyne with king Henry the seuenth for the free traffique into the lowe Countries.

So the Englishmen resorted againe into the Archedukes Dominions and were receyued into Andwarp wyth generall procession, so glad was the Towne of their returnyng, which was by theyr absence sore hyndered and impouerished, at the time that this vnitie and concord was made, which was the yeare of oure Lorde a thousand foure hundred. xcvij. and the. xiij. yeare of kyng Henries reigne.

The Englishe Marchaunts receyued into Andwarp with generall procession.

James king of Scottes perceauing now that he was by Perkyn manifestly deluded, according as he had faythfully promised, so he now duly performed it. For he calling to his presence the forsayde Perkyn Warbecke, declaring to him what benifites & commodities he had receiued of his princely liberalitie and gentilnesse, gentlye required him to depart out of the realme into some other countrie where he might make his abode more surelye and more quyetly, vntill such time as fortune woulde prouide a more prosperous wind to set forward the sayles of his purpose and desyre, declaryng vnto him that he compelled in maner by necessitie had concluded a league and concord with the king of England, and by the treatie, the refuge that he shoulde haue had of hym and hys countrye, was not onely to hym prohibited and forbydden, but also it was agreed and condiscended that neither the king of Scottes, nor any by his procurement or in his name shoulde make warre on the kyng of England, which warre he gladly tooke in hand for Perkyns sake, hauing sure confidence and perfite trust to haue bene ayded and assisted with Perkyns friendes in England. But when he perceyued that all was in vayne, and that all his wordes were but wynd, he exhorted him not to be displeased to depart, least his tarying might be to hym a detriment and a breakyng of the treatie betwene hym and kyng Henrie lately concluded: wherefore with many fayre wordes,

wordes he desired him to depart. This Perkyn knowyng the kings pleasure was very sore amased, seing there was no helpe to be looked for hereafter in Scotlande. Albeit remembryng the great benifytes which he had receaued heretofore of the Scottishe kyng, which he thought him selfe neuer hable to requyte and deserue, that he might not seme to hym ingrate or not willing to follow hys desire, he was content at his intercession to depart. And shortly after sayled into Irelande wyth hys wyfe and familie, there determining with him selfe eyther to sayle into Flaunders to the Duches of Burgoyne, or to ioyne and take part with the Cornishmen. But how so euer it was, while hys laye in Ireland doubtyng what to do, he had intelligence by certayne messengers that the Cornishmen for all their discomfiture and plague not to be appeased, but sore to grudge and murmure against king Henry, and that they were prone and ready to renew the warre agaynst the king and the Prince: where he not entendyng to forsake so fayre an occasion so manifestly offered, he hauing with hym foure small shippes and not aboue fyr score men, sayled into Cornewalle and there landed in the moneth of September and came to a towne called Bodman, and their did so solicit, prouoke, & stirre the mutable and wauering people, what with fayre wordes and large promises, that he gathered to hym aboue three thousand persons, which immediatly called him their Capitayne, and sayde that they would take his part and follow hym to the death, and in all things obey his preceptes and commaundements.

Perkyns departed out of Scotlande.

Perkin sayleth into Cornewall.

Then Perkin was well encoraged and made proclamations in the name of kyng Richard the fourth as sonne to kyng Edwarde that last dyed. And by the aduise of his three councellers, John Heron mercer a banquerupt, Richard Skelton a Tailer and John Atteley a Skreuener, men of more dishonestly then of honest estimation, determyned first of all to assault and beate all walled & strong townes and fortresses, & them to receiue into his possession and seigniorye for his farther securitie and defence: And that enterprise atchieued, then he would augment hys hoste and marche forwarde against all persons that durst once offer themselues to withstand hym.

The Cornishe men againe rebell and haue Perkyn for their Capitaine.

When he & his imprudent counsaile were fully resolued on this point and conclusion, they in good order went straight to Excester, which was the next City that he could approch to, and besieged it, & because he lacked ordinaunce to make a battery to rase & deface the walles, he studied all the waies possible how to breake and infringe the gates, and what with casting of stones, heauing with pron barres & kyndling of fire vnder the gates, he omitted nothing that could be deuised for the furtheraunce of his vngratious purpose. The Citizens perceauing their towne to be inuironned with enemies & like to be enflamed, began at the first to be sore abashed, and let certaine messengers by cordes downe ouer the wall which should certefie the kyng of all their necessitie and trouble. But after that, taking to them lusty hartes and manly courages they determined to repulse fyre by fire, & caused faggots to be brought to the inwarde part of the portes and posterns and set them all on fire, to the entent that the fire being enflamed on both the sydes of the gates, might aswell exclude their enimies from entering, as include the Citezens from running or flying out, and that they in the meane season might make trenches and rampyres to defend their enemies in stede of gates and Bulwarkes. Thus all the doings and attempts of the rebellious people had euill successe

Perkyn and hys company assaulteth the towne of Excester.

in their first enterprise: and thus by fire the Citie was preserued from flame and burning. Then Perkyn beyng of necessitie compelled to leaue the gates, assaulted the Towne in diuers weake and vnfortefied places, and set vp ladders, attempting to clyme ouer the walles and to take the Citie, thynkyng suerly to compell the Citezens eyther by feare or for lack of succour to render themselues and yeeld the towne. But the Citezens being nothing so mynded, so couragiously lyke valyaunt champions defended the walles, that they slue aboue two hundred of his seditious souldiours at this assault.

One fyre hot victorie ouer thyr- sworth and ther fyre.

Assone as the messengers of Excester came to the Kyngs presence and shewed their instructions, he hasted with his host toward Excester wyth as much hast as the grauitie of the cause did require. And sent the Lorde Dawbeney with light horsemen before to certefie all men of hys comming at hand. But in the meane season Lord Edward Courteney Earle of Deuonshire and Lorde William his sonne, a man of great force and valiauntnesse, accompanied wyth syr Edmond Carew, syr Thomas Trenchard, syr William Courtney, syr Thomas Fulforde, syr John Halewell, syr John Croker, Water Courteney, Peter Egecombe, William Sentuaure, with all spede came into the Citie of Excester and holpe the Citezens, and at the last assault the Earle was hurt in the arme with an arowe, and so were many of hys company, but verye fewe slayne.

Perkyn flyeth from Exceter.

When Perkyn wyth his lewde capytaynes saw that the Citie of Excester was so well fortfied both wyth men and municions, and that in maner impregnable, fearing the sequell of this matter, departed from Excester with his lowsie armie to the next great towne called Tawnton, and there the twentye daye of September he mustered his men as though he were readie to fight: but his number were sore minished. For when the poore and needye people saw the great defence which was made at Excester, and that no man of honour nor yet of honestie drew to hym, contrarie to the promyse and assuraunce, made by hym and hys counsaylers to them at the begynnyng, they withdrew themselues by sundry secrete companies from hym, in prouiding their owne sauegard. Which thing when Perkyn perceaued, he put small trust & lesse confidence in the remnant of his army, as afterward it did apere because the most part of hys souldiers were harnisshed on the right arme and naked all the body and neuer exercised in warre nor marciall feates but only with the spade and shouell.

Perkyn besieged Tawnton.

When the king heard he was gone to Tawnton, he hastened after him with all spede. Thether came to the king, Edward Duke of Buckingham, a yong Prince of a great courage & of a singuler good wit, and him followed a great companie of noble men, knightes, and Esquiers, prepared and redie with all thinges necessary for the fielde and battaile. Amongest which number was Sir Alexander Baynam, Sir Mawrice Barkeley, Sir Robert Tame, Sir John Guise, Sir Robert Poyntz, Sir Henry Vernon, Sir John Mortimer, Sir Thomas Tremayle, Sir Edward Sutton, Sir Amise Pawlet, Sir John Bickenell, Sir John Sapcotes, Sir Hugh Lutterell, Sir Fraunces Cheyney, and many other knightes, Esquiers and valiaunt personages. When the king approched nere the towne of Tawnton, whether he would not deferre and put off the battaile, or whether he doubtyng the turne of fortunes whele, sent before him Robert Lord Brooke lord Steward

Steward of his house, Gyles Lorde Dawbeney his chiefe Chamberleyn, and sir Rice ap Thomas, to set on his enemies, and begin the battaile, and he with his power folowed, to the entent that when the armyes coped and ioyned together, he eyther should with newe succours refreshe his owne army, or else set on the backe of his enemies or they could espie him. Albeit the king had no great neede to vse such pollicie if he had knowen what sequele had ensued. For assoone as Perkyn was enformed that his enemyes were redie to geue hym battaile, he that nothing lesse minded then to fight in open field with the kinges puyssaunce, dissimuled all the day tyme with his companie, as though nothing could make him afeard, and about midnight beyng accompanyed with. lx. horsemen, departed from Tawnton in poste to a Sanctuary towne beside Southhampton called Bewdeley, and there hee and John Heron, and other registred themselues as persons priuileged. But whether Perkyn did this for feare, least his men should forsake him, or for the cowardnesse of his owne timerous courage, it is as much vncertaine, as it is probable and sure, that the king tooke by his flight great commoditie and quietnesse, by reason that he was not enforced to fight with the Cornish men, whose heartes and courages were so encreased and enflamed by deadly desperation that they earnestly determined and were stedfastly bent either to winne victorie and ouercome their enemies, or else not one of them all to liue any day or houre longer.

Perkin flieth and taketh Sanctuary at Bewdley.

When king Henry knewe that Perkyn was fled and departed, he sent after him the Lorde Dawbeney, with fiue hundred horsemen towarde the sea syde to stay him before he should come there. But Perkyn whome the matter touched at the quick, made such hast with the swiftnesse of his horse, and sharpenesse of his spurres, that he was so farre passed on his way before, that no person coulde tell tidynges of him, before he regestred and disclosed himselfe in the Sanctuarie. But his chiefe Capitaynes which fled, could not so craftily escape, for the most part of them were apprehended, and as captiues and wretches miserably presented to the king. When the residue of the common people could neyther see Perkyn nor yet the Standards nor guidehomes of their Capitaynes, not knowing where he was become, doubtyng whether he were fraudulently slaine, or fearefully fled, wist not what counsell to aske or what way was most surest to follow and take. But when they were assertayned of his most shamefull flight, euerye person oppressed wyth this common mischiefe, common feare, and common perill, castyng awaye their armure, submitted themselues to the king, holdyng vp their handes in asking mercy, offeryng and promisyng him, fayth, loyaltie and obeysaunce. To whome the king of most gentle heart and lenitie, not onely graunted pardon but receyued them to his fauour. And so the king beyng a conquerour without manslaughter or effusion of christian blood, roade triumphantly into the Citie of Excester, and there not onely lauded and praysed the Citizens of Excester, but also rendered to them his most hartie thankes, as well for their dueties done, as for their valiauntnesse. And there also he afflicted and put in execution diuerse Cornish men which were the authours and stirrers vp of this newe insurrection and false conspiracie.

The horsemen that were sent, without any stop or stay, in short space came to Saint Michelles mount, and there (as chaunce was) found Lady

Katheryn Gozden wyfe to Perkyn, and brought her straycht lyke a bonde woman and captiue to the king. And the king wonderyng at her beauty and amiable countenaunce, thought her a pray moze mete foz the chiefe capitaine then foz the meane Souldiozs, began then a little to phantasie her person, and sent her incontinently, accompanied with a goodly sozt of sad matrones and gentlewomen (because she was but a yong woman) to London to the Queene as a true and vndoubted token of his triumph and victozye. And while he reposed hunselfe at Excester, he iudged that he had nothing wonne, noz yet plucked by the roote of this seditious rebellion, except he couide get into his possession the chiefe hed and type of thys pestiferous faction and businesse. Wherefoze he enuironed the Sanctuarye which Perkyn was in, rounde about with two companies of light hozsemen, wise and discrete persons, to the entent to bereue and plucke from Perkyn all hope of flight and escapyng away. And after that, he attempted thys yong fondlyng by trustye and pollitique messengers, if he hauyng pardon and remission of all mischieuous and heynous offences by hun done agaynst the king and his Realme, would gladly submit himselfe to the king, and be to him faythfull true and obedient. Perkyn beyng nowe destitute of all hope, faylyng of his dwellyng place, and lackyng comfozt, ayde, and refuge, considerying that he was now brought to the very poynt and pzicke of extremitie, that he wist not how noz whether to flie into any Countrie foz succour, and also he was in bitter dispayze to haue hereafter any pzosperous chaunce, oz foztunate successe in his enterpzice, because he had so often attempted, and so manye tymes had bene foyled and vanquished, wherfoze he hauyng his pardon to him offered, and trusting to the open pzomise of men, of his awne will frankly and freely departed out of Sanctuary and committed himselfe to the kinges pleasure, and so by this meanes this great heate was quenched and appeased.

Perkyn submitted himselfe to the king.

Then was the king very glad that this warre was ended, and tooke his iourney immediately toward London, not without a great concourse of people meetyng him out of euery quarter to see this Perkyn as he were a Mõster, because he beyng an alyen of no abilitie by his pooze parentes (although it was otherwise talked and dissimuled) durst once inuade so noble a realme, and it to infect with such lyes and leasynges, and chiefely of all that he by hys craftie suboznations had perswaded diuers aswell noble as ignoble (not without the confusion and vndoyng of many of them) to beleue and say that he was the very same person that he feyned and paynted himselfe to be. But when the king was come to London, he appoynted certaine kepers to attend on him which should not (the bzedth of a nayle) go from his person, to the entent that he might neyther conuey himselfe out of the lande, noz flie any whether, noz yet pzouoked and pzocured by other, should be able to sowe againe no newe sedition noz seditious tumult within his realme and countries.

Kepers were appointed to looke to Perkyn.

When these tydings came to the Ladye Margaret in Flaunders that Perkyn her deere darling had no good luck but toke, both of his enterpzise and her great studious furtheraunce, and was brought into captiuitie, shee was not well pleased with them, but wept and lamented hys vnluckie spede, and cursed her infoztunate chaunce.

When these things were brought to passe accozding to the kings minde, he did not fozget that there was not a moze delectable and pleasaunt thing, noz a larger reyne of mischiefe geuen to the vulgare people, then to haue a sure hope and trust that they may offende without any punishment oz cozrection: Wherefoze to the intent hereafter to obserue his people in due obeysaunce and subiection, he shoztlye caused inquyzies to be made of dyuers offences. Wherupon diuers persons as well in Sommersetshire as Deuonshire were accused and pzesented that they had ayded both wyth men and money the Coznish Traytozs, not only after their discomfiture in returning homeward, but also in their marching fozward, entending to make battayle against the king being their souereigne and liege Lozd. All which offenders he determined to plague and scourge accozding to the quantity of their crime and offence, with great fines and soze assesments. And therefoze he committed this charge to Thomas Lozde Darcie, to Amis Paulet knight, and Robert Sherbozne Deane of Paules, after Bishop of Chichester.

Commissioners Thomas Lozde Darcy Amis Paulet knight, Robert Sherbozne Deane of Paules.

These Commissioners lyke a whirlewinde tossed and pierced the Cofers and substaunce of all the inhabitaunts of both the Countries, to the intent that no person being embzued oz spotted with the ynke of that abhominable crime, should escape the payne which he wozthily had deserued: but they were gentle and remisse to a great number, and specially to such as offended by cohercion and feare, rather then of malicious heart oz enuious minde. Yet were they to none so fauourable but they were thought foz their defaultes wozthy of some punishment, so that equitie therein was very well and iustly executed.

In this yere a sodeyne chaunce, ye a thing of no moment noz wozthy to be regarded had almost so kindled agayne the olde displeasure and grudge betweene king Henry and king James of Scotlande, that they could scarce kepe their hands, and bzidle their courages from warre and fighting. The first motion of this displeasure was thus: Certayne yong men of the Scots came armed vnto Nozham Castell, and beheld it wonderous circumspectly, as though they had beene desirous to knowe what was done there within: But when the kepers of the Castell could not perceiue any hostilitie oz dammage towardes them oz theirs, and seyng them depart of their awne accozd, determined it not conuenient to moue any question to them noz once to stirre out. But when they came agayne the next daye and viewed it likewise, the kepers of the sayde Castell suspecting some fraude to lurck in their looking, demaunded of them what was their intent, & why they viewed and aduised so the Castell. The Scottes euen lyke themselues, aunswered them proudly and rustically with many disdeynfull wozdes. Insomuch that after their blustering and blowyng aunswers made, the Englishe men beyng vexed and moued therewithall, replyed to them with hard and manly strokes, and after many a soze blowe geuen and taken on both partes, and diuers Scottes wounded and some slayne, the Scottes oppzessed with the multitude of the Englishe people, fled as fast as their hozses would carie them. When they came home and certefied the king of the same, he was therewith soze moued and angry, and swore by sweete Saint Ninyan there was nothing to him moze inconstant and vnstedfast then the obseruyng of the league by the king of Englande, and sent wozde thereof to king Henry in all haste by Marchmount his Herauld.

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Marchemount a Herauld of Scotland.

The king of England which nothing moze embzaced and desyzed then

quyet tranquilitie and perfite loue and amitie with all Princes beyng hys neyghbours and borderers, to the intent that he myght lyue in his latter dayes in an honest and quyet lyfe after so many labours and vexations euen from his infancie drawen and exercised in, made him aunswere that it was not done through his default, neither by his counsell nor knowledge, but rather by the rashe folly of the keepers of the Castell, requiring him for that cause not to thinke the league infringed, promising in the worde of a king to enquire of the truth, and who were the malefactours. And if the offence were founde to be begon on the partie of the keepers of the Castell, he assured him that they should for no meede or fauour escape paine and punishement. This aunswere although it were more then reasonable, could not mitigate or asswage the Scots anger and outrageousnesse, for the which cause Richarde Bishop of Durham, which was more heauie then all other because that this discorde was renued agayne betweue these two Princes by occasion of Castell kepers, he therefore thought it best first to asswage and coole the furious rage of the Scottishe king, and wrote manye letters to hym, requiring him of peace and vnitie. The king perceauing both the good will and constant grauitie of the Bishop, appeased his furie and aunswered gently to the Bishops letters by wryting agayne to him, saiyng, that because he had many secret and priuy things in his mind which he would cõmunicate onely with him touching the cause nowe in varyaunce, he therfore required him to take paine to come into his Countrie, trusting that he should thinke his labour well bestowed. The Bishop was very glad and sent worde to the king his maister, of king James desire, who esteemed the request and cause both iust and reasonable, and therfore willed him to accomplish the Scottish kings honest desire.

Richard Bishop of Durham.

When he came into Scotland, he was receyued with all humanitie that could be thought of the king himself at an Abbey called Melrose. And there, after that the king for a countenaunce had complayned muche of the cruelty and slaughter that was vsed towardes his men late at Norham, he easily remitted the offence and pardoned it, and began secretly to common wythout any witnesses or arbitrers nere hande with the Bishop alone. And first declared to him what olde and iust causes haue moued him before this, to seeke alyaunce and amitie with king Henry, which nowe he desired much more to haue confirmed and corroborate for the farther maintenaunce of loue and increase of friendship, which thing he doubted not, but should sorte to a fortunate effect and good conclusion, if the king of England would vouchsafe to geue to him in matrimony his first begotten daughter the Lady Margaret, vpon which point he determined not long agone to sende hys Ambassadors into England, which thing he would the soner doe if he knew this Bishops minde and intent readie to further his louing purpose. The Bishop aunswered but fewe wordes, saiyng that when he were returned to the king hys maister, he would doe the best in the matter that laye in his power. Which wordes animated much the king, and put him in good hope to sende his Ambassadours to the king of Englande to sue for the sayde matrimonie to bee concluded.

Ladie Margaret eldest daughter to king Henry the seuenth.

When the Bishop had taken his leaue, and was come to the king, he declared to him in order all the communication betwene king James and him.

Thys

This request pleased the king very much, to whom peace was euer a souereigne medicine, and determined surely to minister occasion of warre to no man, nor would haue any Prince to prouoke him to the same.

Perkin Warbeck. Edward erle of Warwicke.

Now began the fatall daye of the death of Perkyn Warbeck, and Edward Erle of Warwicke to approche: For after this fact done and committed, one fierce and strong waue deuoured and swalowed both their lyues not long a sunder, as you shall heare by the continuation of this storie. Perkyn, whether it grieued him to be kept in warde, or else that he was instigated and entised by some of his olde friendes to sturre more coles, and begin some newe seditious faction, or at the least, because he would wilfully waste and cast away himselfe, studied how to escape and flie away, hauyng perfite hope that he should finde occasion to bring all things well to passe, if he could conuey himselfe once out of the English mens hands. And although he were not ignoraunt, that he neither could doe nor imagine any thing, but the king would both heare of it and know it: Yet he seduced with hope of euasion and scaping, which was the chiefe comfort of his captiuitie, had liefer put all things in a proofe and hazarde, rather then lenger to suffer the present calamitie and daylie miserie. And so deceyuing his keepers tooke him to hys heeles, by the which he brought himselfe into a straighter custodie and prison, and wrapped himselfe into tortures and punishmentes: For when he came to the Sea costes, and had gone but a little forward on his iourney, when the rumour of his flight was spreade abroade, euery bye way and lane was set abroade with the kings garde, which had the custodie of hys body. Wherfore he beyng sore abashed with the clamour of them that searched and made inquirie for him, and beyng in a maner destitute of wyt and counsaile, altered of necessitie from his pretensed iourney, and came to the house of Bethlem, called the Priorie of Shene beside Richemond in Southrey, and committed himselfe to the Prior of the Monasterie, requiring him for Gods sake to aske and desire his lyfe and pardon of the kings maiestie. The Prior which for his vertеous qualities was had in great estimation, moued with the calamitie and infortunate state of this man, came to the king and shewed him of this Perkyn, whose pardon he humblye craued, and frankely obteyned it. Incontinent after this, Perkyn was brought to the Court againe to Westminster with many a curse and reproche, and was one daye set fettered in a payre of stockes, before the doore of Westminster hall, and there stoode one whole day, not without innumerable reproches, mockes and scornings. And the next day was carped thorough London, and set vpon a lyke Scaffolde in Chepe by the Standard, with lyke gyues and stockes as he occupied the daye before, and there stood all daye and red openly his awne confession written with hys awne hande, the verie Copie whereof hereafter ensueth.

The confessiõ of Perkin as it was written with his awne hande.

First it is to be knowne, that I was borne in the towne of Turney in Flaunders, and my fathers name is John Osbeck, which sayde John Osbeck, was Comptroller of the said towne of Turney, and my mothers name is Katheryn de Faro. And one of my Graundsires vpon my fathers side was named Diryck Osbeck which dyed, after whose death my Graundmother was maryed vnto Peter Flamme, that was receiuer of the forenamed towne of Turney, and Deane of the Botemen that rowe vpon the water or ryuer,

ryuer, called Leschelde. And my Graundsire vpon my mothers side was Peter de Faro, which had in his keeping the keyes of the gate of S. Johns within the same Towne of Turney. Also I had an Uncle called maister John Stalyn, dwelling in the parishe of Saint Pyas within the same towne, which had maried my fathers sister, whose name was Jone or Jane, with whome I dwelled a certayne season. And after I was led by my mother to Andwerp for to learne Flemmishe, in a house of a Cousyn of mine, an officer of the sayde towne, called John Stienbeck, with whome I was the space of halfe a yere. And after that I returned agayne to Turney, by reason of the warres that were in Flaunders. And within a yere followyng I was sent with a Marchaunt of the sayde towne of Turney named Berlo, to the marte of Andwarpe where I fell sick, which sicknesse continued vpon fiue Moneths. And the said Barlo set me to borde in a Skinners house, that dwelled beside the house of the Englishe nation. And by him I was from thence caryed to Barowe marte, and I lodged at the signe of the olde man, where I abode the space of two Moneths. And after this the sayd Barlo set me with a Marchant of Middelborough to seruice, for to learne ꝑ language whose name was John Strewe, wyth whom I dwelled from Christmas til Easter, and then I went into Portyngale, in the companie of Sir Edward Bramptones wyfe, in a ship which was called the Quenes ship. And when I was come thether, then I was put in seruice to a Knight that dwelled in Lushborne, whiche was called Peter Vacz de Cogna, wyth whome I dwelled an whole yere, which sayde knight had but one eye. And because I desyred to see other Countries, I toke licence of him, & then I put my selfe in seruice with a Briton, called Pzegent Meno, the which brought me with him into Irelande, and when we were there arriued in the towne of Corke, they of the towne, because I was arayed with some clothes of Silke of my sayde maisters, came vnto me and threaped vpon mee that I should be the Duke of Clarence sonne, that was before time at Deuelin. And forasmuche as I denied it, there was brought vnto me the holy Euangelists and the crosse by the Maior of the towne, which was called John le Wellen, and there in the presence of him and other I tooke my othe as the truth was, that I was not the foresayde Dukes sonne, nor none of his blood. And after this came vnto me an Englishe man, whose name was Stephen Poytron, with one John Water, and layde to me in swearyng great othes, that they knew well that I was king Richardes Bastard sonne: To whome I aunswered with like othes, that I was not. And then they aduised me not to be afearde, but that I should take it vpon me boldly, and if I would so do, they would ayde and assist me with all their power agaynst the king of England, and not onely they, but they were assured well that the Erles of Desmond, and Kildare, should do the same. For they forced not what parte they tooke, so that they might be reuenged vpon the king of England, and so agaynst my will made me to 'earne Englishe, and taught me what I should do and say. And after this they called me Duke of Yorke, second sonne of king Edward the fourth, because king Richards bastard sonne was in the handes of the king of England. And vpon this the sayde John Water, Stephen Poytron, John Tiler, Hughbert Burgh, with many other, as the foresayde Erles, entred into this false quarell. And within short time after, the French king sent an Ambassador

sador into Ireland, whose name was Loyte Lucas, and mayster Stephyn Fryam, to aduertise me to come into Fraunce. And thence I went into Fraunce, and from thence into Flaunders, and from Flaunders into Ireland, and from Ireland into Scotland, and so into England.

When night of the same day, which was the .xv. day of June was come (partly because the king had pardoned him his life, and partly because hee should no more ronne awaye, & put the king in doubt of any mistrust or misfortune to come) he was committed to the Tower of London, where hys wickednesse boilyng so hote within his cankard stomacke, would not suffer him to escape the punishement and vengeaunce of God, but shortly after was most iustly and worthily put to death, as hereafter shall be shewed.

Edward Plantagenet Erle of Warwike, of whome ye haue heard before, being kept in the Tower almost from his tender age, that is to say, from the first yere of the king to this .xv. yere, out of all company of men and sight of beastes, in so much that he could not decerne a Goose from a Capon. And where as he by cõmon reason and open apparaunce, coulde not by his awne doynges seeke his death and destruction, yet by the drift and offence of another man, he was brought to his end and confusion. For a Frier Augustin on the border of Suffolke called Patricke, to the entent to bring this Erle into disdaine and hatred, had a certaine scholer called Rauffe Wilford, whome he greatly fauoured, and in whose hed he euer distilled and infused this foolish and phantasticall conceyte, that if he would folowe his counsaile and aduise, he would easily conuey him to the kingdome of England. The scholer lyke a good disciple, did not denie to folow his maisters discipline and counsaile, but more and more desired and put his Maister in remembraunce to performe and accomplishe with all speede, that thing which of his awne liberalitie, he before had to him both promised and assured, saying, what Mecocke or dastard is so fore afeard of transgressing the law, or dreadeth punishment, the which to obteyne a kingdome will not attempt to do, and suffer all things that is possible to be assayed and tasted? So that when they betwene themselues secretly had taken a craftie deliberation and counsaile of their enterprise, and had deuised in their foolishe wittes, howe it should be brought to passe, they went both together into Kent (which Countrie in auncient tyme hath not beene dull in setting foorth of newe phantasticall phantasyes) and there begon this yong Mawmet to tell priuily to many that he was the very Erle of Warwicke, and lately gotten out of the Tower, by the helpe of hys Frier Patricke. To the which saiyngs when the Frier perceyued hope to be geuen, he declared it openly in the Pulpet, and desired all men of helpe.

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Patrick a Frier the conueyer away of Edward Erle of Warwick.

But the head of this sedicion was Sommer topped, that it could haue no time to spring any higher, the maister and the scholer beyng both apprehended and cast into prison, and attainted. Of the which two, the scholer was hanged on Shrouetuesday, at Saint Thomas of Watering, and the Frier was condemned to perpetuall prison and captiuitie. For at that tyme here in England, so much reuerence was attributed to the holy orders, that a priest, although he had committed high treason against his souereigne Lord and to all other, offenders in murder, rape or theft, which had receyued any of the three higher holy orders, the lyfe was geuen, & the punishment of death released. The chiefe cause of this fauour was this, because Bishops of a long

tyme

tyme and season did not take knowlege, nor intermit themselues with ỹ perch and punishement of such heynous and detestable offences, by reason wherof they did not disgrade and depryue from the holy orders such malefactors, and wicked persons, which without ỹ ceremony, by the canonicall law could not be put to death. Furthermore, what should a man say, it was also vsed that he that could but only read (yea although he vnderstode not what he read) how heynous or detestable a cryme so euer he had cõmitted (treason onely except) should likewise as affines and alyes to the holy orders be saued, & committed to the Bishops prison. And to the entent that if they should escape, & be again taken, cõmitting like offence, that their liues should be no more to them pardoned, it was ordayned that murderers should be brent on the brawne of the left hande with an hote yron signed with this letter M, and theeues in the same place with this letter T, so that if they, which were once signed with a-nye of these markes or tokens, did againe commit like cryme and offence, should suffer the paynes and punishmentes, which they had both merited and deserued. Which deuice was enacted and established in the Parliament kept in the seconde yere of this kinges reigne, and taken as I coniecture of the French nation, which are wont if they take any such offender, to cut off one of his eares, as a sure token and marke hereafter of his euill doyng. And the charge of keping such offenders, that be only inprisoned by their offences, because it soundeth to spirituall religion, is committed to the Bishops and rulers of the spiritualtie, with a penaltie set vpon them, if any such prisoner doe afterwarde escape. The which act and priuilege did nourishe and encrease aboundauntly the sect and swarme of theeues and murderers, for after that time there were an hundreth waies practised and inuented, how at one time or another, to deliuer or conuey them out of prison and captiuitie, by making their purgation (by what sleight and meanes they care not) of such offences as before they were conuinced and found guiltie, if no man be present to lay exceptions to the same. For if the partie offended and hurt be absent at the day of the purgation makyng, the theefe or murderer truely found guilty from the begynning, shall be both excused and set at libertie. And oftentimes the sooner, because the Bishop would not leese so great a summe as an hundred pounde, for the escape of a poore knaue, scant worth a Dandiprat: But now to returne to our matter againe.

Murderers to be brent in the hand with an M. and theeues with a T.

Purgation of Conuicts.

Perkyn (of whome rehersall was made before) beyng now in hold, could not leaue with the destruction of hym selfe, and confusion of other that had associate themselues with hym, but began nowe to studye which way to flye and escape. For he by false persuasions and liberall promises, corrupted Strangweyes, Blewet, Astwood and long Rogier hys kepers, being seruauntes to syr John Dygby Lieutenaunt. Insomuch that they (as it was at their arreinement openly proued) entended to haue slayne the sayd Maister, and to haue set Perkyn and the Erle of Warwicke at large, whiche Erle was by them made priuie of this enterprice, and therevnto (as all naturall creatures loue libertie) to his distruction assented. But this craftie deuice and subtill imagination, being opened & disclosed, sorted to none effect, and so he being repulsed and put backe from all hope and good lucke wyth all his complices and confederates, and John Atwater, sometyme Maior of Corffe in Irelande, one of his founders, and hys sonne, were the sixtene day of Nouember

Strangweys Blewet, Astwood and long Rogier kepers of Perkin were corrupted.

uember arained and condemned at Westminster. And on the three and twentye daye of the same moneth, Perkyn and John Atwater were drawne to Tiborne, and there Perkyn standyng on a litle skaffolde, read his confession, which before you haue heard, and toke it on his death to be true, & so he and John Atwater asked the kyng forgeuenesse and dyed paciently. This was the rewarde of the pernicious Alye of Perkyn Warbeck, which in his life wyth false persuasions and vntrue surmises had brought many noble personages to death and vtter perdicion, so at his death he brought with him other of the same sorte to their not vndeserued punishment. And amongest other Edward Earle of Warwicke, which as the fame went, consented to breake pryson, & to depart out of the Realme wyth Perkyn (which in prisoners is high treason) was the .xxj. daye of the sayde moneth arreyned at Westmynster before the Earle of Orforde, then high Constable of England, of the sayd treason, which whether it were by the enticement of other or of his awne free will (many me doubt because of hys innocency) confessed the fact & submitted himselfe to the kyngs mercy. And vpon his confession he had his iudgement, and accordyng therevnto, the .xxbiij. day of Nouember. M.cccc. xcix. was brought to the skaffold on the Towre hyll, and there beheded. The fame after hys death sprang abroad, that Ferdinand kyng of Spayne would neuer make full conclusion of the matrymony to be had betwene Prince Arthur & the Lady Katheryn hys daughter, nor send her into England as long as this Erle lyued. For he imagined that as long as any Erle of Warwicke lyued, that England should neuer be clensed nor purged of cyuill warre and preuy sedycion, so muche was the name of Warwicke in other Regions, had in feare and gelosye.

Perkyn and John Atwater drawen to Tyborne and executed.

Edwarde Erle of Warwick beheaded.

A great death.

The next yere after there was a great plague, wherof men dyed in many places very sore, but especially & most of all in the City of London, where dyed in that yere thirty thousand. Also in this yere was burned a place of the kings called the maner of Shene, situate and lying nigh the Thamys side, which he after buylded agayne sumptuously and costely, and chaunged the name of Shene, and called it Richemond, because his father and he were Erles of Richemond.

The menour of Shene brent.

The King perceyuing this plague and contagyous disease, rather to encrease then decrease, whether it was to auoyd the occasion of the sickenesse, or to allure the Archduke of Burgoyn to common with him, he personally toke his ship at Douer, in the beginnig of May, & sailed to Calice, to the entent to prouide and see the watches, which haue bene accustomed to be diligently kept and mayntayned against the incursions of his aduersaries, and there he made politique ordinaunces and straight lawes. While the kyng laye thus at Calice, the Archeduke Philyp sent to him diuers notable personages, not alonelye to gratify and welcome him into those partes, but also to declare that the sayde Archeduke offred to repayre personally to hys presence, wyth suche a nomber as the King should appoynt, so that it were within no walled towne or fortresse. For he had before diuers tymes made denall to the French king to enter into any of his walled townes, and if he should, as he gladly would come to the towne of Calice, it might be a president to ỹ French king to desyre like metyng, what chaunce there of might fall, euery man could not iudge. The king gently entertayned the Ambassadors, but more thankfully

fully accepted the Archedukes offer, and so appoynted the place at Saint Peters Church without Calice. Upon the Tuesday in Pentecost weeke, the Archeduke came thether with a conuenient companie. The King and the Queene with many a lustie Lorde and Lady rode thether to welcome him. And when the king approched, the Duke at his lightyng offred to holde hys stirrop, which the king in no wise woulde suffer to be done. When the king was dissended from his horse, he and the Archeduke embraced eche other with most princely familiaritie, and then the Queene and all the Nobles saluted him. What banquettyng, what mirth, and what pastyme there was, I ouerpasse. But to conclude there was communication of mariages, treating of farther corroberation of leagues, requestes, of tolles in Flaunders to be mintched, with many other thinges, touchyng the entercourse and traffique of both their realmes. And when all thinges were set in an order, the two Princes louyngly tooke their leaue and departed, the king to Calice, and the Archeduke to Saint Omers.

After this departyng, the French king Lewys the twelue, sent to visite the king, the Lord Gronthouse gouernour of Picardie, and the Lord Berneliers, Bayly of Amyas, which declared to the king the gettyng of Millayn, and takyng of the Duke, which Lordes were highly feasted, and wyth great rewardes departed.

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Soone after when this plague was slaked, the king returned againe to England, about the ende of June: And beyng come into Englande, soone after there came to him one Gasper Pous, a Spaniard (both for learnyng and good behauiour very excellent) sent from Alexander Bishop of Rome, which should shew the Englishe men the right way to heauen. Therefore that yere was called the yere of Jubile, which was the yere of our Lorde a thousand fiue hundred. And to the entent that the people of farre Countries might be eased of their labour and trauaile in commyng thether, the charitable father sent his Legates into euery Countrie to destribute the heauenly grace (as he called it) to all Christen people, which eyther letted by warre, enemies, infirmitie, weakenesse, or tediousnesse of ỹ long iourney, were not able to performe their iourney to the holy Citie of Rome. But this benenolent liberality was not francke & freely geuen: For the holy Bishop Alexander, with helpyng and loking to the helth of mens soules, thought somewhat to doe for hys awne pryuate commoditie and singuler welth, and therefore he limitted and set a certaine price of this his grace and pardon: and to the ende that the king should not hynder nor let his purpose, he offered part of this his gaine vnto the king. And that the people might the sooner minishe their purses, and enriche his Chestes, he promised that he would in the beginnyng of the yere make warre in all the haste against the great Turke. By this meanes and pollicie, this Alexander gat and heaped vp a great summe of money, and yet no battaile begonne against the Turke, which in the meane season had taken, conquered, and destroyed many regions, Cities, & townes belongyng to Christen men.

A yere of Jubile.

About this time died three Bishops in England, John Morton Bishop of Cauntorbury, Thomas Langton Bishop of Winchester, and Thomas Rotheram Bishop of Yorke. After him succeded Thomas Sauage Bishop of London, in whose place succeded Doctor William Warham of whom we made

made mencion before. And Henry Deane Bishop of Sarisburie was made Archebishop of Cauntorbury. Also Richard Fore Bishop of Durham, was preferred to the Bishoprike of Winchester. Also this yere two notable mariages were concluded and agreed vpon, but neyther solemnised nowe, nor consummate as you shall heare afterwarde. For king Henry graunted hys daughter Ladie Margaret to James the fourth king of Scottes. And Ferdinand king of Spaine gaue his daughter Ladie Katherin to Arthur prince of Wales, sonne and heyre apparaunt to the king of England. And it is to be considered ỹ king Henry did not ioyne this affinitie with the king of Scottes without cause: For he desiryng nothing more, then to passe ouer the remnãt of his lyfe in peace, rest, and tranquilitie, imagined in himselfe that by thys coniunction and couplement of matrimonie, no warre or hostilitie hereafter should be attempted eyther agaynst him or his Dominions by the Scottishe king or his nation, hauyng sure trust that none other of his enemies or of his rebelles should hereafter be receyued or maintayned in the Dominions and territories of his sonne in lawe. And amongest all other articles this was concluded and appoynted, that no English man should enter into Scotland, without letters commendatory of theyr awne soueregne Lorde, or saueconduyte of his Wardein of the Marches, and that prohibition was in lyke maner geuen to the Scottes.

The Lady Margaret affied to Jamis the fourth king of Scottes.

The Ladie Katheryn affied to Arthur Prince of Wales.

You haue heard before, howe that the mariage was agreed betweene Prince Arthure of England, and the Ladie Katheryn of Spaine, and howe the king her father promised to send her with great honour into England: He now this yere according to his promise conueyed her with a puyssaunt nauy toward England, where she arriued in the porte of Plymmouth the seconde day of October, then beyng Saterday. When the king was certified of her arryuall, incontinent he sent both for Prince Arthur his sonne into Wales to repayre to London, and sent diuers great Lords and knightes to conuey her with tryumph toward her spouse and husband. And vpon the .xij. day of Nouember, she was conueyed from Lambeth through London with all triumph and honour that could be deuised or imagined, to the Bishops palace, by the cathedrall Church of Saint Paules. And because I will not be tedious to you, I passe ouer the wise deuises, and the prudent speeches, set forth in seuen goodly Pageauntes, erected and set vp in diuers places of the Citie. I leaue also the sweete harmonie, which sounded with heauenly noyse on euery syde of the streete. I omit farther, the costly apparell both of Goldesmithes woorke and embraudery, the riche Jewelles, the massie Chaynes, the stirryng horses, the beautifull bardes, and the glitteryng trappers, both with belles and spangles of golde. I will not molest you with rehersyng the riche arras, the costly tapestrie, the fyne clothes both of golde and siluer, the pleasaunt silkes, which did hang in euery streete where she passed, the wine that ranne continually out of the Conduytes. But to resort vnto the history.

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The receyuing into London of ỹ Lady Katheryn who afterward maryed with Prince Arthur the kinges eldest sonne.

While this princesse solourned for her recreation in the Bishops palace of London, not without visitation of the king, the Queene and the kinges mother, there was erected in the bodye of Saint Paules Church, a long bridge made of timber, extending from the West doze of the Church, to the step at the entering into the Quere, which was fiue foote from the ground. On the sayd bridge or stage, euen directly before the consistorie of the church

was eleuate a place lyke a mount, for eyght persons to stand vpon, compassed rounde about with steps to assend and dissend, which was couered wyth fyne red worsted, and in lykewise were all the rayles of the sayde stage. On the Northside of this mount was a place furnished for the king and Queene and such other as they appointed. On the Southside of the same mount stood the Maior & the Magistrates of London. When all preparation was made, and all things set in an order. Upon the day of Saint Erkenwalde, then beyng Sunday, the sayde Lady was led to the same mount, and there prince Arthur openly espoused her, both beyng clad in whyte, both lustie and amorous, he of the age of fiftene and more, and she of the age of .xviij. or there abouts. After the matrimonie celebrate, the prince and hys wyfe went vp into the Quere, and there heard a solempne masse, song by the Archebyshop of Cauntorbury, associate with .xix. Prelates mytred. And after the masse fynished, the Bride was led homewarde to the Byshops palace, by Henry Duke of Yorke, beyng then a goodly yong prince, & the Legate of Spaine. Next after folowed the Ladie Cicile sister to the Queene, supportyng the trayne of the spouse. After whome folowed aboue an hundred Ladies and Gentlewomen gorgeously apparayled and richely adourned. There was kept that day a sumpteous feast, but when night was come, this lustie prince and his bewtifull Bride were brought and ioyned together in one bed, and there did that act, which to the performaunce and full consummation of matrimonie was most requysite and expedient. In so muche that his familier seruitours, which had then neyther cause nor rewarde to lye or fayne, declared openly that in the morning he called for drinke, which he before times was not accustomed to doe. At which thing one of his Chamberlaynes marnayling, required the cause of his drouth. To whome he answered merily saying, I haue this night bene in the middest of Spaine, which is a hote region, and that iourney maketh me so drie, and if thou hadst bene vnder that hote clymate, thou wouldest haue bene drier then I. Then shortly after the king and the Queene with the new wedded spouses, went from Baynardes Castell by water to Westminster, on whome the Maior and Communaltie of London, in Barges garnished with standardes, streamers, and penons of their deuise, gaue their attendaunce. And there in the palace were suche martiall feates, and valiant iustes, as before that tyme was of no man had in remembraunce. Of this royall triumph Lord Edward Duke of Buckyngham was chiefe chalenger, and the Lorde Thomas Grey Marques Dorset was chiefe defendour, which with their aydes and companions, bare themselues so valyauntly that they obteyned great laude and honour, both of the Spaniardes and of their Countrimen.

The mariage of prince Arthur with the Ladye Katheryn.

This after his father was king Henry the eyght.

Ambassadors sent from the Scottes, for the mariage of the Lady Margaret.

During the time of these iustes and triumph, were receaued into London, an Erle, a Byshop, and dyuers noble personages, sent from the king of Scottes into England, for the conclusion of the mariage betwene the Lady Margaret the kings daughter and hym. Which Erle by prorie in the name of king James his maister, affied and contracted the sayd fayre Lady. Which assurance was published at Paules Crosse, the day of the conuersion of S. Paule, in reioysing wherof Te deum was song, & great fires made thorough the Citie of London. Which things as you haue heard, beyng fully fynished and accomplished the Ambassadours as well of Spaine as of Scotlande, tooke

tooke their leaue of the king, and not without great rewardes departed into their Countries.

When the Ambassadors were departed, the king entending to auaunce the honor and reputation of the prince his sonne, furnished him with men and money largely, and sent him agayne into Wales, where he was before, to keepe liberall hospitalitie, and to minister to the rude Welshemen indifferent iustice. And least by reason of lack of experience he might erre, he appointed to him wise and expert counsaylers, as syr Rycharde Poole his kinsman, which was his chiefe Chamberlayne, with whome were associate syr Henry Vernon, Sir Rychard Crofts, Sir Dauy Philip, Sir Wyllyam Vdale, Syr Thomas Englefelde, Sir Peter Newton knightes, John Walston, Henry Watyon, & Doctor Wyllyam Smyth who was President of his Counsayle, and Doctor Charles, both were with him associate, the one was afterwarde Bishop of Lyncolne, and the other Byshop of Herford. But as of one Fountayne commeth often both ioye and sorrowe, so I leaue here to speake more of ioye of thys mariage, considering the chaunce that shortly after succeeded.

A few Moneths before the mariage of Prince Arthur, Edmond Poole Erle of Suffolke, sonne to John Duke of Suffolke, and Lady Elizabeth sister to King Edward the fourth, beyng stoute and bolde of courage, and of wyt rashe and headie, was endited of homicide and murther, for fleaying of a meane person in his rage and furie: And although the king pardoned hym whome he might iustly haue condempned for that offence, yet because he was brought to the Kings Benche barre and arreyned (which fact he reputed to be a great mayme and blemishe to his honor) tooke it seriously, and shortly after for this displeasure, fled into Flaunders, without any licence or safeconduyte geuen him of the king, to the Ladye Margaret his Awnt on the mothers side. Neuertheles, whether he was sturred by hys priuie friendes therunto mooued by the king, or whether he trusting on hys innocencie and truth feared no daunger nor penaltie, he returned agayne, and excused himselfe so to the king that he was thought to be guiltles and inculpable in any cryme that could be obiected to him, and therefore he was permitted to go frankely at his libertie and pleasure.

But when this mariage of prince Arthur was kept at London wyth great pompe and solempnitie, and that all the nobilitie were set on pleasure and solace, and the king himselfe was principally geuen to ioy and reioysing. Thys Edmonde, eyther for that he had bene at great and excessiue charges at the same tryumph and solempnitie, and by reason therof sore charged with debt. Eyther sollicited, allured & prouoked by that olde venemous Serpent the Duches of Burgoyn, euer beyng the sower of sedition, and beginner of rebellion agaynst the king of Englande, or else prouoked and pricked wyth enuy, which could not patiently with open eyes see and behold king Henry, beyng of the aduerse lyne to his lignage, so long to reigne in wealth and felicitie, in conclusion with his brother Rycharde fled agayne into Flaunders. This sad chaunce (I thinke) happened among the great ioyes and solaces of king Henry, least that he might not by ouermuch gladnesse sodeynly forget himselfe: which displeasure at an other time before to haue chaunced, it is manifest and well knowne to you.

When the King vnderstoode certaynly that this Erle was departed and returned agayne, he was not a litle vexed and vnquieted, mistrusting that some newe tumultuous busynesse should be begonne againe, and chiefly therfore blamed hymselfe of foolish follie that he had giuen hym his pardon for hys offence, lately committed. Although it was manifest ynough that he dyd it for thys purpose, that he myght dissemble and wynke at the matter so long vntill such time, he had some sure token and perfite knowledge of his conuration, the which he perceyued now to be surely attempted and begon. As ſone as Edmond de la Poole Erle of Suffolke was fled agayne into Flaunders, Syr Robert Curson, whome the kyng had promoted to the order of knighthoode, and made capitayne of Hammes Castle, a valiaunt and a circumspect man, dissimuling hymselfe to be one of that conspiracye went into Flaunders, doubtlesse to espy what was done there by the Lady Margaret against kyng Henrye. This opinion was setteled in euery mannes head at the first brochyng of the matter, and so yet continueth, groundyng vpon this principle, that he neyther vexed nor molested wyth any poynt of displeasure or iniurie by his Prince or anye other fled to the kings enimies. And after all thinges were knowne, pacified & suppressed, he willingly returned and was receiued into high fauour with the kyng his mayster and souereigne Lord. Howbeit, the king like a wise Prince, knowing the faithfull intent of thys syr Robert, & entending to put him out of al icalowsie and suspicion with the Ladye Margaret, and Edmond de la Poole, caused the said Erle and the said Sir Robert Corson, and fiue persons more to be accursed at Paules crosse the first Sundaye of Nouember, as enimies and rebels to him and his realme. But howsoeuer it chaunced, whether it were for the easing of his hart, or for some priuye pollicye, the kyng after the mariage of his sonne Prince Arthur, was so vigilant, and so intentiue, that he espied and tryed out such as he knew, partly to bee the inuentours of mischiefe against him, and partly to beare no good will towarde his person, that he coulde redily name and reherse their names and surnames, whereof a great part were within few dayes after apprehended and taken. And among them, Lord William Courtney, sonne to Edward Erle of Deuonshire, a man of great nobilitie, estimacion and vertue, which maryed Lady Katheryn, daughter to King Edward, Lorde William brother to Edmond, Erle of Southfolke, syr James Tyrrell, Sir John Windham. Both these Williams before rehersed were rather taken of suspicion and icalowsie, because they were nere of blood to the cõiurators, then for any proued offence or crime. Wherefore the Lorde William sonne to the Erle of Deuonshire, after the death of king Henry the seuenth, was deliuered and set abroad at libertie, by the noble and famous Prince kyng Henry the eyght, sonne to the sayd kyng, with whome after he was in great fauour and estimacion: but shortelye after, when he beganne to exercise him selfe in marciall feates and warlike study he sickened of a disease, called Pluresis, of which malady because it was straunge & rare to the Phisicians of England, he at the kinges Manour of Grenewich deceassed, leauing one sonne behinde him, to continue hys stirpe and familie. The Lorde William, brother to Edmond the Erle of Southfolke had also greater fauour shewed in prison, then hee had before. And syr James Tyrrell, and John Windham, because they were Traytors and so attaynted the sixt daye of Maye, they were on the Towre hyll beheaded.

Edmond de la poole Erle of Suffolke.

James Tirrell. John Windham.

headed. But when the Erle of Southfolk hard that some of his friends were put to execucõ, and some other committed to perpetuall pryson and captiuity, he was in a great agony and feare of himselfe. And so being clerely desperat to haue any fortunate successe in his pretensed enterprize, wandered about all Germanye and Fraunce for ayde and succour, prouing if he coulde finde any ayde or succour at their handes. But when he perceyued no stedfast ground to catch anchor holde vpon he submitted him selfe vnder the obeysaunce and defence of Philip Archeduke of Austrich and Burgoyne and Erle of Flaunders: But Richard his brother being an expert and politique man, so craftilye conueyed, and so wisely ordered himselfe in this stormy tempest, that he was not attrapped eyther with net or snare. The King, not yet being out of doubt of all domestical and seditious cuill discord, studied busily how to restrein & kepe in a streyte closure diuers malefactors, which being partakers of this conspiracy fled to sundry sanctuaries, tarying there til a faire day came to auaunce forward their enterprise. Wherupon he deuised to kepe the gates of all sanctuaries & places priuileged, shut & well locked, so that none should issue out from thence to perturbe and vnquiet him, his realme or people. And for that entent he both wrote and sent Ambassadours to Alexander then Bishop of Rome, desiring him by his authority to iudge and decerne all Englishmen, being fledde to Sanctuarye or other places for treason, as enemies to Christes faith, and scismatiques to Christen religion, & as cõmon perturbers of the quyet people, and Cayptaines and prouokers of trayterous rufflings inhibiting & prohibiting the refuge & priuilege of Sanctuary to all such persons as once had enioyed the immunity & libertie of the same, & after had fled out, & eftsones returned again. Which thing after ỳ the bishop had graunted, it was greatly to the quietnesse and comfort of king Henry, & many throughe the feare of that reproch, conuerted themselues to goodnesse & due subiection of their Prince: Other also that were in securitie, & out of all perill & daũger, durst not hasard themselues for feare of galtroppes or slypping into the fyre.

When the kyng by his high pollicie had compassed and framed his affaires thus to his purpose, sodeinly happened a lamentable chaunce & losse to the king, Queene, and all the people. For that noble Prince Arthure, the kinges first begotten sonne, after that he had bene maryed to the Ladie Katherin his wyfe fiue moneths, departed out of this transitorie lyfe, in his Castell of Ludlowe, and with a great funerall obsequie was buryed in the cathedrall Church of Worcester. After whose death the name of Prince belonged to his brother the Duke of Yorke, for ỳ his brother dyed without issue, and so without any creation ought to be called, except some cause apparaunt were the let and obstacle of the same. Howbeit the sayde duke vpon suspicion of his brothers wife to be with childe, and that doubtfully thought by the expert and sage men of the Princes counsaile, was by a moneth and more delayed from his title, name, and preheminence, in the which season the truth might to women easily appere. It is reported that this Ladie Katheryn thought and feared such dolorous chaunce to come: For when she had embraced her father, and taken her leaue of her noble and prudent mother, and sayled towardes England, she was continually so tossed and tumbled hether and thether, wyth boysterous wyndes, that what for the rage of the water, and contrarietie of the windes, her ship was prohibited diuers tymes to approch

The death of Prince Arthur.

pyorly the thyze and take lande.

1502 8 The birth of the Ladye Katheryn.

The next yere after Queene Elizabeth, liyng within the Tower of London, was bzought abed of a fayze daughter on Candlemasse day, which was there chzistened and named Katheryn, and the .xj. day of the same Moneth, the sayde most vertuous Pzinces and gracious Queene there deceassed, and was with all funerall pompe caryed thzough the Citie of London to Westminster, and there buried, whose daughter also taryed but a small season after her mother.

The death of Queene Elizabeth.

After the death of this noble Pzinces, which foz her great vertue was commonly called good Queene Elizabeth, departed Sir Reignolde Bzay knight of the Garter, a very father of his Countrie, a sage and a graue person, and a feruent louer of iustice. In so muche that if any thing had beene done agaynst good lawe oz equitie, he would after an humble fashion plainly repzehende the king, and geue him good aduertisement how to refozme that offence, & to be moze circumspect in another lyke case. Of the same vertue and honest plainenesse was John Moyton Archebishop of Cauntozbury, which Bishop dyed as (it is shewed aboue) two yeres befoze. So these two persons were euer restrayners and refrayners of the kinges wilfull scope and vnbzideled libertie, where as the rude and ignozannt people say and affirme, that their counsaile infected and cozrupted the kinges cleane and immaculate conscience, contrary to his pzincely disposition & naturall inclination. Such is euer the erroz of the cõmon people: but surely as long as the king would heere and obey such as warned him of his offyce royall and kingly dutie, he coulde in no wise erre oz swarue asyde. About this tyme also dyed Henrye Archebishop of Cauntozbury, whose rowme Doctoz William Warram Bishop of London supplyed. And to the Bishopzicke of London was elected William Barnes, after whose death succeded Richard Fitziames. In which yere the .xviij. day of Febzuary, the king at his Palace of Westminster, wyth all solemnitie created his onely sonne Henry Pzince of Wales, Erle of Chester. &c. which noble yongling succeded his father, not onely in the inheritaunce and regalitie, but also was to him equall in honour, fame, learnyng and pollicie.

John Moyton Archebishop of Cauntozbury.

Henry Archbishop of Cauntozburie.

Henry prince of Wales.

Maximilian the Emperour sent his Imbassadozs to the king.

Maximilian the Emperour, hearing that Queene Elizabeth was deceased, sent into England a solempne Imbassade of the which Lozde Cazimire, Marques of Bzadenburgh his Cosyn, accompanied with a Bysshop, an Erle, and a great number of gentlemen well appareled, was pzincipall Imbassadour, which were triumphantly receaued into London, and was lodged at Crosbyes place. This Imbassade was sent foz thzee causes, one to visite and comfozt the king, beyng sozowfull and sadde foz the death of so good a Queene and spouse. The second foz the renouation of the old league and amitie. The thirde which was not apparaunt, was to moue the king to marry the Emperours daughter the Ladye Margaret, Duches dowagar of Sauoye. The first two tooke effect, foz the king vpon Easter Sunday, roade to Paules in great triumph, the sayde Marques ryding on his left hande. And there the Bysshop made to the King an excellent and comfozt able Ozation, concerning the death of the Queene. And there also the king openly sware to keepe the new renouate league and amitie, during their two liues. But the thirde request, whether the let was on the mans part oz womans

mans side, neuer tasted to any effect oz conclusion. And so these things done, the Imbassadours returned sumptuously and honozably rewarded.

The Ladie Margaret eldest daughter vnto the King, affied vnto the king of Scottes was cõueyed into Scotlande.

All this Wynter was pzeparation made foz the conueyaunce of the Ladye Margaret, affied to the king of Scottes into Scotland. And when all things were readie and pzest, the king remoued the last day of June from Rychemond, hauing in his company his sayde daughter, and came to Colyweston, where the Countesse of Richmond his mother then lay. And after certayne dayes of solace ended, the king gaue her his blessing with a fatherly exhoztation, and committed the conueyaunce of her to the king her husbandes pzesence to the Erle of Surrey: and the Erle of Nozthumberlande was appointed as Wardeyn of the Marches to delyuer her at the Confines of both the Marches. Thus this fayze Ladie was conueyed with a great company of Lozdes, Ladies, Knightes, Esquires and Gentlemen, till shee came to Berwike, and from thence to a Village called Lambzeton kyzke in Scotlande, where the king with the floure of Scotlande was readie to receaue her, to whom the Erle of Nozthumberland, accozding to his commission delyuered her. The Scottes that day, I assure you were not behind the Englishemen, but farre aboue, both in apparell and riche Jewels and massy Chaynes: But aboue other the Erle of Nozthumberland, what foz the ryches of his Cote, beyng Goldsmithes wozke, garnished with pearle and stone, and what foz the costly apparell of the Henxmen and galaunt trappers of their hozses, besides foure hundzed tall men, well hozsed and apparcled in his colours, that he was esteemed both of the Scottes and English men, moze lyke a pzince then a subiect. Then was this Ladie conueyed to the towne of Edenbozough, and there the day after, king James the fourth, in the pzesence of all his nobilitie espoused the sayde fayze pzincesse, and feasted the Englishe Lozdes, and shewed to them Justes and other pastimes, very honozably, after the fashion of his rude Countrey. When all thinges were done and finished accozding to their commission, the Erle of Surrey with all the Englishe Lozds and Ladyes returned into their Countrie, geuyng moze pzayse to the manhood, then to the good maner and nurture of Scotlande.

In this yere began the newe wozke of the kings Chapell at Westminster, which is one of the most excellent peeces of wozke, wzought in stone, that is in Chzistendome.

1503 19 A parliamẽt.

In this yere the king kept his high Court of Parliament, in the which diuers actes were concluded, which were thought necessarie and expedient foz the pzeseruation of the publique weale. And among other thinges, it was determined that theeues and murderers duely conuicted by the lawe to dye, should be burned in the hande, and committed to the Bysshops custodie as I haue befoze declared. After this certaine money was graunted to the king, by the whole Parliament, and the goodes of men outlawed were fozfeyted and confiscated. There was also called (as the maner is) a congregation of the Clergie, to the intent, that they with their Treasure and Money might auaunce and pzeferre the common welth of the realme.

Hetherto we haue shewed you rough and sharpe battailes, pernitious and seditious strife, tumult, and the death of many noble and meane persons: Now therefoze let vs here rehearse, the contention of familier things, the gnawyng

gnawyng at the hartes, and the fretting of mindes and of bowes, promises and requestes made of diuers persons.

Kyng Henry, now drawing to age, and before this time euer vexed and prouoked with the scrupulous stinges of sedicion and ciuill commocion, insomuch that he more detested and abhorred intestine and priuat warre, then death or any thing more terrible. Wherfore he determined so politiquelye to prouide that all the causes of such inquyetnesse and mischiefe to come, should be rooted out and banished: which imaginacion and purpose he doubted not to compasse and bring to effect, if he made lowe and abated the courage of his subiects and vassalles, and especially of the richest sortes, remembring the olde prouerbe, that men through aboundaunce of riches waxe more insolent and hedstrong, and that nothing is more to them acceptable or desirous, then aboundaunce of treasure and plentie of money, which people eyther for feare of losing, or hope of gayning of worldly ryches desyre eyther peace or warre. But to the intent that men might not thinke nor report that he which is their King instituted of God to reuenge all iniuries to them done and committed, should oppresse and wrongfully polle and exact money of his subiects, he deuised with him selfe by what honest meane he might performe it. And thus deuising with himself, it came into his hed that the Englishmen did little passe vpon the obseruation and keping of penall lawes and statutes, made and ordeyned for the preseruation of the common vtillitie and welth. And therefore, if inquisition were had of suche penall statutes, there should be fewe noble men, Merchaunts, Farmers, Husbandmen, Graziers nor Occupiers, but they would be found transgressours and violatours of the same statutes. After that he had taken this councell, he sought oute the penall lawes, and put them in execution, and they that were found offenders, were easily at the beginning fined and scourged. After that he appoynted two Maisters and surueyers of his forfaytes, the one syr Richard Empson, and the other Edmond Dudley, both learned in the lawes of the Realme. And these two personnes contended, which of them by most bringing in might most please and satisfie his maisters desyre and appetite. Wherfore in the beginning, they armed wyth a company of accusers (commonly called Promoters) which brought to them the names of the offendors, esteemed and regarded so much the gayne of money, that they clerely forgate and banished out of their remembrance their duetie present, the perill that might ensue, and the thanke and good will that they might haue obtayned, and yet they had warning of diuers sage persons to close theyr hands from such vncharitable doings and cruell extremytie, according to the Adage, the extremitie of iustice is extreme iniurie.

Execution of penall lawes.

Richarde Empson knyght. Edmonde Dudley Esquire.

Promoters.

Extremity is extreme iniury.

1504 20

The King, after he had gotten a large and ample sum of money, hauing pitie of the people, which cryed to God daylie for an ende of their pilfering, of his clemencie and gracious goodnesse towarde his ende thought it best, and thus determined, that these two extreme officers should be depriued of that office, and the monie from whome it was vniustly exacted and extorted to be wholy restored and deliuered againe: Which being preuented with death, commaunded it by his last will & testament to be duely and truly performed, but in the meane season many mens coffers were emptied.

King Henrie caused restitution to be made of such money as came by Promoters.

1505 21

In this very season, and the yere of our Lord. 1505. Elizabeth Queene of Castell, wife to Ferdinand king of Arragon dyed without any issue male, by reason

reason whereof the inheritaunce of Castell (because that Kingdoms be not partible) discended to Lady Jane her eldest daughter by king Fardinādo, the which was maried to Philip Archduke of Austrich & Burgoyne, and Erle of Flaunders. Which kingdome he obtayned by hys wife, and had the possession of the same, and was named, reputed, and taken, as king of Castell and Lyon. Wherefore the yere folowyng, about the first day of January, hauyng a great nauy prepared, he sayled out of Flaunders with his wife towarde Spaine, but he had sayled no great way before that a sore tempest, by reason of contrariety of windes sodainly arose, so that the whole nauy was tossed & chased with the waues, and sodaine sourges. In so much the winde hauyng the maistry, dispersed & seperated the ships asunder into diuers places on the coast of England. The kinges ship with two other vesselles were blowen by tempest on the West part of the realme to the porte of Weymouth in Dorsetshire. Then king Philip which was not expert, and had not frequented the Seas before, beyng wery ed and vnquieted both in minde and bodie, entryng the ship boate to refreshe and repose himselfe a little, came a land contrary to the mynd of his counsaile and Capitaynes, which forsaw and knew weil that the same landyng should be the occasion of longer tariyng there. When it was knowen that straunge shippes were arriued, there came thyther a great number aswell of Noble men, as of rurall persons that dwelleth about that coast, to repulse and beate away him if he were their enemie. But when they perceyued he was their friend and louer, and driuen thether by force of weather, Sir Thomas Trenchard knight, the chiefe of that companie, went to Philip king of Castell with all humanitie and lowlinesse, inuityng and desyryng him (if he woulde so vouchsafe) to visite his Manor and Mancion, which was euen nighe at hande, trustyng thereby to haue great thankes of the king his maister, if he could protract and cause him to tarye there, vntill such tyme as king Henry were certifyed of his arriuall, to whom with all diligent celeritie, he sent diuers postes to notifie to his grace of king Philips landyng. This rumor beyng farther blowne abrode of this straunge Princes commyng, in a short space there assembled together a great multitude of people all along the sea coast. And among other there came first Sir John Carew with a goodly band of picked men. Which Sir John and Sir Thomas Trenchard entreated the king of Castell, not to depart vntill such tyme as he had spoken with king Henry his louyng and faythfull friend and allye, assuryng him that he would repayre thether within two or three daies at the most. King Philip excused himselfe by the necessitie of his weightie enterprice and importunate cause, affirmyng that long tariyng in matters of grauitie and doubtfull, ought to be excluded: wherefore he alleged that protractyng of tyme might turne him to great preiudice, denying at the first to expect and tary the commyng of the king of England: but yet being perswaded by reason in himselfe, that he might be let and interrupted, if he woulde proffer once to go abrode to his shippes againe, at their gentle desyre and louyng contemplation, assented to their humble petition and request.

The landing of Philip Archduke of Austriche in the West parties of England.

When king Henry was informed of his landyng, he was replenished with an exceeding gladnesse, partly for to renue the olde familiaritie and acquaintaunce, which they vsed at their last meeting, and partly for that he trusted that hys landing in England should turne to his profite and commoditie,

ditie. Therfore first he wrote many and dyuers letters to syr John Carew, and syr Thomas Trenchard, wylling and warnyng them withall kindnesse of humanitie to entertayne the king of Castell, till he in person approched in some place meete and conuenient for the enterviewyng and entertaynyng of so noble a personage. Beside this he sent the Erle of Arundell with many Lordes and knights to accompany and attend vpon him. Which Erle, according to the kinges letters receaued him with three hundred horses all by Torche light to the great admiration of all the straungers.

King Philip seyng no remedie, but that he must needes tarie and abyde, would no lenger gase after king Henryes comming, but tooke hys tourney towardes Windsore Castell where the king laye. And fyue Myle from Windsore, the Prince of Wales accompanyed with fiue Erles and dyuers Lordes and knightes, and other to the number of fyue hundred persons, most gorgeously appareled and richely mounted, receaued him after the most honorablest fashion of entertaynment. And within halfe a myle of Windsore, the king accompanied with the Duke of Buckyngham, and a great part of the Nobilitie of hys realme, saluted and welcommed him, and so conueyed him to the Castel of Windsore, where beside many triumphes & pastimes shewed, he was made companion of the noble order of the Garter. After him came to Windsore hys wyfe Queene Jane, sister to the Princes Dowager, late wyfe to Prince Arthur. And after they two had concluded and renouate their olde league, and made a perpetuall peace and continuall amitie together: King Henry desired him to haue Edmond de la poole Erle of Suffolke his rebell to be deliuered into his handes and possession. To whome the king of Castell aunswered awhyle, that he was not within hys rule or dominion, and therefore it laye not in his power to render or deliuer hym. Although he considered it to be a heynous and great offence to be the occasion and author of the death of his guest, which came to him for succour and was receaued vnder his protection and defence, yet when he perceaued that neyther excuse, nor yet reasonable argument could be accepted or allowed of king Henry (which promised faythfully of hys awne offer to pardon, Edmond de la poole, of all paynes and executions of death) he promised and graunted to doe and accomplishe all king Henries desyre and request: And so incontinent caused the sayd Edmond secretly to be sent for. After this king Henry entending to protract the time till he might possesse his praye, which he sore desired, conueyed the king of Castell vnto the Citie of London, that he might see the head Citie of his realme, and there led him from Baynards Castell by Chepe to Barkyng, and so returned by Watling streete agayne, during which time there was shot a wonderfull peale of Gonnes out of the Tower, into the which he would not enter, because (as you haue heard before) he had auowed not to enter the fortresse of any forrein Prince, in the which a garison was mayntayned: And there tarying a little space, returned back with him. Then from London the king brought hun to Richemonde, where were many notable feates of armes proued both at the tylt and at the tourney and at the barriers.

Edmond de la poole sent back agayne into England and committed to the Tower.

In the meane season, Edmond de la poole which euer feared and mistrusted, that the arryuing in Englande of King Philip should be his fatall ende and finall destruction, perceyuing well that there was no farther hope to

to be had in forreyn princes and potentates, and trustyng that after his lyfe to him once graunted, that king Henry would briefely set hun at libertie and freedome, was in maner content to returne agayne into his native Countrie, casting in his minde farther, that if his hope and trust were defrauded and refelled, yet at the last he was sure to ende his lyfe, and be buried in the Countrie, where he first entred into this variable worlde.

When all pactes and couenaunts betweene the kings of Englande and Castell were appointed, couenaunted and agreed: King Philip tooke hys leaue of King Henry, rendering to him most heartie thankes for his highe cheere and princely entertaynement. And beyng accompanyed with dyuers Lordes of Englande, came to the Citie of Excester, and so to Fulmouth in Cornewale, and there toke his ship and sayled into Spaine, where he shortly beyng taken with a sodayne disease, departed out of thys transitorie lyfe, beyng then but. xxx. yeres of age. He had by hys wyfe Queene Jane, fiue children, two men children, Charles and Ferdinand, and foure daughters, Eleanor, Isabell, Marie and Katherin. He was a man of stature conuenient, of countenaunce amiable and louely, of body somewhat crasse and corpulent, quick wytted, bold and hardie stomacked. Thys tempest that the king of Castell had, was wonderfull straunge to many men, because the violencie of the winde had blowne downe an Egle of Brasse, beyng set to shewe and manifest on which part the winde blew, for a pynnacle or spire of Paules Church. And in the fallyng the same Egle brake, and battered another Egle that was set vp for a signe at a Tauerne doze in Chepeside. And hereupon, men that were studious of straunge tokens and mōstruous wonders, did take an opinion that the Emperour Maximilian, which at that time gaue an Egle in his armes, should haue a great losse, which so happened in deede: For he lost his onely begotten sonne Philip, newely called to the kingdome of Castell.

The death of king Philip.

The discription of King Philip

Also, shortly after the departyng of king Philip, the king of Englande began to suspect Sir George Neuell Lorde of Burgeyney, and Sir Thomas Grene, of Grenes Norton knight, that they were confederred fautors, and partakers, in the beginnyng with Edmond de la Poole, and so vpon this suspicion, they were commaunded to the Tower. But shortly after when they had beene tryed and purged of that suspicion and crymne, he commaunded them both to be set at libertie. But Sir Thomas Greene fell sicke before, and continued in the Tower in hope to be restored aswell to his helth, as he was to his libertie, and there dyed. The Lorde of Burgeyny for hys modestie, wit, and goodnesse (because the king founde him like himselfe) alwayes true, faythfull, and constant, was of his soueraigne Lorde more esteemed, fauoured and regarded then he was before.

In this yere also Sir Thomas Kneeswoorth Maior of London at hys awne charges builded the Conduyt at Bishopsgate. And also he gaue to the companie of the Fishmongers certeyne tenementes, for the which they are bound to finde foure scholers, whereof two to be in Cambridge, and two to be in Oxforde, and eyther of them to haue foure pounde a yere for theyr exhibition. &c.

After this, the king hauyng peace aswell with forreyn Princes, for the terme of three yeres, as disburdened and purifyed of all domesticall sedicion,

1506

The sweating sicknesse came once againe.

A pestilent plague.

An extreme lawe.

Outlawryes

A plucking banket.

This is ment by Promoters.

cion, began to be diseased with a certeine infirmitie and weakenesse of bodie, which tyrise in the yere, but specially in the spring tyme sore vexed and tormented him. And because for the most part the harme & euill that chaunceth to the Prince, is parted and communicate to his subiects and people, the olde sweatyng disease whereof you heard before amongest the Commons of the realme, came againe. Howbeit by the reason of the remedie that was inuented by the death of many a creature in the beginnyng, it did lesse hurt and displeasure to the people at this tyme then it did before. But nowe the thirde plague egall with the pestilence ensued by the worlyng of the Maisters of the forfeytures, by the king appointed as I shewed you before. By whose meanes many a riche and welthie person, by the extremitie of the lawes of the realme, were condemned and brought to miserie.

This matter (sayth Hall) is as wonderfull to be heard, as pitifull and miserable to be done, and yet it is called the lawe, where as it is rather pernerse abuse and disorder of a lawe: politiquely at the beginnyng inuented to cause the people the sooner to confirme themselues to suche as demaunde their right of them, but craftily practised to the vtter confusion of many by vntrue officers. For if a man put his aduersarie in suyte before the Judges, of which complaint or action he neyther thinketh nor hath knowlege, if he appere not at ỹ last callyng of the exigent, which is called in a shire where he neuer came (for how can he appere, if he be ignorant of the prosecution of the cause, and dwell two hundreth myles from that place) then doth hee forfeyte all his substaunce and moueables, and his bodie to captiuitie as an enemie and rebell to the lawes of his Country. And yet the Prince shall enioy the goodes so confiscate, and the partie complaynaunt or plaintife that is wronged recouereth not one myte, and yet loseth both his paine and costes. And all such persons that be so condempned & adiudged, be called outlawes, that is depriued of all lawes of the lande, to the which he was by the custome of the Countrie inheritable. These outlawries, olde recognisances of the peace and good abering, escapes, ryottes and innumerable statutes penall, were put in execution and called vpon by Empson and Dudley, so that euery man both of the spiritualtie and temporaltie, hauing eyther land or substance was called to this plucking banket, according to the Psalmist saiyng, all declyned and fell together, and no man although he were neuer so cleere and guiltlesse, in conclusion durst auenture a tryall, seing the experience of them that passed before. For these commissioners had such a garde of false periured persons apperteyning to them, which were by their commaundements enpanneled on euery quest, that the king was sure to wynne whosoeuer lost. Learned men in the lawe, when they were requyred of their aduise, would say, to agree is the best counsayle that I can geue you. By this vndue meanes, these persons filled the kinges Cofers and enryched themselues. And at this vnreasonable and extort doings, all sortes and degrees of men from the highest to the lowest murmured, grudged and at the last cryed out: But the good king in his last dayes considered and pardoned his poore subiectes of such vncharitable pokes and ponderous burdens as they were laden withall, as after shall appere.

In this season Alexander Bysshop of Rome departed out of thys world, and for him was elected Fraunces bone Senes, Nephew to Pius the second,

cond, and was called Pius the thirde, whome king Henry had made a little before, Doctour for his realme in the Court of Rome. The king beyng glad of his high promotion and dignitie, sent syr Gylbert Talbot knight, Richard Bere Abbot of Glascenburie, and Doctor Robert Sherborne Deane of Paules, to declare to him what gladnesse entered into the kinges heart, when he heard tell of his high preferment and honor. But this Bishop Pius did not tary the gratulations of these Ambassadors, for within a moneth after that he was installed, he rendered his debt to nature, hauing final pleasure of his promotion. At this time also died Giles, Lord Dawbeney, the kings chief Chamberleyn, whose office Charles bastarde sonne of Henry last Duke of Sommerset occupied and enioyed, a man of a good wit & great experience.

The death of Giles Lorde Daubeney.

And this yere about Christmasse the Bakers house in Warwicke Lane in London was brent, the which fyre came so sodeinly, and brent so feruently that the Maistresse of the house beyng a widdow with two women seruants were therein brent.

Some after, the king caused Guy Ubald Duke of Urbine to be elected knight of the order of the Garter, a noble warriour, and in the Greke and Latin tongues excellently learned. And this order and dignitie the Duke desired instantlye to haue, that he might be equiualent in all degrees of honour and nobilitie with his Father, duke Frederick a Prince in his time of high renowne and estimation, which was receaued and chosen into that order by kyng Edward the fourth. And because it was noysed that July the seconde, a Januway borne, was after ỹ death of Pius, elected to be Bishop of Rome. The kyng entending to stop two gaps with one buth, sent syr Gilbert Talbot and the other two Ambassadours, principally to bishop July, and by them sent also to the Duke of Urbyne, the whole habite & coller of the noble order of the Gartier. When Duke Guy was reuested with the habite, and had taken his oth, according to the statutes of the order: He sent syr Balthaser de Castelio Knight a Mantuan borne, his Orator to kyng Henry, which was for him enstalled, according to the ordinaunces of that famous order. 1507 23

While these things were in doing, Lewys the French king mistrusting that he should neuer haue mā child, maried his eldest daughter Lady Claude to Fraunces de Valops, Dolphyn of Uien and Duke of Angulesme: Which Lady was promysed a litle before to Charles the king of Castel. When king Henrye knew of this, he thought best to marrye hys daughter Ladye Marye to this Charles kyng of Castell, being almost both of one age, and therefore Ambassadors were sent to and fro, and at the last, the mariage was concluded and cōfirmed by the meanes of the Bishop of Winchester, chiefe Ambassador for the king at Calleyce, and so the Lady Mary being of the age of.x. yeares, was promised to king Charles. For cōclusion of which marriage, the Lord of Barow, and diuers great Ambassadours were sent into England from the Emperour Maximilian, which had great rewardes and returned.

The Lady Mary promised to Charles king of Castile.

Nowe approched the end and terme of the three yeres of peace that I spake of before, at which tyme kyng Henrie thought his fatall daye to be at hand: For his sickneſſe encreased daylie more and more, so that he might easilye perceaue that death was not far of tarying hys praye: Therefore lyke a good Prince, desiring to exhibite some gratuitie to his people that he might be had in memory after his discease, graunted of his great liberalitie a gene- 1508 24

A generall pardone

rall pardon to all men, for all offences done, & perpetrated against his lawes and statutes. But because murtherers and theeues were not only offenders to him, but also to other, he excepted them and some other out of his pardon. He payed also the fees of all prisoners in the Gayles in and about London, abidyng there onely for that dutie. He payed also the dettes of all such persons as laye in the Counters of London, or Ludgate for. xl. shillynges and vnder, and some he relieued that were condemned in ten pound. For this his goodnesse and pitie shewed to his people, beyng sore vexed with his inquisitors, pollers and promoters, generall Procession was had daily in euery Citie and parishe, to pray to almightie God, for the restoryng of his health, with long continuance of the same. Nevertheless, he was so consumed with his long maladie, that nature could no lenger sustaine his life, and so he departed out of this world. the. xxij. day of Aprill in his Palaice of Richmond, the which was the yere of our Lorde. 1509. his corps was conueyed with all funerall pompe to Westminster, and there buried by the good Queene hys wife in a sumptuous and solempne Chappell, which he not long before had caused to be builded: he reigned. xxiij. yeres and more then seuen monethes, and lyued. lij. yeres. He had by his Queene Elizabeth. viij. children, foure men, and foure women children, of the which three remayned alyue behinde him. Henry Prince of Wales, which after him succeeded, and was king, Ladie Margaret Queene of Scots, & Ladie Mary promised to Charles king of Castell.

The deathe of king Henry ỹ seuenth.

The discription of king Henry the seuenth.

He was a man of bodie but leane and spare, albeit mightie and strong therwith, of personage and stature, somewhat higher then the meane sort of men be, of a wonderfull beautie and fayre complexion, of countinance merry and smilyng, especiallye in his communication, his eyes gray, hys teeth single, and heare thinne, of wit in all thinges quicke and prompt, of a princely stomacke, and haute courage. In great perilles, doubtfull affayres and matters of waightie importaunce, supernaturall, and in maner deuine, for such thinges as he went about, he did them aduisedly, and not without great deliberation and breathing, to the entent that amongst all men, his wit and prudence might be noted & regarded. For he was not ignorant that his actes & doings were specially noted and marked with the eies of many a person: and therefore a Prince ought as farre to excell and surmount all meane personages in wisedome and politie, as he precelleth other in estate and dignitie. For what man will geue credite or regarde to him, whome he hath proued to be light, wilde, and lasciuious of condicions? Besydes this, he was sober, moderate, honest, affable, curteous, bounteous, so much abhorred pride and arrogancie, that he was euer sharpe and quicke to them, which were noted or spotted with that crymne. And there was no man with him, being neuer so much in his fauour, or hauyng neuer so much authoritie, that eyther durst or could do any thing as his awne phantasie did serue him, without the consent and agreement of other. What shall I say more? Although his mother were neuer so wise (as she was both wittie and wise) yet her will was bridled, and her doynges restrayned. And this regiment he sayde he kept, to the entent that he worthily might be called a king, whose office is to rule & not to be ruled of other. He was also an indifferent & sure Justicier, by the which one thing, he allured to him the hearties of many people, because they lyued quietly and in rest out of all oppression and molestation of the Nobilitie and riche

riche persones. And to this seuerity of his was ioyned and annexed a certeyn mercifull pittie, which he did often shewe to such as had offended, and by his lawes were hindred and mered: for such of his subiectes as were fyned or amerced by his Justices to their great impouerishyng, he at one time or another did helpe relieue, and set forward: wherby it appered that he would haue the same penalties for other offences and crimes reuiued and stirred vp againe, which was a plaine argument that he did vse his rigour onely (as he sayde himselfe) to bring lowe, and abate the high stomacks of the wilde people, norished and brought vp in seditious factions, and ciuill rebellions, and not for the greedy desyre of richesse, or hunger of money, although such as were afflicted would crie out, and say, that it was done more for the desire of gaine and profite, then for any prudent pollicie, or politike prouision.

Surely, this good and modest Prince did not deuour and consume the substaunce and ryches of his realme, for he by his high pollicie, meruaylously enriched his realme and himselfe, and yet left his subiectes in high welth and prosperitie. The proofe is whereof manifestly apparant by the great aboundaunce of gold & siluer, yerely brought into this realme, both in plate, money and bullion, by Marchaunts passyng and repassyng out and into this realme with Marchaundise. To whom he himselfe of his awne goodnesse lent money largely without any gaine or profite, to the entent that Marchandise beyng of all craftes the chiefe arte, and to all men, both most profitable and necessarie, might be the more plentifuller vsed, haunted, and employed in hys realmes and dominions. And so this king liuyng all his tyme in the fauour of Fortune, in high honour, riches and glory, and for his noble actes and prudent policies, worthie to be regestred in the booke of fame, gaue vp his ghost at the last, which vndoubtedly is ascended into the celestiall mancion, where he hath the sure fruition of the Godhead, & the ioye that is prepared for such as shall sit on the right hande of our sauiour, euer world without ende.

About thys time (sayth Polydore) knowledge of good letters, as well of the Latyne as of the Greeke by continuall warres beyng sore decayed in Italy, encreased greatly in Germany, Fraunce and Scotlande, in so much (sayth he) that the Germaynes, who were counted in time past but the meanest learned men, are now as may appere by their writyngs most excellent. And for the furtheraunce and encrease of learning, about this time Margaret Countesse of Richemond and Darby and mother vnto thys king Henry the seuenth, a woman of most verteous lyfe, at the motion of John Fisher sometime Bishop of Rochester builded two Colleges in Cambridge, the one called Christes College, the other Saint John Euangelistes, and indued the same with goodly possessions for the maintenaunce of learning. And in the same Universitie also not long before, John Alcok Bysshop of Ely buylded a College, and named the same Jesus College.

And here, although in this Chronicle in diuers places there is mencion made of the foundation of sundrie Colleges both in Cambridge and Oxford, yet for as much as I was by my friend assertayned of the foundation of all the seuerall Colleges in Oxford, I thought it best to place them here altogether, minding to doe the lyke for Cambridge when I shall haue the true knowlege of the Colleges of the same.

¶ In Oxford are theſe Colleges and Halles follow-
yng, with the names of the Founders of the ſame,
and the yeres they were founded in.

1 Chriſtes Church. — Founded in the yere of our Lord. 1529. by Thomas Wolſay Archebyſhop of Yorke and Cardinall, and afterwarde had landes geuen for the maintenance of the ſame by king Henry the eight.

2 Newe College. — Founded by William Wickham Biſhop of Winchester in the yere of our Lorde. 1375.

3 Magdaleyn College. — Founded by Wylliam Waynflete Byſhop of Wyncheſter, & Chauncelour of England. 1456. And he founded alſo Magdaleyn Hall.

4 Alſoulen College. — Founded by Henry Chicheley, Archebyſhop of Cauntorbury in the yere of our Lorde. 1437.

5 Corp. chriſti College. — Founded by Rychard Foxe Biſhop of Wyncheſter in the yere of our Lorde. 1516.

6 Martyn College. — Founded by Walter Martyn Biſhop of Rocheſter in the yere of our Lorde. 1276.

7 Oriall College. — Founded by Adam Brotwne, brought vp in the Vniuerſitie of Oxford by king Edward the ſecond. 1323.

8 Queenes College. — Founded by Robert Egliffelde Chapleyne to Philip king Edward the thirdes wyfe. 1340.

9 Vniuerſitie College. — Founded by Alured king of the Saxons as appereth before in hys ſtorie, but other ſay that the ſame was founded by Wylliam Archedeacon of Dauelmenſe in the yere of our lord. 872.

10 Brazen Noſe. — Founded by Wylliam Smith Byſhop of Lyncolne in the yere of our Lorde. 1513.

11 Lyncolne College. — Founded by Richard Fleming Byſhop of Lyncolne, and encreaſed by Thomas Rotheram Biſhop of the ſame Sea. 1420.

12 Exceſter College. / 13 Hartes Hall. — Founded by Walter Stapleton Byſhop of Exceſter. 1316. and the ſame time he builded Harts hall. But Exceſter College is much encreaſed by Sir Wylliam Peter late Secretary to king Henry the eyght. 1566.

14 Trinitie College. — Founded by Sir Thomas Pope knight in the yere of our Lorde. 1566.

15 Bayly College. — Founded by John Baillioll king of Scottes in the yere of our Lorde. 1263.

16 S. Johns College. — Founded by Sir Thomas Whyte, late Maior and Alderman of London. 1557.

The

The diuinitie Schoole in Oxford was buylded by Humfrey Duke of Glouceſter the which beſide the excellencie of the worke, was a foundation of no ſmall charge.

¶ There are alſo in Oxford fiue other Halles, whoſe names are theſe:

Mary Hall. / Brode gates. / New Ende. — Glouceſter Hall. / Alborne Hall. / Whyte Hall. — which Halles are ſo auncient that the Founders of them are not knowne.

Henry the eyght.

After the deathe of the Noble Prince king Henry the ſeuenth, Henry the eyght his ſonne began his reigne the .xxij. daye of Aprill, in the yere of oure Lorde, 1509. and in the .xviij. yere of hys bodily age, & was proclaymed king the next daye folowing, being the .xxiij. day of Aprill in the yere aforeſayde. 1509 I

Henrye the eyght proclaimed king.

And firſt of all (as Polydore noteth) the king beyng yong as aforeſayde, but yet in all hys yeres had beene brought vp in good letters, did therefore prudently for the good gouernement of the realme, elect and chooſe of the moſt wiſeſt and graueſt perſonages to be of his priuie counſayle, namely ſuch as were of hys fathers deere and familier friendes, whoſe names were.

The Counſaylers of King Henry the eyght.

1 Wylliam Warram Archebyſhop of Cauntorburie and Chauncelour of Englande.
2 Richarde Foxe Byſhop of Wyncheſter.
3 Thomas Hawarde Erle of Surrey and treaſorer of England.
4 George Talbot Erle of Shrewſbury, and Lorde Stewarde of the kings houſhold.
5 Charles Sommerſet Lorde Chamberleyne.
6 Sir Thomas Louell.
7 Sir Henry Wyatt.
8 Sir Thomas Ruthall.
9 Sir Edward Poynyngs.

vnto whom he committed the charge and gouernaunce of the affayres of the whole realme.

Theſe graue and wiſe Counſaylors fearing leaſt that great and infinite aboundance of welth, might be a harme vnto the good nature of their young king, for vnto no king at any time before, was left greater or the like riches aſwell of readye coyne as alſo in iewels and moueables as was left vnto hym. And therefore the aforeſayd counſaylors very prudently and diligently trauepled ſo with hym, that they prouoked him to be preſent with them and to be priuie of their counſailes and deuiſes, and ſo dayly acquainted him with the politique affayres of the realme, that by litle and litle he of his owne accord applyed hym ſelfe to rule and gouerne, the which at the firſt he ſemed vtterly to abhorre, as the yong and vntamed Ore refuſeth the yoke.

Then the sayd Counsaylors traueyled with great care to put in execucion the last will and testament of king Henrie deceased. And first of all, the kings grace by his proclamation made the .xxb. daye of Apryll ratefied & confirmed all the pardons graunted by his father, & also pardoned all persons that were then in sute for any offence whatsoeuer it was, treason, murder, and felonye except. And farther in the sayd proclamation was contayned, that if any man had sustayned iniurye or losse of goodes by the Commissioners before appoynted, as appereth in the.xix.yere of king Henry the seuenth, that he should make his humble supplication vnto the kings grace, and therin expresse their griefe, and he was readye not only to heare them, but also to cause satisfaction to be made. When this proclamation was published and knowne abroad, all such from whome any thing had bene exacted or taken, whether it were by right or wrong, spedily came vnto the Court, and euery man alleaged and shewed iust occasion that they had to complayne. But the Counsayle examyned and tryed their causes, and such as they found to be manifestly & openly iniured, to them they made due restitution. The which thing being blowne and bruted amongst the cõmon people, lord how they resorted in great flocks and heapes, & rushed into the court with the rest, whether they had bene iustly punished or not, and they also with horrible & great exclamation cryed out vpon the Commissioners, yea and many of them that most exclaymed were such as had bene touched nothing at all. But the rage and crye of the people was so grieuous against the Commissioners, whose names were Richarde Empson Knight and Edmond Dudley Esquier, that the Counsaile to cease and quiet the rage of the people were enforsed to apprehend and commit to the Tower of London the aforesayd Empson and Dudley, and being called before the Counsaile and other the iustices, where they (as Polidor saith) being both learned in the lawes of the realme, pleaded for themselues, namelye syr Richard Empson which was the elder, who said, as followeth. I am certayn right honorable, you are not ignorant how expedient & profitable vnto mans life be good and wholsome lawes, without the which neyther priuate house may be mayntayned, nor publyque weale duely and orderly gouerned. Euen those lawes among vs by the ouersight and negligence of Magistrats, partlye were depraued, and now in some part abrogate and cleane out of memorie, the which euill encreasing daylie more and more, king Henrie the. vii. (now deceassed) a most prudent and politique prince (as ye all know) endeuored to redresse, who vnto vs committed the charge to see, and prouide that the common and accustomed lawes might be maintayned and executed, and such as were depraued and out of vse might be reduced and restored into their pristinate state: And that such persones as had violated & transgressed any of them, should suffer condigne and worthie punishement: We therfore as faithfully and vprightly as we could haue according to oure commission executed our office trulie vnto the great commoditie of the publique weale: Wherfore we most humbly beseech your Honours that of your goodnesse and loue of iustice, ye will vouchsafe to determine no grieuous or cruell sentence against vs, but rather counsaile and conclude howe thankefully to recompence and requite our great trauaple and paynes.

Richard Empson. Edmond Dudley.

The sayng of Richarde Empson.

These their sayings vnto many that were wise, vertuous and discrete semed to be very good and right, but vnto other and that vnto the greatest number,

number, who supposed that the examination and execution of lawes being done through auarice and coueteousnesse and for filthye desier of gayne, they iudged that euen they by putting in execucion with extremytie the lawes to the losse of many an honest mans goodes, should now be recompensed with the losse of their heades, who within three dayes after were beheadded at the Tower hill, but their bodies with their heades were buried, that is to say, Richard Empson at the White Friers, and Edmond Dudley at the Blacke Friers in London aforesaid.

Empson and Dudley beheadded.

And immediatly after the execution of the aforesaid persons there were (saith Polidor) by reason of the exclamation of the people apprehended and take a great number of such as had geuen for their (awne welth and commoditie) their speciall attendaunce vpon the aforesayd Commissioners, in the informyng and promotyng of many honest mens vexations (commonly called Promoters) and they were committed to sundrie Prisons, and many of them set on the Pillory, and other had papers set on their heades, and so caryed throughout the Citie of London, and againe committed to prison, where miserably many of them ended their liues. And some other of them were constrayned to pay most grieuous fynes, and for none habilitie to paye the same, were committed and condempned to perpetuall prison.

Promoters.

Maister Hall in his Chronicle nameth diuers of the sayde Promoters, and for that to their infamie, I wilbe them perpetuall memory, I will here make mencio of Halles words. After (saith he) the apprehension of Empson, and Dudley, there were diuers Promoters apprehended, as Canby, Page, Smith, Derby, Wright, Symson, and Stocton, and diuers other, of the which the most part ware papers, and stood on the Pillory: But (saith he) the craftiest knaue of them all (meanyng they were knaues all) called John Baptist Grimalde, escaped and went to Westminster, and there tocke Sanctuary.

Promoters set on the Pillory.

Nowe all thinges beyng in a redinesse for the buriall and funerall of king Henry the seuenth, he was the.xij. day of May with all solemnitie buryed at Westminster in the Chapell that he himselfe had buylded, which is a most sumptuous and princely peece of worke.

King Henry the seuenth buried at Westminster.

When the funeralles of King Henry the seuenth was finished, then was great preparation made for the coronation of king Henry the eight, the which was appoynted to be done on Midsommer day next ensuyng. During which tyme the king was moued by some of his Counsayle, that it should be honourable and profitable to his Realme, to take to wife Ladie Katheryn, late wife to Prince Arthur his brother disseased, least the hauyng so great a dowry, might marry out of the realme, which should be vnprofitable vnto him: By reason of which motion, the king being young, & not vnderstanding the law of God, espoused the sayd Lady Katheryn the thirde day of June, the which mariage was dispenced with by Pope Iuly, at the request of her father king Ferdinando (and as Hall sayth) contrarye to the opinion of all the Cardinals of Rome that were deuines. This mariage of the brothers wife was much murmured agaynst in the beginnyng, and euer more and more searched out by learnyng and Scripture, so that at the last by the determination of the best vniuersities in Christendome, it was adiudged detestable and plaine contrary to Goddes lawe, as shall be shewed after.xx. yeres.

King Henry the eyght marieth with Lady Katheryn his brothers wyfe.

Nowe

The coronation of king Henrie and Queene Katherin.

Nowe was come the tyme of the coronation, wherefore king Henrye and his wife Queene Katheryn were accordyng to the sacred obseruance and auncient custome, annoynted and crowned by the Archebishop of Cauntorbury at Westminster the. xxiiij. day of June.

Margaret Countesse of Richemond dead.

During the tyme that this coronacion with noble triumphes and goodly shewes solempnized to the great reioisyng of all men, a sodeyne occasion of sorrow happened, as often tymes it commeth in experience that sweete and delicate meate in the ende is tempered with sowre sawce, for at this tyme Margaret Countesse of Richemonde and Darbye, Grandmother vnto the king ended her life, by whose death the publique weale was greatly endammaged, for she beyng a woman of singuler wisdome and policie, and also of most vertuous life, perceiuyng that the king by reason of his youthfull and lustie yeres could not execute and minister his office and function, did from the beginnyng so prouide and studie at all tymes that she brought to passe that suche men as were the worthiest and of most integritie and godlinesse was aduaunced to highest auctoritie and bare the chiefest sway in the ministration of the causes of the publique weale: And where before least the publique weale shoulde sustaine detriment, or by any meanes goto wracke, the same was guided and gouerned by the aduice of many, as afore sayde: But nowe the administration therof was committed only vnto two, that is to say, Richard Bishop of Winchester, & Thomas Erle of Surrey, betwene whom was secret grudges, and priuie malice, the which contencion of auctoritie, did dayly more and more encrease, for the studies and affections of these two were diuers and contrary. The Bishop of Winchester as (sayth Polidor) contented himselfe with his awne possessions, and therefore endeuored the more earnestly to the seruice of the common weale: But the Erle (sayth he) sought to come to higher estate, and therefore applyed and studied to please the king, more for preferment sake, then for the zeale he bare to the common weale. But the Bishop beyng a man of great wisedome, although he had no good opinion of the Erle, yet perceiuyng him to be greatly beloued and fauoured of the king, did dissemble and bare himselfe so warely, that nothing appered outward, whatsoeuer was thought inwarde. The Erle in wisdome beyng nothing inferiour vnto the Bishop, did in like maner dissemble hys griefe towardes the Bishop. Howbeit at the length by the trauaile of the graue and worthie Counsaylor Sir Thomas Louell, all the olde Counsaylors were againe restored and placed in good and louyng order, and the common weale well gouerned.

John Colet Deane of Paules.

In this tyme also the ryght famous and learned deuine John Colet Deane of Paules Church in London (the sonne of Henry Colet Mercer and late Maior of London) of his awne great costes and charges buylded in the East end of Paules Churchyard in the sayd Citie one free Grammer schoole, with one Maister and Vsher for the education and bryngyng vp of youth in learning, and buylded also two faire Tenements ioyning to the said Schoole for the sayd Maister and Vsher to inhabite in, and endued them with goodlie pencions, and committed the charge and ouersight of the good gouernment and continuaunce of the sayd Schoole vnto the Maysters and Wardeines of the worshipfull companye of the Mercers for the time being to be ordered and kept according to such ordinances and statutes as he had drawne for the good

good gouernment of the same, which sayde company of the Mercers haue to their great prayse hetherto ordered the same to Gods high honor and to the benefite of the common weale and to the well bringing vp of many an honest pore mans child. This man in his time was a great and diligent Preacher of Gods blessed worde and did in those dayes much reprehend and rebuke the slouthfulnesse of the Clergie, and he was the first in his time that taught to the people the Articles of their fayth and the Commaundements of almighty God, and the Lords prayer in English, for the which he was not at that time well thought of by sundry of the Bishops and Clergye, who then fauored in the common people ignorannce better then knowledge.

1510
2
Henry the first borne sonne of king Henry the eight.

This yere Henrie the first sonne of king Henrye was borne at Richemond vpon Newyeres daye to the great reioysing and comfort of the whole realme, for the ioye and honour of whose birth great fyers were made and diuers vessels of wine set in the stretes of London for such as would taste thereof. And that at the same time were kept noble and triumphant Justes and sundry other pastimes, but the. xxij. daye of Februarie next folowing God called to his mercye the sayd chylde to the great heauinesse of the king and Queene, and all the realme. Notwithstandyng the king like a wise Prince toke it with much quietnesse, and the rather to comfort the Queene: But the Queene like a naturall woman made much lamentation.

Ambassadors from king Ferdinando.

This yere in Februarie came from king Ferdinando the kinges father in law, and king of Aragon and Castell, certain Ambassadours, which made request to the king: on the behalfe of the king their maister, to haue an ayde of. v. hundred Archers, with valiaunt Capitaynes to gouerne and conduct them, for his entent was to make warre on the Moores beyng Infidelles, and enemies vnto Christes faith. The king and his Counsaile heeryng this request, thought it much honourable to ayde a Christian Prince, (and in especiall his friend and fatherinlawe) agaynst the enemyes of Christes lawe, gently graunted them their request.

When tidyngs was spread in the Court of this iourney against the Infidelles, the Lord Thomas Darcey, knight of the order of the Garter made humble suite to the king to be Capitaine generall of that crewe or armie. The king and his Counsaile for his great valiauntnesse and approued wisedome, graunted his request. And many other Lordes and knightes made suite to be in the same iourney: But the king answered them that he would retaine them still with him for other greater purposes. There were appointed at this tyme to go with the Lorde Darcye, Lorde Anthony Gray, brother to the Marques Dorcet, Henry Guylford, Weston Browne, William Sydney, Esquiers of the kinges house, Sir Roger Hastyngs, Sir Raufe Elderkare and diuers other Gentlemen to be Capitaynes. The Lorde Darcy and all the other Capitaynes tooke their leaue of the king, and went into their countreyes to prouide for all thinges meete and necessary for the voyage.

A Justes at Greenewiche.

The king at this tyme beyng lustie, yong, and couragious, greatly delighted in feates of chiualrie, insomuch that he made a chalenge of Justes agaynst all commers to be proclaymed at his Manor of Grenewich to be holden there the three first dayes of May then next ensuyng, which noble courage all yong persons highly praysed: But the auncient fathers much doubted consideryng the tender youth of the King, and diuers chaunces and misfortunes

foztunes that might happen by reason of hozse and armoz: Insomuch that it was openly spoken that steele was not so strong, but it might be broken, noz no hozse could be so sure of foote but he may fall: yet foz all these doubtes the lustie Prince proceded in his chalenge, and honourably and valiauntly to his great prayse and renowne atchieued the same.

1511

The Lozde Darcie is sent into Spaine with an armye to the king of Aragon.

The Lozde Darcie and other appointed to the voyage afozesaide made suche diligence that they and all their people were readie at Plymmoth by the middest of Maye, and there mustered their souldyours befoze the Lozde Brooke and other the kings commissioners, the sayde Lozde Darcie as Capitayne generall ozdeyned foz his Prouost Marchall, Henry Guylfozd Esquire, a lustie yong man and welbeloued of the king. Now when the winde serued to their purpose they passed to the sea with foure ships royall, and the wether so fauoured them that they arryued within ten dayes next folowyng beyng the first day of June, at the Pozt of Kales in Southspayne, and immediatly the Lozde Darcie dispatched to the king of Arragon two Gentlemen called John Bartholomew and Wyliam Symond, with letters to certefie the King of their arriuall, and what paine they had taken to come into his Countrie, in fulfilling the king their maisters commaundement. The messengers did so much that they came vnto the king beside the Citie of Ciuill, where he then lay & declared vnto him how the Lozd Darcie by the king their maisters appointment, was come thether with.xbj.hundzed Archers, accozdyng to the sayde king of Arragons request, and laye still at Kales to knowe his pleasure. The king of Arragon aunswered them gentlye, that the Lozde Darcie and all the other that were come from his most best beloued sonne were welcome, and hartely thanked them of their paynes, and prayed the messengers to returne to their Capitayne, shewyng him that the king in all hast would send his counsayle vnto him, and so they departed from the king, and made repozt to the Lozde Darcie, which kept his ship in great estate and would not land, but onely suffred such as were sick and feeble, and fewe other to go a land. And those English that went a lande fell to dzinking and were scarce maisters of themselues, some ranne to the stewes, some brake hedges and spoyled Ozchardes and Vyneyardes, and did many other outrageous dedes: wherfoze the chiefe of the towne of Kales came to complayne to the Lozde Darcie in his ship, which sent foozth his prouost Marshall, who with much a doe brought them agayne on boozd to their ships.

The next daye folowyng beyng Saturday, a Bysshop and other of the kings counsayle arryued at Kales and there aboade vntill Wednesday next folowyng, at which day the Lozd Darcie tooke lande, and was honozably receaued of the king of Arragons counsayle, and on the mozrow highly feasted both at dinner and supper. And after supper the Bishop declared the king of Arragons pleasure saiyng: my Lozde Capitayne, the king my maister in most humble wise geueth you thankes foz your great paines and trauaile, as much as though he proceeded in his pretended enterprise: But he with the aduise of his counsayle circumspectly considering the suretie of his owne realmes and dominions, hath perfite knowlege that his aduersarie of Fraunce, prepareth to inuade his Countries in his absence: wherefoze he entending not to leaue his realmes voyde of men and ships (which might be a great comfoyt to his enemies to inuade) hath therefoze taken an abstinence of

of warre with the Moozes vntill another time.

Well sayde the Lozde Darcie, sith it is fully concluded that we shall doe no seruice to your maister, we may not saye against his determination, considering that we were sent to him: But surely it is against my heart, which euer hath desired to fight against Gods enemies: But with your conclusion, I and all mine must be content.

You doe as you should doe, sayde the Bishop, and the king my maister geueth lyke thankes to the king his sonne, and to you all as though he had proceeded on his iourney. And you shall haue wages foz al your souldiours, and if it shall please you to come to the Court, you shall receyue high thanks of the king, and such chere as there can be made you. That is not my desire sayde the Lozde Darcie, foz my men shall not say that I brought them out of their Countrie, and nowe to doe my selfe pleasure to leaue them wythout an head, as men of me foztaken: Nay, nay my Lozde, the Banquet is not my desire. So the Lozdes parted foz that night, and the next day in the mozning was sent wages to conduct the armie into England, with dyuers giftes geuen to the Lozde Darcie and other Gentlemen.

An euill fray begon vpon a tochshe occasion.

The same day beyng the. xiiij. day of June and Friday, an Englishman desyred of a mayde that had bene at the bakers to buy bread foz her maisters store, and not to sell, to haue a loke foz his money, she aunswered that she had none to sell, he sayde he would haue one, and followed her: And when shee perceaued that, she cryed, a foze, a foze. The townes men of Kales Males sodaynely rang their common Bell, and all the towne went to harnesse, and the few English men that were on land went to their Bowes. The Spanyardes cast dartes and soze anoyed the Englishmen, and they lykewise hurt and slue dyuers Spanyardes. Then the Captaines of Englande foz their part, and the Lozds of the counsayle foz their part tooke such payne that the fray was ceassed, and but one Englishe man slayne, and of the Spanyards dyuers slayne. Then all the Englishe men were commaunded to go on boord of their shippes. The Lozdes of Spaine came to the Lozde Darcie, saiyng: Sir we pray you sithe you knowe the kings pleasure, that you with all your people will go with your shippes away, foz we perceaue you owe vs some displeasure. Then he boldly aunswered saiyng, that he would al the world knew, that he was as hable to conduct his men homeward, as he was to bring them out of their Countrie, without the king of Arragons wages (saiyng his honoz) and as foz the fray, it was against his will, and without hys knowledge: And so that nyght hee and all hys men went aboozde their Shippes.

When this iourney was come to this point, Henry Guylfoozd, Weston Browne, and William Sydney Esquires, yong and lustie Gentlemen, desired lycence to see the Court of Spaine, which was to them graunted: And then they departed from Kales and came to the Court of the king of Arragon, where they were highly enterteyned, and he dubbed Henry Guylfozd and Weston Browne knights, and gaue to Syr Henry Guylfozd a Canton of Granado, and to Syr Weston Browne an Egle of Sicill on a chiefe to the augmentation of their armes. Wyliam Sydney so excused himselfe that he was not made knight. And when they had soiourned there a whyle, they toke their leaue of the king and Queene and so returned thzough Fraunce into

The returne of the Lorde Darcye.

into England, where they demeaned themselues so, that they had the kings fauour, notwithstanding it was thought to the contrarie. In this meane tyme the Lord Darcie the.xviij. day of June sayled toward England and arryued at Plymmoth, and came to the kyng at Windsore in the Mouth of August, and thus ended this voyage.

Margaret Duches of Sauoy.

During the time that the lord Darcy was in Spaine, the Lady Margaret Duches of Sauoy & daughter to Maximilian the Emperor and gouernour of the countries of Flaunders, Brabant, Holland, and Seland, & other the lowe Countries appertayning to Charles the yong Prince of Castell, then beyng of tender age sent in the ende of May to the king of England, to haue. xb. hundred Archers to ayde her against the Duke of Guelders, which sore troubled the Countries afore sayde. The king tenderly regardyng the request of so noble a Lady, and also for that there was then a communication of mariage to be had betwene the yong prince Charles and the Ladie Marie his sister, most gently graunted her request, and appointed Syr Edward Poynynges knight of the Garter, and Comptroller of his house, a valyant Capitayne and a noble warryour to be Lieutenaunt and conductor of the sayde. xb. hundred Archers, which beyng accompanied with the Lord Clynton his sonne in lawe, Syr Mathewe Browne, Sir John Digby, John Werton, Richard Wetherill and Sherley Esquires, and dyuers talle Gentlemen and yomen, well knowen and tryed to the sayde number of.xb. hundred, tooke their shipping at Sandwiche the. xviij. day of July, and landed at Armew the. xix. day, not without some trouble by reason of a storme. And being landed he sent Lancaster an Herault to aduertise the Lady of their arryuall, which forthwith sent to them Lorde Bressy knight of the Toyson (the which is commonly called the golden fleece) and dyuers other to welcome them, and so conducted them to Barowe, where the Lord of the towne made them great cheere. And the same day at after noone came the Ladie Margaret to Barowe, where the Capitayne with all his vnder Capitaynes receaued her at the gate, whome shee welcommed most hartily, and so shee did all the Souldiours which stood along ranged in the strete. And the next day folowyng shee saw all the companie shoote: And the same night the Capitayne and other tooke his leaue of her and departed to Rossynda'e, and on Thursday beyng the last day of July he came to Buldike, and that day the Ladie Margaret came thether. And the next day the whole armie of Almaynes, Flemings and other appertayning to the sayde Ladie, met with the Englishemen without Buldike, where they set forth in order, the Lady Margaret beyng present, who there tooke her leaue of all the Capitaynes and went to Buldike, whom Sir Edward Poynyngs conducted to the gate, and then returned to the armie.

Sir Edward Poynyngs knight sent with a power to gyde the Duches of Sauoy.

The armie to the number of ten thousand of the Ladies part, and. xb. hundreth Englishe men passed through Brabant, and came the tenth day of August next folowyng before a little Castell standyng on the higher syde of the ryuer of Mase, called Brimuoyst, stronglye Bulwarked, in the which were an hundred men belongyng to the Bastard of Gelders, with a Capitaine called Langhessell van Gelder, which robbed and spoyled al the partes of Brabant. They within shot fiercely at the armie as it passed by, but dyd them little hurt. The same night Thomas Heart chiefe Gonner of the Englishe

lishe part, made his approche with his ordinaunce, and in the morning beat downe as much as might be beaten downe for the Bulwarkes, and the next day beyng the. xj. day of August, the Castell was assaulted valiauntly and taken by force, and the Capitaine and. lxxx. and odde men were slaine, and. xix. taken, of the which a. xj. were hanged. John Norton Captaine of an hundred English men, and one Guyot an Esquier of Burgoyn, cryng Burgoyn, Saint George, there was one Englisheman slaine and no more. The. xii j. day of August, the army keryed ouer the ryuer of Mase into the land of Gelders, and there soiourned at a little Church that night, and the next day they came to a towne called Elske, belongyng to the Bastard of Gelders, where all the people were fled, and there was vndermyned and cast downe a little Castell standyng vpon the sayde riuer newly builded. The xx. day of August they brent the towne of Elske, and all the Countrie rounde about it, and came at the last to a towne called Strawly, a strong towne & double ditched and walled, and within it three hundred. lx. good men of warre beside the Inhabitauntes, which at the first commyng shot Gonnes fiercely, and hurt many, and there they planted their siege.

Sir Edward Poynyngs which euer was in the forwarde with hys archers, caused Fagottes to be made, and Trenches to be digged, and his men were so diligent, that his Trenche in the Morning approched so nighe the towne gate, that they within were halfe dismayed, and desired to speke with the Lordes, and so they did, and the. xxiij. day of August were fiue men sent out of the towne to treate, and fiue Hostages deliuered for them, and then it was agreed that all men of warre shoulde depart the Towne with a whyte sticke in their handes, and to forfeyte all other thinges: And all the Towne dwellers to be prisoners at the will of the Prince of Castell. The next day after that the men of warre were departed, early in the Morning Sir John Digby knight, and John Norton Esquier toke possession of the towne with two hundreth Englishemen. And at after noone, the Admirall of Flaunders, Sir Edward Poynynges, and the Lorde Dissilstaine chiefe Capitaynes of the Armie, with all other noble men with Trompets, and their Heraultes in their Cotes of armes before them, as Arthoys, Lancaster, and Ostriche, entered the towne, and in the towne Hall tooke the othe of the Inhabitauntes, and that night returned againe to the armie.

The. xxvj. day of the sayd Moneth, Sir John Digby, and John Norton came out of the towne with all their Englishemen, and for them entered a Capitaine called Yonker Otes, with two hundreth and fiftie Almaynes to kepe there a garrison, the which day the armie went before Venlowe, and they sent Arthoys with a Trompet to summon the towne: But they would not heere them speake, but shot Gonnes at them. The. xxviij. day the armye remoued vnto the Northside of Venlowe, and part went ouer the water, and made Trenches to the water. The Capitaine of the Englishe men made Trenches euen to the towne diche, and the Artillary bet downe the Towres of the walles. The siege thus continuyng not without dayly skirmishes. xxix. dayes, Sir Edward Poynynges, and Sir John Digby dined one day with Mounsire de Romy, and all other Englishe Capitaynes and petie Capitaynes dyned with an Almaine called Clene Anderlyne, except sir Mathew Browne, and John Fogge which kept the fielde, & Richard Wethill which

kept the Trenche, and was sore beset. And in the dinner tyme they of the Towne issued out vpon the English men, and hurt and toke one Sheldwiche of Cauntorbury prisoner, and one Miles: But the English men slue and hurt many of them, and compelled them to returne by force of arrowes, and so they reculed with one prisoner. For Miles which was led betweene two of the Gelders, perceiuyng rescue commyng, after as he came to an hill, thrust the two Gelders downe the hill before him, and so ranne backe to his companie, which the two Gelders that led him perceiuyng, came to Sheldwiche and slue him. After long siege layde to this towne, and no good done, for the towne was so great that they had not men enough to compasse it, they all agreed to breake vp their siege and armie for that yere, and so departed. Sir Edward Poynynges went to the Court of Burgoyn, where he was highly enterteyned of the yong Prince, and of the Ladie Margaret his Aunt, and receyued great giftes and thankes for his paynes. And after that Sir Edward Poynynges with all the other Capitaynes of the Englishe men had bene highly feasted, and more praysed for their valiauntnesse, than he with all his companie returned into England, and had lost by warre and sickenesse not fully an hundreth persons.

The returne of Sir Edwarde Poynynges.

In June the king beyng at Leycester, tidynges was brought vnto him, that Andrewe Barton a Scottishe man and a Pirate of the Sea, saiyng that the Scottes had warre with the Portingales, did rob euery nation, and so stopped the kinges streames, that no Marchaunt almost coulde passe. The king beyng greatly moued with this craftie Pirate, sent Sir Edmond Hayward Lorde Admirall of Englande, and Lorde Thomas Hayward, sonne and heyre to the Erle of Surrey, in all the haste to the Sea, which hastily made redie two shippes, and without any lenger abode tooke the Sea, and by chaunce of weather were seuered. The Lorde Hawarde lyng in the Downes, perceyued where Andrew was makyng toward Scotland, and so fast the sayd Lord chased him, that he ouertooke him, and there was a sore battaile: The Englishe men were fierce, and the Scottes defended themselues manfully, but in the ende the Lorde Hayward and his men entered the maine decke, and in conclusion Andrew was taken, beyng so sore wounded that he dyed there, and the remnant of the Scottes were taken, with their Shippe called the Lion.

Andrewe Barton a Scottishe pirate taken and slayne.

All this while was the Lorde Admyrall in chace of the Barke of Scotlande called Jenny Pirwyn, which was wont to sayle with the Lion in company, and so much did he with other that he layed him aboord and fiercely assayled him, and in the end the Lorde Admirall entred the Barke and slewe many and tooke all the rest. Thus were these two shippes taken and brought to Blackewall the second daye of August, and all the Scottes were sent to the Bishoppes place of Yorke, and there remayned at the kings charge vntill other order was taken for them.

After this the kyng sent the Bishop of Winchester and certayne of hys Counsaile to the Archbishop of Yorkes place where the Scottes were prisoners. And there the Bishop rehersed to them, where as peace was yet betwene England and Scotland, that they contrarie therunto as theeues and Pirates had robbed the kinges subiectes within his stremes: wherfore they had deserued to dye by the lawe and to be hanged at the lowe water marke.

Then

Then sayde the Scottes we knowlege our offence and aske mercy and not the lawe: Then sayd a Priest we appeale from the kings iustice to his mercy. Then the Bishop asked him if he were authorised by them to say so: and they cried all yea, yea: Then sayd he you shall find the kings mercie aboue his iustice. For where ye were dead by the lawe, yet by his mercye he will reuiue you: Wherefore ye shall departe out of this realme within .xx. dayes, vpon paine of death if ye be found here after .xx. dayes, and praie for the kyng, and so they passed into their countrye.

The king of Scottes hearing of the death of Androwe Barton and taking of his two ships was wonderfull wroth, and sent letters vnto the kyng, requiring restitution accroding to the league & amitie. The kyng wrote with brotherlye salutation to the king of Scottes, for the robberies and euill doings of Androw Barton and that it became not one Prince to laye a breache of a league to another prince in doing iustice vpon a Pirate and a theefe: and that all the other Scottes had deserued to die by iustice if he had not extended his mercy: and with this aunswere the Scottish Herault departed home.

During this season there began great warre betwene Pope Julye and the Frenche king Lewys the twelfe. The occasion began by one John Bentiuoyle a great Lord of Italy, which kept the Citie of Bolonia le grace from the Pope which by the ayde of the French kyng gate the sayd Citie from the aforenamed John Bentiuoyl. But afterward because the sayd Pope Julye tooke peace with the Venecians, the French king turned from the Pope and made warre on him on the behalfe of John Bentiuoile, and tooke from him againe the sayd Citie of Bolonia.

The kyng of England wrote often to king Lewys of Fraunce to desist from the persecuting of the Pope which was his friend and confederate. To the which writing the French king gaue litle eare: wherfore the king sent him word to deliuer his lawful inheritaunce, both of the Duchy of Normandie and Guyan and the Countries of Anieow and Mayne, and also of his Crowne of Fraunce, else he would come with such a power, that by fine force he would obtaine his purpose. For all these writinges the French king made warres still in Italie, and the king could haue of him no certaine aunswere. Wherefore after great deliberation had, he by the aduice of his counsaile determined to make warre on the French king and his Countries, and calling to him Maximilian the Emperour and Ferdinando king of Arragon and diuers other Princes, he made great preparation both by Sea and land, and fortefied his Frontiers against Fraunce, and set forth shippes to the Sea for defence of his Marchaunts, which were dayly in ieoperdy vnder a pretensed peace of the French king Lewys the twelfe.

King Henry the eight taketh the Popes part.

The fiftenth daye of Januarie next following the King held his high Court of Parliament at Westminster and there was graunted vnto him toward the maintenance of his warres with Fraunce two fiftenes of the temporaltie and two Disines of the Clergye. And during the time of this parliament one Newbolt yoman of the kinges gard whome the king highly fauoured, slew wilfully a seruaunt of the Lorde Willoughbyes in the Palace of Westminster, where he honge two daies in example of other.

Newbolt a yoman of the Garde hanged.

About this time one Hierome Bonuise which was borne in Luke and was a Factor in London for Merchaunts of that nation and played Banke-

Hierome Bonuise an Italian.

rupt, and had bene conueied out of the realme for debt, was now in such fauor with Pope July, that he made him his Collector and Procter in England, & so he kept a great porte and oftentymes resorted to the kyng and his counsaile for the Popes affayres which then was sore troubled by the French king, so that he knew both the Popes councell and the kinges, and falsly and vntruely resorted in the night vnto the French Ambassadors lying in London, and to them discouered what the king and Pope intended, which was not so closely done but the king knew it: and so he was layd for, and was taken commoning with one of the sayd Ambassadors late in the night, and was brought to the Tower of London, where he remained vntill by the sute of his friends he was deliuered, and shortely for shame he voyded the realme.

The king of Arragon, which also had warre with the French king, and heering that his sonne, the kyng of England would make warre in Fraunce, did write to hym that the Duchy of Guyan was his true inheritaunce, which adioyned to his country of Biskey: wherfore if the king of England would entend to recouer his Duchy first, and send an armie of men to Biskeye, and so to begin at Bayon, which is the kaye of Guyan, he woulde ayde them with ordinaunce, horsemen, and beastes for cariage, with other necessaries appertaining to the same. The king and his counsayle putting their affiaunce in the promise of the king of Arragon prepared a noble army al of footemen & small ordinaunce trusting to the king of Arragon for the ayde of horsmen and great ordinaunce, and of the same made Capitaine the noble Lord Thomas Graye Marques Dorset to whome he assigned manye other Gentlemen as after shall apere.

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The kyng nowe greatlye studying to furnishe his warre which he had begon against the Frenche king, caused Sir Edwarde Hayward his Admyrall, with all diligence to take the Sea, which with all spede possible, made readie diuerse goodly and talle shippes, as the Souereigne and other to the number of .xviij. beside litle shippes: and in his companye were Capitaynes, Sir Weston Browne, Griffith Donne, Edward Cobham, Thomas Wyndam, Thomas Lucye, William Pirton, Henrie Sherborne, Stephin Bull, George Witwange, John Hopton, William Grimstone, Thomas Draper, Edmond Cooke, John Bordet, with diuers other. When all these were shipped, they sayled to Douer, and skowred the seas, and so came before Portesmouth about the middest of Maye.

Guyot of Guy an Almayne.

The thirde daye of Maye a Gentillman of Flaunders called Guyot of Guye came to the King with fiue hundred Almaines all in white, which was cut so small that it could scarse hold together. After they had mustered at the Blackheath, the king made him knight, and gaue him a great chayne and a yerely pencion, and sent hym with his band to Southampton, there to tary the comming of the Marques Dorcet.

The Marques Dorset sayleth with an army into Biskey.

About mid Maye the Lorde Marques Dorset and other noble men appoynted by the king for the iourney of Biskey as the Lord Hayward sonne and heire to the Erle of Surrey the Lorde Brooke, the Lorde Willoughbie, the Lord Ferrers, the Lorde John, the Lorde Anthony, and the Lorde Leonard Greye, all three brethren to the Marques, Sir Griffith Apzice, Sir Maurice Barkeley, Sir William Sandes, The Baron of Burforde, Sir Richard Cornewale, his brother William Huley, John Pelton, William Kingston

Kingston Esquires, Sir Henr Willoughby and diuers other with Souldiours to the number of ten thousand men, came to Southampton and there mustered, and hauing a freshe winde they were all shipped and passed to the Sea the .xvj. daye of May, and he with all his Nauie arriued in Biskey at a Port called Passagh, Southwest of Fountrabye: And the thirde daye of June the Lorde Marques and all his whole company landed and tooke the fielde, & him wisely embateled for his safegarde. The Biskeyns that brought victuall to the armie, sayde to the Souldiers, Sirs you are arriued here in trust that the king of Arragon will helpe you with ordinaunce and cariages, we here of no preparatiõ that he maketh, nor neuer sent vs worde to prepare for your comming, of the which we marueil much. These wordes ranne daily through the Hoste, which made many men sad and to muse, and the Biskeyns sore feared least the Englishmen would destroy their Countrie, because their king kept not promise with them. But the Marques made such streight proclamacion, that no souldier durst do any iniury vnto them. Within three daies after the armye had lyen in the fielde, there came to him an Erle and an other Noble man to welcome him and his companie. Then the Lorde Capitayne remoued his fielde, and tooke another place nerer Fountraby, more plenteous of Water and Wood, and there pitched his fielde, euerie daye looking for ayde of the king of Arragon, but he heard of none. Then he called a counsaile and deuised how they might haue Beastes to drawe ordinaunce and cariages. Then one Sir John Stile an Englishman caused to be bought two hundred Maleites and Asses of such price as the Spanyards gained greatlie: but when they were put to carye, they woulde neyther beare nor drawe, for they were Beastes which were not exercised before. Then the Lorde Marques much lamented the chaunce: for if he had had ready two hundred drawing Beastes, he myght haue ronne a great waye into Guyan with his power, which then was not forteried neither of men, of warre, nor munition, nor artillarie.

The Frenchemen of Bayon, hearing of the Englishmens campe, made a great skirrie betwene the ryuer of Saint Maria and Bayon: the Englishmen perceyuing the same, passed the ryuer in good order of battayle, all beyng on foote for lack of the horsemen that the king of Arragon promised, and so with arrowes chased the Frenchmen on horseback that they fled, and many horses foundered, and many a man was bosed or they came to Bayon, at the which the Englishe men laughed and lamented. First to see their cowardnesse, second, to remember what they might haue done, if they had had horses meete for their purpose: yet all this notwithstanding, they retired to their Campe in such order, that the Spanyardes wondered much, both at their fierce courage and sober order.

A gentle offer made by the king of Nauerre.

The king of Nauerre hearing of the puyssaunt armie of the Englishmen lying in Biskey so neere to his Countrie, was sore troubled, and wondered much what the matter should meane: wherfore, he sent to the Lorde Marques, a Bysshop and diuers other, to shewe to him and all his counsayle, that if it pleased them, his Countrie should sende them victayle, and all things necessarie for their money, and to doe any other pleasure that they could doe, which might be to the pleasure of him and all his armie, so that his realme should be sure of any inuasions to be made by his people.

The Marques being Capitaine generall, with the aduise of the other Lords and counsayle, much highly thanked the king of Nauerre of his good will, aide, and comfort, which things only they required: and if it pleased him that his people will and maye vittaile vs, we shall not onely pay them for it, but also warrant their passing and repassing for vs and ours in safetie, and that by vs no preiudice shall be done to his realme, nor by our consent. With which answere the king of Nauerre was ioyous, and suffered his people to vittayle, and resort to the hoste, with all thyngs necessarie and belongyng to the same, in great windes and stormes, for that time happened much winde and raine, which sore encombered the souldiours, that lay nightly on the bare ground, for euery man had not a tent or pauilion, wherof some were lame, and some deafe, with other diseases.

When the armie had lien there.xxx. dayes, in the second Moneth there came from the king of Arragon, a Bysshop and other nobles of his counsail: but when it was knowne that it was the same Bysshop that made the answere to the Lord Darcie at Kales Wales, as you haue heard the last yere, then many said, he came for no good but for delayes: but he required the lord Marques to take pacience, for shortly such preparation should be made, that he should see and proone, that it should be to the honor of his maister, and his great renoumme. To whome the Marques answered, that vpon confydence of the king of Arragons promise, that they should lacke no beastes meete for drawyng, and horsemen, the king of Englande had sent him and his companions thether, whereof we haue trusted sithe our first hether comming, which things if we had had, we had done other enterprises then we haue done: for now we haue lyen here in Campe, to the great charge of our maister the king of Englande, and to no profite, and to our losse and great hurt. For at our arryuall the Country of Guyan for the which we came, was vnprouided of men of warre, munitions, and ordinaunce, by reason wherof, (if al things had bene accomplished of the part of your maister as we trusted) we might haue had that which we came for, and if our commission had not bene to folow the king your maisters will, as to whome we be sent, I assure you we would haue done otherwise or this: but now the Frenchmen haue fortefied, vittayled, and manned their townes, and we haue spent time and done nothing at all, lyngering for the king your maister, to the losse of vs and great blemishing of our honours.

The Bysshop perceyuing that the Englishe Capitaynes were courageous and discontent with their yll abode, flatteringly desired them to tarie a whyle for the best, for a back enemie sayde he, is to be regarded. Then said the Lorde Marques Capitaine generall, if we knewe the kinges intent, it would suffise vs. Then sayde the Bysshop, you shall know it shortly: and so he departed from the armie.

The armie this lyngering, euer desirous to be at the businesse that they came for, their vittayle was much part Garlike, and the Englishe men did eate of the Garlike with all meates, and dranke hote wynes in the hote weather, and did eate all the hote fruites that they could get, which caused their blond so to boyle in their bellyes, that there fel sick three thousand of the flixe, and thereof died. rviij. hundred men.

The Lord Marques and other Capitaynes perceyuing this mischiefe, sent

sent to the king of Arragon certaine Lordes of the hoste to knowe his pleasure. The which answered them with gentle fashion, that the counsayle of Englande and hys counsayle, had taken an order in all thyng of late, and howe the Duke Dalua a great Prince of Spaine, shoulde shortly with an armie royall ioyne with them, and so to proceede in their enterprise. Wyth which answere and small cheere, the Lordes of Englande departed, and made report to their Capitaine accordyng, which thought it verie sleight, but euer hee regarded his Maysters commaundement, and counsayled all the Lordes to be content with the same.

The Lorde Marques sendeth to the king of Arragon for performance of his promise.

The armie lyng thus, still, and the sickneſſe not slaked, the people beyng yll, some euill disposed persons sayd, that euery Capitain was alowed viij. pence for euery common Souldiour, which was vntrue, for they had alowed onely fiue pence, and so began to gather companies. The Lordes perceyuyng this, tooke with them their trustie seruauntes, and toke the begynners of the mischiefe, which were of the retinue of the Lorde Willoughby, and put them in warde. When they were arrested, other of like euill disposition began to crake and face: which thing beyng perceyued, the Lord Marques by the aduise of other Capitaynes caused serch to be made, and so found out the beginner of the mischiefe, which was deliuered to William Kingston Esquier, then Prouost Marshall, and so was put to death to the terror of all other.

The English men thus lyng ydely abyding the ayde of the king of Arragon, tidynges came dayly into the hoste, howe the Duke Dalua was comming with a great puyssaunce to ioyne with the Englishe armie, and so to inuade Guian: the Englishe Capitaines were ioyfull of these tidinges, not so much for the ayde of the Spaniardes, which they little regarded, but for the beastes for Cariage of great Artillarie.

A sleight and deceyt vsed by the king of Arragon.

Nowe they thus lookyng for the Duke Dalua, heard euery day howe he marched towarde them, and was within a dayes iourney or little more of them, of the which the English men were marueylous ioyfull, but the Duke which pretended another thing, sodainly remoued his armie in a night with such diligence that he entered the realme of Nauerre, and was before the Citie of Pampilona the chiefe Citie of Nauerre, before the king wist of it, which nothing suspected of that pollicie.

Thus the king was sodainly trapped, supposing the armie of Spaine to haue bene raised to inuade Guyan, and hauing nothing defensable for the war, in ỹ night fled out at a posterne into Fraunce, where he after died. The Citie of Pampilona and all the Countrie of Nauar, beyng vnprouided of artilarie and other defences, yeelded themselues to the Spanyardes, and thus was the realme of Nauerre wonne, which thing made the Lord Marques and his companie not a little to marueyle. So shortly after came to the Lorde Capitayne of the Englishe men, diuers Lordes sent from the king of Arragon, which sayde: The king our soueraigne Lorde sendeth to you great gramercie, and highly thanketh you for your paine, and so it is, that by Gods grace and your good abode, he with his power hath taken and conquered the realme of Nauerre, and if that countrie had not bene taken, they might haue intercepted all such ordinaunce and vittayle, as the king of Arragon our maister might haue sent to you, but nowe you be in such a suretie

and

and his puyſſaunce with you, and yours with his, that ye maye ſafely ioyne, which you ſhall ſee ſhortly, yea, & he himſelfe in proper perſon to ioyne with you. Well ſayde the Lorde Marques Capitaine generall, we haue ſoiourned long here abidyng his commyng, and if the commiſſion and expreſſe commaundement of the king my ſouereigne Lorde were not, that I ſhould doe nothing without the aſſent of the king your maiſter, I aſſure you that the French men ſhould haue knowne that Engliſhe men had beene here, and not to haue lyen ſo long in ydleneſſe as we haue done: but if the king your maiſter do as you report, it ſhall be much to his honor and to our great comfort, and ſo the Lordes of Spaine departed.

Thus the armie lay till the Moneth of October, and Winter began ſore to encreaſe, and the Lorde Marques Capitayne generall fell ſore ſicke, and then the Lorde Hayward had vnder him the whole gouernaunce of the army, to whome were ſent diuers Lordes of the priuie Counſail of Spaine, ſayeng: the king our Maiſter ſendeth you worde, that he would gladly come to you, but the ſeaſon is ſpent, the grounde is ſo moyſt that cariage can not be conueied, the fieldes ſo barren that beaſtes can not feede, and the weather ſo troublous that people can not well lye abrode in campe: therefore he would deſire you all theſe things conſidered, to breake vp your field, and ſeuer your ſelfe to the townes and villages of his Country, till the ſpring of the yere, at which tyme there ſhall reſort to you, freſhe ſuccors out of Englande, and he himſelfe will be with you with all ordinaunce neceſſary, as becometh to ſuch an armie, and then ſhall procede the firſt pretenſed enterpriſe, to the honor of the king your maiſter and ours, and not to your ſmall fame and renowme. When this meſſage was heard by the whole Counſaile, no man was contented, but the Lorde Hawarde which had the whole gouernaunce vnder the Marques ſayd: What report of honor can we make of the king of Arragon your maiſter, for at his deſyre we be come hether, & here haue lyen in campe a long ſpace, euer tariyng for perfourmaunce of his promiſe, and yet nothing hath he perfourmed, our people be dead of the flixe in great number: we gentlemen eche one doth much lament this long ydleneſſe, by reaſon wherof many a tall man hauyng nothing to doe, but abidyng your Maiſters pleaſure, hath falle into ſome miſchiefe, or by ſickneſſe, or elſe for miſdoing executed by iuſtice. What ſhall the king our maiſter report of our ſlouthfulneſſe, which hath ſpent him innumerable treaſure and nothing gayned? And yet we would make Winter warre, and the king of Arragon your maiſter vs denieth of ſuch thinges as he promiſed, and willeth vs like Cowardes to our diſhonour to rayſe our campe without any notable act done on the Frenchmen, for which cauſe we came.

The Spanyardes perceiuing the grudge of the Engliſhe men, ſayd that time paſſed could not be reuoked, and that they had not lyen ydely, for the frontiers of Guyan had ſuſteyned ſuche damage, as in many peres they ſhall not recouer againe, and all this while the frenchmen durſt not meddle with you, ſo that you haue loſt no honor, and if you tary here this Winter by your daylie ſkirmiſhing, they ſhall receyue great damage: during which time, the king our maiſter hath commaunded, that things meete and neceſſary for you ſhall be at your commaundement, and in the ſpring of the yere, he ſhall ioyne with you, ſo that your enemies & his ſhall well know your puyſſaunce, for he taketh all enemies to you, to be his, ſo with fayre wordes the counſaile of Spaine departed.

Then the Lorde Hayward beyng chiefe, becauſe the Marques was ſick, counſayled with all the other Lordes and Capitaines, and ſo in the ende of October they agreed to breake vp their Campe, and ſo they did, and the Lorde Marques and his people went to Saint Sebaſtian, the Lorde Hayward and his retinew to Renyre, and the Lorde Willoughby to Garſchang, Sir Wyllyam Sandes and manye other Capitaines to Fountrabie, and ſo euery Capitayne with his retinew were ſeuered in diuers Villages.

The Engliſhe ſouldiours, what for ſickneſſe, and what for miſerie of the Countrie, euer deſired to returne into England. The king of Englande aduertiſed by the king of Arragon of his intent, and how he would ſet forward the firſt ſpring, ſent Wynſore his Herauld of armes to his armie wylling them there to tarie, and that he would ſend them newe ayde, vnder the conduite of the Lord Harbert, his Chamberlaine: which letter when it was red, the Souldiours began to murmure and grudge after ſuche a ſort, ſayeng: that they would not abide and die of the flixe in ſuch a wretched Countrie, to be defrauded and mocked of the king of Arragon the next yere, as they were this yere, and ſpake ſuch outrageous wordes, that the Capitaine could not ſtay them, inſomuch that they in a furie had ſlayne the Lorde Hayward and diuers other, if they had not folowed their mindes, and ſo they hired ſhippes and put the Lorde Marques in one, which was ſo weake that he aſked where he was: and then euery man ſhipped, which was in November, and in the beginning of December they landed in Englande. The king of Arragon was ſore diſcontent with their departing, for they ſpent much money and ſubſtaunce in his Countrie, and ſayde openly, that if they had taried, he would haue inuaded Guyan, and the Engliſhe men were glad that they were departed out of ſuch a Countrie, where they had little helth, leſſe pleaſure, and much loſſe of time: but by their lying there, the king of Arragon ſtale the realme of Nauerre, and the Engliſhe men left as much money there, as he ſent into England with his daughter.

The Engliſhe armye returneth againe into Englande againſt the mynde of their Captaine generall.

When the Marques ſayled into Spaine in the Moneth of Maye, the ſame time Sir Edward Hawarde Lorde Admirall of Englande, as you haue heard before, ſayled toward Britaine, and on Trinitie Sunday arriued at Bertram Bay in Britaine, with twentie great ſhippes, and ſodainely ſet his men on lande: then the Britaynes made an alerte, and ſet their Beacons on fyre, and ſhot out of a Bulwarke that they had fortefied at the poynt of the Bay: but the Engliſhe men which were in the ſhip of Wyllyam Gonſtone Grocer of London, tooke firſt lande maugre them all, and all other after, and ſo manfully they ſet on the Bulwarke that they wanne it, and the Britons fled and many ſlayne. Then the Admyrall ſet hys men in an order, and paſſed in the Countrie ſeuen Myles, burning and waſting townes and Vyllages: and in hys returne he ſkirmiſhed with diuers men of armes and ſlue diuers of them, and notwithſtanding the Britons fought valyauntly for defence of their Countrie, yet they loſt and nothing wanne: and ſo the Lorde Admirall returned to his ſhip.

Vpon Monday the .xxiij. daye of May he landed in the morning, and commaunded to burne the Lorde Piers Megons place, and the towne of Conket

Conket and dyuers other places, and chased the Bytones to the Castell of Brest, and for all assembles and showes that the Britones made, yet they suffered the Englishe men peaceably to returne with their prayes & gaines. The Britons seyng the hurt that the navie of England did to them, sayde: alas the King of England hath euer before this time succoured vs, and now he intendeth to destroy vs, shame come to him that is the cause thereof.

The first day of June the Englishe men toke lande in Croyton Bay: then the Lordes of Britain sent word to the Lord Admirall, that if he would abyde, they would fight with him in playne fielde. The Admirall rewarded the messenger, and sayde, go say to them that sent thee, that all this day they shall finde me here tarying their comming. Then he to encourage dyuers Gentlemen dubbed them knightes, as Syr Edward Brooke, brother to the Lord Cobham, Syr Griffithe Doune, Syr Thomas Wyndam, Syr Thomas Lucie, Sir Willyam Pirton, Sir Henry Shirborne, Sir Stephen Bull, Sir John Burdett: Then the Lorde Admirall highly encouraged his men when he sawe the Britons come, which were ten thousande at the least, the Englishe men but onely. xrv.C. or fewe aboue, bydding them remember the honor and renowne that should come to them, if they gayned the victory, and yet if they were slayne, their valyauntnesse was to be praysed, and their true diligence to doe their mayster seruice much to be alowed.

When the Britons sawe the order of the Englishe men, and their Banners displayed, they were sodeynly astonied: then a Gentleman of Britayn of much experience, aduised the other Capitaines not to fight, but to returne a little and to take a strong ground, and to watch the Englishmen, when they returned to their shippes, and then to take the aduantage. And so the Capitaynes began to returne: and when the Commons sawe them returne, all they ranne away as fast as they might, supposyng that their Capitaynes had seene or knowen some great perill towarde them, because they were not private of their Capitaines Counsail. And when they came home to their houses, some sayd the battaile was great, and some sayde that the Englishmen were xl. thousand. The Lord Admirall seeyng this chaunce, when night came departed to his shippes: but yet they knew not why they fled, till after he heard the truth. The Gentlemen of Britayn called a great counsaile, saiyng: that the Englishemen dayly wasted the Countrie on the Sea coste, and that there was no trust in the Commonaltie, and that the Gentlemen alone coulde not defende the Countrie: wherefore, they concluded to sende a Messenger to the Lord Admirall, desiryng him of a safeconduite for diuers personnes to speake with him, the which he gently graunted. Then certaine Lordes of Britayn toke a Boate, and came to the ship of the Lorde Admirall, where he was set with all the Counsaile of the Capitaynes about him. Then they desired him humbly to surceasse off his rigorous and cruell warre, and especially of burning of townes which to you is no profite, and if you will haue the Castell of Brest, it shall be at your commaundement, so that you be able to defende it, and we desyre nothing so much as peace. Nay sayde the Lorde Admirall, we are sent hether to make warre and not peace. Then they humbly required him for Goddes sake to graunt them peace for sixe dayes, so that they might send to the king their Lorde, to aduertise him of their trouble and calamitie. Then the Lord Admirall aunswered, that Gentlemen ought to defende

defende their Countrie by force, rather then to sue for peace: with the which saiyng the Britons were ashamed: yet they hartily thanked him, and so he made them a banket, and they departed: and they sent a land for fresh water and other freshe vitayles, and then heeryng that there were men of warre vpon the sea, he coasted from them alongst all the coastes of Normandie, still scouryng the Seas, so that no enemie appered: & at the last came and lay by the Isle of Wight, to see if any enemies would appere on the Englishe coast: duryng which tyme diuers shippes kept the North seas, vnder the conduite of Sir Edward Ichyngham, John Lewys, and John Loueday, which diligently scoured the seas.

The king euer remembryng his warres, caused all his Shippes and Galies to be rigged and prepared, with al maner of ordinaunce and artillary, meete for shippes of warre. And amongest all other, he decked the Regent a ship royall, as chiefe ship of that navie, and then caused Souldiours mete for the same shippes to muster on Blacke heath, and he appoynted Capitaynes for that tyme, Sir Anthony Oughtred, Sir Edward Ichingham, William Sidney, and dyuers other Gentlemen, which shortly shipped and came before the Isle of Wight, but in their passage a Galley was lost by negligence of the Mayster.

The King desiryng to see his naule together, rode to Portesmouth, and there he appoynted Capitaynes for the Regent, Sir Thomas Kniuet, Mayster of his horse, and Sir John Carew of Deuonshire. And to another ship royall called the Souereigne, he appoynted sir Charles Brandon, and Sir Henry Guilford, and with them in the Souereigne were put. lx. of the tallest yomen of the kinges Garde, and manye other Gentlemen were made Capitaynes. The king made a great banquet to all the Capitaynes, & euery one sware to another euer to defende, ayde, and comfort one another, without failyng, and this they promised before the king, which committed them to God, and so with great noyse of Minstrelsie they tooke their shippes, which were. xrv. in number of great burden, and well furnished of all thinges.

The French king heeryng what damnage the Englishe men had done in Britayn, strongly furnished his Navie in the Hauen of Brest, to the number of. xxxix. sayle, and for chiefe ordeyned a Caricke of Brest, apperteinyng to the Queene his wife, which was Duchesse and heyre of Britayne called Cordelier, which was a strong ship furnished in all poyntes, and so they set forward out of Brest, the tenth day of August, and came to Britayne Bay, in which place the selfe same day, the Englishe nauy was arryued.

When the Englishe men perceyued the French navie to be out of Brest Hauen, then the Lorde Admirall was very ioyous, then euery man prepared accordyng to his duetie, the Archers to shoote, the Gonners to lose, the men of armes to fight, the Pages went to the top Castell with Dartes: thus all thinges beyng prouided and set in order, the Englishemen approched toward the Frenchemen, which came fiercely forward, some leauyng his Ancre, some with his foresayle onely to take the most aduauntage: and when they were in sight, they shot ordinaunce so terribly together, that all the Sea coast sounded of it. The Lorde Admirall made with the great Shippe of Depe, and chased her still: Sir Henry Guylford and sir Charles Brandon, beyng in the Souereigne, made with the great Caricke of Brest, and layde stemme

stemme to stemme to the Caricke, but by negligence of the Maister, or else by smoke of the ordinaunce, or otherwise, the Souereigne was cast at the sterne of the Caricke, with which aduauntage the Frenche men showted for ioy: but when Sir Thomas Kniuet which was readie to haue borded the great ship of Depe, saw that the Souereigne had missed the Caricke, which sir Anthony Oughtred chased hard at the sterne, and bolwged her in diuers places, and set a fire her powder as some say, but sodeinly the Regent grappeled with her a long boorde, and when they of the Caricke perceyued that they could not depart, they let slip an Ancre, and so with the streme the ships turned, and the Caricke was on the weatherside, and the Regent on the lye syde, the fight was very cruell, for the Archers of the Englishe part, and the Crosbowes of the French part did their vttermost: but for all that the Englishe men entered the Caricke, which seeyng a Uerlet Gonner beyng desperate, put fire in the Gonpowder, as other say, and set the whole ship of fyre, the flame whereof, set fire in the Regent, and so these two noble ships which were so grappeled together that they could not part, were consumed by fyre. The French naule perceiuyng this fled in all hast, some to Brest, and some to the Iles adioinyng. The English men in maner dismayed, sent out Boates to helpe them in the Regent, but the fyre was so great that no man durst approch, saiyng that by the Iames of Hull were certaine Frenchemen that could swim saued. This burnyng of the Caricke was happie for the French naule, or else they had bene better assayled of the Englishemen, which were so amased with this chaunce, that they folowed them not. The Capitaine of this Caricke was sir Piers Morgan, and with him. ix. hundred men slaine and dead: And with sir Thomas Knyuet, and sir John Carow, were seuen hundred men drowned and brent, and that night all the Englishe men lay in Bartram Bay, for the French fleete was sparkeled as you haue heard.

The Caricke and the Regent burned.

The Lord Admyrall called all the Capitaines together, desiring them not to be abashed with this chaunce of warre, for he thought nowe that this was the worst fortune that coulde happen to them, therefore to studie how to be reuenged, and so they concluded all to goe to the Sea, which they did, and on the coast of Britaine tooke many shippes, and such as they coulde not take awaye they set on fire, small and great to a great number on all the coast of Britaine, Normandy and Picardy, and thus they kept the Sea. The king of England hearing of the losse of the Regent, caused a great ship to be made suche another as was neuer seene before in Englande, and called it Henrye grace de dieu.

Henry grace de dieu.

The French Kyng heering that his fleete was thus deuided, and of the losse of his great Caricke, he sent to a knight of the Rhodes called Prior John, which had three Galies of force, wyth diuers Foystes and Rowgalies so well ordinaunced and wyth such peces as was not seene in shippes before his comming: for he laye one the coast of Barberye, to defend certaine of the religion of the Rhodes comming to Tripoly, and at the French kinges request came into Britaine and their taried.

In November the king called his high court of Parliament, and there was concluded that the king himselfe in person, wyth an armie royall would inuade his realme of Fraunce, with Fyre and Swoorde, which thing being knowne to his Subiectes, and especially to such as shoulde go with him, no man

If parliament whereon it was agreed that the king himselfe would enter Fraūce with an armie royall.

man can doubt, but that preparation was made of harnesse, weapon, artillery, banners, and all other thinges necessarie for such an enterprice.

And after the Purification of our Ladie, the king created Sir Charles Brandon Viscount Lisle. In Marche following, the kinges Naule of shippes royall, and other mete for the warre set forth to the number of .lxij. beside other Balangers: the Lorde Admirall was chiefe, and wyth hym Sir Water Deuereux Lorde Ferrers, Syr Weston Browne, Sir Edwarde Ichyngham, sir Antony Poyntz, sir John Wallop, syr Thomas Windam, sir Stephen Bull, William Fitz Willyam, Arthur Plantaginet, William Sidney Esquires, and diuers other noble and valiant Capitaines: they sayled to Portesmouthe, and there laye abiding winde: during which time the kyng sent into Flaunders for suche thinges as he needed, and caused them to be brought to Calice against his comming.

When the winde serued, the Naule royall of Englande wayed anker and made saile into Britaine, and came into Bertram Bay, and there laye at Anker in the sight of the French Naule. Now you muste vnderstande, that all the great Naule which the French kyng had prepared, laie in the haiuen of Brest, so well furnished in all thinges, that no doubt it was a wonder to see: but when they were readie to set forth, and saw the English fleete on the coast, they determined to saue themselues in Brest hauen. Then the Englishmen determined clerely to set on them in the hauen, and so in good order of battaile sayled forwarde, but at the first entrie one shippe, where of Arthur Plantagenet was Capitaine, fell on a blinde Rocke and brast a sunder, by reason whereof, all the other stayed to the great displeasure of all the remnaunt, and not to the litle ioye of the French men which shot at them without doyng anye harme. So the Englishe Capitaines perceyuing that the Haiuen was daungerous to enter without an expert Lodesman cast about and returned to their harborough at Bertram Bay againe.

The French men perceyuing that the English men entended to assayle them, moored their shippes as nigh to the Castell of Brest as they could, and set Bulwarkes on the lande on euerie side to shoote at the Englishmen. Also they frapped together .xviij. great Hulckes, that came to the Baye for salte, and set them on a rowe, to the entent that if the Englishmen would haue assaulted them, they would haue set them on a fier, and let them driue with the streme amongst the English Nauy. Prior John also laye still in Blacke Sable or Whitesande Baye, and plucked his Galies to the shore, and set his Basilyskes and other ordinaunce in the mouth of the Baye, which Baye was bulwarked on euery side, that by water it was not possible to be wonne.

The Lord Admirall perceyuing the Nauy of Fraunce to lye this in feare and not willing nor daring to come abroad, but to lie as prisoners in a Dongeon, wrote to the king to come thether in person, and to haue the honor of so high an enterprice: which writing ỳ kings counsail nothing alowed, for putting the king in ieoperdy vpō the chaunce of the sea. Wherfore the king wrote sharpely to him to accomplish ỳ which appertayned to his duety: which caused him to take courage & to put things in aduenture as after you shal heare.

As you haue heard before, the Lorde Admirall of England laye still on the coast of Britayne in the Baye, called Bartrames Baye, so that for feare of him and the Englishe Naule, neyther the great shippes in Brest hauen

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durst once moue to the sea warde, nor yet Prior John for all hys strong Galeies would once set out a saple: sauyng nowe and then sende forth hys small Foystes, to make a shewe before the Englishe fleete, which chased them to their Baye, but because the Englishe shippes were so great they could not enter the Bay, and so manned out Boates and tooke one of the best Foystes, and that with great daunger, for the Galies and the Bulwarkes shot all at one time, that it was a wonder howe the Englishe men escaped.

The Admirall of Englande perceyuing the Frenche mens pollicie, called a counsayle, and there determined first to assayle Prior John and his Galies, lying in Whitsand Baye, and after to set on the remnaunt in the hauen of Brest. Then first was appointed that Water Lorde Ferrers, Syr Stephin Bull and other Capitaynes, should go a lande with a conuenient companie, to assault the Bulwarkes of Whitsand bay, while the Lord Admirall entered with rowe Barges and little Galies into the Bay, so that the Frenchmen should be assayled both by water and lande. Thus was it fully agreed by the whole counsayle: but alas, this Noble Capitaine counsayled by a Spanishe knight called Sir Alphons Charant (which sayde that he might enter the Baye with little leopardie) called to him William Fitz William, William Cooke, John Colley, and Sir Weston Browne, as the chiefe and his most trustie friends, and declared to them that the matter was little, and the honor great, if they onely tooke on them that enterprise, and let none other know of it. They like men of haute courage and desiring honor, gladly assented: so on the. xxb. day of Aprill, the sayde Admirall put himselfe in a small rowe Barge, with three other small rowing shippes, and his owne ship Boate, and so rowed sodainely into the Baye, where Prior John had moored his Galies iust to the grounde, which Galies with the Bulwarkes on the lande, shot so terribly that they that folowed were afrayde: but assone as he came to the Galies, he entred and drane out the French men. William Fitz Wylliam within his ship was sore hurt with a quarell. The Baye was verie shalowe, and the other shippes could not enter, for the tide was spent, which thing the Frenchemen perceyuing, and that there could come no succour to the Admirall, with Moris pikes entered agayne the Galies, and fought with the Englishe men in the Galies. And the Admirall perceyuing their approching, thought to haue entred againe into his rowe Barge, which by violence of the tide was driuen downe the streme, and so with a pike was throwne ouer the boorde and so drowned, and there the forenamed Alphons was slayne, and all the other Boates and vessels scaped hardly, for if they had taried, the tide had sayled them, and then all had bene lost. The Lord Ferrers and other Capitaines much were grieued with this chaunce, and some sayde he did it without counsayle, and so he hath sped. And therefore although that they would haue set on the Navie in Brest hauen, yet hauing no Admirall nor commission, they determined to do no farther till they knewe the kings pleasure, and so sayled into Englande. The French Navie perceiuyng that the Englishe men made toward England, came out of their Hauens, and Prior John set forth his Galies and Foistes, and coasted Britayne and Normandie, and crossed ouer to the coast of Sussex, and all hys companie, and landed on the sea coast, and set fire on the poore Cotages. The gentlemen that dwelt neere, shortly raysed the Countrie, and came to the

The death of sir Edwarde Haward lord Admirall of England.

the coast and droue Prior John to hys Galies. This was all the hurt that this stoute Capitayne of so great fame did to Englande, sauing he robbed certayne poore Fishermen of Whytings. The king hearing of the death of his Admirall was not a little sorie, considering both the nobilitie of his birth, and the valyauntnesse of his person, but all sorrowe auayleth not when the chaunce is past. Therefore the king hearing that the French Navie was abroade, called to him the Lorde Thomas Hawarde, elder brother to Syr Edward Haward late Admirall, and sonne and heire apparaunt to the Erle of Surrey, and made hym Admirall, wylling hym to reuenge his brothers death, which with great reuerence, thanked the king of the highe trust that he had put in him. And then immediatly went to the sea, and so nobly and valyauntly did scowre the sea, that the Frenche men had no lust to keepe the coast of Englande, for he fought with them at their owne portes.

The Lorde Thomas Hawarde made Lorde Admirall.

The king which had all things necessarie and meete for the warre, entending to passe the sea in proper person, appointed the valiant Lord George Talbot Erle of Shrewesburie, and high steward of his household to be Capitaine generall of his forewarde, and in his companie were Lorde Thomas Stanley Erle of Darbie, Lorde Decowrey Prior of Saint Johns, Syr Robert Radcliffe, Lorde Fitzwater, the Lorde Hastinges, the Lorde Cobham, Syr Rice ap Thomas, Syr Thomas Blount, Syr Richard Sachuerell, Syr John Digbby, Syr John Askew, Syr Lewys Bagot, Syr Thomas Cornewall, and many knightes and Esquiers and souldiours, to the number of eyght thousand men, which all passed the sea to Calice in the middle of May.

The Lord Herbert called sir Charles Sommerset, chiefe Chamberlaine to the king: the ende of the same Moneth with. vj. M. men passed the Sea in whose companie were these Erles, of Northūberland Percy, of Kent Gray, of Wilchire Stafford, the Lord Fitzwater, the Lord Dudley, the Lord Delaware, Syr Thomas West his sonne, Syr Edwarde Husey, Syr Robert Dimmoke, Syr Daup Owen, with many other Gentlemen, some with speares on horsebacke, some with pikes on foote, some with Dimilaunces, and thys was the rereward. Such good diligence was made that these two Captaynes withall their company, furnished with artilerie, powder, tents, cariages, & al thinges necessary for the warres were landed at Calice the last day of May.

After they had soiourned certaine dayes in Calice, and that all thinges requisite were readie, they caused a Trompet to blowe and made Proclamation, that euery man should depart out of the towne, and so to begyn the campe. The Erle of Shrewesbury with his company first tooke the fielde, after him folowed the Lorde Herbert with his companie, in maner of a rereward. And after him folowed the valiaunt Rice ap Thomas, with fiue hundred light horse and Archers on horsebacke, and ioyned him to the forewarde. Then was there order taken what persons should conduyte the Vittaylers, that came from Calice, and who should conduyte the Vittaylers that came out of Flaunders, for without sufficient conduyte no creature durst bring anye vittaile to the armie. These two Lordes thus embattayled remoued the. xbij. day of June to Sandiffielde, and on the. xbiij. day they came to Margison, on the farre syde of the water, as though they would haue passed streight to Bulleyn, but they thought otherwise, for the next day they tooke another way, and coasted the Countrie with such diligence, that the. xxij. day

The siege of Tirwin.

of June, they with all their people, ordinaunce, and habiliments of warre, were come before the strong City of Tirwin, & pight their tents a mile from the towne, & for that night embattailed themselfe: and as certain Capitaines were in counsaile, in the Lorde Harbertes Tent, sodainly out of the towne was shot a Gonne, the pellet whereof slue a noble Capitaine called the Baron of Carew, sitting there in counsaile, which sodaine aduenture dismayed much the assembly. But the Lorde Harbert valiauntly comforted them, saying: this is the chaunce of warre, if it had hit me you must haue beene content, a noble heart in warre is neuer afeard of death. All the Countrie of Arthois, and Picardie, fortified their holdes, and made shewes as the English armie passed, but they durst not once assaile them.

The Citie of Tirwyn was strongly fortified with walles, rampires, Bulwarkes, with diuers fortresses in the ditches, which were so broade and so plumme deepe that was wonder to beholde. The Lorde Pountremy was Capitaine Generall, and with him were within the Citie fiue hundred horsemen furnished, and two thousand and fiue hundred Almaines, besyde the Inhabitantes of the City, the walles and towers were full of ordinaunce, which did oftentymes great displeasure to the Englishmen. The Erle of Shrewsburie layde siege to the towne, on the Northwest syde, and the Lord Harbert on the East side or ende warde, the Frenchmen issued out of the towne, and skirmished with the Englishemen, but the Archers shot so fast that they draue the Frenchemen into the Citie, and slue and tooke diuers of them. The Lord Harbert which lay in the open sight of the Towne, hauyng no hill or other thing to succor or defende him, caused great Trenches to be made, and so mawger his enemyes, he approched very nere the Citie: likewise the Erle of Shrewsbury with the forewarde, gat into an hollow ground or valey nere to the Citie. Dayly the Frenchemen shot at the Englishemen, and diuers tymes issued out and skirmished, and euer they lost by skirmishyng, but by shotyng of ordinaunce they hurt diuers Englishmen. Wherefore the Lordes commaunded the Pioners to rayse a great Trenche, in which they layde the great Ordinaunce, and dayly as they might they approched: Sir Rice ap Thomas with the horsemen dayly scoured the Countrie, and many tymes encountered with the Frenchemen, and slue and tooke dyuers prisoners, so that the Frenchemen drewe not towarde the siege, but turned another way. Upon the Monday beyng the .xxvij. day of June .xxiij. Cartes charged with vittaile, were by the garrison of Calice conducted to Guisnes, and there the crewe of the Castell and towne of Guisnes with three hundred footemen, vnder the conduyte of sir Edward Belknap, all beyng in number foure hundred. lx. men, set forth to conduite the sayd vittayles to the armie lying before Tirwin, and so they passed to Arde. And while the Cartes passed the towne, the horsemen fell a drinkyng in the way, and the footemen were all out of order. The Duke of Vandosme Capitaine generall of Picardie, which lay in a bushment in the Forest syde of Guysnes with .viij. hundred light horsemen, tooke his aduauntage, and set on the vitaylers: the Carters perceiuyng that, losed their horses and fled to the towne, which was but a myle off, and left their Cartes. Sir Nicholas Vaux Capitaine of Guisnes did all he coulde, to bring the footemen in an order: but the Frenchemen set on so quickly that they coulde not set them in order, the horsemen of Guisnes which were but

onely .xviij. tooke their Speres and ioyned with the Frenchmen: The Archers of England which passed not, shot manfully, and a noble Capitaine called Baltier Delien and diuers other, but the French men were so many in number, and in good order, that they slue .viij. Gentlemen of the Garison of Guisnes, and .xxx. Archers slaine, and manye hurt, and so they distrussed the vittayles, and caused sir Nicholas Vaux, and sir Edwarde Belknappe to flie toward Guisnes. This misaduenture fell by tarying of the horsemen, and breakyng of array, for if the Archers had taryed together, it had happened otherwise, for the fewe Archers that helde together, slue and hurt diuers Frenchemen: for on the fielde lay .lxxvij. great horse, which neuer went thence, by the which it appered that the Frenchemen went not quite away e without losse. When tidynges of this misaduenture came to the Lordes at the siege, they were not a little displeased: and sir Rice ap Thomas caused hys Trompet to blowe to the stirrop, and he with his horsemen sought the Duke of Vandosme all the Countrie, which heeryng of the comming of sir Rice, with great hast retreated backe to Bangey Abbey, where the French kinges great armie lay. Sir Rice heeryng that he was returned came the next day againe to the siege. The rumor of this skirmishe sprong all the English pale toward Flaunders, where the townes fiered their Beacons, and rang alarme, diuers honourable men that had passed the Sea with companies of Souldiours, and were in Calice, marched forwarde in order of battaile, but hearyng of the departure of Mounsire de Vandosme, they rested. Then was newe prouision made for vittaile, and sent dayly from Calice to Tirwyn by suche conduyte, that the Frenche men would no more meddle, and the armie also was well victayled out of Flaunders and Henawlde.

The armie of England thus lay before the strong Towne of Tirwin: the noble king of England not forgetting his enterprice prepared al thing redy to passe the Sea in proper person, and caused Sir John Wilshire to purueye for three hundred Hoyes to cary ouer his Artillerie and habiliments of warre and all his ships of warre were on the sea scowring euerie coast of his realme. And when all thinges were prest, he accompanied with manye noble men and syxe hundred archers of his garde, all in white gabberdines and capes, departed from his Manour royall of Greenewich the .xv. daye of June and so he and the Queene wyth small iorneys came to Douer Castell and there rested, and made the Queene gouernour of the realme, and commaunded William Warram then Bishop of Cantorburie and Sir Thomas Louell a sage knight and diuers other, to geue there attendaunce on the Queene. And commaunded the Erle of Surrey to drawe toward the north partes lest the Scottes would make any enterprice in his absence. Then the king tooke leaue of the Queene and of the Ladies which made such sorrowe for the departing of the Lordes their husbandes, that it was great dolour to behold, and so he with all his armie tooke shippe the last daye of June being the daye of Sainct Paule.

The king himself passeth into Fraunce.

In the morning when the kyng was shipped and made saile, all the armye folowed to the number of foure hundreth shippes, and the winde was so that they were brought euen on the coast of Picardie open vpon Sainct Johnes Roade, and with the flood they haled along the coast of white sand with Trumpets blowing and Gonnes shootyng, to the great feare of them

of Bulleyne which playnelye myght beholde this paſſage, and ſo came to Calyce hauen.

The King was receyued into a Bote couered with Arras, and ſo was ſet on lande. He was appareled in an almaine riuet creſted and hys vambrace of the ſame, and on his hedde a chapeau montabin with a riche rozonall, the fold of the chapeau was lined with crimſen Satten, and on that a rich brooch with the image of Sainct George, ouer hys riuet he had a garment of whit cloth of Gold with a red croſſe, and ſo he was receyued with proceſſion and with his deputie of Calyce called ſir Gilbert Talbotte, and all other nobles and gentelmen of the towne and countrie, and ſo entred in at the Lanterne Gate and paſſed the ſtretes tyll he came to Sainct Nicholas Church, and there he alighted and offered, and from thence he went to the Staple Inne where he ſupped.

When the kyng entred Caleyce, all the baniſhed men entered with hym and were reſtozed to the libertie of the Towne. To tell of the gunneſhote of the Towne and of the chippes at the kinges landing it was a great wonder, foz men of good eſtimacion repozted that they heard it at Douer. The king lying thus in Calyce, all his armye except a fewe of his counſaile and other that gaue their attendaunce on him, laye encamped at Newnam bzidge, in which Campe about a.xj. of the clock at night there roſe an eſcrie, ſo that the Towne of Calyce began alarme, with that the King waked and came to the walles, and demaunded what the matter ment, the yomen of the tentes, called Richard Gibſon, ſhewed him howe that certaine hozſemen and footemen of Fraunce pzoffered to come ouer the Hauen, and the archers that lay nert the ſea ſide entred into the water & defended the paſſage, with which defence the Frenchmen returned, and ſo the king was ſatiſfied. But after this a Frenchman of Whitſand Bay and one of Bullain were taken, the one called Charles de Bone, the other Peter Vernowne, which confeſſed that from the towne of Whitſand came .ix. hozſemen and two hundzed footemen of the garriſon of Bullayne and the countrie adioyning, entending to paſſe by Rice Banke at the lowe water Marke, ouer the Hauen of Calice at a certeine Foozde ſhewed to them by a ſpye which ſerued the yoman of the tentes with vittailes, and ſhewed them that the tentes were pitched vnder Calyce walles betweene the towne and the campe, ſo that they might burne them quickly oz the towne could iſſue, oz the campe remoue. But the Engliſhmen kept ſo good watch as you haue heard that their enterpzice came to none effect. The mozowe after being the firſt day of July, the noble Lozde Hayward, admirall of England landed at Whitſand Bay, & entred, ſpoyled and bzent the towne, and returned to his chippes foz all the Bullonoys, and ſo recompenced the imagination that the Baillie of Whitſand and the Bullonoiſe had enterpziſed foz the burning of the kings tentes.

On Friday at night blewe ſuch a ſtozme that ſeuered all the naule, and ſome were dzowned. Upon the. viij. day of Julye, the Lozde Marques Dozſet, Erle of Eſſex, the Lozde Liſle rode into Flaunders, and there tooke the muſters of the Lord Linny, the Lozde Walon, ſonne to the Lozde of Barow, and baſtard Emery which with their retinue were then admitted into the kinges wages, and the Lord Linny with a hundzed and fiftie ſperes was appoynted to go to the Lozde Harbert: and the Lozd Walon, and Baſtard

ſtard Emery with their bonds were appointed to go to the Erle of Shzewſbury lying befoze Tirwin: Theſe ſtraugers were warlike perſons on light hozſes. While the ſiege laye thus befoze Tirwin as you haue heard, the French men diuers times iſſued out on hozſebacke, and many a ſtaffe was bzoken, and many a pzoper feate of armes done. Likewyſe the Almaynes on foote would diuers times iſſue out, with Handgonnes, and Hozſſpikes and aſſaile the Engliſhmen, but by fozce of ỹ archers, they were euer dziuen home againe, and euery day the Engliſhemen ſhot at the towne and did them much diſpleaſure.

The. xxj. day of July (when all thinges by counſayle had bene ozdered concernyng the ozder of battaile) the king paſſed out of the towne of Calice, in goodly array of battaile, and toke the field: And notwithſtandyng that the fozewarde, and the rerewarde of the kinges great armye were befoze Tyzwin, as you haue heard: Yet the king of his awne battaile made thzee battailes after the faſſion of the warre, the Lozde Liſle marſhall of the hoſte was Captaine of the fozeward, and vnder him thzee thouſand men. Sir Rychard Carew with thzee. C. men was the right hand wing to the fozeward, and the Lozde Darcy with thzee hundzed men, was wing on the left hande, the ſcourers and fozeryders of this battaile were the Nozthumberland men on light Geldynges. The Erle of Eſſex was Lieutenaunt Generall of the Speres, and ſir John Pechy was Vicegouernour of the hozſemen: befoze the king went. viij. hundzed Almaynes all in a plumpe by themſelues: after them came the Standard with the red Dzagon, next the Banner of our Ladie, and next after the Banner of the Trinitie, vnder the ſame were all the kinges houſholde ſeruauntes, then went the Banner of the armes of England, bozne by ſir Henry Guilfozde, vnder which Banner was the king himſelfe, with diuers noble men and other to the number of thzee thouſand men. The Duke of Buckyngham with fiue hundzed men was on the kinges left hande, egall with the Almaynes, in likewiſe on the right hande was ſir Edwarde Bownynges, with other fiue hundzed men egall with the Almaynes. The Lozde of Burgaynie with. viij. hundzed men, was wing on the ryght hande, ſir William Compton with the retinue of the Biſhop of Wincheſter, and Mayſter Wolſey the Kinges Almoner to the number of. viij. hundzeth was in maner of a rerewarde, ſir Anthony Oughtred, and ſir John Neuell with the kinges ſperes that folowed, were foure hundzed, and ſo the whole armie were. xj. thouſand, and thzee hundzed men. The Mayſter of the ozdinaunce ſet fozth the kinges artillarie, as Fawcons, Slinges, Bombardes, Cartes with Powder, ſtones, Bowes, Arrowes, and ſuche other thinges neceſſary foz the fielde, the whole number of the Cariages were. xiij. hundzeth, the leaders and dzyuers of the ſame were. xix. hundzeth men, and all theſe were rekened in the battaile, but of good fightyng men, there were not full. ix. thouſande.

This was afterward Cardinall Wolſey.

Thus in ozder of battayle the king rode to Seutreyca and there lodged the firſt night, on Friday the garriſon of Bulleyne muſtered nighe to Fines Mill, and were alkried by the Nozthumberland men, which marched toward them, but the Frenchmen returned. On Saterday the hoſte remooued to Hambwell and there reſted. On Sunday, and on Monday he entered into the Frenche grounde nye to Arde, and there euery Gentleman had on hys coate

coate of armes, and these tydings were brought to the king that the Frenche armie approched, which tidings pleased him well, for he desired nothing but battaile. Tuesday the. xxvj. day of Julie the king passed forward in order of battayle, and euer the French men coasted a farre off to take the English men at some auantage, but they kept them so close in order, that they could not finde them out of array. Howbeit, by negligence of the Carters that mistoke the way a great Curtall called the John Euangelist, was ouerthrowne into a depe ponde of water, and could not quickly be recouered.

The king hearing that his enemies approched, leauing the Corne (because the maister Carpenter sayde that he would shortly waye it out of the water) set forward his hoste, and in good order came to Doznham where is a fayre castell standing in a woode countrie, the Frenchmen were euer lurcking in the woods bewyng the kings conduite and order as he passed, and so he left the towne of Doznham on his right hand, and came to a Village on a little riuer where the ordinance was pitched. And when the king came to the ryuer he perceyued that many gentlemen made daunger to enter into the riuer: Wherefore he alighted downe of his horse and without any more abode entred the riuer, then all other entred and came ouer. Then was tydinges brought to him that the Frenchmen were neere at hande, and would fyght that night: the king still abode in order of battayle, euer looking for the comming of the Frenchmen, and at night worde was brought that they were reculed, and then he entred into his tent.

(The noble courage and valyantnesse of a king.

Wednesday the. xxvj. daye of July the releffe of the speares brought in asskrie, wherefore the king commaunded to blowe to the standerde, and auaunced his banner and tooke a fayre field or banke, abidyng the comming of the Frenchmen. The Capitaynes generall of the armie of the Frenche king were the Lorde de la Balice, and the Lorde of Piens, accompanied with the Duke of Longuyle, the Erle of saint Polle, the Lord of Floringes, the Lorde Cleremound, and Richarde de la Pole Traytor of Englande, sonne to the Duke John of Suffolke: with these Captaines were comming a. xj. thousand footemen, and foure thousand horsemen, all prest in battaile and came within two myles of the king of England, and there the footemen staled and came no farther: certayne horsemen to the number of three thousand & aboue marched forward and at the end of a wood shewed themselues open in the sight of the Englishe armie. The king perceyuing their demeanure, commaunded all his footemen not to remoue, but to stande still. The Frenchmen remoued and came somewhat neerer to a place of execution: then the maister Gonner shot of a peece of artillarie or two. As the king lay thus still abidyng his enemyes, and that the horsemen stoode still in sight, the great armie of Fraunce approched, which the Englishemen could not descry because of an hill that was betwixt them. The Northren men ranne to the Frenchmen, which manly encountered with them, and strake some of them downe, and mawger all their power brought certaine prisoners to the king of England. The Erle of Esser Capitaine of the kinges speres, with two hundred speres lay in a stale, if the french men had come nerer. Then sodainly appered in sight a great companie of horsemen, and the king knewe not what they were: but at the last it was perceyued that it was the valiaunt knight sir Rice ap Thomas with his retinue, which came to the king about noone:

noone: which gently receyued him and sent him to the Erle of Esser, which incontinently departed and compassed the hill, and came to the Erle, and whē they were ioyned, they drewe them about the hill accompanied with Syr Thomas Gylford Capitaine of two hundred Archers on horsebacke, to the entent to haue set on the French men, which perceiuyng that, and doubtyng a more number to come after, sodainly drew backe and ioyned them with the great battaile. Then the Erle of Esser and the Englishe horsemen folowed them till they came nere the great armie of Fraunce, and then staled, and sent light horsemen to know the conduite of the Frenche army. When the French men of armes were returned to their battaile, both the footemen and horsemen reculed in order of battaile, and went backe apace. The Englishe sturers perceiuyng this, folowed three leagues and returned to the Erle, makyng report of that they had seene, and then he brake vp his stale and came to the king, declaryng to him howe the Frenchmen were reculed. This day was called the drie Wednesday, for the day was wonderfull hote, and the king and his armie were in order of battaile from fyue of the clocke in the morning, till three of the clock in the after noone, and some dyed for lacke of moysture, and almost in generall euery man was burned about the mouth with heat of the stomacke, for drinke lacked, and water was not nere. After this, the king remoued toward Tirwyn, hauyng his horsemen behind him, least the french men shoulde sodainlye set on him behinde, and as the king was settyng forward, the Lorde Walowne of Flaunders came to the king with his horsmen which were in the kinges wages, and the king declared to him what had chaunced. As the army passed by negligence the same day in a Lane, was ouerthrowne one of the kinges great Bombards of Iron, called the red Gon, and there left: When the night began to approche, the king rested and tooke his campe two miles from Saint Omers on the Northside.

On the Thursday beyng the. xxviij. daye of July the mayster Carpenter with an hundred Carpenters and labourers without knowlege of the Marshall went to waye vp the great Gonne that was in the ponde as you haue heard, and by force of engines drewe it vp and layde it on a Cart ready to carie: But sodainely out of a wood issued eyght hundred Frenchmen with speares, crosbowes, and handgonnes, and assayled the poore labourers which valyauntly defended themselues: but oppressed with multitude, the most part was slayne and the remnant taken, and they and the peece of ordinaunce caried to Bulleyne. This misaduenture fell, for the maister Carpenter would worke all of his owne head without counsaile, with which chaunce the king was sore displeased. The Frenchmen ioyous of this chaunce, assembled a great number to take the other Gonne that laye still in the high waye. Wherefore the Lorde Barnes beyng Capitayne of the Pioners and labourers hearing of the misaduenture, and considering that the other Gonne was lyng behinde, prepared all maner of engines to recouer the same. The morrow after the king entending to rayse his Campe, but when he heard of the great peece of Ordinaunce that was left behinde, and that the Frenche men assembled together, he was in a great musing and so tarryed and commaunded the Almaynes to retreate backe, and to succour them that went for the peece of Ordinaunce. The Almaynes went forth and staled wythin two Myle, where the peece of Ordinaunce lay, and farther they would not go.

The

The Erle of Eſſex with his companye of ſpeares, Sir Rice ap Thomas, with his companie, ſyr John Neuell with the Northumberlande men, ſet forward to helpe the Lorde Barnes for recouery of the Gonne. And ſodainly the Northren horſemen eſpied where all the great armie of the Frenche men were comming forwarde, and ſo reported to the Erle of Eſſex, that to Sir John Pechy Lieutenaunt of the horſemen and ſpeares and other Capitaines, which were in the place where the ſayde Gonne was left with a hundred horſemen, which hearing thereof ſent worde to Sir Rice, and he hearing thereof deſired the Erle of Eſſex to come and to take grounde in that place where he was, which remooued in great haſte: In the meane ſeaſon by the diligent labor of the Lorde Barnes, the peece of Ordinaunce was raiſed and carted, and forth was it caryed, by thys time the Frenche armye appered in ſight.

When the Erle of Eſſex ſaw the great number of the Frenchmen, in all haſte he ſent to the Lord Walon, wylling him with his companie to come to their ayde, the Lorde Walon ſayde to the meſſenger, go tell your Capitayne that I come hether to ſerue the king of Englande more then one daye, and therefore I would all the Engliſh men would returne, for with the great power of Fraunce they be not able to fight, for I eſteeme them. ix. or. x. thouſand men at the leaſt: with this aunſwere the meſſenger departed and made relation to the Erle of Eſſex and other Capitaynes, which therewith were ſore diſcontent: by this time the ſcowrers of the French part were come hard to the handes of the Engliſhemen: then began the light horſemen to ſkirmiſhe, there was folowyng and reſcuing on both parties, and in open ſight ſome of both parties ſlayne. Then marched forward the whole battayle of the Frenchmen with ſtandards, penons, and banners wauerynge, and ſumptuous bards, and riche harneſſe glyttering, the men of armes in great number were in ranges along ready to chace and charge. Sir Rice ap Thomas beyng a man of great experience, ſagely perceyued in what caſe the matter ſtood, ſaide to the Erle of Eſſex, ſir we be not ſeuen hundred horſemen, let vs not be to foliſhe hardy, our commiſſion was to ſet the Gonne and none other, let vs folowe the ſame, the Erle agreed therto, and ſo ſoftly and not in flyeng maner retreated and folowed the Gonne. The Frenchmen perceiuyng that, cryed all is ours, let vs followe, then pricked forward two thouſand men of armes, and came iuſt to the backes of the Engliſhe men, then the Engliſhe men cryed Saint George, and caſt themſelfe about and made returne to the Frenche men, Sir William Tyler, and Sir John Sharpe, were the firſt that charged and after all the other Engliſhe men, there was a dreadfull chaſe, for the men of armes of Fraunce fledde ſo faſt, that glad was he that might be formoſt, the whole hoſt ſeeyng their horſemen returnyng in flight, ſodainly in great haſte returned without any more doyng. Then the Erle of Eſſex ſtaled to an hill, and there cauſed his Trompet to blowe to the Standard for feare of ſubtyll dealyng: and when they were gathered together vnto array, he returned.

The. xxii. daye of July the king with his armye came to Arkus, and there embattailed himſelfe in a ſtrong grounde, and to hym came the Erle of Eſſex and the other Capitaines with the gonne, and made report of their aduenture, which thanked them hartily, and there he lay till Monday in which time

time came many noble men of Flaunders to viſit him, and many of the common people came to ſe him.

Mundaye the firſt daye of Auguſt, the king remoued his campe to a village myddell way betweene Sainct Omers and Tyrwine, and there fell ſuch a rayne that the ordinaunce coulde ſcarce be remoued, the erable ground was ſo ſofte.

Thurſdaie the fourth daye of Auguſt, the king in good order of battaile came before the City of Tyrwyn and planted his ſiege in moſt warlike wiſe, his campe was enuironed with artillary, as Fawcons, ſerpentines, caſt hagbuſhes, and tryed harowes, ſpien treſtyles, and other warlicke defence for the ſauegard of the campe. The king for himſelfe had a houſe of timber with a chimney of Iron, and for his other lodginges he had great and goodlye tentes of blew water worke garniſhed with yellow & white, & diuers romes within the ſame for all officers neceſſarie, on the top of the Pauilions ſtoode the kinges beſtes holding banes, as the Lion, the Dragon, the Greyhound, the Antelope, the Donne Kowe: within all the lodginge was poynted full of the ſunnes riſing, the lodging was a hundred. xxb. foote in length. Tyrwyn beſieged.

The King lyeng before Tirwyn, his great ordinaunce ſore beate the towne walles, and they within likewiſe ſhotout of the towne ordinaunce, and ſlew diuers Engliſhmen in the trenches, among whych ſhottes they had one gonne that euery day and night was ordinarilie ſhotte at certaine howers without fayle: this gonne was of the Engliſhmen called the whiſtelyng gonne, but it neuer did harme in the kinges field. The ſiege thus lyeng before the Citie of Tirwyn, Sir Alexander Baynam a Capitaine of the Miners, cauſed a myne to be enterpriſed to enter into the towne, but the Frenchmen perceyuing that, made a countermine and ſo deſtroyed the other mine, and diuers Miners ſlaine within the ſame. The French armie euer houed a farre to take the Engliſhmen at auantage as they went a forraging, and many a ſkirmiſh was done, and many good feates of armes achieued on both ſides, and diuers priſoners taken. Among the Frenchmen were certayne lyght horſmen called Stradiotes with ſhort ſtyrropes, beuer hattes, ſmall ſperes, and bowes like Semiteries of Turkey: diuers times the Northen light horſemen vnder the conduite of ſir John Neuell ſkirmiſhed with theſe Stradiottes and tooke diuers of them priſoners, and brought them to the king.

While the kyng laye thus before Tirwyn, the Capitayne of Bullen knowyng by his eſpialles that manye of the garriſon of Caleice were with the king at the ſiege, and alſo that daylie victailes were brought out of Englande to Caleyce to ſuccour the campe, imagined a great enterprice, and ſent for all the men of warre vnder his dominion and rule, and declared to them what honor they ſhould obtayne if they hurted or ſpoyled the out partes of Caleice, the king of England being on that ſide the Sea. The men of warre perceyuing the good courage of the Capitayne, aſſented to his purpoſe, and ſo with al diligence they to the number of a thouſand men in the euening ſet forward, and came to Newnam bridge by three of the clocke in the morning and founde the Watchmen that kept the Bridge a ſleepe, and ſo entred the Bulwarke and ſlewe the watchmen, and toke the ordinaunce of the Bridge and then ſet the Bridge fall, ſo that all entred that would. The Capitaine of Bulleyne kept firſt hundred men for a ſtale at the bridge, and ſent the other

into

into the marriches and medowes where the cattel fed, and some of the frenche men came to Calice gate, and were aſcried of the watche, and ſo rang alarme: the Engliſhe ſouldiours ranne to the walles, and ſaw the Frenchmen without the towne walles: then they knew that Newnam bridge was loſte, and would haue iſſued out, but Sir Gylbert Talbot Deputie there, would not ſuffer any gate to be opened. Nowe it happened that without Calice gates were Richarde Hunnyng and Richard Bricks of the Caterie, and three or foure of the kings ſeruaunts which lay there to ſend prouiſions to the hoſte: which hering of this alarme, called to them the kings bakers, and cowpers and a fewe chipmen, whith lay in the hauen, and courageouſly folowed the Frenchmen. The Engliſhe men were not paſt fiue ſcore perſons, and ſet on the Frenchmen as they were a forragyng or they might aſſemble together, and ſlue them downe right and toke no priſoners in maner, and ſo they came to Newnam bridge and toke it, & put the Frenchmen back. But or the Engliſh men had thus gathered themſelues together, the Frenchmen had forraged all within the ryuer vp to ſaint Peters, and had driuen away the Cattel and the ordinance of Newnam bridge, and ſo paſſed till they came where the ſtale lay, and there they taried looking for there company that were gone a forraging to Calice walles. About fiue of the clock in the morning, the gate of Calice called Bulleyne gate was opened, and then iſſued out one Culpoper the vnder Marſhall with two hundred archers, wyth the Banner of Saint George, and with great haſte came to Newnam bridge, where they founde the kings ſeruauntes, and the other that had wonne the bridge, and then they altogether marched towarde the Frenchmen which kept the ſtale. The frenchmen thought it had bene their awne company that had returned, tyll they ſawe the banner of Saint George, then they knew that their company were ouerthrowne, and that they muſt needes fight or dye. Then the Engliſhe men though they were the ſmaller number, valyauntly ſet on the Frenchmen, which with great force them defended, but at the laſt they were all diſcomfited, and.xxiiij. ſlayne and.xij.ſcore taken priſoners and their ordinaunce and whole bootie recouered. Theſe priſoners were brought to Calice, and there ſold in open market: Among all other a Cowper of the towne of Calice bought a priſoner of this bootie that dwelt in Bulleyn, and had of the priſoner a hundred Crownes for his raunſome, and when the money was paide, the Frenchmen prayed the Cowper to ſee him ſafe deliuered and to conduite him out of daunger, the Cowper gently graunted and without any knowlege of his friends, all alone went with the french man till he came beyond the cawſey and there would haue departed: but the Frenchman perceiued that the Cowper was aged, and that no reſcues were nie, by force toke the Cowper priſoner and caried him to Bulleyn, and made him pay two hundreth Crownes for his raunſome, thus through folly was the poore Cowper deceaued.

The folye of a Cowper.

The.xj. day of Auguſt beyng Thurſday, the king lyng at the ſiege of Tirwyn, had knowlege that Maximilian the Emperour was in the towne of Ayze. The king prepared all thinges neceſſary to meete with the Emperour in tryumph. The noble men of the kinges campe were gorgiouſly apparelled, their courſers barded of cloth of Golde, of Damaſke and broderie, there apparell all Tiſſue, cloth of Gold and Siluer, and Goldſmithes worke, great

great Chaines of Bawdericks of gold, and Belles of Bullion, but in eſpecial the Duke of Buckingham, he was in purple Satten, his apparel, & his bard full of Antelops and Swannes of fine golde Bullion & full of ſpangles, and little Belles of golde, marueylous coſtly & pleaſant to beholde. The king was in a garment of great riches in Jewels, as pearles & ſtone, he was armed in a light armure, the mayſter of hys horſe folowed him with a ſpare horſe the henchmen folowed bearyng the kings peeces of harneſſe, euery one mounted on a great courſer, the one bare the helme, the ſecond his grangard, the third his ſpere, the fourth his axe, and ſo euery one had ſomething belonging to a man of armes: the apparell of the.ix. henchmen were whyte cloth of gold and crymſyn cloth of gold richly embrawdered w̄ Goldſmithes worke, the trappers of the courſers were mantell harneſſe coulpened, and in euery bent a long Bell of fine gold, & on euery pendant a depe taſſell of fine gold in bullio̅, which trappers were very rich. The king & the Emperor met betwene Ayze and the campe, in the fowleſt weather that lightly hath bene ſene. The Emperor gently entertayned the king, & the king likewiſe him, and after a little communication had betwene them, becauſe the weather was foule, departed for that tyme. The Emperor and all his men were at that daye all in blacke cloth, for the Empreſſe his wife was lately deceaſed. After that the king was thus returned to his campe, within a day or twain there arriued in the army a king at armes of Scotland called Lion with his coat of armes on his back and deſired to ſpeake with the king, who within ſhort time was by Garter chiefe king at armes brought to the kinges preſence, where he beyng almoſt diſmayed ſeyng the king ſo nobly accompanied, with few wordes, & meetely good reuerence, deliuered a letter of defiaunce to ỹ king, which receyued the letter & red it himſelfe, & when he had red it, without any more delay he himſelfe anſwered after this ſort. Now we perceyue the king of Scots our brother in law & your maiſter to be the ſame perſon whom we euer toke him to be, for we neuer eſtemed him to be of any truth and ſo now we haue found it, for notwithſtanding his othe, his promiſe in the word of a king, & his awne hand & ſeale, yet now he hath broken his fayth & promiſe to his great diſhonor and infamie for euer, and intendeth to inuade our realme in our abſence, which he durſt not once attempt our perſon beyng preſent. Therefore tell thy maiſter, firſt that he ſhal neuer be cōpriſed in any league wherin I am a confederate, & alſo that I ſuſpecting his truth (as nowe the deede proueth) haue left an Erle in my realme at home, which ſhall be able to defende him and all hys power, for we haue prouided ſo, that he ſhall not finde our lande deſtitute of people as he thinketh to doe: but thus ſay to thy mayſter, that I am the verie owner of Scotlande, and that he holdeth it of me by homage, and in ſo much as now contrarie to his bounden duetie he being my vaſſall, doth rebell againſt me, with Gods helpe I ſhall at my returne expulſe him hys realme, and ſo tell him. Sir ſayde the king of Armes, I am his naturall ſubiect, and he my naturall Lorde, and that he commaundeth me to ſaye, I may boldly ſay with fauour, but the commaundements of other I maye not, nor dare not ſaye to my ſouereigne Lorde, but your letters maye with your honor ſent declare your pleaſure, for I may not ſay ſuch wordes of reproche to him whome I owe onely my allegeaunce and faith. Then ſayde the king, wherefore came you hether, will you receyue no anſwere? yes ſayde Ly-

A letter of defiaunce ſent by the king of Scottes to king Henry the eyght.

on, your aunſwere requireth doing, that is, that immediatly you ſhould returne home: well ſayd the king I will returne to your domage at my pleaſure, and not at thy maiſters ſomonyng. Then the king commaunded Garter to take hym to his Tent and make hym good cheere. And foorthwith King Henry wrote to him an aunſwere with verie ſharpe and grieuous wordes repryuing his vntruth.

After the defiaunce declared by the king of Scottes herauld, the king of Englande wrote to the Queene and other which he had left behinde of hys counſaile, to prepare in all haſt for the defence of the ſayde kyng of Scottes, which did ſo with great diligence as you ſhall heare hereafter. While the kyng lay thus at ſiege before Turwyn, the Frenchmen ſtudied all the wayes poſſible to vittail the Towne of Turwyn, & imagined in a night by ſome way to conuey vittayle to the Towne: wherfore euerie day they ſent their Stradiates to eſpie by which way they might take their moſt auantage, and many times the Engliſh horſemen met with the Stradiates & ſlew diuers of them.

The Frenche king would in any wiſe that the king of England ſhoulde be fought with all, wherefore he ſent the Duke of Vandoſme, The Duke of Longuile with diuers other valiaunt Capytaynes of Blangeoy. Then was there a concluſion taken that the Duke of Alanſon ſhoulde with fiue thouſande men fight with the Erle of Shrewesburie, or elſe to keepe that neyther he neyther the Lord Harbert ſhould ayde or come to the kinges battayle, and with the king ſhould ſkirmiſh the Duke of Vandoſme and Longuile, while in the meane ſeaſon the cariages with vittayle might enter the towne. For accomplyſhing of this enterpriſe, the Frenchmen made great purueyaunce and all on horſebacke, this was not ſo ſecretely concluded, but the king of Englande had an inckeling thereof, and ſent worde to the Emperour which lay at Ayre and knewe nothyng of this deuice: and deſired him to come to the Campe to haue his aduiſe, which gladly anſwered that he would come the morrowe after. The king continuallye ſent forth his light horſes to ſeke the countrie and to ſee if any apparaunce were, and they euer brought tydinges of ſuch thing as they ſaw, ſo that alwayes it was forſeene that the kyng nor hys people ſhould be taken vnpurueyed, nor the Frenchmen ſhould not come on them ſodainly vnaſkryed.

Maximilian the Emperour was retayned by king Henry the eyght as his ſouldiour.

While theſe thinges were thus in communication, the Emperour Maximilian and all his ſeruantes which were retayned with the king of England in wages by the day, euery perſon according to his degre, and the Emperour as the kinges Souldiour ware a Croſſe of ſaint George with a Roſe, and ſo he and all his trayne came to the kinges campe the. xiij. daye of Auguſt beyng Fryday, and there was receyued with great magnificence and brought to a Tent of cloth of Golde all ready apparailed according to his eſtate, for all the tent within was ſeeled with cloth of Gold and blew veluet, and all the veluet was embrodered with. H. K. of fine Golde, and his Cupboorde was richely furniſhed, and officers appoynted to geue on him attendaunce: and there he taried till Sunday, and from thence he went againe to Ayre for hys pleaſure. The king and his Counſayle were enformed by their eſpyalles, and alſo it was confeſſed by certaine priſoners, howe the French army which lay at Blangeoy entended to vittaile the Citie of Tirwyn. Wherfore on Fryday at night the. xiij. day of Auguſt, the Duke of Buckingham, the Erle of Eſſex,

Eſſex, the Marques Dorſet, the Lorde of Burgayny, the Lord Willoughby, and diuers other Gentlemen, with fiue thouſand men on foote, and the Lord Walon, and the Lorde Ligny with their horſemen, were layd at Gingate on the Southſyde of Tirwyn, where they were all night in order of battaile, awaityng the reſcue of the Citie, but the Engliſh men were eſcryed, and ſo the French men brake their purpoſe for that time: and ſo the Duke of Buckingham and his companyons returned to the campe. Monday the. xvj. day of Auguſt by infortune, without any cauſe knowen, there fell a great debate betwene the Almaynes of the kinges fielde, and the Engliſhe men, inſomuch that they fell to fightyng, and many men ſlaine, the Almaynes ſodainly ran to the kinges ordinaunce and tooke it, and embattayled themſelues, and bent the ordinaunce againſt the king and his campe. The Engliſhe men were greatly vnquieted with this matter: inſomuch that the Archers ſet forwarde to haue ioyned wyth the Almaynes, and they likewiſe prepared their Pykes, but the Capitaynes tooke ſuche paine that the fraye was appeaſed, and all thinges done for that tyme, but as this commocion was in trouble, the Emperour came from Ayre, and ſawe all the demeanor of both parties, and was glad to ſee the diſcrete handlyng of the Capitaynes. After the Emperor was come to the kinges field, the king called the Emperour and all the Lordes of his Counſail together, aſſerteinyng them that he was credibly informed that the Frenchemen entended to reſcue the Citie of Tirwyn: wherefore it was agreed that the mayſter of the ordinaunce ſhould in haſte make fiue Bridges ouer the water, for the army to paſſe ouer, to the entent to beſiege the Citie on that ſyde: the Carpenters did ſo theyr deuer that night, ſo that by day all the Bridges were made, ſo that all the horſemen paſſed ouer and aſcryed the Countrie. On Tueſday the. xviij. day of Auguſt, the king rayſed his campe, and with great ordinaunce, and all other artillarie and cariage he paſſed the ryuer, and to him came ſir John Neuell with his light horſemen, and tolde him that behinde the Tower of Gyngate was a great plumpe of horſemen. In the meane ſeaſon, as Sir Jhon Neuell tolde the King theſe tidynges, by another waye was the Erle of Eſſex, ſir John Peche, and the kinges Speres paſſed and ſkirmiſhed with the plumpe of Speres that Sir John ſpake of, and there were many profers made on both ſydes, but in concluſion the French men were compelled to leaue their ſtale and one horſeman taken and ſent to the king, which in hope of pardon of his raunſome, ſhewed howe that the frenche armie with their full power and ſtrength were commyng from Blangeoy the number of fiftene thouſand horſemen of armes to ayde Tirwyn on ỹ ſyde of the water. And to the entent that the army of the Lord Stuarde, and the Lord Chamberleyne ſhould not ayde the king, there were appoynted fiue thouſand of the. xv. thouſande horſemen on the other ſyde of the water.

As theſe tidynges was tolde, came one from Sir Rice, and ſayde that a priſoner that he had that day taken cõfeſſed that the City ſhould be reſcued the ſame daye, & that he had aſcried a number of horſmen to his iudgement vpon the poynt of fire thouſand. Then ſodainlye came the Northren men which affirmed that they had ſeene the Frenche armie in order of battaile commyng forwarde, but they iudged them not paſt. xij. thouſand men. Then the kinges field was pitched, and the ordinaunce ſet, but ſome counſayled

sayled the king to take downe his Tentes, but the king sayd I will this day that my fielde be made and set in as royall wyse as maybe, and all my ryche Tentes set vp, which was done. Then the king called the Lorde Darcy, and commaunded him to keepe his fielde, treasure, ordinaunce, and other stuffe, which was loth to go from his maister but by strait commaundement. Then euery man prepared himselfe to battail reforting to the Standard, the horsmen marched before the footemen by the space of a myle, still came currours bering tidyngs that the Frenche army approched. The king had set forward and to aduaunce his Banner in the name of God and Saint George. The Almaynes seyng this (to what purpose it was not knowen) sodainly entatayled themselues on the left hand of the king, & left the breast or front of the kinges battaile bare. As the king was thus marchyng forward toward the battaile, to him came the Emperour Maximilian with. xxx. men of armes, he and all his companie armed in one suite with red Crosses: Then by the counsaile of the Emperour the king caused certain peces of small ordinance to be layde on the top of a long hill or banke for the out scowzers: Thus the kinges horsemen and a fewe Archers on horsebacke marched forward. The king woulde faine haue beene afore with the horsemen, but his Counsaile perswaded him the contrary, and so he taryed with the footemen accompanied with the Emperour.

The Frenchmen came on in thre ranges. xxvj. mens thicknesse and well they perceyued the kynges battayle of footemen marching forewarde: the Erle of Esser Capitayne of the horsemen, and Syr John Peche with the kinges horsemen and the Burgonions to the number of a. xi. hundreth stode with banner displayed in a valley. The Lorde Wallon and the Lorde Ligny wyth bastard Emery and their bende to the number of foure hundred horsemen seuered themselues and stode aside from the Englishmen: so then the English men were but seuen hundred, yet they with banner displayde removed vp to the toppe of the hill, and there they met with syr John Gyfford a hundred tall Archers on horsebacke, which had askryed the Frenchmen. Nowe on the toppe of the hill was a faire plaine of good ground, on the left hand a lowe wood, and on the right hand a falowe field. The Lorde Wallen and the Burgonions kept them a loofe, then appered in sight the Frenchmen with banners and standards displayed. Then came to the Capitaynes of the Englishmen of armes, an English officer of armes called Clarenseur and sayd in Gods name set forwarde, for the victorie is youres for I see by them they will not abyde, and I will goe wyth you in my coate of Armes. Then the horsemen set forwarde, and the Archers alighted and were set in order by an hedge all along a Village side called Bompe: the Frenchmen came on with. xxxiij. standardes displayed, and the Archers shotte a pace and galled their horses, and the English speres set on frechly, cryng Saint George, and fought valiauntlye with the Frenchmen and threw downe their standarde, the dust was great and the cry more, but sodaynly the Frenchmen flocked to their standard and fled, and threw away their speres, swordes, and mases and cut of the bards of their horses to run the lighter, when the hinder part saw the former part flye. they fled also, but the soner for one cause which was this. As the English horsemen mounted vp the hyll, the stradiates were comming downewardes on the one side of the hill before the French hoste, which sodainely

dainely saw the banners of the Englishe horsemen, and the kinges battaile following vpwarde, thinkyng to them that all had beene horsemen, then they cast themselues about and fled, the Frenchmen were so fast in array that the Stradiates could haue none entrie, & so they ran stil by the endes of the ranges of the French army: and when they behind saw the fall of the standardes and their Stradiates in whome they had great confidence returne, they that were farthest of fled first, then vp prannced the Burgonyons and folowed the chace: this battayle was of horsemen to horsemen, but not in egall number, for the Frenchemen were ten to one, which had not beene seene before tyme, that the Englishe horsemen gate the victorie of the men of armes of Fraunce. The French men call this battaile the iourney of Spurres, because they ranne away so fast on horseback. This battaile was the. xvj. day of August, in the which battaile was taken the Duke of Longuile, Loys brother to the Erle of Dunoys, which had maryed the Marques of Rutilons heyre, the Lorde Cleremounde, and many other noble men, to the number of. xij. score, and all brought to the kinges presence, and likewise all the standerds and banners, were brought to the king. The Burgonions kept their prisoners and brought them not to sight. The fame went that Mounsire de la Palayce was by them taken and let go. The Englishemen folowed the chase three mile long from the fielde to a water in a valley, and there a Frenchman sayde to sir Gyles Capell, that one day they would haue a day, which answered him againe in French that it was a bragge of Fraunce: and so the Englishemen returned to the king, which was comming forwarde, who gaue them thanks with great praysings for their valiauntnesse, and there he made Sir John Peche Bannaret, and made John Car knight, which was sore hurt, and sir John Peche had his gaydehome taken, and diuers of his men hurt, they folowed so farre. Then the king retreated to Gingate, to whome came Sir Rice, and shewed him howe hote the Frenchmen had skirmished wyth hym all daye on the other syde of the ryuer, and howe the Erle of Shrewesbury with Banner displayed was all day prest in order of battaile to haue fought with the Duke of Alanson, and the Erle of Saint Poll, and the Lord Florenges, which with fiue thousand men as you haue heard were appointed to rescue the towne on that syde where the Lord of Shrewsbury lay, and to let him to come to ayde the king, but howe soeuer that it happened they stoode still and came not downe, but onely skirmished with sir Rice: the Citie of Tirwyn was this day in hope of ayde, and when they sawe their helpers comming here, they the same day prowdely issued out on the Lord Harbart, and skirmished with his people very valiauntly, and they within also shot out ordinaunce of all partes. The Lorde Harbert and his Capitaynes couragiously defended them, and so sore they set on the French men, that they draue them by force to their gates for all their succours, and many of them were slaine: this night the king sent for the Duke of Longuile, and the Lord Cleremounde, and diuers other noble men, and the Duke supped at the kinges boorde that night.

The iourney of Spurres.

Then the Frenchmen after this discomfiture assembled together and returned to Blangoy. xij. mile from the coste and there talked of their losses, and because they knew not who were taken, and who were slaine, therefore they sent an Herault to the king to knowe the number of the prisoners,

the kings counsayle according to their desire sent to them the names. The king beyng assertayned that the French kinges purpose was yet agayne to geue him battayle, commaunded the best of the prisoners should be conueyed to the towne of Ayze in Flaunders: but when the English men had brought them thether, the Capitayne denied that the Englishe men should enter the towne with prisoners of Fraunce, with whom he & his Countrie had peace: but if the Frenchmen would desire lodging for their ease, they should be permitted to enter. But the Englishe men in a furie aunswered, that if you will not suffer vs to keepe our prisoners, we will slay them: then the frenchmen meekely prayed the Capitayne to suffer the English men to enter, and sware to their keepers to be true prisoners, and so they entered, and after were conueyed into England. The Lorde Powntremy of the house of Bresquy Capitayne generall of Tyrwyn perceyued the discomfiture of the Frenche partie, and perceyued how the Erle of Shrewsburie and the Lord Harbert had brought thether great ordinaunce so nere the towne, that neerer it could not be brought, and that in the walles was such batterie that it was not like to continue, yet he manfully defended the Citie and shot Gonnes euery day as he was accustomed and neuer was in dispaire, till the. xviij. daye of the sayde moneth, he saw the king remoue his Campe from Gyngate and layde his Campe on the South side of the towne betweene their rescue and the towne: then when he sawe this, and considered that his succours were put back, and that the towne was sore feebled, and that the kings greatest ordynance was bent agaynst the towne, he therefore by the aduise of other Capitaynes sent to the Erle of Shrewesburie and the Lord Harbert a Trumpet, desiring abstinence of warre for a day, they incontinent sent to the king to knowe his pleasure, the king aunswered that he would not graunt till he knewe the consideration: then the Capitaine sent worde that with safeconduyte he would come and speake with the kings counsayle, which to him was graunted, then he sent certaine Commissioners which offered to delyuer the towne with all the ordinaunce and munitions without anye fraude, so that the townes men that would there dwell might haue life and goodes safe, and that the men of warre might depart with horse and harnesse, for goodes they sayde they had none, and there horse and harnesse was of little valure to so great a prince. After that the king and his counsaile had debated this matter, it was answered the commissioners, that although the king knewe their penurie of vittayle and the daylie mortalitie among them, and that the towne by reason of great batteries was not able long to resist, yet because they asked mercie he would not extend rigor, and graunted their request: so that they delyuered the towne with all the ordynance, as they had promised, to the which all they were sworne, and so returned. And the same night the Erle of Shrewsburie entred the towne and had the walles and towres and the Banner of saint George was set in the highest place in signe of victorie, and the Lord Powtremy with all the garrison departed with horse and harnesse according to the appointment. Then the Lorde George Talbot Erle of Shrewesburie, with three hundred men serched the towne for feare of treason or that any inconuenience might be vnto the king and his people: and after that he sawe all thing sure, he called all the townes men together, and sware them to be true to the king of England. When all this was done, the king

The Citie of Tyrwyn reclaced to king Henry.

king on the. xxiiij. day of August entered into the Citie of Tyrwyn at. ix. of the clock before noone with great triumph and honour, his person was apparcled in armure guylt and grauen, his garment and barde purple Ueluet full of borders, & in all places trauersed with braunches in running worke of fyne Golde, the braunches were of hawthorne wrought by Goldsmithes craft, wound with a braunche of Roses, and euery flower, leafe, and Burie, were enbossed: after whom folowed his Henxmen with the pieces of armure accustomed. Thus with great glorie this goodly Prince entered and tooke possession of the towne of Tyrwyn, and was receaued at the Cathedrall Church with procession, and there dyned in the Bishops palace, and at after noone returned to his Campe, leauing in the towne the Erle of Shrewesburie with his retinue. The. xxvj. day of August the king remoued agayne to Gyngate, and there it was agreed that the walles, gates, bulwarkes and towres of Tyrwyn should be defaced, rased and cast downe: of which conclusion the Emperour sent worde to Saint Omers, and to Ayze, which beyng ioyous of that tydings (for Tyrwyn was to them a scourge) sent thether Pyoners with all maner of instruments, and so they and the Englishe Pyoners brake downe the walles, gates, and towres of the foundation, and filled the diches, and fired the towne, except the Cathedral Church and the Palace, and all the ordinaunce was by the king sent to Ayze, to be kept to hys vse. After this, it was concluded that the king in person should lay his siege to the Citie or towne of Turney: wherfore he set forward three goodly battayles, the first was conducted by the Erle of Shrewesburie, the seconde battayle the king led himselfe with whome was the Emperour. The rereward was conducted by the Lorde Harbert: and so the first night they lay in Campe beside Ayze, which night vitayle was scant, diuers English men taried in Tyrwyn when the king was past for pillage, and fired certaine houses, on whom came sodainly the French Stradiates, and some they slue, and some they cast into the fire, they that fled, scaped narrowly.

King Henry the eight entreth into Tirwin.

Tirwyn burned.

Wednesday the. xiiij. day of September the king and his army came to Beatwyn, and there had plentie of all things, and on the morow he with his army passed forwarde and came to a straite, where was a foorde and all the cariages must nedes come downe a steepe hill to the foord and so to the streyt, where as one Wagon scarce alone might passe, and the weather was hot, and the beastes had not dronke all daye: wherfore at the foord the horses would drinke mauger their leaders, and so the cariages went not all whole together which was a doubtfull case, but yet by wise order they passed the strayt, and so did the armie, and came to a place betweene Cauon and Cambline, and there lodged that night in a plaine barrein grounde, and the next day he remoued his Campe, and the forewarde passed a bridge called pount Auandien into Flaunders syde, and there lay, the king lay at the other ende of the bridge on Arthoys side, and the rereward lay in a fayre ground behinde the king.

Saterday the. xvij. day of September, tidynges came to the king how the Frenchemen had assembled a great puyssaunce, and would fight with the king, wherefore the king caused his forward to remoue farther, and sent the Almaynes to kepe the passage. Then the great ordinaunce passed the bridge of pount Auandien, and the king was remoued from thence, and as his tents

were

were taking vp, an alerye was made that the enemyes were in sight, which noyse was sodainly ceased, & sir William Sandes with seuen hundred Englishemen and straungers was appoynted to keepe the Bridge, and certaine ordinaunce was to him appoynted.

When the king and all the cariages were passed, then the Lord Harbert remoued ouer the Bridge, and encamped him behinde the king by a fayre Hyll, when the king was encamped and all thinges in order, there came to him a noble man of Flaunders called the Lorde Rauesten, which after hys humble reuerence done, shewed the king that the yong Prince of Castell Charles, and the Ladie Margaret gouernesse of the sayde Prince, most hartily desired him for his pastyme after his long trauaile, to come and repose in his towne of Lisle, and to see his brother the Prince, and the Ladyes of the Court of Burgoin, saiyng that it became not Ladies to visit him in his martiall campe, which to them was terrible. The king gently graunted hys request, and then he sent his officers thether to make prouision, and appoynted the Duke of Buckingham, the Marques Dorset, the Erle of Esser, and the the Lorde Lisle, and dyuers other to geue their attendaunce on him, and committed his campe to his counsaile. Then he mounted on a Courser, hys apparell and barde were cloth of siluer of small quadrant cuttes, trauersed and edged with cut cloth of golde, and the border set full of red Roses, his armure fresche and set full of Jewelles, the Mayster of his horse Sir Henrye Guilforde, and the Henxmen folowed as you haue heard before, and the Coursers richely apparayled, and so were many Capitaines that wayted on the king: by the way met the king, the Lord Rauesten with many noble men, and a myle without the towne, there met with him the Burgesses of Lisle, and presented to him the keyes of the towne, saiyng, that the Emperor their souereigne Lorde had so commaunded them to do. The king praysed their obedience to their souereigne, and thanked the Emperour and them for so high a present as the keyes of such a towne. Neuertheless he had such confidence in them, that he trusted them no lesse then his awne subiectes, and so deliuered the keyes to the Prouost of the towne which was well accompanied: then met the king a great number of Nobles of Flaunders, Brabant, Holland, and Henawde, which nobly receyued him. After them came the Countie Palatine, or Paulsgraue, one of the electours of the Emperor, with xxx. horses, all his men gorgiously apparayled after the fassion of his Countrie, and humbly saluted the king. At the gate of Lisle the Capitaine of the towne stood with a garrison in armure well appointed, all the streetes were set on both sydes with burnyng Torches and diuers goodly Pagiants pleasant to beholde: thus he passed thorowe the towne with his sworde and maces borne before him, and alighted at the hall dooze with his sworde borne, where met with him the Emperour, the Prince of Castell, and the Ladye Margaret, and humbly saluted him: Then for reuerence of the Emperour, the king caused his sworde to be put vp and his Maces to be layde downe, then was the king and all other Nobles lodged and feasted accordyng to their degrees.

In the towne of Lisle was a noyse that three Gonners with Handgonnes should haue slaine the king: For which rumor many were attached, but nothing proued, but when this tidynges came to the campe, they were neuer mery

mery till they sawe the king againe, great was the cheere with Banketes, Playes, Commodies, Maskes, and other pastymes, that was shewed to the king in the Court of Burgoyn, and so in solace he soiourned there Sunday, and Monday, the .xix. day of September: the .xx. day he sent worde that his armie should remoone toward Tournay, and so they remoued to a place conuenient betweene Tournay and Lisle, and certaine Capitaynes were appoynted to kepe the passage at the Bridge of Auandien.

After that the king had taryed at Lisle three dayes, and had well reposed himselfe, he take his leaue and thanked the Emperour, & the yong Prince and the Ladie Margaret, & al the Ladyes, of al his high chere and solace, & about fiue of the Clock at night, he departed out of Lisle, and the noble men brought the king footh and so returned, and then the Capitayne shut the Gates.

When the king was a myle and more out of the towne, he asked where his campe lay: and no man there could tell the way, and guide had they none, the night was darke and mistie: thus the king taryed a long while and wist not whether to go, at last they met with a vittayler comming from the campe, which was their guyde and brought them thether. The maister of the ordinaunce shot diuers pieces of ordinaunce but they were not heard, but in fastetie the king with all his company returned.

The .xxj. day of September the king remoued his campe toward Tournay, and lodged within three myles of the Citie, on a corne ground by the ryuer. The which night came to the king the Emperour, and the Paulsgraue, which were lodged in riche Tentes, and nobly serued of all vyandes and thinges necessary. The people about Tournay were with their goodes fled to the Citie, and yet the Citie had no men of warre to defende it, but with multitude of Inhabitaunces the Citye was well replenished, the king commaunded Sir Rice and his horsemen to bewe one quarter, and the Erle of Esser and his companie another quarter, and the Lorde Walewne and the Lorde Ligny the other quarters: so the .xxij. daye of September these foure Capitaines at one time were seene openly with banners displayed before the towne, and there made a long stale and returned. The king sent Garter king of armes, and a Pursuiant of armes with a Trumpet to sommon the City, which declared that the king of England and of Fraunce commaunded them to yeeld to him his Citie and to receaue him as their naturall Lorde, or he would put them and their Citie to sworde, fire and bloud. To whome they prowde'ly answered, that they tooke no Citie of him to keepe, nor none would they render, with which answere he departed. Then they fortefied their walles, and made prouision for vitaile, corne, wyne, and artilarie, and for all fortifications that might be gotten. And the Citie of it selfe was strong, well walled, and turryted with good Bulwarkes and defences: But when they sawe the king with such a puyssaunce draw neere their City, they were sore abashed, and called for a generall counsayle: then the Prouost sayde, brethren you knowe how that the king of Englande sent an Heraulde to sommon vs to render to him this Citie, or else he would put it and vs to the sworde, fire, and bloud, we aunswered we would be at defence: nowe he is come in our sight to fulfill the message sent by his Heraulde, and nowe is come the time of our defence, and in this matter standeth three mischiefes, one is our bounden duetie and allegeaunce that we owe to our soueregne

King Henry besiegeth the Citie of Tournay.

uereigne Lorde king Loys of Fraunce, the seconde the lyues of ys, oure wyues, childzen and neighbours, the thirde how to defend the finall destruction of this auncient Citie, which is lykely to fall, which Citie was neuer conquered, and now our Citie is whole (your lyues in saftie, your goodes your awne) determine whether you will haue warre or peace. Then the common people cryed all warre, warre, warre, then sayde the Prouost take compassion of wyues and childzen and of the olde folke, consider if you haue no quick rescue, you can not continue against ponder puyssaunce, although your courages were as good as Hectors or Achilles, this the wisest of the citie & I haue considered. Then sodainely was there in the counsaile a bauntparier, a botcher which hearing this, called a great number of his affinity & went out of the counsayle, and so out of the gates and set fire of the suburbes on all sides. When the counsayle sawe the mindes of the commens and that their wayes might not be folowed, then they comforted the people and maintayned them for their defence. The king raysed his campe and came in array of battayle before Tournay, the Erle of Shrewesburie with the forewarde was a little space on the right hande brest with the kings battayle, and the Lorde Harbert with the rereward on the left hande in lyke maner, the daye was fayre and the harnesse glistered and banners waued, that they of the Citie was sore affrayde: thus stoode the kinges battailes in arraye before Tournay. Then the king commaunded his great ordinaunce to be caryed in the waye passyng towarde the citie, and so euery thing according to his commaundement was accomplished. Then the king himselfe with a fewe persons rode betweene his ordinaunce and the towne, and rode in great aduenture so neere the walles, that he might bewe the walles and the towers berie well: they shot out of there towres peeces of ordinaunce and hurt suche as came wythin their leauell. Then they rong the alarme Bell, which was hearde well in the fielde. Then the Citizens issued oute at the gate by the ryuer and manfully proffered to skirmishe, but they with archers were sone driuen back to their gates. The Englishe carters that came with the hacbushers to take ground, ranne to the gates of Tournay. and toke certayne Wagons with beere and vitaple, and yet the Turnoyes durst not resist, although they were in greater number then the men of cariage. In this skirmishe the horse of the Lorde John Gray brother to the Marques Dorset, which went to defende the Cariours was slayne with a Gonne, and he not hurt. After that the king in person had thus in ieopardie auentured himselfe and bewed the towne, he caused immediatly. xxi. peeces of great artillerie to be brought in a plaine field before the towne, and when they were charged, they were immediatly shot, and the most part of the stones fell within the Citie, and so they shot dyuers shots one after another.

Then the King with all hys battayle planted his siege on the Northe part of the Citie: The Erle of Shrewesburie with his battayle warded towarde the southside of the ryuer and there lay that night. The Lorde Harbert with the rereward planted his battayle on the West side of the City, and with great ordinaunce dayly bet the walles and towres of the City. On the morowe beyng the. xxiij. day: the Lorde Talbot Erle of Shrewesburie accompanied with the noble men of his battayle whose names you haue heard at his first passyng the sea, passed ouer the ryuer of Tournay, and planted his siege

his siege on the Southside stretching to the East ende of the Citie, and bent his artillerie against the walles of the Citie. Thus was the Citie of Tournay besieged on all partes, and euer in hope of rescue valyauntly defended her selfe.

Nowe must I leaue the kyng at the siege of Tournay, and diuert to thinges done in England in his absence, and declare how the king of Scots inuaded the realme of England, and how he was defended and fought withall, and in conclusion slayne the seuenth day of this moneth of September.

When the kyng of Englande was determined in his high court of Parliament to passe the sea, in proper person for the recouerie of his realme of Fraunce, he and his counsaile forgate not the olde prankes of the Scottes which is euer to inuade the realme when the king is out of the realme: and also he had knowlege that at Camphere in Zelande the Scottes dayly shipped long speres called Collepne Clowysles, armour and artillerye, whych dealing made his grace and his counsaile to doubt: notwithstanding that the king of Scottes was swoine on the Sacrament to kepe the peace, yet for voyding all doubtes, the king appoynted the Lorde Thomas Hawarde Erle of Surrey sonne to the Lord John Hawarde Duke of Norffolke and high Treforer and Marchall of England, to be his Lieutenant in the North partes against the sayd king of Scottes, if he fortuned to inuade (as he did in dede) according to the olde Traytorous accustome of his Progenitors, and that the sayde Erle should rayse the powers of the countrie of Cheschire, Lancaschire, Northumberland, Westmerland, & Comberland, besides other ayd, to be appointed by the Queene. And when the king should take shipping at Douer he tooke the Erle by the hande, and saide, my Lorde I trust not the Scots, therfore I pray you be not negligent, then sayd the Erle I shal so do my duety, that your grace shall finde me diligent, and to fulfill your will shall be my gladnesse. After the departure of the kyng, the Queene returned to London, and the Erle of Surrey attended vpon her, and shortely sent for his Gentelmen and Tenauntes, which were fiue hundred able men, which mustered before Sir Thomas Louell knight, the .xxj. day of July, and the. xxij. day he rode through London northward, and came to Dancaster, and there commaunded Syr William Bulmer knight to make haste to the Marches of Scotlande, and to lye in the Castels and Fortresses on the Frontiers with two hundred Archers on horsebacke: for the Erle by open tokens daylye perceyued that the Scots entended warre. Then the sayd syr William with all spede departed and came to the Borders, and the Erle came to Pomfret, the first day of August, & there taried. After that syr William Bulmer was come to the Borders, one day in August, the Lord Chamberlayne and Warden of Scotlande with seuen or eyght thousand men with banner displayed entered into England, and brent and haryed a great praye in Northumberland: that hering, Sir William Bulmer called to hym the Gentelmen of the borders wyth his Archers, and all they were not a thousand men. And when they were nere assembled, they brought themselues into a Brome field, called Mylfield, where ꝑ Scots should passe. And as the Scots proudly returned with their pray, the Englishmen brake out, and the Scottes on fote like men them defended, but the Archers shotte so wholy together, that they made the Scottes geue place, and fiue or syx hundred of them were slaine, and foure hundred

The Lorde Thomas Hawarde was appointed in the kinges absence to prouide to withstande the malice of the deceitfull Scottes.

hundred and more taken Prisoners, & the praye rescued beside a great number of Scldiuges that were taken in the countrye, and the Lord Hume, Lord Chamberlayne fled, and his banner taken. This was the first open token of warre, shewed by the Scottes, which called thys iourney the ill Roade.

The Erle of Surrey beyng at Pomfrete, called to him the most part of the Gentelmen of the Cõtties to him appoynted as is before rehersed, declaring to them the kinges high commaundement, shewing them, that he beyng there the kinges Lieutenaunt must nedes haue ayde and counsaile: Wherefore he sware the most wisest and expert Gentelmen in such causes of the kinges counsail and his for that time, for the better complishing of his charge and purpose, and for to bring euery thing in due order: Fyrst they tooke a determination wyth syr Philip Tilney knyght, Treasurer of the warres, how the charges should be payed, and secondarily with syr Nicholas Appleyard, Maister of the ordinaunce, for the conueyaunce of the kynges royall ordynaunce, pouder, and artillerie to Newcastell, and so forwarde as the case should require, which syr Nicholas by William Blacknall Clercke of the kinges spycerie, sent the sayd ordinaunce and artillerye to Durham before, so that all thinges, concerning that office were in a redinesse. The Erle forgat not to send to all Lordes Spirituall and Tempozal, knightes, Gentelmen, or other which had Tenauntes, or were Rulers of Townes or liberties (able to make men) to certefie what number of hable men horsed and harnessed, they were able to make with in an howers warning, and to geue their attendaunce on hym, and also he layed Postes euery way, which Postes stretched to the Marches of Wales to the counsayle there, by reson whereof, he had knowlege what was done in euerye coast.

The Erle was informed by the Lorde Dacers, of the numbring and preparing of men in Scotland, and proclamations sounding to the breche of peace, and yet though he considered that the Road made by the Lord Chamberlaine of Scotland into England, being distrussed by syr William Bulmer as is afore rehersed, was an open breech of the perpetuall peace: yet the sayd Lorde Dacers auised the Erle for many and wayghtie causes, not to raise or styre the powers of the country, to him appointed, till he might perceiue and openly knowe the subtyll purpose and entent of the Scottes afore sayd, lest if the Scottes had perceyued the Englishmen redie to fight, they would haue desisted of their purpose for that time, tyll the Englishmen were returned to their countries, and then sodaynely to rise agayne.

Then the Erle knowing that the towne of Barwick was strong ynough, sent to the Capitaine of Norham, certefiyng him that if he thought the Castell in any daunger or debilitie, he woulde put hymselfe in a redinesse to rescue it, if it were besieged, the Capitaine wrote to the Erle, thanking him and prayed God that the king of Scottes would come with his puyssaunce, for he woulde kepe hym playe tyll the time that the King of Englande came out of Fraunce to rescue it, which aunswer reioysed the Erle much.

After the kyng of Scottes had sent hys defiaunce to the kyng of Englande, lying before Tyrwyn, as you haue heard, he daylye made hys musters, and assembled hys people ouer all his realme, whereof the brute was that they were two hundred. M. but for a suerty they were an hundred thousand good fighting men at the lest, & wyth all his host and power entered into

to Englande (and threw downe Pyles) the two and twentie daye of August, and planted his siege before the Castel of Norham, & sore abated the walles. The Erle hard tidinges thereof the fiue and twentie daye of August.

Then he wrote to all the Gentelmen of the shiers aforesayd, to be with him at Newcastell, the first daye of September next with all their retinewe according to the certificat. On the morrow, he with his fiue hundred men came to Yorke, and the .xxvj. daye he went towarde Newcastell, and notwithstanding that he had the fowlest daye and night that coulde be, and the wayes so deepe, in so much that his guide was almost drowned before him, yet he neuer ceased, but kept on his iourney to geue example to them that should folow. He being at Durham was aduertised how the king of Scots with his great ordinaunce had rased the Walles of the Castell of Norham, and had made three great assaultes thre dayes together, and the Capitayne valiauntly defended him, but he spent vainely so much of his ordinaunce, bowes and arrowes, and other municions that at the last he lacked, and so was at the sixt day compelled to yeld him simply to ỹ kings mercy. This Castell was thought impregnable, if it had bene well furnished, but the Scots by the vndiscrete spendyng of the Capitaine, toke it in sixe dayes: this chaūce was more sorowfull to the Erle then to the Bishop, owner of the same. All that night the winde blewe couragiously, wherefore the Erle doubted least, the Lorde Hawarde his sonne great Admirall of England should perish that night on the sea, who promised to land at Newcastell with a thousand men, to accompanie his father, which promise he accomplished.

The Erle the .xxx. day of August came to Newcastell: thither came the Lorde Dacres, Sir William Bulmer, sir Marmaduke Constable, and many other substanciall gentlemen, whome he retayned with him as Counsaylors, and there determined that on Sunday next ensuyng, he would take the fielde at Bolton in Glendale, and because manye Souldiours were repayring to him, he left Newcastel to ỹ entent that they that folowed should haue there more rowme, and came to Alnewicke the thirde day of September, and because hys Souldiours were not come, by reason of the foule way he was faine to tarye there all the fourth day beyng Sunday, which day came to him the Lorde Admirall his sonne, with a companie of valiaunt Cappytaynes and able Souldiours and Marinars, which all came from the Sea, the commyng of him much reioyced his father, for he was very wyse, hardy, and of great credence and experience. Then the Erle and his Counsail with great deliberation appoynted his battayles in order with winges and wyth Ryders necessary.

The order of the battaile made by the Erle of Surrey in the absence of king Henrie against Iames king of Scottes.

First, of the forewarde was Capitaine the Lorde Hayward, Admirall of England, with such as came from the sea, and with him Sir Nicholas Appleyarde, sir Stephen Bull, sir Henry Shereburne, sir William Sidney, sir Edward Echyngham, the Lorde Cliffords, the Lorde Conyers, the Lorde Latimer, the Lorde Scrope of Upsaile, the Lorde Egle, the Lord Lomley, sir William Bulmer with the power of the Bishoprike of Durham, sir William Gascoyne, sir Christopher Warde, sir John Euerynghām, sir Thomas Wetham, sir Water Griffith, and many other.

Of the wing on the right hande of the forewarde, was Capitaine Sir Edmond Hayward knight Marshall of the hoste, and with him Bryan Tunstall,

ſtall, Raufe Brearton, John Laurence, Richard Bolde Eſquiers, and ſyr John Bothe, ſir Thomas Butler knightes, Richard Donne, John Bygod, Thomas Fitzwilliam, John Clarups, Bryan Stapleton, Robert Warcop, Richard Cholmeley, with the men of Hull, and the kings tenauntes of Hatfielde, and other.

Of the wing of the left hande, was Capitaine, ſir Marmaduke Conſtable with his ſonnes, and kinnesmen, ſir William Percy, and of Lancaſhire a thouſand men.

Of the rereward was Capitain the Erle of Surrey himſelfe, and with hym the Lorde Scrope of Bolton, ſir Philip Tylney, ſir George Darcy, ſyr Thomas Barkeley, ſir John Rocliffe, ſir Chriſtopher Pikeryng, Richarde Tempeſt, ſir John Stanley with the Biſhop of Elyes ſeruauntes, ſir Brian Stapulton, Lionell Percy, with the Abbot of Whitbyes tenauntes, Chriſtopher Clapham, ſir William Gaſcoine the yonger, ſir Guy Dawney, maiſter Magnus, maiſter Dalbyes ſeruauntes, ſir John Normaule, the Citizens of Yorke, ſir Ninian Markauule, ſir John Willoughby with other.

Of the wing on the right hande in the rerewarde was Capitaine, the Lorde Dacres with his power.

On the left hande wing in the rerewarde, was ſir Edwarde Stanley knight, with the reſidue of the power of ỹ County Palantine ꝛ of Lancaſter.

And when all men were appoynted, and knewe what to do: The Erle and his Counſaile concluded and determined among other thinges, to ſende Rouge Croſſe, Purſuiuant of armes with a Trompet to the King of Scots, with certaine inſtructions, and willed him to ſhewe the ſayd king, that where he contrary to his othe and league, and vnnaturally agaynſt all reaſon and conſcience hath entered and inuaded this his brothers Realme of England, and done great hurt to the ſame, in caſtyng downe Caſtelles, Towers, and houſes, brennyng, ſpoylyng and deſtroyng the ſame, and cruelly murtheryng the king of Englande his brothers ſubiectes. Wherefore he the ſayde Erle will be redie to trie the rightfulneſſe of the matter with the king in battaile by Fryday next commyng at the fartheſt, if he of his noble courage will geue him tariyng, and abode: And the ſame the ſayd Erle promiſeth as he is true knight to God, and the king of England his maiſter. And before Rouge Croſſe ſhould depart with the ſayde inſtructions, the ſayde Lorde Admirall gaue him in credence to ſhew the ſayde king of his commyng, and part of his companie on the ſea with him: and that he had ſought the Scottiſhe nauye then beyng on the ſea, but he coulde not meete with them, becauſe they were fled into Fraunce, by the coaſt of Irelande. And in aſmuch as the ſayde King had dyuers and manye times cauſed the ſayde Lorde, to bee called at dayes of truce, to make redreſſe for Andrewe Barton, a Pyrate of the Sea, long before that vanquiſhed by the ſame Lorde Admirall, hee was nowe come in his awne proper perſon to be in the Vauntgarde of the field, to iuſtifie the death of the ſayde Andrewe, againſt him and all his people, and woulde ſee what coulde be layde to his charge the ſayde day, and that he nor none of his company ſhould take no Scottiſh noble man priſoner, nor any other, but they ſhould die if they came in his daunger, onleſſe it were the kinges awne perſon, for hee ſayde he truſted to none other curteſy at the handes of the Scottes.

And

And in this maner he ſhould finde him in the vauntgard of the fielde, by the grace of God, and Saint George, as he was a true knight. Yet before the departyng of Rouge Croſſe with the ſaide inſtructions and credence, it was thought by the Erle and his Counſaile, that the ſayd king would faine and imagine ſome other meſſage, to ſend an Herault of his with the ſame, only to view, and ouerſee the maner and order of the kinges royall army, ordinaunce and artillarie, then beyng with the Erle, whereby might haue enſued great daunger to the ſame, and for the eſchuyng thereof, he had in commaundement, that if any ſuch meſſage were ſent, not to bring any perſon, comming therewith, within three or two mile of the fielde at the higheſt, where the ſaid Erle would come, and here what he would ſay: And thus departed Rouge Croſſe with his Trumpet apparayled in his Cote of armes. A good policie.

On Monday the fift day of September, the Erle tooke his field at Bolton in Glendale, as he had appoynted, where all the noble men and Gentlemen met hym with their retinues, to the number of. xxvj. M. men, and about midnight next enſuyng, came the Trompet, which went to Rouge Croſſe, and declared howe the king of Scottes, after the meſſage done to him by Rouge Croſſe accordyng to his inſtructions, the ſayd king detayned him, and ſent one Ilay a Herault of his with him vnto the Erle, to declare to hym the ſayde Kinges pleaſure, to whome the Erle ſent Yorke Herault at armes, to accompany the ſayde Ilay, at a Village called Wylo, two myles from the fielde, vntill the commyng thether of the ſayd Erle the next morow.

The ſixt day of September, early in the morning, the Erle accompanied with the moſt part of the Lordes, Knightes and Gentlemen of the field, euery man hauyng with him but one man to holde his horſe, and ſo the ſayde Herauld met with the Erle, and with blunt reuerence declared to him that he was come from his mayſter the king of Scottes which would knowe whether the Erle ſent any ſuch meſſage by Rouge Croſſe, the Erle iuſtifyed the ſame, ſaiyng farther, that Rouge Croſſe had the ſame meſſage of him in writyng ſigned with his awne hande, whereunto the ſayd Ilay ſayde. As to the abidyng for battaile betwene that and Friday, then next folowyng, the king his maiſter bade him ſhewe to the Erle, that he was as welcome as any noble man of England vnto the ſame king, and that if he had bene at home in his towne of Edenbourgh, there receiuyng ſuch a meſſage from the ſayde Erle, he would gladly haue come and fulfilled the ſayde Erles deſyre: And the Herauld aſſured the Erle on the king his maiſters behalfe, that the ſame king would abide him battail at the day prefixed, whereof the ſayd Erle was right ioyous, and much prayſed the honourable agreement of the ſayd royall king, ꝛ eſteemed the ſame to procede of an high and noble courage, promiſyng the Herauld that he and good ſuretie with him, ſhould be bound in ten thouſand pound ſterlyng to kepe the ſayde day appoynted, ſo that the king would find an Erle of his, and thereto a good ſurety with him to be bound in lyke ſumme for the performance of the ſame: And furthermore, the Erle bad the Herauld to ſaye to his Mayſter, that if he for his part kept not his appoyntment, then he was content, that the Scottes ſhould Baffull him, which is a great reproche among the Scottes, and is vſed when a man is openly periured, ꝛ then they make of him an Image painted reuerſed, with his heeles vpwarde, with his name, wonderyng, criyng, and blowyng out of him with hornes, Baffullyng what it is.

hornes, in the moſt diſpitefull maner they can, in token that he is worthie to be exiled the companie of all good creatures.

Then Ilay delyuered to the Erle a little Cedule, written with the kings ſecretaries hande vnſigned, the tenor whereof foloweth.

¶As to the cauſes alleged of our comming into Englande, agayne our bande and promiſe (as is alleged) thereto we aunſwere, our brother was bounde alſo farre to vs as we to him. And when we ſwore laſte before hys Imbaſſade, in preſence of our counſayle, we expreſſed ſpecially in our othe, that we would keepe to our brother, if our brother kept to vs, and not elſe, we ſweare our brother brake firſt to vs, & ſithe his breke, we haue requyred dyuers times him to amend, and lately we warned our brother as he did not vs, or he brake, & this we take for our quarell, and with Gods grace ſhall defende the ſame at your aſſired time, which with Gods grace we ſhall abide.

And for as much as the king kept ſtill Rouge Croſſe with him, who was not yet returned, the ſame Erle cauſed the ſayde Ilay to be in the keping of Sir Humfrey Lyſle and Yorke Herauide, in the ſame Village, vntill the time that a ſeruaunt of the ſayde Ilay might ryde in all haſte to the king of Scottes, for the deliuering of the ſayde Rouge Croſſe. Then the Erle ioyous of the kinges aunſwere, returned to his Campe, and ſet forwarde fiue mile, to a place called Woller Hawgh, in ſuch order of battayle, as euen then he ſhould haue fought, and there lodged for that night, three little miles from the king of Scottes, and betweene the king and him was a goodly and large corne field, called Wylfelde, which was a conuenient and fayre ground for two hoſtes to fight on, there euery hoſte might perceyue other.

The morowe beyng Wedneſday, the. vij. day of that Month, the king of Scots cauſed his great ordinance to be ſhot at the Engliſh army, but it hurt neither man nor beaſt. When the king of Scots ſaw ỹ Ilay was detayned, he ſent away Rouge Croſſe to the Erle, by whom, and other of the borderers he was aduertiſed ỹ the king lay vpon the ſide of a high mountaine, called Fleddon on the edge of Cheuyot, where was but one narow field for any man to aſſend vp the ſayd hill to him, & at the fote of the hill lay all his ordinance. On the one ſide of his armie was a great Marriſh, and compaſſed with the hils of Cheuyot, ſo that he lay to ſtrong to be approched of any ſide: except the Engliſhe men would haue deſperatly runne on his ordinaunce, which matter well conſidered by the Erle and his ſonne, and other of the counſaile there they called to them Rouge Croſſe, and ſent him the next daye to the king of Scottes, wylling him to ſhewe the king, that the ſayde Erle, with dyuers of the kings nobles and ſubiectes had auaunced themſelues to geue battaile to his grace, truſting that according to his promiſe, he would auaunce himſelfe and his armie to ioyne the battayle, which as yet he hath not done. Wherefore he deſired the king that he might haue knowlege by noone that daye, whether he of hys noble courage would diſcend the hill where he laye, and to geue battayle or not: and if he ſay that I ſhall not knowe his intent, or wyll, ſay that he wyll kepe the ground: then ſhew him that he perceyueth well that that place is no indifferent grounde for two armies to fight, and therefore I will looke for no more of his delayes. The ſame day beyng our Ladie daye the Natiuitie, Rouge Croſſe departed to the king of Scottes, which would not heare him ſpeake, but ſent one of his ſeruitours to heare his meſſage.

meſſage. Which ſeruitour after he had diſcloſed the ſame to the king, made aunſwere, that it beſeemed not an Erle, after that maner to handle a king, and that he would vſe no ſorcerie, nor had no truſt of any ground.

You haue heard before how Ilay the Scottiſh Herauld was returned for Rouge Croſſe, and aſſone as Rouge Croſſe was returned, he was diſcharged, but he taryed with Yorke an Engliſh Herauld making good chere, and was not returned that morning that Rouge Croſſe came on his meſſage, wherefore Rouge Croſſe and his Trompet were detayned by the ſeruaunt of Ilay, which the day before went for Rouge Croſſe, aſſuryng them that if Ilay came not home before noone, that he was not lyuing, and then they ſhould haue their heades ſtriken off, then Rouge Croſſe offered that his ſeruaunt ſhould go for Ilay, but it would not be accepted, but as hap was Ilay came home before noone, and ſhewed of his gentle entertainment, and then Rouge Croſſe was delyuered, and came to the Engliſhe armie, and made report as you haue heard.

Then the Engliſhe men remooued their field on the water of Tyll, and ſo forth ouer many hilles and ſtreytes, marching towarde the Scottes on another ſide, and in their ſight the Scottes burned certayne poore Villages on the other ſide of the Marſhe.

The Engliſhe men alwayes leaning the Scottiſhe armie on the left hande, tooke their field vnder a wood ſide, called Barmer wood, two myle from the Scottes, and betweene the two armies was the ryuer of Tyll, and there was a little hill that ſaued the Engliſhe men from the Gonneſhot, on which hill the Lorde Admirall perfitely ſawe and diſcouered them all.

In the euening of the ſame day it was concluded betweene the Erle and hys counſayle, and moſt parte of the armie thereto agreed, that the Vauntgard with the ordynaunce ſhould paſſe ouer agayne to the water of Tyll, at a bridge called Twyſell bridge the. ix. day of September, and the rereward to paſſe ouer at Wylford, putting themſelues as nigh as they could betweene the Scottes and Scotlande, and ſo to geue battayle to the Scottes on the hyll, called Floddon hyll. Friday the ſayde ninth day, the Lorde Admirall, lyke a valyaunt knight paſſed ouer Twyſell bridge wyth the Vauntgarde, marchyng towarde his enimies, lyke diligence was made by the Erle for paſſyng ouer at Wylford with the rereward, ſaying to his Capitaines, new good felowes, doe lyke Engliſhe men this daye, take my part lyke men, which part is the kings part, and I wiſſe you would not, I will in my awne perſon fight with the king of Scottes, rather to die honorably by his cruelties, then to lyue in ſhame, or that any reproch ſhould be layd to me hereafter. To whome they aunſwered, that they would ſerue the king and him truely that day. The Engliſhe armie that day had no bitayle and were faſting, and two dayes afore they had onely dronke water, and could ſcarce get any other ſuſtenaunce for money, and yet they kept array on horſeback from fiue of the clock in the morning, till foure of the clock at after noone, and were alwayes in the ſight of the Scottes. Floddon fielde.

The king of Scottes perceyuing the Engliſhmen, marching toward Scotland, thought that they would haue entered into Scotland, and burne and forray the plentifull countrey called the Marche, for ſo was he made beleue by an Engliſhman named Gyles Mylgraue which was familiar

with the king of Scottes, and did it for a pollecie to cause him to come downe from the hill: Wherfore the sayd king caused his Tentes to be removed to an other hyll in great hast least the Englishmen should haue taken the same hyll: And at their departing they set fyer on their litter & other fylthy ordure according to their costome, and of the fyer and smolther did rise such a smoke so thick and so darke, that ỹ one host could not perceiue the other, for the wind did drive the smoke betweene the two armyes, the Scottes euer keping the heigth of the hyll on the edge of the Cheuiot, and the Englishmen passed forward styll in the lowe ground, and euer in the couert of the smoke, insomuch that both the hostes were very nere together, within the space of a quarter of a myle, before one of them could perceyue another for the smoke. Then, when the Englishmen had passed a litle brooke, called Sandyforde, which is but a mans step ouer, and that the smoke was passed, and the ayre fayre and clere, eche armie might playnely see one another at hand. Then the Lord Admyrall perceyued foure great battayles of the Scottes all on foote with long speres lyke moorish pikes: which Scots furnished them warlike, and bent them to the forward, which was conducted by the Lord Admyrall, which perceyuing that, sent to his father the Erle of Surrey hys Agnus dei that honge at his brest that in all hast he would ioyne battaile, euen with the brunt or brest of the vantgarde: for the forwarde alone was not able to encounter the whole battaile of the Scottes, the Erle perceyuing well the saiyng of his sonne, and seing the Scottes readye to discende the hyll aduaunsed himselfe and hys people forwarde, and brought them egall in grounde with the forwarde on the left hande, euen at the brunt or brest of the same at the foote of the hill called Brambston, the Englishe armie stretched East and West, and their backes North, and the Scottes in the South before them on the forsayd hill called Brambstone. Then out brast the ordinaunce on both sides with fire, flame, and hideous noyse, and the maister Gonner of the Englishe part slew the maister Gonner of Scotlande, and beate all his men from their ordinaunce, so that the Scotishe ordinaunce did no harme to the Englishmen, but the Englishmens artillery shot into the myddst of the kings battaile and slew many personnes, which seing, the king of Scottes and hys noble men, made the more hast to come to ioyning, & so all the foure battailes in maner discended the hyll at once. And after that the shot was done, which they defended with Pauishes, they came to handstrokes, and were encountred seuerally as you shall here.

First on the English side nert the West, was sir Edmond Hayward knight Marchal of the host chiefe Capitain of a wing of the right hand of our vantgarde, and was encountred with the Chamberlayne of Scotlande wyth his battaile of speres on foote, to the number of .x. M. at the least, which fought valyantly, so that they by force caused the litle wing to flye, and the same Syr Edmond thre times felled to the ground, and left alone, sauing his standard berer, & two of his seruants, to whom came John Heron bastard sore hurt, saiyng there was neuer noble mans son so like to be lost as you be this day, for all my hurtes I shall here liue and dye with you, and there the saide Sir Edmond Hayward was in a great daunger and ieoperdy of his life, & hardely escaped, and yet as he was going to the body of the Vantgard he met with Dauie Hume, and slew him his owne hande, and so came to the Vantgard.

Secondly,

Secondly, Eastward from the sayde battaile was the Lorde Admyrall with the Vantgarde, with whome encountred the Erles of Crafforde and Mountroos, accompanied with many Lordes and knightes and Gentelmen all with speres on foote, but the Lorde Admyrall and his company acquyted themselues so well, and that with pure fighting, that they brought to ground a great number, and both the Erles slaine.

Thirdly, Eastward from the Lord Admyrall was the Erle of Surrey, Capitayne generall, to whose standard the kyng of Scottes in his owne person marched, being accompanied with many Bishoppes, Erles, Barons, knightes and Gentelmen of the realme, with a great number of Commons, all chosen men with speres on foote, which were the most assuredly harnessed that hath bene sene, and that the tallest and goodliest personages withal, and he aboad the most daungerous shot of arrowes, which sore them noyed, and yet except it hit them in some bare place it did them no hurt. After the shotte ended, the battaile was cruell, none spared other, & the king himselfe fought valiauntly. O what a noble and triumphant courage was this for a king to fight in a battail as a meane souldier: but what auayled his strong harnesse, the puysaunce of his mightie Champions with whome he discended the hyll, in whome he so much trusted that with his strong people and great number of men, he was able as he thought to haue vanquished that daye the greatest Prince of the world, if he had bene there as the Erle of Surrey was, or else he thought to do such an high enterprice himselfe in his person, that he should surmount the enterprises of all other Princes: but howsoeuer it happened God gaue the stroke, and he was no more regarded then a poore Souldiour, for all went one way. So that of his owne battayle none escaped, but Sir Wylliam Scot knight his Chauncelour, and syr John Forman knight, his Sergeaunt Porter, which were taken prisoners, and with great difficultie saued. This may be a great mirror to all Princes, how that they aduenture themselues to such a battayle. The king of Scottes slaine, and all his Nobles taken or slaine.

Fourthly, Eastward was syr Edward Stanley knight, Capitayne of the left wyng with the sayde Erle, which clame vp to the top of the hyll called Bramston, or the Scottes wiste, and with him encountered the Erles of Huntley, Lennour and Arguile, with a great number of Scottes, which were sore fought withall, which perceyuing the Erle of Huntly toke a horse and saued himselfe, if he had taried he had bene lykely to haue gone with his companie: such as fled, the sayde Sir Edward and his people folowed them ouer the same ground, where the Erles battayle first ioyned, & found there the Scottes, which were by the Erles battayle slayne before, and sodainely left the chase and fell a spoyling, and spoyled the king of Scottes, and many that were slayne in his battaile, but they knewe him not, and found a crosse and certayne things of his, by reason whereof some sayde that he was slayne by that wyng, which could not be true, for the prisoners of Scotland testified that the Kinges battayle fought onely with the Erles battayles, but for a truthe this wyng did berye valyauntly: wherefore it was thought that the sayde syr Edward might that day not haue bene missed.

All these foure battayles in maner fought at one time, and were determined in effect, litle in distance of the beginning and ending of anye of them one before the other, sauyng that syr Edward Stanley, which was the last

that

that fought, for he came vp to the top of the hill, and there fought with the Scottes valiauntly, and chased them downe the hill ouer that place, where the kings battayle ioyned. Beside these foure battayles of the Scottes were two other battayls, which neuer came to hand strokes.

The victorie at Flodden field against the Scots.

Thus through the power of God on Fridaye, beyng the. ix. daye of September, in the yere of our Lorde. 1513. was Iames the fourth king of Scottes slayne at Brainstone (chiefely by the power of the Erle of Surrey, Lieutenaunt for king Henry the eyght, King of England, which then lay at the siege before Tournay) and with the sayde king were slayne.

The Archbishop of saint Andrewes, the kings Bastard sonne.
The Bysshop of the Iles.
The Abbot of Inchaffrey.
The Abbot of Kylwenny.

¶ Erles.

The Erle Mountroos.
The Erle of Crafford.
The Erle of Argyle.
The Erle of Lennour.
The Erle of Glencarre.
The Erle of Catnes.
The Erle of Castelles.
The Erle of Bothwell.
The Erle Arrell Constable of Scotland.
The Erle Iddill.
The Erle Athel.
The Erle Morton.

¶ Lordes.

The Lord Louet.
The Lorde Forbos.
The Lorde Glueston.
The Lorde Roos.
The Lorde Inderby.
The Lorde Sentclere.
The Lord Maxwell, and hys foure brethren.
The Lorde Daulney.
The Lorde Seympyll.
The Lorde Borthick.
The Lorde Bogony.
The Lorde Arskyll.
The Lorde Blakkater.
The Lorde Colvyn.

¶ Knights and gentlemen.

Sir John Dowglasse.
Cutbert Home Lord of Fastrastell.
Sir Alexander Seton.
Sir Dauy Home.
Maister John Graunt.
Sir Dunkyn Caufelde.
Sir Saunder Lowder.
Sir George Lowder.
Maister Marshall.
Maister Key.
Maister Eliot.
Maister Cawell Clark of the Chauncerie.
The Deane of Ellester.
Mack, Kene.
Mack, Clene, and many other Gentlemen, which be vnknowne, because no officer of armes of Scotlande would come to make serch for them: and if the day had bene longer by three houres, (for it was foure of the clock at after noone or the battayles ioyned) or that the English men had had vitayles so that they might haue bidden still together, they had not alonely made the greatest distresse of Scots by death and taking, that the lyke hath not beene sene in one daye: but also within a little whyle might haue put the realme of Scotlande in such a miserie & trouble, that for euer they shoulde haue bene ware howe to enter the realme of Englande, and specially the king being absent: for the Englishe men wanted no good will, for of the Scottes they slue twelue thousand at the least of the best gentlemen and flower of Scotlande, and of the Englishe syde were slayne and taken not fiftene hundred men, as it appered by the booke of wages when the souldiours were payde. Thus the Erle of Surrey accomplished

shed his promise at his daye prefixed with the king of Scottes, to hys great fame and honor.

After that the field was fought and the Scottes fled, many Englishe men folowed them into Scotland, & were so farre that they wist not which way to returne, and so were taken prisoners of the Scottes that were in the two battailes that fled first and neuer fought. Also diuers were taken by the Lorde Chamberlayne of Scotlande, which fought with the wyng of sir Edmond Hayward, and were caried with him to the number of three score. Of the Scottes that fled, some passed ouer the water of Twede at Caudestreme foorde, and other by the drie marches, during the time of the fight, and the night after, many men lost their horses, and such stuffe as they lett in their tents and pauilions by the robbers of Tyndale and Tyuidale.

The Lorde Dacre with his companie stoode still all day vnfoughten withall. When the field was done and the scoute watch brought worde that there was no more appearaunce of the Scottes, but all were returned. The Erle thanked God with humble hart, and called to him certayne Lords and other Gentlemen and them made knights, as syr Edmond Hayward his sonne, and the Lorde Scrope, syr Wylliam Percy and many other. Then the Erle and the Lorde Admirall departed to Barmer wood, and appoynted syr Phylip Tylney knight with the companie of the Lorde Admirall and the companie of the Lorde Scrope of Bolton, the Lorde Latimer, olde syr Marmaduke Constable, syr Wylliam Percy, Sir Nycholas Applyard, and their companies, and a fewe other to keepe the place where the field was, for saufyng of the Englishe ordynaunce, and the ordinaunce that was taken from the Scottes, which was fiue great Curtalles, two great Culuerings, foure Sacres, and fyre Serpentynes, as fayre ordinance as hath bene sene, beside other small peeces. Well knowne it was by them that fought, and also reported by the prisoners of Scotlande, that their king was taken or slayne, but his body was not founde till the next daye, because all the meane people as well Scottes as Englishe were stripped out of their apparell as they laye on the field, yet at the last he was found by the Lorde Dacres, who knew him well by his priuie tokens, in that same place where the battaile of the Erle of Surrey and his first ioyned together.

This king had diuers deadly woundes, and in especiall one with an arowe, and another with a Bill as appered when he was naked. After that the bodie of the king of Scottes was founde and brought to Barwicke, the Erle shewed it to syr Wylliam Scot hys Chauncellor, and syr John Forman his Sergeant Porter, which knewe him at the first sight, and made great lamentation. Then was the body bowelled, embawmed and sered, and secretly amongst other stuffe conueyed to Newcastell. But the same day the Lorde Admirall came to the field, and there some Scottes appeered on an hill: but Wylliam Blackenall which was the chiefe doer and ruler of all the ordinaunce shot such a peale, that the Scottes fled, or else the Lorde Admyrall had bene in great ieopardie: and then all the ordynaunce was brought in safetie to the Castell of Cytell, and there remayned for a time. After thys noble victorie the Erle wrote first to the Queene (which had raysed a great power to resist the sayde king of Scottes) of the wynnyng of the battayle, for then the body of the king of Scottes was not founde, and he yet beyng at

at the towne of Buckyngham, had worde the next daye after that the king of Scottes was slayne, and a part of his coate armure to her sent, for which victorie she thanked God, and so the Erle after that the North part was set in a quietnesse, returned to the Queene with the dead body of the Scottishe king, and brought it to Richemond.

Now let vs retourne to the king of Englande lying before Tournay which the.xxb. daye of September receyued the Gauntelet and letters of the Erle of Surrey, and knew all the dealing of both parties. Then he thanked God and highly praysed the Erle and the Lorde Admirall and his sonne, and all the Gentelmen and commons that were at that valiaunt enterprice: Howbeit, the king had a secret letter that the Chesshire men fled from sir Edmond Haward, which letter caused great hart burning and many words, but the king thankfully accepted al thing, and would no man to be dispraysed. So on the Mundaye at night the sixe and twentie daye of September, the Lorde Harbert and the Erle of Shrewesburie made great fiers in their armies in token of victory & triumph: and on Tuesday the.xxbij.day, the Tent of cloth of Golde was set vp, and the kings Chapel sang masse, & after that Te Deum, and then the Bishop of Rochester made a Sermond and shewed the death of the king of Scots and much lamented the yll death and periurie of him.

The king of England lying thus before Tournay, caused his great ordinaunce to be planted rounde about the Citie, and diuers trenches were caste and rampyers made, and the Lorde Lysle, and the Lorde Wyloughby were appoynted to maintaine the ordinaunce, with their bendes, and the Erle of Kent was lodged before the Gate called port Valencien, so that the Citizens could not issue out, nor no ayde could come in. The ordinaunce dayly bet the gates, towers, and Walles, which made a great batterie: and a fewe Englishemen assaulted the port coquerell, but they were to fewe in number, and if they had bene mo in number, they had taken the towne as the Tournasyns confessed after. The Citizens of Tournay considery̆ng their estate, came together to counsaile, and there the Prouost sayd, friendes and brethren of this noble Citie, I can not to much prayse your truth and fidelitie to your soueraigne Lorde the king of Fraunce, considery̆ng howe manfully you haue defended this Citie sith the beginnyng of this siege, but alas, although it bee written on the Gates grauen in stone, Iammes ton ne a perdeu ton pucellage, that is to say, thou hast neuer lost thy maydenhed: yet if this Citie had not beene well furnished, and euer at the day appoynted sure of rescue, it could not haue continued: now you see that rescue faileth, our Gates be rased, our Towers beaten downe, our chiefe Tower lyke to fall, so that if this perillous siege continue, or else if our enemies assault vs, we be not able to defend vs: wherfore nowe, all these thinges considered, I would knowe whether you wyll treate with the king of England or abyde the chaunce. Then they which at the last counsaile cryed warre, warre, nowe cryed peace peace, yet all were not agreed: Then one wise man sayde, sirs if the towne be assaulted once againe with a great number, surely it will be taken: you sawe the experience at the last assault, and then consider if it be taken by force who is there that can say he is sure of his lyfe: but by entreatie, the king of England is so mercifull, that he may fortune to saue both life and goodes. Then finally all agreed to treate. Then the Prouost sent to the king a Trompet, desiryng safe conduyte

conduyte for him, and certaine other to come & to speake with him, which request was to him graunted. Then the Prouost of the City accompanied with a.xj. with him of the best of ỳ City, came to the army and spake with the lords of the counsaile, and after they were brought to the kings presence, the Prouost kneeled downe and all his companie, and sayde: Right high and mighty Prince, although the Citie of Tournay is strong, well walled, well replenished with people, victayles, artillary, yea and the people in feare and dreade of nothing, yet we knowe that against your great puyssaunce it can not continue long, although it were ten tymes as strong as it is, wherfore we knowyng by report your honour, your wisedome, your iustice, and noble heart, are content to become your subiectes and vassals, so that we may haue and enioy our olde lawes, customes, liberties, and franchises, vnder you as we haue before this done vnder other Princes. Then the king answered, we haue well heard your petition, we will common with our Counsaile, and make you answere: and when he had commoned with his counsaile, he answered saiyng: Sirs, he that asketh mercie of vs shall not be denyed, seyng you come to treate, we remit you to our Counsail. Then they went into the Tent of counsaile, and there the Tournasyns fell at a poynt, and in conclusion, they yelded the Citie, and ten thousand pound sterlyng for the redemption of their libertyes, and so departed to the Citie, making relation of the king and his noble courage. On Thursday the.xxix. day of September, the king was in his riche Tent of cloth of Golde vnder his cloth of estate, to whome came the Citizens of the Citie, & were sworne to him & became his subiects. Then the king appoynted the Lord Lisle, the Lord Burgayny, the Lord Willoughby to take possession, which with six thousande men entered the Citie, and tooke the Market place and the walles, and serched the houses for feare of treason: and then maister Thomas Wo sey the kinges Almoner called before him all the Citizens yong and old, & sware them to the king of England, the number wherof was foure score M. Thus the king of England by conquest came to the possession of the Citie of Tournay: On Sunday the second day of October, the king entered the Citie of Tournay at Porte Fountaine, and foure of the chiefe of the Citie ouer him bare a Canapie with al the armes of England, euery person was in his best apparell, the Ladyes and Gentlewomen lay in the windowes beholdyng the king and his nobilitie, euery Citizen had in his hand a staffe Torche, the king himselfe was richly apparayled in riche armure on a barded courser: thus the king with his nobilitie all richely apparayled with his sworde borne before him, his Heraulides and sergeaunts of armes with Trumpettes and Minstralsie entered the Citie, and came to our Lady Church, and there Te deum was song. Then the king called to his presence, Edward Guldford, William Fitzwilliam, John Bauncy, William Tiler, John Sharpe, William Huse, John Sauage, Christopher Garnish, and diuers other valiant Esquiers, & gaue to them the order of knighthood, and then went to his lodging, & at after noone he came to the Market place, where was prepared for him a place: then he caused a Proclamation to be made in his name, king of England & of Fraunce, that no man should greue the Citizens, during which Proclamation ỳ Turnasins scarce loked vp, nor shewed once to him any amiable countenance which was much marked: the crie finished, the king departed to his campe leauing the citie in safe keping.

The Citie of Tournay yelded to the king.

This

This weeke the king rode to see the Castell of Moxton, and there his grace tooke great pleasure. The king remembring the great cheere that the prince of Castell, and the Ladie Margaret had made him at Lisle, which was but xij. mile English from Tournay, desyred the sayd Prince and Ladie with diuers other to come to him to his Citie of Tournay, and made preparation for the same, and appoynted a iustes whereof he himselfe would be one, and caused a Tilt to be made in the Market place. While these thinges were preparing, the king and his Counsaile ordered for the sure keepyng of the Citie of Tournay, and there ordeyned sir Edward Bownynges knight of the order of the Garter, to be his Lieutenant with foure hundred archers, with Capitaines, horsemen, and artillary conuenient, and to haue ayde of Henawde and other the kinges friendes adioyning, and of his garde he left there foure hundred Archers, and ordinance was appoynted for the defence of the same.

The Ladie Margaret receaued and welcommed by king Henry the eyght into Tournay.

Monday the.xj. day of October, the king without the towne receyued the Prince of Castell, the Ladie Margaret and diuers other Nobles of theyr Countries, and them brought into Tournay with great triumph. The noise went that the Lorde Lisle made request of mariage to the Ladie Margaret Duchesse of Sauoy, & daughter to the Emperor Maximilian, which before that tyme was departed from the king with many riche giftes & money bestowed, but whether they proffered mariage or not, she fauored him highly: ther the Prince and Duchesse soiorned with great solace by the space of ten dayes.

x Iustes.

During which tyme, the.xviij. day of October, began the iustes, the king and the Lorde Lisle aunswered all commers.

The twenty day of October, the Prince of Castell and the Lady Margaret with manye great gyftes to them giuen retourned to Lyle with all their trayne, After that the king was enformed that all directions were taken and put in order for the sure keping of the Citye of Tournay, he tooke the same to sir Edward Bownynges knight which valiauntly kept it in good order and iustice.

The king and his counsaile before this had considered that the Frenchmen would geue them no battail, and that winter approched, which was no tyme to lie at siege at other townes, concluded to kepe Tournay safely, and to breake vp his campe for that Winter, and to begin againe warre in the spring of the yere: this was a full conclusion taken by the king and his counsaile, and so the king and all his people (except such as were appoynted to be with sir Edward Bownynges) departed out of Tournay the.xx. day of September: and the king and the noble men made such speede, that shortly they came to Calice, and thether came the Lord Admirall, whom the king hartily thanked of his paynes, and there euery man was payed of his wages and conduyte money, and ships prepared for the passage, and so the. xxiiij. day of September the king with a prety company tooke ship, and the same day landed at Douer, and shortly after all his people folowed, then he with a small companie rode to Richemonde in post to the Queene, where was such a louyng meetyng that euery creature reioyced. This season began a great mortalitie in London and other places, where much people dyed: All this Winter the kinges nauie kept the seas, and robbed and spoyled the Frenchemen on their coastes.

The king returneth into England.

A great death or mortalitie in England.

When the king was thus returned he forgat not the good seruice that many

many a Gentleman did at the battaile of Bramston, wherefore he wrote to them his louyng letters, with such thankes and fauourable words, that euery man thought himselfe well rewarded. And on the day of the Purification of our Ladie at Lambeth, the king created the Erle of Surrey Duke of Norffolke, with an augmentation of the armes of Scotland, and sir Charles Brandon Vicont Lisle, he created Duke of Suffolke, and the Lorde Hayward high Admiral he created Erle of Surrey, & sir Charles Somerset Lorde Harbert, his chiefe Chamberleyn, he created Erle of Worcester: and after that at another day he made sir Edward Stanley for his good seruice, Lorde Montaygle, and in Marche folowyng was mayster Thomas Wolsey the kinges Almoner consecrate Bishop of Lyncolne, which thereto was named on Newyeres day before: this man was borne at Ipswich, and was a good Philosopher, very eloquent and full of wit, but in pryde, couetousnesse, and ambicion, he excelled all other as you shall heere hereafter.

The discription of Thomas Wolsey, which afterwarde was made Cardinall.

In the tyme of king Henry the seuenth, father to king Henry the eight, It was concluded betweene the sayd king, and king Philip of Castell, sonne to Maximilian the Emperour, and king of Castell and his wife, that Charles his eldest sonne shoulde marry the Ladie Mary daughter to the king of England with a dowry to her appointed, at which time they were both yong: Nowe at the kinges returne from Tournay, he made preparation to sende the sayd Ladie his sister to the Prince of Castell. But the Counsaile of Flaunders aunswered, that concernyng her selfe they would gladly receyue to be espoused to their Prince, for she was then one of the fayrest Ladyes of the world: but as concernyng the articles of her dower, they could not fulfyll without the assent of the king of Arragon and the realme of Castell (which as was sayde, minded to haue him maryed in Spaine.) The king like a louing brother would not send his sister wildely without a dower assured, toke the first agreement betweene the king her father, and king Philip his father to be of none effect, sith the Spanyardes would not confirme the same, and the cause was, by reason that king Philip was not naturally borne to be their king, but was king in the right of his wife, and so they were not bounde to his agreements made without their consent. So thus the king of England reteyned still his syster and all the preparation that he had done for her conueyaunce, which was very costly.

This season the Lady Margaret Queene of Scottes late wife to kyng James the fourth slayne at Bramstone, and sister to the kyng, wrote to the king to haue compassion of her and his two Nephewes her sonnes, for she was in feare least he would haue inuaded her realme. The king moued with brotherly compassion, sent her word that if the Scottes kept peace he would kepe peace, if they would haue war he would likewise haue war, & so with that aunswer the messenger departed. In the spring time of the yere the king wrote hys letters to all the noble men and Gentilmen saiyng that he would shortely passe again into Fraunce in his awne person, wherefore euerie man prepared him selfe meete for that iournay: the Flemmynges heryng therof, made purueyaunce for wagons, vittaile, and other thinges which tourned them to great losse for that viage brake of as you shall heere.

All this season Sir Richard Whethill and syr John Tremayle kept so the English Pale that the Frenchmen durst not medle, and yet they spoyled

to base Bollen.

Closures made of the common fieldes about London.

Before this time the townes aboute London as Islington, Horston, Shordyche and other, had so enclosed the common fieldes with hedges and diches, that neyther the young men of the Citie might shoote, nor the auncient persons might walke for their pleasure in the fieldes, except eyther their bowes and arrowes were broken or taken away, or the honest and substanciall persons arrested or indited, saiyng that no Londoner should goe oute of the Citie but in the high wayes. This saiyng sore grieued the Londoners and sodainly this yere a great number of the Citie assembled themselues in a morning, and a Turnar in a tooles coate came criyng through the Citye, shouels and spades, and so many people folowed that it was wonder, and

The Closures sodainly ouerthrowen

within short space all the hedges about the townes were cast downe, and the diches filled, and euery thing made playne, the workemen were so diligent. The kinges counsaile hering of this assemblye came to the Gray Fryars, and sent for the Maior and the counsaile of the City to know the cause, which declared to them the noysaunce done to the Citezens, and their commodities and libertes taken from them, & though they would not, yet the commonalty and yong persons which were damnified by the noysaunce would plucke vp and remedy the same. And when the kinges counsaile had heard the aunswer, they dissimuled the matter, and commaunded the Maior to see that no other thing were attempted, and to call home the Citezens, which when they had done their enterprize, came home before the kings counsayle & the Maior departed without anye more harme doing, and so after the fieldes were neuer hedged.

1514

The king at this season sent againe into Flaunders for the performance of the mariage of the yong Prince of Castell and the fayre Ladye Marie his sister, and shewed how he had prepared all thinges necessarie and conuenyent for such an high estate. The counsayle of Flaunders aunswered that they would not receyue her that yere, with many subtill argumentes, by reason whereof the perfite loue betwene Englande and the lowe countries was much slaked.

The Cap of maintenance.

The nintene daye of May was receyued into London a Cappe of maintenaunce and a sword sent from Pope Iuly, with a great company of nobles and Gentelmen, which was presented to the king on the Sunday then next ensuing with great solemnity in the Cathedrall Church of saint Paul. About this tyme, the warres yet continuing betweene Englande and Fraunce, Prior John (of whome you haue heard before in the fourth yere) great Capitaine of the French nauy, with his Galeis and Foystes charged with great Basilyskes and other great Artyllerye came on the borders of Sussex and came a lande in the night at a poore village in Sussex called Bright Helmstone, and or the watch could him ascry he set fier on the towne and toke such poore goodes as he found: then the watch fiered the beakons and people began to gather, which seyng, Prior John sowned his Trompet to cal his men aboord, and by that time it was daye: then sir Archers which kept the watch folowed Prior John to the sea, and shot so fast, that they beate the Galiens from the shore, and Pryor John himselfe waded to his Foyst, and the Englishmen went into the water after, but they were put backe with pikes or else they had entred ỳ Foyst, but they shot so fast, that they wounded many in the

the Foyst and Prior John was shot in the face wyth an Arrowe, and was likelye to haue dyed, and therefore he offered his image of wax before oure Lady at Bolleyn with the English arrowe in the face for a myracle.

When the Lord Admyrall of England had heard these newes he was not content and sent syr John Wallop to the sea incontinent with diuers English

Sir John Wallop a valiaunt Capitaine.

ships, which sayled to the coast of Normandy and there landed and brent. xxj. villages and townes with great slaughter of people, and brent shippes and boates in the Hauens of Trapor, Stapils & in euerie place. This sir John Wallop quyt himselfe so, that men marueiled of his enterprises, considering he had at the most but eyght hundred men and toke land there so often.

In the moneth of June the Lorde Pountremy that was Capitaine of Tyrwyn with banner displaied and great ordinaunce, with a great armye came into Pycardy nere to Arde. Sir Nicholas Vaux capitaine of Guysnes considering that the Frenchemen had such ordinaunce thought that they woulde haue besieged Guysnes, and wrote thereof to the king which incontinent prouided a great army for the rescue. And when euerie thing was redye and the armie forward, the Lorde Pountremie rayled his campe and departed wythout any more doing, but for all that the king sent ouer Sir Thomas Louel knight with six hundred men to Calice for the more strength of that Towne and other townes and Castelles beyng within the Englishe Pale and the Marches there.

Richard de la Pole traytor of Englande & banished the realme. xij. M. Lanceknights to kepe Normandy, and also to enter into England & to conquer the same, where they made such a ryotte that many of them were slayne and he was fayne to carye them to Saynt Malos in Britaine to take shippe: for the French men would fayne haue ben ridde of them they cared not how, their condicions were so vile and shamefull, but by the reason that the French kyng suyde for the peace this iourney toke none effect.

Richard de la Poole, Traytor to England.

The French King by an Herauld wrote to the king of England, that he marueled greatly why he made hym so sore warre, and brent and toke hys townes, slew and robbed his people without any cause geuen on his part, wherfore he required the king to graunt safecondite to his Ambassadours, which should entreate the cause: whereupon in June the French king sent a commission with the President of Roan and certayne other Nobles of Fraunce to entreat peace and allyaunce betwene both the Princes: and farther because they knew that the mariage was broken betweene the Prince of Castell and the Ladye Mary (as you haue heard) they desired the sayde Lady to be espowsed to the French king, affirming a great dower of liuerties for the same, with great treasures: so much was offered that the king moued by his counsaile, and especially by the Bishop of Lincolne Wolsey, consented vpon condicion that if the sayde Frenche king Loys dyed, then shee shoulde if it pleased her, retorne into England againe with all her dower and riches: after such entreatie, the Indentures were sealed and the peace proclaymed the seuenth day of August, and the king in presence of the French Ambassadoures swore to kepe the same, and likewise there was sent an Ambassade out of Englande to se the French king swere the same.

The Duchmen hering these newes were sorye, and repented them that

they receyued not the Ladye, and spake shamefully of this mariage, that a feble old and pocky man should marry so fayre a Lady, but the voyce of people let not Princes pourposes.

The Ladie Marie sister to king Henry the eight affied to the French king

By the conclusion of this peace was the Duke of Longuyle and other prysoners deliuered, paying their Raunson, and the said Duke affied the Lady Mary in the name of king Lewys his Maister. This Duke was highlye intertayned in England of many noble men and had great chere, but when they came into Fraunce with the Queene he woulde scarce knowe them. Then when all thinges were ready for the conueyaunce of this noble Lady, the king her brother in the moneth of September with the Queene his wife and hys sayd sister and all the court came to Douer and there taried, for the winde was troublous, and the weather fowle, in so much that a ship of the kings called the Libeck of.ix. hundred Tonne was driuen a shore before Sandgate and there brast, and of sixe hundred men scantly escaped thre hundred, and yet the most part of them were hurt with the wrecke. When the weather was fayre then all her wardrobe, stable, and ryches was shypped, and such as were appoynted to geue their attendaunce on her, as the Duke of Norffolke, the Marques Dorset, the Bysshop of Durham, the Erle of Surrey, the Lorde Delawar, the Lorde Barnes, the Lorde Montaigle, the Marques foure brethren, syr Morice Barkeley, syr John Peche, syr William Sandes, sir Thomas Bulleyn, syr John Carre & many other knights, Squires gentlemen and Ladies, all these went to ship, and the sayde Ladie tooke her leaue of the Queene in the Castel of Douer, and the king brought her to the sea side and kissed her and betooke her to God, and the fortune of the sea, and to the gouernaunce of the French king her husband. Thus the second day of October at the houre of foure of the clock in the morning thys fayre Ladie tooke her ship with all her noble companie: and when they had sayled a quarter of the sea, the winde rose and seuered some of the shippes to Calice, and some into Flaunders, and her ship with great difficultie was brought to Bulleyn, and with great ieopardie at the entring of the hauen for the maister ranne the ship hard on shore, but the boates were ready and receyued this noble Ladie, and at the landing Sir Chrystopher Garnishe stood in the water, and tooke her in his armes, and so caried her to lande, where the Duke of Vandosme and a Cardinall wyth manye estates receyued her, and her Ladies, and welcomned all the noble men into that Countrie, and so the Queene and all her trayne came to Bulleyn, and there rested, and from thence shee remoued by dyuers lodgings till she came almost within three Myle of Abuyle beside the Forrest of Arders, and there king Loyes vppon a great courser met with her, and shee would haue alighted but he would not suffer her, and welcomned her into his Countrie, and when he had sene her bewtie (which he so long desired) and talked with her a little space, then he returned to Abuile by a secret waye, and shee was with great triumph, procession, and Pagiantes receyued into the towne of Abuyle the eyght day of October by the Dolphyn, which receyued her with great honor, she was apparelled in cloth of siluer, her horse was trapped in Goldsmithes worke berie richely. After her folowed. xxvi. Ladies, all their Palfreys trapped with crimosyn Veluet, embrawdered: after them folowed one Charyot of cloth of Tissue, the second cloth of gold, and the third crymo-

syn

syn Veluet embrawdered with the kings armes and hers full of Roses. After them folowed a great number of Archers, and then Wagons laden with their stuffe. Great was the ryches in plate, iewels, money, apparell, and hangyngs that this Lady brought into Fraunce. The Monday next folowyng, the same king Lewys maried the Lady Mary in the great Church of Abuyle, both appareled in Goldsmithes worke. After the masse was done, there was a great banket and feast, and the Ladyes of Englande highly enterteyned.

The Tuesday beyng the tenth daye of October all the Englishe men except a fewe that were officers wyth the sayde Queene were discharged, which was a great sorrowe for them, for some had serued her long in hope of preferment, and some that had honest romes, left them to serue her, and nowe they were without seruice, which caused them to take thought, in so muche some dyed by the waye returning, and some fell mad, but there was no remedie. After the Englishe Lordes had done their commission the Frenche king willed them to take no longer payne, and so gaue to them good rewardes, and they tooke their leaue of the Queene and returned. Then the Dolphyn of Fraunce called Lorde Fraunceys Duke of Valoys, and by hys wyfe Duke of Britayne, for the more honour of the mariage, before the Englishe men departed from Abuyle, caused a solempne Justes to be proclaymed which shoulde be kept at Paris, in the Moneth of November next ensuyng, and that he wyth hys. ix. aydes shoulde aunswere all commers, beyng Gentlemen of name and of armes, first to runne fiue courses at the Tylt with peeces of auantage, and also fiue courses at Randon wyth sharpe speares, and twelue strokes with sharpe swordes, and that done, he and his aydes to fight at the barriers with all gentlemen of name and of armes. First sixe foynes with hande speares, and after that eyght strokes to the most auantage if the speare so long held, and after that twelue strokes with the sworde, & if any man be vnhorsed or be felled with fighting on foote, then his horse & armure to be rendred to the officers of armes, and euery man of this chalenge must set vp his armes and name vpon an arche triumphant, which shall be made at the place where the iustes shall be, and farther shall write to what poynt he will aunswere to one or to all. When this proclamation was reported in England by the noble men that returned from the mariage: the Duke of Suffolke, the Marques Dorset and hys foure brethren, the Lorde Clynton, syr Edward Neuell, syr Gyles Capell, Thomas Cheney and other sued to the king to be at the chalenge, which request, he graciously graunted. Then the Lordes and knightes prepared all thing necessarie for their enterprise, and shipped their horses and harnesse, and did so muche by iournay, that they came to Parys, at the ende of the Moneth of October, which were hartily welcomed of the king and the Dolphyn: but most of all, of the French Queene, which then lay at saint Denyce, and was not yet crowned nor entred into Paris.

The Dolphyn of Fraunce causeth a solempne iustes to be proclaymed.

The Dolphyn desired the Duke of Suffolke and the Lorde Marques Dorset, whose actiuitie he knew well by report, to be two of his immediat aydes, which thereto assented. Therefore was erected an Arche of wydenesse at the Tourneis beside the streete on saint Anthony, directly before the Bastell, on the which were set foure Targets or scutchions, the one siluer

and he that set his name vnder that shield, to runne at the Tylt according to the articles: he that put his name vnder the golden Target, should runne with the sharpe speares and fight with sharpe swordes: they that put their names to the black shield, should fight a foote with speares and swordes for the one hande. And he that touched the tawny shield should cast a speare on foote with a Target on his arme, and after to fight with a two hand sword: on this arche about stood the armes of the king and the Queene, and beneth them stood the armes of the Dolphyn and his aydes, and vnderneth stood the foure scochions that you haue heard of, and vnder them all the armes and names of such as set their names to any of the sayde foure scochions. Whyle all these things were preparing, the Lady Mary of England the fift day of Nouember then beyng sunday, was with great solempnity crowned Queene of Fraunce in the monasterie of saint Denice, and the Dolphyn all the season held the crowne ouer her head, because it was of great waight to her greuaunce, at which corronation were the Lordes of England, and according to their degrees well entertayned.

The maner of the receyuyng of the Queene into Paris, and of her corronation.

Monday the first day of Nouember, the sayd Queene was receyued into the Citie of Parys after the order that foloweth. First the Garde of the Citie met with her without saint Denice, all in coates of Goldsmithes worke with chippes guilt, and after them met her all the priestes and relygious, which were esteemed to be three thousand. The Queene was in a Chayre couered about (but not ouer her person) in whyte cloth of Golde, the horses that drewe it couered with cloth of Golde, on her head a corronall all of great Pearles, her neck and brest full of Jewels, before her went a Garde of Almaynes after their fashion, and after them all noble men, as the Dolphyn, the Duke of Alanson, the Duke of Burbon, the Duke of Vandosme, the Duke of Longeuyle, and the Duke of Suffolke, the Marques Dorset, fiue Cardinals and a great number of estates, & about her person rode the kings garde which were Scottes. Thus was this Queene receyued into Paris and so conueyed into the Cathedrall Church and there offered, & from thence to the Palace, and from thence shee went to her lodging for that night, for whome was prouided a great supper, and the Heraulds cryed a larges, and had to them geuen a chip of siluer and guilt, and other Plate to the value of two hundred marke, and after supper began daunsing and pastime. On the morow began the iustes, and the Dolphyn with his aydes entered the field, their apparell and bardes were cloth of golde, cloth of siluer and crymsyn Uelues kanteled together all in one sute, they shewed themselues before the king and Queene who were in a goodly stage, and the Queene stood so that all men might see her and wondered at her bewtie, and the king was feeble and lay on a couche for weaknesse. Then entred the counter part by a rayle for combring the place. These iustes continued thre dayes, in the which were aunswered three hundred and fiue men of armes, and euery man ranne fiue courses, and with sharpe speares, dyuers were slayne, and not spoken off: the Englishe Lordes and knightes did as well as the best of any the other. At the Randon and Tournay the Duke of Suffolke hurt a Gentleman that he was like to die, the Marques stroke Mounsire Grew an Albanoys with his speare and pierced his head peece and put him in ieopardie: the Duke of Suffolke in the Tornay ouerthrewe a man of armes horse and man, and so did

did the Lorde Marques another, and yet the Frenchmen would in no wise prayse them. At this tornay the Dolphyn was hurt in the hande, so that he could not performe his chalenge at the barriers, and put one of his ayde in his rome, the next day after began the fight at the barriers, and because the Dolphyn was not present, the Duke of Suffolke and the Lorde Marques Dorset that day began the field, and toke the barriers with speares in hande abyding all commers. The Dolphyn brought a man secretly, which in al the Court of Fraunce was the tallest and the strongest man, and he was an Almayne, & put him in the place of an other person, to haue had the Duke of Suffolke rebuked. The same great Almayne came to the barres fiercely with face hid, because he would not be knowne, and bare his speare to the Duke of Suffolke with all his strength, and the Duke him receyued, and for all his strength put him by strong strokes from the barriers, and with the but ende of the speare strake the Almaine that he staggared, but for all that the Almayne strake strongly and hardly at the Duke, and the iudges suffred many mo strokes to be foughten then were appointed, but when they sawe the Almayne reele and staggar, then they let fall the rayle betweene them. The Lord Marques Dorset at the same time, euen at the same barre fought with a gentleman of Fraunce that he lost his speare, & in maner withdrewe: When the rayle was let fall, these two noble men put vp their vysers and tooke ayre, and then they tooke swordes with poynt and edges abated, and came to the barriers, and the Almayne fought fore with the Duke, which imagened that he was a person set on for the nonce, but the Duke by pure strength tooke him about the neck, & pomeled him so about the head that the bloud yssued out of his nose, and then they were parted, and the Almayne was conueyed by the Dolphyn least he should be knowne. These two noble men of Englande that day fought valiantly dyuers feates, and the French men likewise nobly them defended, but it happened the Lorde Marques one time to put for his ayde his yongest brother called the Lorde Edward Gray of the age of .xix. yere, and to him was put a gentleman of Fraunce of great stature and strength to the intent to plucke him ouer the barres, but yet the yong Lorde was of such strength, power and pollecie, that he so strake hys aduersarie that he disarmed him, all the face bare. Thus was these enterprises finished to the laude of all parties, and the Englishe men receyued much honor and no spot of rebuke, yet they were priuily set at and in manye ieopardies: for the declaration of this triumph, he that sawe it can tell howe goodly the coursers trotted, bounded and quickly turned: Howe valyauntly the men of armes behaued themselues and howe the Duke of Bourbones bende was appareled and bassed in tawny Uelues, and cloth of siluer clowdye, the bende of the Erle of Saint Polle appareled and barded in purple Uelues all to cut on purple Satten, the infaunt of Arragon, sonne to Fredericke last king of Naples, and his bend all in cloth of Golde and siluer paled. This Lord was but yong but was very toward. The Duke of Vandosme & his bend in cloth of Golde, and plunket Uelues. The Dolphyn and hys aydes were euery day newe appareled at his coste, one day in siluer and Golde, another in Crimesyn Uelues and pelowe Uelues, and another daye in whyte Uelues and greene, some daye myxed with Satten, some daye embrawdered, some daye pounced with Gold, and so euery day in chaunge as the workers

fantasie

fantasie could deuise, but the Englishmen had euer on their apparell red crosses to be knowne for loue of their countrye: at this triumph the Countye Galeas came into the place on a Jenet trapped in blew Satten and he him selfe lykewise appareled and ranne a course with a speare, which was at the hed fiue inches on euery side square, that is twenty inches about, and at the but nine inches square, that is sixe and thirtie inches, this spere was mally tymber and yet for all that he ranne cleane along course and slightly auoyded it to his great honour.

Also there was another Gentleman called Anthony Bownarme which came into the fielde all armed, and on his bodie brought in sight ten speares, that is to wit, three speres set in euery stirroppe forwarde, and vnder euery thigh two speres vpward, and vnder his left arme was one spere backward, and the tenth in his hande, and when he came before the Queene he let his horse ronne, and neuer stopped till he had taken euery spere after other and broken it on the ground, and he neuer stopped his horse till all were broken, this Gentleman was highly praysed, and so he was worthie: when all this great tryumph was done, the Lordes of England tooke their leaue and were highly thanked of the king, Queene, Dolphyn, and all the Lordes, and so departed & came into England before Chrystmasse. In November the Queene was delinered of a Prince which liued not long after.

Richard Hun cõmitted to the Lollers Tower and murdered.

This yere in December there was one Richard Hun, a marchant Taylor of London in Lollers Tower, by the commaundement of the Bishop of London, called Richard Fitziames, and Doctor Horsey his Chauncelor. And shortly after, the sayd Hun was found dead hangyng by the necke in a girdle of silke, within the sayde Tower: Of this story ye may reade at large in the booke of the Monuments of the Church.

A Parliamẽt

This yere and the fourth day of October, the king began his high court of Parliament, and sir Thomas Neuell was then speaker, in this Parliament was diuers actes made, but in especiall two, which were much spoken of, the one was the act of apparell, and the other the act of labourers, of these two actes was much commonyng and much businesse arose, for the labourers would in no wise labour by the day, but all by taske and in great, and therefore much trouble fell in the Court, and in especiall in harnest tyme, for then husband men could scase get workemen to helpe in their Harnest. This Parliament continued till Easter, in the which diuers subsidies were graunted to the king toward his great costes and charges, that he had bene at in his voyage royall in Fraunce. This yere dyed at Rome by poyson, as was reported the Archebishop of Yorke and Cardinall, called Doctor Benbricke, which was the kinges Ambassador there: this was a wise man, and of a holy courage. The king then gaue the sayd Archebishoprike to Thomas Wolsey, then Bishop of Lincolne, which at that tyme bare all the rule about the king, and what he sayd was obeyed in all places. And when he was once Archebishop, he studied day and night how to be a Cardinall, and caused the king and the French king to wryte to Rome for him, and at their requestes he obtayned his purpose as you shall here afterward.

Cardinall Benbrick poysoned at Rome.

Thomas Wolsey made Archbishop of Yorke.

At this tyme was much commonyng, and verily as it appered it was entended, that the king in person would passe the sea to Calice, and there on the marches of the same, the French king & Queene to come and see the king their

their brother, and for the same iourney many costly workes were wrought, and much riche apparell prouided for, and much preparation made agaynst the next spring: but death, which is the last ende of all thinges let this iournay, for before the next spring, the French king dyed at the Citie of Paris, the first day of January, when he had bene maryed. lxxxij. dayes. And when the king was aduertised of the death of the French king, he caused a solemne obsequie to be song for him in the cathedrall Church of Saint Paule with a costly Herse, and many noble men beyng present.

The death of Lewys the french king.

And after he sent a letter to comfort the Queene his sister, requiryng to knowe her pleasure whether she would continue still in Fraunce or returne into England againe. And when he was aduertised of her purpose, which was to returne into England. He sent the Duke of Suffolke, sir Rychard Wingfield, and Doctor West, with a goodly band of yomen, all in blacke to Parys, which were well receyued of the newe Frenche king Fraunces the first of that name, and declared to him, that according to the couenauntes made at the tyme of the mariage betwene king Loyes and the Lady Mary, sister to the king of England, they demaunded to haue the sayde Queene delinered to them with her dower, and shewed their commission for the receypte of her: the Counsayle of Fraunce according to the appointment assigned to her a dower, and the Duke of Suffolke put in officers, and then shee was by endenture delinered to the Duke, which behaued himselfe so to her, that he obteyned her good will to be her husband, and therevpon he wrote to the king her brother, meekely beseechyng him of pardon of his request, and humbly requiring him of his wil and consent, at which thing the king a while stayed, and at the last by the meane of the Frenche Queene her selfe, and other great friendes on the Dukes part: After long suyte it was agreed that the Duke of Suffolke should bring her into England vnmaryed, and at his returne to marry her in England: but for doubt of chaūge he maryed her secretly in Parys as it was sayde.

Fraunces the first of that name french king.

The Duke of Suffolke marieth the Ladie Marie French Queene and sister vnto king Henry the eyght.

After that the Duke of Suffolke had receyued the French Queene with her dower appointed, and all her apparell, iewels, and housholde stuffe deliuered, he with the Queene tooke their leaue of the Frenche king, leauyng Doctor West, nominate Bishop of Ely, for the conclusion of the newe league to be made betwene the king of England, and the newe Frenche king called Fraunces the first, and so passed through Fraunce to Calice, where she was honourably enterteyned. And after with great honour maryed to Lorde Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolke openly: howbeit, some sayd he was maryed priuily before at Parys, in the house of Cluigny. Agaynst this mariage many men grudged, and sayde it was a great losse to the realme that she was not maried to the Prince of Castell: but the wisest sort was content, considering that if she had bene maryed againe out of the realme she shoulde haue caryed much rychesse with her, and nowe she brought euery yere into the realme. ix. or x. thousand markes: but whatsoeuer the rude people sayd, the Duke behaued himselfe so, that he had both the fauour of the king and of the people, his wit and demeanor was such.

This Sommer the king tooke his progresse Westward, and visited his townes and Castelles there, and heard the complaintes of his poore commonaltie, and euer as he roade he hunted and liberally departed with benyson: and

The king goeth on his progresse.

and in the middest of September he came to his Manor of Otyng, and thether came to him the Archebishop of Yorke, whome he hartily welcommed, and shewed him great pleasures: And while he soiourned there, a letter was brought to the Archebishop from Rome, certifying him howe he was elected to be a Cardinall, which incontinent shewed the same to the king, disabling himselfe in wordes, though his entent was otherwyse, and so the kyng did encourage him, and willed him to take the order on him, and so called him my Lord Cardinall, but his Hat, Bull, nor other ceremonies were not yet come.

A parliament

Statute of labourers.

Statute of array.

In the Moneth of Nouember, the king assembled hys highe Court of Parliament at Westminster, and diuers actes made in the Parliament the first yere amended and altered, and especiallye the act of apparell, and the act of labourers, as by the booke of statutes more plainlye appereth. And at the ende of this Parliament, the Archebishoppe of Cauntorburye perceiuyng that the Archebishoppe of Yorke medled more in his office of Chauncelorship then it became him to suffer, except he would aduenture the kinges displeasure, and seyng also that the sayde Bishop of Yorke coueted to beare all the rule, and to haue all the whole authoritie, considering also his awne great age, gaue vp into the kinges handes his rowme of Chauncelor, and deliuered to the king the great Seale, which deliuered the same to the Archebishop of Yorke, and made him Chauncelor. And assoone as he was Chauncelor, he directed commissions into all Shires, for to put the statute of apparell and the statute of labourers in execution. And he himselfe one day called a Gentleman named Simon Fitzrichard, and tooke from him an olde Jacket of Crymosyn Uelues, and diuers broches, which extreeme doyng caused him greatly to be hated, and by his example many cruell officers for malice, euill intreated diuers of the kinges subiectes, insomuche that one Shimmyng Maior of Rochester, set a yong man on the Pillory for wearyng of a riuen shirt.

The Cardinalles Hatte receyued.

In the ende of this moneth was sent into England the Cardinals Hat, and receyued by Gentlemen of Kent, and brought to London with such tryumph, as though the greatest Prince of Christendome had bene come into the realme. And on a Sonday at Saint Peters Church at Westminster, he receyued the Habite, Hat, and Piller, and other vaine glorious tryfles, appertaynyng to the order of a Cardinall. And when he was once a perfite Cardinall, hee looked then aboue all estates, so that all men almost hated him, and disdayned hym.

Then after the Parliament sir Edward Bownynges laboured to bee discharged of the keepyng of the Citie of Tournay, for there he was euer sickly, and so he was discharged, and sir William Blunt Lorde Mountioy was sent thether. And for Marshall there was appoynted sir Sampson Norton. And when the Lorde Mountioy was come thether, and hyr Sampson Norton, there happened such a ryot that the Citie was in great ieopardie, the very cause was vnknowen, but all the Souldiours, except such as were of the kinges garde rebelled, and put the Lord Mountioy in ieopardie of his life. And in conclusion to appease the people, sir Sampson Norton was banished the towne for euer. And after the Citie was appeased, and euery thing thought to be forgotten, diuers were executed, & diuers banished the towne and some fled and were banished both England and the towne.

This

This yere was the newe league betweene the king and the French king openly proclaymed thorough the Citie of London with a Trompet. Thys yere also, Margaret Queene of Scottes, wife to James the fourth, slaine at Bramston the fift yere of the king, and elder sister to the king, after the death of her late husband married Archibald Douglas Erle of Angus, without the king her brothers assent, or the Counsaile of Scotland, for the which he was not well pleased. But after that, there fell such a strife betweene the Lordes of Scotlande, that she and her husband like banished persons came into England, and wrote to the king for mercie and comfort. The king euer enclyned to mercy, sent them apparell, bessell, & all things necessarie, willyng them to lye stil in Northūberland, till they knew farther of his pleasure: And so they lay still at Harbottell, and the Queene was deliuered of a fayre Lady called Margaret, and all the Countrey were commaunded by the king to do them pleasure.

Margaret the Queene of Scottes and elder sister of kyng Henrye the eight maried vnto Archibald Douglas Erle of Angus.

Margaret ꝧ daughter of ꝧ Queene of Scottes begotten by the Erle of Angus.

This yere the. xviij. of Februarye, at Greenewiche was borne a fayre Prince, and christened with great solempnitie, and named Mary.

The birth of Ladie Mary which afterward was Queene of England.

This yere dyed the king of Arragon father to the Queene, for whome was kept a solempne obsequie in the Cathedrall Church of Paules.

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Ye haue heard the last yere howe the Queene of Scottes with her husband was come for succor into England, and lay at Harbottell in Northumberland, till the kinges pleasure was to sende for them. So he like a naturall brother sent for her & her husband to come to his Court for their solace. For the which kindnesse the Erle humbly thanked the king, and promysed to geue his attendaunce on the Queene his wife to the Court: whereupon the king sent William Blacknall Esquier, Clerke of his Spicery, with siluer bessell, plate and other thinges necessary for the conueyaunce of her, and sent to her all maner of officers for her estate conuenient. And when she was redy to depart, she asked for her husband, but he was departed into Scotland and left her alone, nothing remembring his promise, which sodain departing much made her to muse; howbeit the Lords of England greatly encouraged her to kepe her promise with ꝧ king her brother: and so after she was somewhat appeased, she set forward, & in euery towne she was well receiued, & so on the third day of May she made her entry into London, ridyng on a whyte palfray (which the Queene of England had sent to her) behynd sir Thomas Parrichely beseene, and with great companie of Lordes and Ladies, shee rode thorough the Citie to Baynardes Castell, and from thence she was conueyed to Grenewich, and there receyued ioyously of the King, the Queene, the French Queene her sister, and highly was she feasted. And when the king heard that ꝧ Erle of Angus her husband was departed, he sayd, it was done like a Scot. This Queene sometyme was at the Court, and sometime at Baynardes Castell, and so she continued in England all this yere.

The Erle of Angus sodainly sleeth from the Queene his wife into Scotland.

This moneth of May were sent out of England .xij. hundred Masons, and Carpenters, and three hundreth labourers to the Citie of Tournay: for the king and his Counsail considering that the garrison that was kept there, was chargeable, and therefore it was determined that there should be buylded a Castell to chastice the City if they rebelled, and to minishe the garrison. And therefore these workemen were sent thether, which this yere began a strong Castell, and wrought still on it.

The great costes that the king bestowed on Tournay.

This

Justice ministred by Cardinall Wolsey.

This yeare by the Cardinall were all men called to accompt that had the occupiyng of the kinges money in the warres or else where, not to euerye mans contentation, for some were found in arrerages, and some saued themselues by pollecy and briborye, and waxed riche, and some innocentes were punished. And for a truth he so punished periurye with open punishment and open papers wering, that in his time it was lesse vsed. He punished also Lordes, Knightes, and men of all sortes for ryots, beryng and mayntenyng in their countries, that the poore men liued quyetly, so that no man durst beare for feare of imprisonement: The poore people perceyued that he punished the riche, then they complayned without number, and brought many an honest man to trouble and veration. And when the Cardinall at the last had perceyued their vntrew surmises and fayned complaintes for the most part, he then waxed wery of hering their causes, and ordayned by the kings commission, diuers vnder Courtes to here complaintes by byll of poore people. The one was kept in white Hall, the other before the kinges Almoner Doctor Stokesley, a man that had more learning, then descretion to be a Judge. The thirde was kept in the Lorde Treasorers chamber beside the Starre Chamber, and the fourth at the Rolles at the after noone. These Courtes were greatly haunted for a time but at the last the people perceyued that much delay was vsed in these Courtes, and fewe matters ended, and when they were ended, they bound no man by the lawe, then euery man was wery of them and resorted to the common law.

In the moneth of October came into England Mathew Bishop of Sedonon and Cardinall, called commonly the Cardinall of Swyches, from the Emperour Maximilian. This Cardinall was a wise man and of great boldnes, and was well entertained in the Court & of the king. And at his contemplation and for olde loue, the king lent to the Emperor Maximilian a great somme of money: wherof the company of Friscobald, and Anthony Caueler Genenoy vndertooke the exchaung, but they payed not the Emperour at his day, notwithstanding they had receyued the money of the king. This Friscobald and Anthony Caueler by meanes of rewardes, geuen to great Lordes of the Counsaile borrowed of the kyng. xxx. thousande pounde and had long dayes for the payment: but Friscobalde was shortly consumed, and Anthony Caueler could not be sene, and so the king was not payed at his dayes, and many English Marchants were by these men vndone, for they spent liberally of euery mans goods.

In this season the Genowayes, Frenchmen and other straungers layd and boasted themselues to be in suche fauour with the king and hys counsayle, that they set naught by the rulers of the Citie: and the multitude of straungers was so great about London, that the poore Englishe artificers could scarce get any lyuing: And most of al the straungers were so prowde, that they disdayned, mocked and oppressed the Englishmen, which was the beginning of the grudge. For among all other thinges there was a Carpenter in London called Wylliamson, which bought two stocke Doues in Cheape, and as he was about to pay for them, a Frenchman tooke them out of his hande, and sayde they were not meat for a Carpenter: well sayde the Englishe man I haue bought them, and now payde for them, and therefore I will haue them, nay sayde the Frenchman I will haue them for my Lorde

Lorde the Ambassadour, and so for better or worse, the Frenchman called the Englishe man knaue, and went away with the stock Doues. The straungers came to the Frenche Ambassadour, and surmised a complaynt against the poore Carpenter, and the Ambassadour came to my Lorde Maior, and sayde so much, that the Carpenter was sent to prison: and yet not contented with this, so complayned to the kings counsayle, that the kings commaundement was layde on him. And when syr John Baker knight and other worshipfull persons sued to the Ambassadour for him, he aunswered by the body of God that the Englishe knaue should loose his lyfe, for he sayde no Englishe man should deme that the Frenche men requyred, and other aunswere had they none.

The pryde of French men.

Also a Frenchman that had slayne a man, should abiure the realme and had a crosse in his hande, and then sodainely came a great sort of Frenchmen about him, and one of them sayde to the Constable that led him, syr is thys crosse the price to kill an Englishe man. The Constable was some what astonied and aunswered not. Then sayde another Frenchman, on that price we would be banished all by the masse, thys saiyng was noted to be spoken spitefully. Howbeit, the Frenchmen were not alonly oppressors of the Englishe men, for a Lombarde called Fraunces de bard, entised a mans wyfe in Lombarde streete to come to his Chamber with her husbandes plate, which thing she did. After when her husband knew it, he demaunded hys wyfe, but answere was made he should not haue her, then he demaũded his plate, and in like maner answere was made that he should neyther haue plate nor wife. And when he had sued an action agaynst the straunger in the Guyldehall, the straunger so faced the Englishe man, that he faynted in his sute. And then the Lombard arrested ỹ poore man for his wyfes boord, while he kept her from her husband in his chamber. This mocke was much noted, & for these & many other oppressions done by them, there encreased such a malice in the Englishe mens hartes: that at the last it brast out. For amongst other that sore grudged at these matters, there was a broker in London called John Lyncolne, which wrote a bill before Easter, desiring Docter Standiche at hys sermon at saint Marie Spittell the Monday in Easter weeke, to moue the Maior and Aldermen, to take part with the commonaltie against the straungers. The Doctor aunswered that it became not him to moue any such thing in a sermon. From him he departed, and came to a Chanon in saint Mary Spittel, a Doctor in deuinitie, called Doctor Bele, & lamentably declared to him, how miserably the cõmon artificers lyued, & scarce could get any worke to find them, their wifes and children, for there were such a number of artificers straungers, that toke away all their liuing in maner. And also how the English Marchants could haue no vtterance for their marchandice, for the Marchaunt straungers, bring in all silkes, cloth of Golde, Wine, Oyle, Iron, and such other marchaundise, that no man almost byeth of an English man, And also outwarde they carie so much Englishe Wolle, Cloth, Tynne, and Leade, that Englishe men that auenture outwarde, can haue no lyuing: Which things sayde Lyncolne hath bene shewed to the counsayle, and cannot be heard. And farther sayde he, the straungers compasse the Citie rounde about, in Southwarke, in Westmynster, Temple barre, Holborne, Saint Martins, Saint Johns streete, Algate, Towre hill, and saint Katherynes,

John Lyncolne the first author of the insurrection of euill May day.

and forest all the market, so that no good thing for them commeth to the market: which is the cause that Englishe men want and sterue, and they lyue habundantly in great pleasure. Wherfore sayde Lyncolne maister Doctor, sith you were borne in London, and see the oppression of the straungers, and the great miserie of your awne native Countrie, exhort all the Citezens to ioyne in one against these straungers, raueners and destroyers of your Countrie. Maister Doctor hearing this, sayde he much lamented the case, if it were as Lyncolne had declared, yes sayde Lyncolne that it is and much more, for the Dutchmen bring ouer Iron, Tymber, Leather and Weynskot readie wrought, as Nayles, Lockes, Baskets, Cubbordes, Stooles, Tables, Chestes, Girdels, with Poyntes, Sadels and painted clothes, so that if it were wrought here, the Englishe men might haue some worke and lyuing by it. And beside this they grow into such a multitude that it is to be looked vpon, for I sawe on a Sunday this Lent fyre hundred straungers shooting at the Popyngay with Crosbowes, and they kepe suche assemblies and fraternities together, and make such a gathering to their common bore, that euery Botcher will holde plee with the Citie of London: well sayde the Doctor, I will doe for a reformation of this matter as much as a priest may doe, and so receaued Lyncolnes byll and studied for his purpose. Then Lyncolne very ioyous of his enterprise went from man to man, saiyng that shortly they should heare newes, and daylie excited yong people and artificers to beare malice to the straungers. When Easter came and Doctor Bele should preach, the Tuesday in Easter weeke, he came into the Pulpit, and there declared that to him was brought a pittifull byll, and red it in this wise. To all you the worshipfull Lordes and maysters of this Citie, that will take compassion ouer the poore people your neyghbours, and also of the great importable hurtes, losses, and hynderaunces, whereof proceedeth the extreme pouertie to all the kinges subiectes that inhabite within thys Citie and suburbes of the same, for so it is that the alyens and straungers eate the breade from the pore fatherlesse children, and take the lyuing from all the artificers, and the entercourse from all marchauntes, whereby pouertie is so much encreased that euerye man bewayleth the miserie of other, for craftes men be brought to beggerie, and marchauntes to needinesse: wherefore the premisses considered, the redresse must be of the commons, knyt and vnyte to one part, as the hurt and dammage greeueth all men, so must all men set to their wylling power for remedie, and not to suffer the sayde alyens so highly in their wealth, and the naturall borne men of this region to come to confusion. Of thys letter was more, but the Doctor red no farther, and then began Cœlum cœli domino, terram autem dedit filiis hominum, and vpon this text he intreated, that this lande was geuen to Englishe men, and as byrdes would defend their nest, so ought English men to cherishe and defende themselues, and to hurt and greeue aliens for the common weale. And vpon this text pugna pro patria, he brought in, howe by Gods lawe it was lawfull to fight for their Countrie, and euer he subtilly moued the people to rebell agaynst the straungers, and breake the kings peace, nothing regarding the league betwene Princes and the kings honor. Of this sermon many a light person tooke courage, and openly spake agaynst straungers. And as the Deuill would, the Sunday after at Grenewiche in the kings Gallery was Frauncis de bard, which as you harde kept an English mans wyfe and his goods, and yet he could haue no remedie, and with him were Dennyngo, Anthony Caueler, and manye mo straungers, and there they talkyng with syr Thomas Palmer knight, iested and laughed howe that Fraunces kept the Englishe mans wyfe, saiyng that if they had the Maiors wyfe of London, they woulde keepe her: Syr Thomas sayde, syrs you haue to muche fauour in England. There were diuers Englishe Marchaunts by, and hard them laugh, and were not content, in so much as one William Bolt a Mercer sayde, well you whoreson Lombardes, you reioyse and laugh, by the masse we will one day haue a day at you, come when it will, and that saiyng the other Marchaunts affirmed. Thys tale was reported about London, and the yong and euill disposed people sayde, they would be reuenged on the Marchaunt straungers, as well as on the artificers straungers.

A bill put vp by Iohn Lincoln to a Preacher at the Spittle.

A Sermon made by doctor Bele.

On Monday the morrow after, the king remoued to his manour of Richemonde.

Upon this rumour the .xviii. daye of Aprill, diuerse young men of the City assaulted the Aliens as they passed by the strets, and some were striken and some buffeted, and some throwen in the canel. Wherfore the Maior sent diuerse persons to ward, as Stephyn Studley Skynner, and Bettes and Stephenson and diuerse other, some to one Counter, and some to another, and some to Newgate. Then sodainly was a common rumour, and no man could tell how it began, that on May daye next, the Citie would rebell and slaye all Aliens, insomuch as diuers straungers fled out of the Citie. This bruite ranne so farre that it came to the kinges counsaile, insomuch as the Cardinall being Lorde Chaunceior, sent for Iohn Rest Maior of the Citie, and other of the counsaile of the Citie, and demaunded of the Maior in what case the Citie stoode, to whome he aunswered that it was well and in good quyet: Nay sayd the Cardinal, it is informed vs that your yong and ryotous people will rise and distresse the Straungers, heare ye of no such thing? No surely sayd the Maior, and I trust so to gouerne them that the kinges peace shal be obserued, and that I dare vndertake, if I and my brethren the Aldermen may be suffered. Well sayd the Cardinall, go home and wisely forsee this matter, for if any such thing be you may shortly preuent it. The Maior came from the Cardinal at foure of the clock in the after none on May euen, and demaūded of the officers what they heard, diuers of them answered that the boyce of the people was so, and had bene so two or three dayes before. This heering the Maior sent for all his brethren to the Guylde hall in great hast, and almost seuen of the clocke or the assemble was sette. Then was declared to them by Maister Brooke the Recorder how that the kinges counsaile had reported to them that the Comminaltie that night would rise, and distresse all the Aliens and straungers that inhabited in the Citie of London: the Aldermen answered they hard say so, but they mistrusted not the matter, but yet they sayde it was well done to forsee it. Then sayd the Recorder, it were best that a substantiall watch were set of honest persones, housholders, which might withstand the euill doers. An Alderman sayd, that it was euill to raise men to harneis, for if such a thing were entended, they could not tell who would take their part. Another Alderman sayd, that it were best to kepe the yong men a sunder and euery man to shut his dores, and to kepe his ser-

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John Rest Maior of London.

uauntes within. Then with these opinions was the Recorder sent to the Cardinall before eyght of the clocke, and then he with such as were of the kinges counsaile at his place, commaunded that in no wise watch should be kept, but that euery man should repaire to his awne house, and there to keepe him and his seruauntes tyll seauen of the clocke of the morning: with which commaundement, the sayd Richard Brooke Sergeaunt at the lawe and Recorder, and sir Thomas Moore, late vnder shriue of London, and then of the kinges counsaile, came to the Guilde hall halfe hower and before nine of the clocke, and there shewed the commaundement of the kinges counsaile. Then
Euill May day. in all hast, euery Alderman sent to his warde that no man should stirre after nine of the clocke out of his house, but to kepe his doores shutte, and his seruauntes within tyll seauen of the clocke in the morning. After this commaundement, syr John Mondye Alderman came from his warde, and found two yong men in Cheape playyng at Bucklers, and a great company of yong men loking on them for the commaundement was then scace knowne, for then it was but nine of the clocke. Maister Mondy seing that, bade them leaue, and the one yong man asked hym why? and then he sayde thou shalt knowe, and toke him by the arme to haue had him to the Counter. Then al the yong men resisted the Alderman, and toke him from maister Mondy, & cryed Prentyses and clubs. Then out of euerie doze came clubs and weapons and the Alderman fled, and was in great daunger. Then more people arose out of euery quarter, and out came Seruingmen, and Watermen, and Courtiers, and by a. xi. of the clocke there were in Cheape sir or seauen hundred. And out of Paules Churchyarde came thre. C. which wist not of the other, and so out of all places they gathered, and brake by the Counters, and tooke out the prisoners, that the Maior had thether committed for hurting of the straungers, and came to Newgat and tooke out Studley and Petyt, committed thether for that cause. The Maior and Shrifes were there present, and made Proclamation in the kinges name, but nothing was obeyed. Thus they ran a plumpe through Saint Nicholas Shambles, and at saint Martins gate there met with them syr Thomas Moore and other, desiring them to go to their lodginges: And as they were intreating, and had almost brought them to a stay. The people of Saint Martines threw out stones and batts, and hurte diuers honest personnes, that were perswading the ryotus people to ceasse, and they bade them hold their handes, but still they threw out brickes and hoate water. Then a Sergeaunt of Armes called Nicholas Downes, which was there with Maister Moore, entreating them, being sore hurt, in a fury cryed downe with them. Then all the misruled persones ranne to the doores and windowes of saint Martins, and spoyled all that they found, and cast it into the strete, and left fewe houses vnspoyled. And after that they ranne hedlyng into Cornehill by Leaden Halle, to the house of one Mutuas a Frenchman or Picarde borne, which was a great bearer of Frenchmen, were they Pyckpursses, or how euill disposicion soeuer they were of, and within hys gate, called Grenegate, dwelled diuers Frenchmen that kalendred Worsted, contrary to the kings lawes: and al they were so borne out by the same Mutuas, that no man durst meddle with them, wherefore he was sore hated, and if the people had founde him in their fury, they would haue striken of his head: but when they found him not, the Watermen and certain yong

yong persones that were there fell to ryflyng: some ranne to Blanchchapelton, and brake the straungers houses, and threw shooes and bootes into the strete: Thus from ten or a leauen of the clock, continued these ryotous people, during which tyme a knight called syr Thomas Parre, in great haste went to the Cardinall and tolde hym of this ryot which incontinent strengthned his house with men and ordinaunce. And after, this knight roade to the king to Richmond, and made the report more then it was: Wherefore the king hastely sent to London, and was truely aduertised of the matter, and how that the ryot was ceassed, and many of the doers apprehended. But while this ruffling continued, Sir Richard Cholmeley knight Liuetenaunt of the Towre, no great friende to the Citie in a frantike fury losed certayne peeces of ordinaunce, and shot into the Citie, which did litle harme howbeit his good will appered. About thre of the clock, these ryotous persons seuered themselues and went to their places of resort, and by the waye they were taken by the Maior and the Heds of the Citie, and some sent to the Tower, and some to Newgate, and some to the Counters, to the number of thre hundred, some fled and especially the Watermen, and Seruingmen, but the poore prentises were taken. About fiue of the clocke, the Erles of Shrewsbury and Surrey, which had heard of this ryot, came to London with such strength as they had, so did the Iunes of Courte, and diuers noble men: but or they came, all the ryot was ceassed, and many taken as you haue heard.

Then were the prisoners examined, and the sermon of Doctor Bele called to remembraunce, and he taken and sent to the Tower, and so was John Lincolne: but with this ryot the Cardinall was sore displeased. Then the fourth day of May was an Oyer and determiner at London before the Maior, the Duke of Norffolke, the Erle of Surrey and other. The Citye thought that the Duke bare them grudge for a lewde priest of his, which the yere before was slaine in Cheape, insomuch the Duke then in his fury sayde, I pray God I may once haue the Citizens in my daunger: and the Duke also thought that they bare him no good will, wherefore he came into the Citie with .xiij. hundreth men in harnesse to kepe the Oyer and determiner. And
A Oyer and determyner. vpon examination, it could neuer be proued of any meetyng, gatheryng, talkyng or conuenticle at any day or tyme before that day, but that the chaunce so happened without any matter prepensed of any creature sauyng Lyncoln, and neuer an honest person in maner was taken but onely he. Then Proclamations were made that no women should come together to babble and talke, but all men should kepe their wyues in theyr houses. All the stretes that were notable stood full of harnessed men, which spake many opprobrious wordes to the Citizens, which grieued them sore: and if they would haue bene reuenged, the other had had the worse, for the Citizens were two hundred to one: but lyke true subiects they suffered paciently.

When the Lordes were set, the prisoners were brought in through the stretes tyed in ropes, some men, some laddes, some children of. xiij. yere. There was a great mournyng of fathers and friendes for their children and kinsfolke. Among the prisoners manye were not of the Citye, some were priestes and some husbandmen and labourers, and they were all arreigned of Treason. The cause of the Treason was, because the King had amitie with all christen Princes, that they had broken the truce and league

contrary to the statute of king Henry the fift. Of this treason diuers were endited, and so for that tyme the Lordes departed. And the next day the duke came againe, and the Erle of Surrey with two thousand armed men, which kept the stretes. When the Maior, the Duke, and the Erle of Shrewsbury and Surrey were set, the prisoners were arreigned, and. xiij. founde guilty of high treason, and adiudged to be hanged, drawen and quartered, & for the execution hereof, were set vp a.xj. payre of Gallowes in diuers places where the offences were done, as at Algate, at Blanchechapelton, Gracious strete, Leaden hall, and before euery Counter one, and at Newgate, at Saint Martyns, at Aldersgate, at Bishopsgate. This sight sore grieued the people to see Galowes set vp in the kings Chamber. Then were the prisoners that were indged, brought to the places of execution, and executed in most rigorous maner, for the Lorde Edmond Haward, sonne to the Duke of Norfolke, and knight Marshall shewed no mercie, but extreme crueltie, to the poore ponglynges in their execution, and likewyse the Dukes seruauntes spake many opprobrious wordes, some bad hang, some bad draw, some bad set the Citie on fyre, but all was suffered.

John Lincolne with other put to death.

On Thursday the. xij. day of May was Lyncolne, Shyrwyn, and two brethren called Bets, and diuers other adiudged to dye. Then Lincolne sayde, my Lordes, I meant well, for, and you knewe the mischiefe that is ensued in this realme by straungers, you would remedie it, and many tymes I haue complayned, and then I was called a busye felowe: now our Lorde haue mercy on me. Then all the sayde persons were layde on the Hardelles, and drawne to the standard in Chepe, and first was John Lyncoln executed, and as the other had the rope about their neckes, there came a commaundement from the king to respite execution. Then the people cryed, God saue the king. Then was the Oyer and determiner deferred tyll another day and the prisoners sent againe to warde, and the harnessed men departed out of London, and all thinges quiet.

The. xj. day of May the king came to his Manor of Greenewich, where the recorder of London, & diuers Aldermen came to speake with his grace, and all ware Gownes of blacke coulor. And when they perceyued the king comming out of his priuie Chamber into his Chamber of presence, they kneled downe and the Recorder said: Our most natural, benigne, and soueregne Lorde, we know well that your grace is displeased with vs of your Citie of London for the great ryot late done: we assertaine your grace, that none of vs, nor no honest person were condiscendyng to that enormitie, and yet we, our wyues, and children, euery houre lament that your fauour should be taken from vs, and forasmuch as light and ydle persons were the doers of the same, we most humbly beseech your grace to haue mercy of vs for our negligence, and compassion of the offenders for their offence and trespasse.

Truly sayd the king, you haue highly displeased and offended vs, and ye ought to waile and be sory for the same, and where ye saye that you the substanciall persons were not consentyng to the same, it appereth to the contrary, for you neuer moued to let them, nor stirred once to fight with them, which you say were so smal a number of light persons, wherfore we must thinke, & you cannot denie, but you did winke at the matter, but at this tyme, we will graunt to you neyther our fauour nor good will, nor to the offenders mercy,

mercy, but resort to the Cardinall oure Chauncelour, and he shall make you an answere, and declare our pleasure, and with this answere the Londoners departed and made relation to the Maior.

The Quene of Scottes returneth into Scotland to her husband.

The. xviij. day of this Moneth the Queene of Scottes, which had bene at the Court, and at Baynards Castell, a whole yere at the kinges charge, and was richly appoynted of all thinges mete to her estate, both of Jewels, Plate, Tapistry, Arras, Coyne, Horses, and all other thinges of the kinges gift and liberalitie, departed out of London towarde Scotlande wyth great riches, albeit she came into England with much pouertie, and she entred into Scotland the. xiij. day of June, whom her husband receyued at Barwick: but the English men finally him regarded. All her charges within the realme, comming to the Court and returnyng, were of the kinges purse.

King Henry the eight came to west minster hall, and there sat himselfe in iudgement.

Thursday the. xrij. day of May, the king came into Westminster hall, for whome at the vpper ende was set a cloth of estate, and the place hanged with Arras, with him was the Cardinall, the Dukes of Norffolke and Suffolke the Erles of Shrewsbury, of Essex, Wilshire and of Surrey, with many Lordes and other of the kinges Counsale. The Maior and Aldermen, and all the chief of the City were there in their best liuery (according as the Cardinall had them appointed) by. ix. of the clocke. Then the king commaunded that all the prisoners should be brought foorth. Then came in the poore ponglings and olde false knaues bound in ropes all along, one after another in their shirtes, and euery one a Halter about his necke, to the number of foure hundred men, and. xj. women. And when all were come before the kings presence, the Cardinall fore layd to the Maior and commonaltie their negligence, and to the prisoners he declared that they had deserued death for their offence: Then all the prisoners together cryed mercy gracious Lorde, mercy. Then the Lordes altogether besought his grace of mercy, at whose request the king pardoned them all. And then the Cardinall gaue vnto them a good exhortation to the great gladnesse of the heerers. And when the generall pardon was pronounced, all the prisoners showted at once, and altogether cast vp their Halters into the Hall rooffe, so that the king might perceyue they were none of the discretest sort. Here is to be noted that diuers offenders which were not taken, heeryng that the king was inclined to mercye, came well apparayled to Westminster, and sodainlye stripped them into their shirtes with halters, and came in among the prisoners willyngly, to be partakers of the kinges pardon, by the which doyng, it was well knowen that one John Gelson yoman of the Crowne, was the first that beganne to spoyle, and exhorted other to do the same, and because he fled and was not taken, he came in the rope with the other prisoners, & so had his pardon. This companie was after called the blacke Wagon. Then were all the Galowes within the Citie taken downe, and many a good prayer sayde for the king, and the Citizens tooke more heede to their seruants.

The king pardoneth all the rebels.

The sweating sickneſſe

After this, sodainly there came a plague of sickneſſe, called the sweatyng sickneſſe. This malady was so cruell that it killed some within three houres, some within two houres, some merye at dinner, and dead at supper. Many dyed in the kinges Court, the Lord Clinton, the Lorde Grey of Wilton, and many knightes, Gentlemen, and officers. For this plague Mighelmas terme was adiourned, and because that this maladie continued from July

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to the middes of December, the king kept himselfe euer with a small companie, and kept no solempne Christmasse, wilyng to haue no resort for feare of infection: but much lamented the number of his people, for in some one town halfe the people dyed, and in some other towne the thirde part, the Sweate was so feruent, and the infections so great.

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The terme kept at Oxenford.

In the beginning of this yere, Trinitie terme was begon at Oxenford, where it continued but one daye, and was againe adiourned to Westminster. This yere came to Calice from Pope Leo, a Legate de latere, called Laurence Campeius, commonly called the Cardinall Campeius, for to exhort the king to make warre on the Turke. And likewise the sayde Leo sent three other Legates foorth at that time for the sayde purpose, one into Fraunce, another into Spaine, and the thirde into Germany.

Cardinall Campeius sent into England.

When the Cardinall of Yorke knew that there was comming a Legate into England, which should haue a greater preheminence then a Cardinall, he whose ambition was neuer satisfied, caused a Byshop and certayne Doctors to passe the Sea to Calice to welcome him, and to shewe to him that if he would haue the Popes purpose, to take any effect in Englande, he should in any wise sende in poste to Rome, to haue the sayde Cardinall of Yorke to be Legate also, and to be ioyned in commission with him, which thing was done (not without good rewardes) so that in thirtie and fiue dayes, the Bull was brought to Calice. During which time the Cardinall of Yorke sent to the Legate to Calice, red cloth to clothe his seruauntes, which at their comming to Calice, were but meanely apparelled. And when all things were readie, he passed the Sea and landed at Douer, and so kept forth his iorney toward London. At euery towne as they passed, he was receyued with procession, and accompanied with all the Lords and Gentlemen of Kent. And when he came to Blackheth, there met him the Duke of Norffolke, with a great number of Prelates, knightes and Gent'emen, all richely apparcled. And in the waye he was brought into a riche Tent of cloth of Golde, where he chifted hymselfe into a robe of a Cardynall, edged wyth Ermynes, and so tooke his Moyle ryding toward London.

The night before he came to London, the Cardinall of Yorke, to furnishe the cariages of the Cardinall Campeius, sent to him twelue Mulets with emptie Cofers couered with red, which twelue Mulets were led thorough London, amongst the Mulets of Campeius, which were but eyght and so these twentie Mulets passed through the streetes, as though they had bene full of treasures, apparell, and other necessaries. And when they came into Chepe, one of the Mulets brake from her keeper, and ouerthrewe the Chestes, and ouerturned two or three other Mulets cariages, which fell with such a violence, that dyuers of them vnlocked, and out of some fell olde hosen, broken Shoen, and roasted Flesshe, peeces of bread, Egges, and much vile baggage: at which sight the boyes cryed, see, see, my Lorde Legates treasure, and so the Muleters were ashamed, and tooke vp all their stuffe, and passed forth. And about three of the clock at after none, on the. xxix. daye of July the sayde Legate entred the Citie, and in Southwarke met him all the Clergie of London, with Crosses, Sensers, and Copes, and sensed him with great reuerence. The Maior and Aldermen, and all the occupations of the Citie in their best lyueries stoode in the streetes, and him highly honored:

A foule defacyng of the Cardinals honour.

red: to whome syr Thomas Moore made a briefe oration in the name of the Citie: And when he came to Paules, there he was receyued by Bysshops Mitred, and vnder a Canapie entred the Church: which Canapy his seruaunts tooke for their fees. And when he had offered he gaue his benediction to all the people, and tooke agayne hys Mule, and so was wyth all hys traine afore sayde, conueyed to Bathe place, and there rested: where he was welcomed of the Cardinall of Yorke. And on Sunday next ensuyng, these two Cardinalles as Legates, tooke their Barges and came to Grenewiche, eche of them had beside their Crosses two pillers of Siluer, two little Ares guylt, and two cloke bagges embroudered, and the Cardinals Hats borne before them. And when they came to the kings hall, the Cardinall of Yorke went on the right hande: and there the king royally apparelled and accompanied, met them euen as though both had come from Rome, and so brought them both vp into his Chamber of presence, and there was a solempne oration made by an Italian, declaryng the cause of the Legacie to be in two articles, one for ayde agaynst Gods enemies, and the second for reformation of the Clergie. And when masse was done, they were had to a Chamber, and serued with Lords and knightes, with much solempnitie: and after dinner they tooke their leaue of the king and came to London, and rode through the Citie together in great pompe and glorie to their lodgings.

The Cardinalles court called the Court Legantyne.

When the Cardinall of Yorke was thus a Legate, he set vp a Court, and called it the Court of the Legate, and proued Testamentes, and heard causes to the great hinderaunce of all the Bysshops of the realme. He visited Bysshops and all the Clergie, exempt and not exempt, and vnder couler of reformation he gat much treasure, and nothing was reformed, but came to more mischiefe: for by example of his pride, priestes and all spirituall persons wared so prowde, that they wore Ueluet, and silke, both in Gownes, Jackets, Doblets, and shoes, kept open lecherie, and so highly bare themselues by reason of his authorities and faculties, that no man durst once reproue any thing in them, for feare to be called heretike, and then they would make him smoke or beare a Faggot. And the Cardinall himselfe was so prowde, that he thought himselfe egall with the king: and when he had sayd Masse, he made Dukes and Erles to serue him of Wyne with a saie taken, and to holde the Bason at the Lauatories. Thus the pride and ambition of the Cardinall and Clergie was so high, that in maner all good persons abhorred and disdeyned it.

Thys yere the Frenche king wrote to the King of Englande, that if it were his pleasure, he would send an Ambassade into Englande, to common with the king and his counsayle for the redeeming of the Citie of Tournay, and other things: which answered the messenger, that the Ambassade of the French king should be right hartily welcome to him. And so the French king sent into Englande the Lorde Boneuet, high Admirall of Fraunce, and the Bysshop of Parys as chiefe Ambassadors accompanied with many noble men, and yong freshe Galaunts of the court of Fraunce, to the number of lxxx. and more, and then came a great number of rascall Pedlers, and Juellers, and brought ouer Hattes and Cappes, and dyuers Marchaundise vncustomed, all vnder the colour of the trussery of the Ambassadours.

Ambassadors sent out of Fraunce to the king of England.

After that these noble men were landed at Douer, they were receyued by

by the Nobles and Gentlemen of the Countrey, and so conueyed from lodging to lodging till they came to Blackheth, and before them went their cariages and people in great number, to the summe of twelue hundred one an other, which was thought to be to many for an Ambassade. These Gentlemen of Fraunce were very freshe.

The Erle of Surrey receyueth the Ambassadors

Monday the. xxvij. daye of September, the Erle of Surrey high Admyrall of Englande, in a coate of rich Tissue cut on cloth of siluer, on a great courser richely trapped, and a great Whistell of Golde, set with stones and pearle, hangyng at a great and massy Chayne baudrick wise, accompanied with an hundred and.lx. Gentlemen, richly appareled, on goodly horses came to Blackheth, and there amiably receaued the Ambassadors of Fraunce. The yong galants of Fraunce had coates garded with one colour, cut in ten or twelue partes verie richely to beholde: and so all the Englishe men accoupled themselues with the French men louingly together, and so roade to London. After the two Admyralls folowed. xxiij. of the Frenche kinges Garde, whome accompanyed. xxiiij. of the kings Garde. And after them a great number of archers, to the number of foure hundred. And in this order they passed thorough the Citie to Taylers hall, and there the chiefe Ambassadors were lodged, and the remnaunt in Marchaunts houses about. When these Lords were in their lodgings, then the French harder men open their wares, and made Taylers hall lyke to the paunde of a marte. At this doyng many an Englishe man grudged, but it auayled not. The last daye of September, the French Ambassadors tooke their Barge, & came to Grenewiche. The Admyrall was in a Gowne of cloth of siluer rayled, furred with ryche Sables, and all his company almost were in a newe fashion garment, called a Sheinew, which was in effect a Gowne, cut in the middle. The Gentlemen of Fraunce were brought to the kings presence, where the Bysshop of Parys made a solempne oration: which beyng ended, and answere made thereto, the king highly enterteyned the Admirall and his company, and so did all the Englishe Lordes and Gentlemen. The Ambassadors beyng daylie in counsayle at Grenewiche, the other Gentlemen daunced and passed the time in the Queenes chamber with Ladies and Gentlewomen.

An agreemēt that the City of Tournay should again be deliuered to the french men.

After long counsayling and much desiring of the French king and his counsayle, it was agreed that the Citie of Tournay should be deliuered to the French king, he paiyng fiue hundred thousand Crownes for the Citie, and foure hundred thousand Crownes for the Castell, the which the king had buylded, but it was not fully performed: and also he should pay. xxiij. thousand pound Tourneys, the which summe the Citizens of the Citie of Tourney ought to the king of Englande for their liberties and fraunchises.

Upon these agreementes to be performed it was concluded that the City of Tourney should be deliuered to the French king. The Frenchmen the soner to come to their purpose, made a pretence of mariage to be had, betweene the Dolphin, sonne and heyre to the French king and the Ladye Mary the kinges daughter, which was agreed vpon this condicion, that if they both consented at lawfull age, then to be firme and stable, or else not: for then they were both very yong. And so all matters were concluded, and the Erle of Worcester and the Bishop of Ely appoynted to go into Fraunce for the deliuery of the Citie of Tourney, and performing of the other agrementes. And for

for the sure payment of the summes of money to be paide to the king of England, vpon the sayd agrements, there were foure Gentelmen of the realme of Fraunce, left in England for hostages: whose names were Mounsire Memorancy, Mounsier Monpesart, Mounsier Moy, Mouñier Morret. Of the which foure the two first named were of noble bloud, but the two last were but of meane houses. And because they were yong, there was auncient Gentlemen appointed gouernors to them.

When all thinges were concluded and sealed, the king and all the Ambassadours richely appareled, and the two Legates roade solempnly to the Church of Saint Paul from the Bishop of Durhams place: and there was made from the West dooze to the Quere dooze of the Church, egall with the highest step, a haute pace of timber twelue foote broad, that the king and the Ambassadours might be sene. And there the Cardinall of Yorke sang high Masse, and had his cloth of estate of Tyssue: his Cupbord set with Basons all guilt couered: his place was fiue steppes high. At the first lauatory, thre Erles serued him, and at the second two Dukes and a Marques, and with the assay taken, they gaue hym wine, and after water. And when the Masse was done, the Cardinall Campeius and he gaue to the people (as they sayd) cleane remission. And after that done, Doctor Pace the kinges Secretary a man verie eloquent, made a goodly Oration in praise of peace: and that done, the king and all his Nobles and Ambassadours went to the Bishops palace to dynner, where they were highly feasted. And after dynner, the king roade againe to the Bishop of Durhams place.

After diuerse Justes and feastes made, the sayd Ambassadours by the king and the Lordes: Sir Thomas Ermew Maior of London, made to them a costly dynner at the Goldsmithes hall, which dinner they highly praysed, it was so well ordered.

Great and riche giftes geuen by the king to the Ambassadours of Fraunce.

And when time came, they tooke their leaue of the king, the Queene, and the kinges Counsaile, and deliuered into the kings possession their foure hostages as you haue heard before: at which departing the king gaue to the Admirall of Fraunce a garnish of guilt vessell, a payre of couered Basons guilt, twelue great guilt Bowles, foure payre of great guilt Pottes, a standing Cup of Gold, garnished with great Perle: and to some other also, he gaue plate, to some Cheines of Gold, to some rich apparell, and to some great horses with rich bardes, so that euery gentleman was wel rewarded: which liberalitie the straungers much praysed: and after that all their trusses were ready they departed towarde the sea, and tooke ship and landed at Boleyn.

Ambassadours sent from the king of England vnto the french king.

Sone after their departing, the Erle of Worcester being the kinges Chamberlayn: The Bishop of Ely, the Lorde of Saint Johns, sir Nicholas Vaure, sir John Pechy, Sir Thomas Bulleyn as Ambassadours from the king of England, accompanied with. lxx. knights and gentelmen and yomen, to the number of foure hundred and aboue, passed the sea with some stormes, and came to Calice, and passed through Picardie with great and kinde entertaynment in all places tyll they came to Paris, where they were noblye receyued, euery man matched with a like pere: and after they were brought to the French kinges presence, where the Bishop of Elye made a solempne Oration, as concerning the mariage and the peace: he did it with such a bold spirite that the Frenchmen much praysed his audacitie.

The

Peace cõcluded.

The conclusyon of this peace was this, that Henrye king of England, Fraunces king of Frenchmen, and Charles king of Castell had swoine a perpetuall peace, during their liues. And if it should happen any of the thre to violate the league in any poynt and to moue warre: then the other two shoulde ioyne together and make warre against the violater or breaker of the peace.

After all thinges concluded, the Erle of Worcester, and with him Sir Nicholas Vaux, sir John Pechy, sir Edwarde Belknap, with many other knightes tooke their leaue of the French king, and roade to Tournay, where they were well receyued. Then began the Capitaynes and the Souldiours to mourne, knowing that the towne should be yelded to the French king, and many a yong Gentleman, and many a tall yoman, wished that they had not spent their tyme there. And the next day after, the sayde Erle discharged sir Richard Jernyngham of his office of Capitaine, and commaunded euery man to be obedient to the Kinges pleasure, and to prepare to returne into England. The. viij. day of Febzuary, the Lord Chastileon came nere to the Citie of Tournay with. xxj. hundzeth men in harnesse. The Erle of Worcester sent sir Edward Belknap to knowe his commission, and there he shewed him his Commission, which was to receiue the Citie of Tournay. Then sir Edward Belknap desired him to send his commission to the Erle of Worcester, which he refused to do, saiyng it was sufficient to shewe it: well sayde sir Edward Belknap you must vnderstand that we haue a commission from the king our Maister to deliuer you the Citie at a day appoynted: wherfore we must shew the king of England both your commissiõ that you had authoritie to receiue it frõ the french king, & also that you by your indenture sealed with your seale of armes, shal cõfesse ẏ you receyued the Citie as a gift, & not rendred as a right to the King your Maister, or else be you sure that the Citie shall not be deliuered. Then the Lord Chastileon was wonderous wroth that he was no better beleued: And so dayly were great messages sent to the Citie from him to the Erle of Worcester, and answeres were sent of the Englishe part. But when the day approched, he had full answere that he must deliuer his commission, and also seale the indenture, or else the English men would not put him in possession of the towne, for their commission was otherwise. The French Capitaynes perceiuyng that if they disagreed at the day, that doubtes might follow: wherefore they sent their commission, and sealed their indenture, and sent it likewise in the morning, and came forward with their Banners displayed: whereof heeryng the Erle, he sent word that the Citie was neither yelded, nor gotten, but deliuered for confederation of maryage, and therefore they should not enter with Banners displayed. Then were the Frenchmen angry, but there was no remedie but to rolle vp their Standardes and Banners. And when they came to the Gates, there their commission and Indenture were solemnly read openly: and then the french men entered with Drumslades, and mynstrelsie without any Banner: And then to Mounsire Chastileon was deliuered the Castell, and there he ordeyned watch and warde in euery part. Thus was the Citie of Tournay deliuered the. viij. day of Febzuary in the tenth yere of the reigne of the king, and many a tall yoman that lacked liuyng fell to robbyng, which would not labour after their returne.

The maner of the deliuerye of Tournay.

Duryng

Duryng this tyme remayned in the French Court, Nicholas Carew, Fraunces Bryan, and dyuers other of the yong Gentlemen of England, and they with the French king roade dayly disguised through Parys, throwyng egges, stones, and other foolishe tryfles at the people, which light demeanor of a king was much discommended and gested at. And when these yong gentlemen came againe into England, they were all French, in eatyng, drinking, and apparell, yea and in French vices and bragges, so that all the estates of England were by them laughed at: the Ladies and gentlewomen were dispraysed, so that nothing by them was prayse, but if it were after the French turne, which after turned them to displeasure as you shall heere.

After the kinges Ambassadors were returned, and Tournay deliuered to the French men, vpon the condicions afore sayde, the hostages that were here left for the payment of the great sommes and performaunce of the condicions comprised in the league (of the which one was, that if the mariage tooke none effect, then the Citie of Tournay should be redeliuered vpon repayment of the same somme) the sayd hostages knewe not in what case they stood, but when they knewe it, they were very heauy and sorowfull: howbeit they dissimuled the matter in the best wise they could.

In the end of March the king sent for al the yomen of the gard that were come from Tournay, and after many good wordes geuen to them, he graunted to them foure pence by the day without attendaunce, except they were specially commaunded: and yet for all this the commonaltie sayde that the king was euill counsayled to geue away the Citie of Tournay, because the maintainyng of a garrison there should haue nourished and brought vp men and yonger brethren in feates of warre to the great strength and defence of the Realme.

This yere the. xij. day of Febzuary died the Emperour Maximilian, for whom the king caused a solempne Obsequie to be done at Paules Church, all the Nobles of the realme, and knightes of the Garter beyng present, of which order the sayd Emperour was one.

The death of Maximilian Emperor.

In the beginnyng of thys yere, the king with all the knightes of hys order beyng in Englande, road on double horses, with the Henxtemen folowyng the king, from Colbroke to Windsore in gorgious apparell, and there he kept with great solempnity the feast of Saint George, and dyned in the hall. And the Bishop of Winchester Prelate of the order sat at the bordes ende alone. The king was solemnly serued, and the surnap cast like the feast of a coronation. All thinges were plenteous to straungers that resorted thether. At the Masse of Requiem was offered, the banner and other hachementes of honour belongyng to Maximilian the Emperour late deceassed. After this feast ended, the king came to Richemond, and so to Grenewich, and there lay all May. 1519 11

In which moneth the kinges Counsaile secretly commoned together of the kinges gentlenesse and liberalitie to all persons: by the which they perceyued that certaine yong men in his priuie Chamber, not regardyng hys estate nor degree, were so familiar and homely with him, and played suche light touches with him, that they forgat themselues: Which things although the king of his gentle nature suffered, and not reproued it: yet the kinges Counsaile thought it not meete to be suffered for the kings honour, and therefore

foꝛe they altogether came to the king, beſechyng him all theſe enoꝛmities and lightneſſe to reꝛeſſe. To whome the king aunſwered, that he had choſen them of his Counſaile, both foꝛ the maintenaunce of his honour, and foꝛ the defence of all thing that might blemiſh the ſame: wherefoꝛe if they ſawe any about him miſuſe themſelues, he committed it to their reformation. Then the kinges Counſaile cauſed the Lord Chamberleyn to call beforꝛe them Carew (and another who yet liueth, & therfoꝛe ſhall not at this tyme be named) with diuers other alſo of the priuie Chamber, which had bene in the frenche Court, and baniſhed them the Court foꝛ diuers conſiderations, layng nothing perticularly to their charges. And they that had offices were commaſſided to go to their offices: which diſcharge out of the Court grieued foꝛe the heartes of theſe yong men, which were called the kinges Minions. Then was there foure ſad and auncient knightes, put into the kings priuie Chamber, whoſe names were ſir Richard Wingfield, ſir Richard Jernyngham, ſir Richarde Weſton, and ſir William Kingſton: and diuers officers were chaunged in all places.

Then ſir John Pechy was made deputie of Calice, and ſir Richarde Wingfield thereof diſcharged, and Nicholas Carew made Capitain of Rice banke, and commaunded to go thether, which was foꝛe to him diſpleaſaunt. Theſe yong minions which was thus ſeuered from the king, had beene in Fraunce, and ſo highly pꝛayſed the French king and his Court, that in a maner they thought little of the king and his Court, in compariſon of the other, they were ſo high in loue with the French Court, wherefoꝛe their fall was little moned among wyſe men.

This was Charles the fift of that name.

This yere in the moneth of June was elected to be Emperour Charles king of Caſtell, and nephew to the Queene, by the whole aſſent of the electoꝛs of the Empyꝛe: Although the Frenche king ſent his great Mayſter to cauſe him to be elected to the high maieſty of the Empyꝛe: yet his Ambaſſadoꝛ and great mayſter of hys houſholde called Gonffier Lord of Boiſy, and bꝛother to William Gonffier Lord Boneuet Admiral of Fraunce, which was Ambaſſadoꝛ in England the laſt yere as you haue heard, did not ſo his meſſage that it tooke any effect. The king which had ſent Doctoꝛ Pace his Secꝛitoꝛy foꝛ the aduauncement of his nephew the king of Caſtell to the dignitie Imperiall, becauſe he had the Duchy of Oſtrik, and many other ſeignioꝛyes in Almaine, was very ioyous of this election, and cauſed a ſolempne Maſſe to be ſong at Paules the. vij. day of July: at which Maſſe was pꝛeſent the Cardinall Campeius, the Cardinall of Yoꝛke, the Duke of Buckingham, of Noꝛffolke, and Suffolke, with the Ambaſſadours of Spaine, Fraunce, Uenice, and Scotland. And after Maſſe was done, the Quiere ſang Te deum, and then all the Lordes departed to Baynardes Caſtell to dinner, and that night were ſolempne fieres made thꝛough London, and great plentie of Wine geuen by Italians, Duchemen, and Spanyardes, foꝛ theſe newes.

This Sommer the Queene deſired the King to bꝛing to her Manoꝛ of Hauerying in the Bower of Eſſex, the Gentlemen of Fraunce beyng hoſtages. And foꝛ their welcommyng ſhe purueyed all thinges in the moſt liberalleſt maner: and eſpecially ſhe made to the kyng ſuch a ſumptuous banket, that the king thanked her hartily, and the ſtraungers gaue it great pꝛayſe.

The

The King liyng there did ſhote, hunte, and runne dayly with the hoſtages, to their great ioy.

In the Month of Nouember, the king came from Lambeth to Weſtminſter hall, & ſo to the ſtarre chamber, & there were beforꝛe him the Lord Ogle, the Lord Haward, ſir Mathew Bꝛowne, ſir William Bulmer, & John Scot of Camerwell, foꝛ diuers riottes, miſdemeanoꝛs and offences, and eſpecially the king rebuked Sir Wylliam Bulmer knight, becauſe he beyng the kyngs ſeruaunt ſwoꝛne, refuſed the kings ſeruice, and became ſeruaunt to the Duke of Buckingham, ſayng: that hee would none of hys ſeruauntes ſhould hang on an other mans ſleeue, and that he was as well able to maintaine him as the Duke of Buckingham, and that what might be thought by his departing, and what might be ſuppoſed by the Dukes retayning, he would not then declare. The knyght kneeled ſtill on hys knees, cꝛiyng the king mercie, and neuer a noble man there durſt entreate foꝛ him, the king was ſo highly diſpleaſed with him. Yet at the laſt when other matters were heard, the king moued with pittie foꝛgaue the ſaide ſyꝛ Wylliam his offence, ſayng, that we wil that none of our ſeruaunts ſhall belong to any other perſon, but to vs, noꝛ we will not that our ſubiectes repine oꝛ grudge at ſuch as we fauour, foꝛ our pleaſure we will haue in that caſe as vs lyketh, foꝛ one we will fauour nowe, and another at ſuch time as vs ſhall like: and therefoꝛe Sir Wylliam, if you ſerue vs hartily, you ſhall not be foꝛgotten, and foꝛ this time we pardon you. Likewiſe he pardoned the lord Edmond Haward, and Syꝛ Mathewe Bꝛowne their offences, which were indicted of ryottes, and maintenaunce of bearinges of diuers miſdoers within the Countie of Surrey: but the Lorde Ogle humbly beſeeched the king of hys mercie, to whome he aunſwered. Sir your matter concerneth murther of our ſubiect, which great offence is not onely to vs but to God, and therfoꝛe we remit you to the common lawe. And then he roſe and went to his Barge, and by the way he made James Yarꝛkoꝛd Maioꝛ of the Citie of London knight, and ſo he with all his counſayle came to Lambeth.

The foure Gentlemen hoſtages of Fraunce, dayly reſoꝛted to the court and had great cheere, and were well entertayned, and euery time they moued, ſtirred and required the king to paſſe the Sea, and to meete with the French king their maiſter, whome they pꝛayſed highly, affirming that if the king and he might once familierly common together, that there ſhould ſuch a conſtaunt loue riſe and encreaſe betweene them, which afterward ſhould neuer faile. This requeſt was oftentimes heard and little regarded, but yet by the meanes of the Cardinall at the laſt, in the ende of Febꝛuarie it was agreed that the king in perſon ſhould paſſe the ſea to hys Caſtell and Loꝛdſhip of Guiſnes, and there in Maye next comming betweene Guiſnes and Arde, the king and the French king ſhould meete. When thys was fully concluded, the king wꝛote letters to all ſuche Loꝛdes, Ladies, Gentlemen, and Gentlewomen as ſhould geue their attendaunce on him and the Queene: which incontinent put themſelues in a readyneſſe, after the moſt coſtlieſt faſhion, foꝛ the furniture of the ſame meeting.

Then were ſent to Guyſnes vnder the rule of ſyꝛ Edward Belknap thꝛe thouſand artificers, which buylded out of the earth on the playne beforꝛe the Caſtell of Guyſnes, the moſt goodlyeſt Palace of tymber that euer was

wrought in the same place, and so curiously garnished without and within. Beside thys, prouisions were made within the realme of Englande and in Flaunders for victaple, wyne and all other thinges necessarie for the same. And yet beside all this Orleaunce king at armes in Fraunce came into the Court of Englande and made Proclamation, that the king of England and the French king, in a campe betwene Arde and Guysnes, with.xviij. aydes in June nert ensuyng, should abide all commers beyng gentlemen, at the Tylt, at Tourney, and at barriers, and lyke proclamation was made by Clarenceaux king at armes in England, and in the Court of Fraunce, and in the Court of Burgoyne, and in dyuers other Courtes and places in Almaine, and Italye. For furnishing of the Justes, there was deuysed a Tylt, and all things necessarie for that enterprise, in a goodly playne betweene Guysnes and Arde.

During the time of these preparations, newes were brought to the king that Charles his Nephewe elected Emperour of Almayne woulde shortly depart out of Spaine by sea, and come by Englande to go into Germany to receyue hys first Crowne at Acon. Wherfore the king caused great prouisions to be made at euery Hauen, for the receyuing of hys welbeloued Nephew and friend, and daylie prouisions were made on all sides for these noble meetings of so high princes: and especially the Queene of Englande, and the Lady Dowagar of Fraunce, made great cost on the apparell of their Ladies and Gentlewomen.

In this yere the king being informed that his realme of Ireland was out of order, discharged the Erle of Kildare of his office of Deputy and therunto (by the meanes of the Cardinall as men thought) was appointed the Erle of Surrey Lorde Admirall, to whome the Cardinall did not owe the best fauour. Wherefore the sayde Erle of Surrey in the beginning of Aprill tooke leaue of the king, and the Duke of Norffolke his father, and passed into Irelande, and had with him diuers Gentelmen, that had bene in the garison of Tourney, and one hundred yomen of the Kinges gard, and other to the number of a thousand men. Where he by his manhood and wisdome, brought the Erle of Desmond and diuers other rebelles to good conformitie and order: and there he continued in great hardnesse two yere and more, in which space he had many battailes and skirmishes with the wilde Irish.

When it was concluded that the kinges of England and Fraunce should mete, as you haue heard, then both the kings committed the order and maner of their meting, and how many dayes they should mete, and what preheminence eche should geue to other, to the Cardinall of Yorke.

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The king intending and perseuering in purpose to mete with Fraunces the French king, great and rich prouisions were made, wherfore the noble king and the Queene with all the noble Courte, remoued the .xxj. daye of May being on Mondaye, from their Manor of Grenewhich, toward the the Sea side, and so on Fridaye being the .xxv. day of May, arriued at the Citie of Cauntorbury intending there to kepe his Whitsontyde.

Charles Emperour landed in England.

Sone after his comming to Cauntorburie, tidinges were brought that Charles Emperour elect, was on the Sea, in sight of the coast of Englande, wherefore officers of the king were sent with great diligence to the Castell and Towne of Douer, to be there in a readinesse against the arriuall of the Empe-

Emperour.

The Lord Cardinall, came to the towne of Douer in haste with a noble repaire, abiding the comming of the Emperour, which Emperour, the Saterday being the .xxvj. day of May arriued with all his nauy of ships royall on the coaste of Kent, direct to the towne or port of Hieth the sayde daye by noone, where he was hailed by the noble knight sir Willam Fitzwilliam, vice Admirall of Englande, with six of the kinges shippes well furnished, which laye for the safegarde of passage betwene Douer and Calice, at the coste and charges of the king of England: Calmnesse of the wether and lacke of winde caused that the Emperour might not so sone take land at the port of Douer, as he woulde haue done. Notwithstanding towardes the euen he departed from his shippes, and entered into his boate comming towardes the lande, where in his comming to land: on the sea the Lorde Wolsay Cardinall and Legate met and receaued him with suche reuerence as to so noble a Prince appertayned. Thus landed the Emperour Charles, vnder the cloth of hys estate of the blacke Egle all splayed on riche cloth of Golde. In his retinue with him, were manye noble men, and many fayre Ladies of his blood, as princes and Princesses, and one Lady as chiefe to be noted, was the princes of Aurion with many other Nobles which landed with him in high & sumptuous maner and great riches in their apparell: great ioye made the people of Englande to see the Emperour, and more to see the bening maner and mekenesse of so high a Prince.

When the Emperour had thus taken lande, the Lorde Cardinall was as conduyt to the same noble Emperour from the shore of Douer vnto the Castell there: then were all persones chered with the best that there in the towne might be.

After the departing of the Emperour to the lande from his Nauie, the apparell of euerie ship then shewed, as Flagges, Banners, Streamers, and Targetes, then the mightie ordynaunce of euery of them brake out by force of fier as though the sea had brent, marueilous was the noise of the gonnes.

The Emperor being thus in the Castell of Douer, with haskie tidinges came to the king where as he was at Cantorbury, who hasted him towards the noble Emperor. And so came ridyng early in the morning to ꝑ Castell of Douer, within which Castel the king alighted: the Emperor hering ꝑ king to be come, came out of his chamber to meete with the king, and so met with him on the staiers or he could come vp: where eche embraced other right louingly: then the king brought the Emperour to his chamber, where as there comming was of gladnesse.

Sone after these two noble Princes on the Whitsondaye early in the morning tooke their horse and roade to the Citie of Cauntorburie, the more to solempne the feast of Penticost, but specially to se the Queene of England his Aunt was the intent of the Emperour.

The noble personages of the realme of England and the Queene with her beautifull trayne of Ladies receyued and welcommed the same Charles elect Emperor, whose person was by the king conueighed to a faire and pleasaunt chamber where the sayde Emperor appareled him right richely. Then the noble retinue of the sayd Emperor aswell of Lordes as of Ladies were lodged, aswell as there might be, with ioy and much gladnesse, & there

in Cauntorburie ſoiorned the Emperor and all his trayne with the king, vntyll the Thurſday in the ſame weeke.

The laſt daye of May being Thurſday, the Emperor tooke leaue of the king and all the Ladies, and gaue great thankes, and ſo roade to Sandwiche, and there tooke his ſhippes, the winde to him was liking, whereby he ſailed into Flaunders.

Then the ſame day, the king of England made ſaile from the port of Douer and with a goodly nauie landed at Calice at the houre of a. xj. of the clock and with him the Queene and Ladies and many Nobles of the realme. And ſo was the king receyued into the Checker and there reſted: great repayre of noble men came to the towne of Calice from the French Court, to ſee the king and to ſalute him, which were of his grace, Princely entertayned.

Mondaye the fourth daye of June the kinges grace with all the nobles and the Queene with her traine of Ladyes as other, remoued from Calice to his Lordſhip royall of Guiſnes, which was ſo Noble and royall a lodgyng as before had not beene ſeene, for it was a Palace: the Palace was quadrant, and euerye quadrant of the ſame Palace was three hundred xxviij. foote long of a ſyde, which was in compaſſe. xiij. hundreth, and xij. foote about. This Palace was ſet on ſtages by great cunnyng and ſumptuous worke. At the entryng into the Palace before the Gate, on the plaine greene was buylded a fountaine of enbowed worke, gylte with fyne golde, and Vice, ingrayled with anticke workes, the olde God of Wyne called Bacchus birlyng the wyne, which by the conduytes in the earth ranne to all people plentiouſly with red, white, and claret wyne, ouer whoſe head was written in letters of Romaine in golde, Faicte bonne chere quy vouldra.

The diſcription of the newe palace made by the king of England at Guynes for the receauing of the french king.

On the other hande or ſyde of the gate, was ſet a piller, which was of auncient Romaine worke, borne with foure Lyons of Golde, the pillers wrapped in wreath of Golde curiouſly wrought and intrayled, and on the ſommet of the ſayd Pyller ſtoode an Image of the blind God Cupide, with hys Bowe and arrowes of loue readie by his ſeemyng, to ſtryke the yong people to loue.

The foregate of the ſame palace or place with great and mighty maſonrie by ſight was arched, with a Tower on euery ſyde of the ſame portered by great craft, and imbattelled was the gate and Tower, and in the feneſters, and windowes were Images reſemblyng men of warre redie to caſt great ſtones: Alſo the ſame gate or Tower was ſet with compaſſed Images of auncient Princes, as Hercules, Alexander and other by entrayled worke, richly limned with golde and Albyn colours, and well and warely was made ouer the gate loupes, and enforced with battailmentes, and in the ſame gate a lodge for the Porter: which there appered and other, ſumptuouſly apparayled lyke vnto kinges officers.

By the ſame gate all people paſſed into a large Court fayre and beautifull, for in this Court appered much of the outward beautie of this palace, for from the firſt water table to the rayſyng or reſun pieces, was bay wyndowes on euery ſyde mired with cleere Stories, curiouſly glaſed, the poſtes or mouyelles of euery wyndow was guilt. Thus the outwarde part of the place delighted the eies of the beholders, by reaſon of the ſumptuous worke. Alſo the Tower of the Gate as ſeemed, was builded by great maſonry, and by

by great engyne of mans wit, for the ſundrie countenaunces of euery Image that their appered, ſome ſhootyng, ſome caſtyng, ſome readie to ſtrike, and firing of Gonnes, which ſhewed very honourably. Alſo all the ſayd quadrants bayes, and edifices, were royally entraled, as farre as vnto the ſame Court appertayned. And direct agaynſt the Gate was deuiſed a halpas, and at the entry of the ſtayre was Images of fore and terrible countenances, all armed in curious worke of Argentine. The bay of the ſame halpas pendant by craft of trymmer, & vnder the trimmer, anticke Images of gold enuyroned with verdour of Dyſſes caſt in compaſſe, mouſtring their countenances towards the enteryng of the palace. The ſtayre of the ſayd halpas was caſt of paſſage by the wentes of broade ſteppes, ſo that from the firſt foote or loweſt ſtep, a perſon myght without payne go vnto the higheſt place of the ſame halpas.

On euery hande was there Chamber doores and enterynges into the Chambers of the ſame Palace, which were long and large and well proporcioned, to receyue light and ayre at pleaſure: the roofes of them from place to place, and Chamber to Chamber were ſiled and couered with cloth of Silke, of the moſt fayre and quick inuention that before that tyme was ſene, for the ground was white engrayled, inbowed and batoned with riche clothes of Silkes knitte, and fret with cuttes and braides and ſundrie newe caſtes, that the ſame clothes of ſilke ſhewed like bullions of fyne burned Golde, and the Roſes in loſſenges: that the ſame roofe, was in kindely courſe, furniſhed ſo to mannes ſight, that no liuyng creature might but ioy, in the beholdyng thereof, for from the lawe piece of the ſayde ſilyng: which piece was gylte with fyne golde, were workes in paan paled, all the walles to the creaſt encounteryng the cleere ſtories, the ſame creaſt which was of large depeneſſe, the worke was antique knottes with boſſes caſt & wrought with more cunnyng then I can wryte, all which workes and overages were golte: and to ſet it the more to the glory, the flouriſhyng Biſe was comparable to the rich Amell.

Alſo to the ſame Palace was rered a Chapell with two cloſettes, the Quiere of the ſayd Chapell ſiled with cloth of Golde, and thereon frete ingrayled bent clothes of Silke, all was then Silke and golde. The aulters of this Chapell were hanged with rich reueſture of cloth of golde of Tiſſue, embroudered with pearles. Ouer the high aultar was hanged a riche Canaby of maruaylous greatneſſe, the aultar was apparayled with fine payre of Candleſtickes of golde, and on the aultar an halpas, and thereon ſtood the Sacrament all of fyne golde, and on the ſame halpas ſtood. xij. Images of the bigneſſe of a childe of foure yeres of age all golde: And all the Copes and Veſtimentes ſo riche as might be prepared or bought in the Citie of Florens, for all the Copes and Veſtimentes were but of one peece, ſo wouen for the purpoſe, cloth of Tiſſue and poudered with red Roſes purled with fine gold: the Orfrys ſet with pearles and precious ſtones. And all the walles and deſkes of this Chapell were hanged with right cloth of golde, and three rich great Croſſes were there readie to be borne at feſtiuall tymes, and Baſyns, and Senſers, Goſpellers, Paxes, Crewets, holy water veſſelles, and other ornamentes all of golde.

Alſo in the firſt Cloſet was a trauerſe for the kinges perſon of cloth of Golde: And within that the Kinges place and Chaire, with Cuſhins

of

of cloth of Golde: before the trauerse was an altare of presence, which altare was adourned with cloth of brouderie and riche Pearles and precious stones, set in Goldsmithes worke of fine Golde. On the aultar was a deske or halfpace, whereon stood a Crucifix of fine Golde, with an Image of the Trinitie, an Image of our Lady, and twelue other Images all of fine Gold and precious stones, two payre of Candelsticks of fine Gold, with Basens, Crewettes, Pares, and other Ornamentes: the sayde Closet was hanged wyth Tappets embraudered with riche worke, fret with pearles & stones, the rooffe of the same Closet was sieled with worke of Inmouled, guilt with fine Golde and Senapar and Bice.

The second Closet was for the Quenes person, the which was as well trimmed and bewtified as the other Closet was.

And from this palace or place into the mightie and strong fortresse and Castell royall of Guisnes, was a Galerie for the secret passage of the kings person into a secret lodging within the same castell, the more for the kinges ease. And finally to this palace was ioyned all houses of offices, that to such an honorable court should appertaine. In this palace as ye haue heard, was the kings grace lodged and all the nobles after their degrees. And for that the towne of Guysnes was little, and that all the noble men might not there be lodged, they set vp tentes in the field, to the number of twentie and eyght hundred sundrie lodgings, which was a goodly sight. Thus was the king in his Palace royall at Guysnes.

Fraunces the French king was with all his Nobles of the realme of Fraunce, come to the towne of Arde, where was prepared for his comming, many tentes, hales and pauilions, & the same were set and pight in the field. On the French partie also, there was at the same towne of Arde buylded the French kings lodging full well, but not finished, much was the prouisions in Picardie on euerye part through all. The French king commaunded his lodging to be made, a little out of the towne of Arde in the territorite of an olde castle, which by the warre of olde time had bene beaten. On the same place was reedified a house of solace and sport, of large & mightie compasse, which was chiefely sustayned by a great mightie maste, whereby the great ropes and takell strayned, the same mast was stayd. All the rooffe of the same house hong on the same maste, and with takell was strayned and borne, by the supporters of the same maste or tree, the colours of the same was all blewe, set with starres of Golde foyle, and the Orbes of the heauens by the craft of colours in the rooffe, were curiously wrought in maner like the skie, or firmament, and a cressant strayned sumdeale towards the towne of Arde, this cressant was couered with frets and knottes made of Iuie Bushes, and bore braunches and other things that longest would be greene for pleasure.

In thys time Lorde Thomas Wolsay Cardinall and Legate a Latere as the kings high Imbassadour rode with noble repaire of Lordes, Gentlemen and Prelates to the towne of Arde, to the French court where of the french king, the same Lord Cardinal was highly entertayned. Of the noblenesse of this Cardinal, the frenchmen made bokes, shewing the tryumphant doings of the Cardinals royalty. The number (as they write) of the Gentlemen, knightes and Lordes, all in crimosyn Uelues, with the marueylous number of chaines of Golde, the great horse, Mules, coursers, and carriages,

The pompe and pride of Cardinall Wolsey.

ges, that there were, which went before the Cardinals comming into Arde with sumpters & Cofers. Of his great crosses and pillers borne, the Pillow bere or case broudered, the two Mantels, with other the Ceremoniall offices, with a great and honorable number of bishops geuing their attendance, the mightie and great number of seruauntes, as yomen, grooms, all clothed in Scarlet, who so readeth of the French booke, shall finde the same wonderfully set forth.

The king of England beyng at the Castell of Guisnes in the newe palace, many noble men of the French court resorted to his grace, to see hym and the Queene, and to salute them: who of the king were wel enterteyned

When the Lorde Cardinall had sojourned at Arde in the French court by the space of two dayes, and the high and vrgent princely causes in counsaile declared, the Lorde Cardinall tooke his leaue of the French king, and of all the French court, and repaired vnto the Castell of Guysnes, where he founde the king of Englande his souereigne Lorde. And the same king by his letters patents, had geuen full power and authoritie to the same Lord Cardinall, concerning all matters to be debated, touchyng the king and the realme, and also gaue vnto the same Cardinall, full strength, power, and authoritie, to affirme and confirme, binde and vnbinde, whatsoeuer should be in question, betweene him and the French king, as though the king in proper person had bene there presently.

When the Lordes of the French counsayle, sawe the high and great authoritie that the Cardinall had, they shewed it vnto the French king, who incontinent commaunded his commission to be made, of lyke power and authoritie, that the king of Englande had geuen vnto the sayde Lorde Cardinall: the same power and authoritie had the sayd Cardinall, geuen to him by Fraunces the frenche king, and affirmed by the counsail roiall of Fraunce. Then hastily was sent to the king of Englande the French kings patent, for the Lorde Cardinall sayd humbly to the French king, that he would no such power receyue, without the consent of the king of Englande his souereigne Lord: but when the king of England and his counsayle had sene and vewed the french kings patent, and it well considered, then he sent the same patent of power to the Lorde Cardinall with full assent: then the Lorde Cardinall the power receyued with much gladnesse. It was highly esteemed and taken for great loue that the french king had geuen so great power to the king of Englandes subiect.

The great credite and authoritie that was committed to Cardinall Wolsey both by the king of Englande and the french king.

Thursday the seuenth day of June, in the Vale of Andren, within the Lordship royall of Guysnes, before daye, was set and pight a royall riche Tent, all of cloth of Golde, and riche embroudery of the king of Englands, and dyuers other hales and pauilions: the same riche Tent of Golde, was within hanged of the richest Arras, newly contriued and made, that euer before was seene, and a presence of the kinges estate, with two Chayres and riche Cushyns therein: the ground was spred with Carpets of new Turkey makyng all full of bewtie.

At the houre of meeting appoynted, the Lordes of Englande set their people and seruaunts in good array of battayle, in a playne field directly before the Castell of Guysnes. The king of Englande commaunded that hys Garde should be set in the brest of the battayle, or bend of footemen and so it

was

was done. This battaile of footemen conducted themselues so in order, that from the first to the last, neuer a person of the fotemen brake his place or array, but kept themselues so well, that neuer seruingmen themselues better demeaned. The seruingmen thus set in order in the field, on the left hand of the king of England, somewhat toward ỳ Marres, long while thus abiding, in which time the castel of Guisnes shot a warning peece to ỳ towne of Arde, and in lykewise the towne of Arde gaue warning to the castell of Guysnes.

The meeting and encounter bi the king of England and the French king.

And forthwith the king of Englande with all the court of the nobles of the realme mounted on horsebacke, and marched towardes the Valey of Andern in honorable order, all gentle men, Squiers, Knightes, and Barons, roade before the king and Bysshops also, the Dukes, Marques and Erles, gaue attendaunce next the king.

The French king on his partie marched towarde the encounter wyth all the ruffelers and gallantes of the French Court. In which time came to the Frenche king some report, that caused him to tarry, and a light from hys horse, then the French men were very doubtfull, and in a staye so still rested, vntill a Lorde of Fraunce called Mounsire Morret, the sayde Morret came to the French king, and shewed him the verie fidelitie of the king of Englande, wherby the French king mounted on horseback, and the better encouraged, marched towards the place appoynted of encounter.

Thus in marchyng the one king to the other, to the king of England came Lorde George Neuell Lorde Aburgheny, and openly sayde, sir ye be my king and souereigne, wherefore aboue all I am bounden to shewe you truth, and not to let for none, I haue bene in the French partie, and they be mo in number, double so many, as ye be: with that was ỳ Erle of Shrewsburie Lorde Steward readie and sayde, syr whatsoeuer my Lorde of Burgheny sayth, I my selfe haue bene there, and the Frenchmen be more in feare of you and your subiects, then your subiects be of them: wherefore sayde the Erle, if I were worthie to gene counsayle, your grace should marche forwarde, so we intende my Lorde sayde the king: then the officers of armes cryed on afore, then in short whyle was the king on the banke of Anderne: then euery gentleman as they roade tooke his place, and stoode still side by side, theyr regarde or face towardes the Vale of Andern.

Then the king of England shewed himself somedeale forward in bewty & personage, the most goodliest prince ỳ euer reigned ouer the realme of England: his grace was apparelled in a garment of cloth of siluer of Damaske, ribbed with cloth of Golde, so thicke as might be, the garment was large, and plited verie thick, and canteled of verye good intaile, of suche shape and making, ỳ it was marueilous to behold. The courser which his grace roade vpõ, was trapped in a marueilous vesture of a new deuised fassion, the trapper was of fine Golde in Bullion, curiously wrought, pounced and set with antique worke of Romaine Figures. Attending on the kings grace of Englande, was the maister of his horse, by name syr Henry Guylford, leading the kinges spare horse, the which horse was trapped in a Mantellet byont and back place, all of fine Golde in Scifers, of deuise with tasselles on cordels pendaunt, the Saddell was of the same sute and worke, so was the Hedstall and raynes. After folowed .ix. henxmen, ryding on Coursers of Naples the same yong Gentlemen were appareled in riche cloth of Tissue, the coursers in

in harneste of marueylous fashion, scaled in fine Golde in Bullion, and all the same horse harneste were set full of trembling spangles that were large and faire. The Lorde Marques Dorset bare the kings sworde of estate before the kings grace, the Lorde Cardinall did his attendaunce.

Thus in little time, abidyng the comming of the French king and his, the which in short time came with a great number of horsemen, freshly appareled, the French king and his retaine, put themselues in place appoynted, direct against the Englishe partie, beholding euery other of both nations, the French men mused muche of the battayle of the footemen, and euerye of the French men to other spake of the multitude of the Englishe men which seemed great, yet were not they so many as the French partie.

When the French king had a little beholden the Englishe men, he put himselfe somewhat before his people, that were there on him attendaunt, the Duke of Burbon bearing a naked sworde vpright, the Lorde Admirall of Fraunce, & the Countie Cosmen Galias, Maister of the french kings horse, and no mo persons gaue their attendance in passing with the Frenche king: when it was perceyued that the french kings sworde was borne naked, then the king of England commaunded the Lorde Marques Dorset to draw out the sword of estate, and beare it vp naked in the presence, which was so done.

Then vp blewe the Trumpets, Sagbuttes, Clarions, and all other Minstrels on both sides, and the kinges discended downe towarde the bottome of the valey of Andern, in sight of both the nations and on horsebacke, met and embraced the two kings eche other: then the two kinges alighted, and after embraced with benyng and curteous maner eche to other, with sweete and goodly wordes of greeting: and after fewe wordes, these two noble kinges went together into a riche Tent of cloth of Golde, that there was set on the grounde for such purpose: thus arme in arme went the french king Fraunces the first of Fraunce, and Henry the eyght king of England and of Fraunce, together talkyng with communication.

When these two princes were in the Tent before rehearsed, the french king sayde, my deare brother and Cosyn, thus farre to my paine haue I trauayled to see you personally, I thinke verily that you esteeme me as I am. And that I maye to you be your ayde, the realmes and seigniories shewe the might of my person: Sir said the king of England, neither your realmes nor other the places of your power, is the matter of my regard, but the stedfastnesse and loyall keeping of promise, comprised in Charters betweene you and me: that obserued and kept, I neuer sawe Prince with my eyen, that might of my hart be more loued. And for your loue I haue passed the seas, into the fardest frontier of my realme to see you presently, the which doing now gladdeth mee. And then were the two kings serued with a banket, and after mirth, had communication in the banket time, and there shewed the one the other their pleasure.

After the two kings had ended the banket, they came forth in open sight and there departed with their companie, the king of Englande to Guysnes, the French king to Arde. And sundrie dayes were kept sundrie and royall Justes and other pastimes: the perticulers whereof I omit because mention is before made of sundrie of them.

Mondaye the .xj. daye of June, the two Queenes of England and of Fraunce

The meeting of both the Queenes of England and Fraūce.

Fraunce came to the Campe, where eyther saluted other right honorably, and went into a stage for them prepared, right curiously hanged, and specially there was for the Queene of England, a Tapet all of pearle called Huges Dike, which was much loked at for the costlynesse of the same.

And after sundry metinges of the sayde two kinges many dayes, and sundry great feastes and banquets, that the one king had made to the other. Gyftes geuen by the frenche king and the king of Englande.

They in the ende gaue vnto eche other sundry rich and costly giftes and Jewels, as first. The king of England gaue to the French king a Collor of Jewels of precious stones, called Balastes, the Sanker, furnished with great Diamantes and Perles. The French king gaue to the king of England a Bracelet of precious stones, riche Jewels and fayre, and so departed the sayde two noble kinges, the sayde .xxiij. daye of June, which was Sonday and Midsomerday.

During thys triumph so muche people of Picardie and West Flaunders drew to Gysnes to se the king of Englande and his honor, to whome vittailes of the court were in plentie, the Condette by the gate rayne wyne alwayes, there were Vagaboundes, Plowmen, Labourers and of the Bagarie, Wagoners and Beggers that for dronkennesse lay in routes & heaps, so great resort thither came, that both knights and Ladies that were come to see the noblenesse, were fayne to lye in haye and strawe, and helde them therof highly pleased. From the court of the Emperor, nor of the Lady Margaretes court, nor of Flaunders, Brabant, nor Burgoyne, came neuer a person to aunswer to the chalenge: By that it seemed that there was small loue betwene the Emperor and the French king: Moreouer Mounsire Fayot Capitaine of Bullein with Mounsire Chattelon did their deuoire to haue taken the towne of saint Omer, of which doing was thought no goodnesse to the Emperour.

A meeting concluded to be had in England betweene the Emperour and king Henry.

Monday the .xxb. daye of June, the king of Englande and the Queene and all the courte remoued from Gysnes to the towne of Calice and there made the king his abode, where was concluded the meetyng of the Emperor with the king, wherefore was made newe and great prouisions.

In the time of the triumph there was a muttering that the towne of Calice should be rendered into the French kings hands, & for truth the Frenchmen so spake and sayde, wherewith many Englishmen were grieued.

King Henry dischargeth a great part of his traine.

While the king laye thus in Calice he considered the charge of his nobles, and thought that lesse number of seruauntes would now serue them for the time of his abode, and so caused the Cardinall to call al the Gentelmen before him which in the kinges name gaue to them thankes with much commendations, and for eschewyng of cost, because the king taried but the Emperours comming, he licensed them to sende home the halfe number of their seruaunts and bade them after their long charges to liue warely, this terme warely was amongst the most parte taken for barely, at which saiyng the Gentelmen sore disdayned.

The king rydeth to Graueling to visit the Emperor.

Thus in Calice rested the king and the Queene vntill the tenth daye of July. Then the kinges grace with goodly repaire roade to the towne of Graueling in Flaunders there that night to rest and see the Emperour, on the king were waighting the Lorde Cardinall, Dukes, Marquises, Erles, Bishops, Barons, Knightes, and Gentelmen. The noble Emperor passed the

the water of Graueling, and at a place called Waell, there he met and receyued the king of England, the Emperor made such semblant of loue to all the court of Englande that he wan the loue of the Englishmen, and so passed the Emperor and the king of England to Graueling, where the king lodged the best that might be, all Lordes, Gentelmen, yomen and all sortes of Englishmen from the highest to the lowest were so chered and feasted, with so louing manner that much they praysed the Emperors court. In Graueling was the Emperors Aunt Margaret, she welcomed the king and other noble men of the realme.

When the French king and his Lordes had knowledge of the meting of the Emperor and the king of Englande in the towne of Graueling, they were therewith greatly grieued, as by many thinges appered, for after the Englishmen were in Fraunce disdayned, and in their suites there greatly deferred and had litle right and much lesse fauor, so from day to day still more and more began hart brenning, and in conclusion open warre did arise betweene the two realmes.

The Emperour cōmeth to Calice.

Wednesday the. xj. day of July, the Emperor and the Lady Margaret came with the king of England to the towne of Calice, the Emperor and the Lady Margaret were lodged in Staple hall, and all Gentelmen and other lodged in other places right wel prepared of all necessaries for their cōming: and for solas was builded a banqueting house. lxxx. foote round, after a goodly deuise, builded vpon Mastes of shippes in such maner as I thinke was neuer seene, for in it was the whole spere portrated, which by reason of the great wind that blewe, could not be achieued, the same day at night were sondry riche Maskes and goodly shewes both of noble men and of Ladies.

Tewsday the. xij. day of July, because the banquet house coulde not be finished, the Emperor and the Ladye Margaret supped with the king and the Queene at the Checker, where the same night after Supper reuelled lxxxvj. Maskers: after the reuels was a banquet: After which banquet the king brought the Emperor and the Lady Margaret to the Staple, and after withdrew him.

Fryday the. xiij. day of July, the Emperor did intende to haue departed from Calice, but the counsaile was such that he departed not that night. The charters before time concluded, there were redde, and to the Emperor declared all the whole articles of high peace and league tripertite, to which the French king had assented and fully contented, and for the more exemplification of the same, he sent the Lorde de Roche with letters of credence to signifie to the Emperors Maiestye that to the same articles he the French kyng promised in the worde of a king as Prince faythfull, to obserue and kepe for him and his realme and Subiectes. Thus by the Lorde de Roche in the Emperors presence and before the king of England in the name of his maister, their shewed the French kinges will in the towne of Calice with many high and vrgent causes concerning the Princes, whereby the Emperor went not out of Calice that night, by which aboad the Emperors Seruantes were much in doubt of the Emperors person.

Saterday the. xiiij. day of July, about noone the Emperour toke leaue of thee Queene of England his Aunte and of her traine of Ladyes, the king with all his nobles conducted the Emperor on his way to a village towards

Flaunders called Waell, where the Emperour embraced the king, and him betooke to almightie God, and the king gaue to him a Courser of Naples richely apparayled.

The king tooke leaue of the Duchesse of Sauoy great aunt to the Emperour, and of all Nobles of the Emperors Court, and so departed, final tyme in Calice the king abode, but in goodly hast shipped, & with the Queene and all other Nobles in safetie tooke lande. And after passed the tyme of Sommer with huntyng and other spoztes honourably, and made no great feastes this yere.

The returne of the king into Englande.

This yere the king kept his Christmasse at his Manor of Grenewich with much noblenesse and open Court. And the.x. day of Febzuary in hys awne person Justed to all commers, and the.xij. day his grace and the Erle of Deuonshire with foure aydes aunswered at the Tournay all commers which were.xbj.persons, noble and riche was their apparell, but in feates of armes the king excelled the rest.

The duke of Buckyngham accused.

In this tyme was Edward Duke of Buckyngham accused to the king of high treason, wherefore the kinges grace by the aduyce of his counsaile, sent and directed his letters to the said Duke, being at his Manor of Thornbury in the Countie of Glocester, that incontinent he shoulde come to hys presence all excuses layde aside. Also the king gaue commaundement to sir William Compton, sir Richard Weston, and syr Wylliam Kingston knights for the kinges bodie, to take with them secret power and also Sergeaunts at armes, and that they should wisely take hede that while the Duke receiued the kings letters, he should not conuey himself, which they wisely accomplished.

The sayde Duke vpon the sight of the kinges letters remoued, and so iourneyed till he came to Windsore, and there offered at Saint George, and alwayes not farre from him awaityng his demeanor, were the same knights lying. The Duke lodged in Windsore for that night, and as it was well proued, he meruaylously feared, insomuch that he called vnto him a seruaunt of the kinges named Thomas Warde, the same Thomas Warde was gentleman Harbenger for the king, and demaunded of him what he made there, who aunswered saiyng, that there lay his office, there the Duke perceyued that he could not escape. And so much was he in spirite troubled, that as he was at breakefast, his meate would not downe, yet he made good countenaunce, and shortly tooke his horse, and so road til he came to Tothill besides Westminster where he tooke his Barge: before this time was the Dukes Chauncelor taken and as a prisoner kept in the Tower, which had confessed matter of high treason concernyng the kinges person.

When the Duke was in his Barge, he commaunded to land at my Lord Cardinalles bridge, where he landed with foure or fiue of his seruaunts, desiryng to see the same Lord Cardinall, but he was aunswered howe the same Lord was diseased, well sayd the Duke, yet will I drink of my Lordes wine or I passe, then a Gentleman of my Lords brought the Duke with much reuerence into the Seller, where the Duke dranke.

When he saw & perceyued no chere to him was made, he chaunged colour and so departed to his Barge, saiyng to his seruaunts, I marual where my Chauncelor is, that he cõmeth not to me, not knowyng that he was in prison.

The Duke thus in his Barge commyng towardes London, sir Henry Marney

Marney Capitaine of the kinges Garde, on him attendyng an hundred yomen of the kinges garde in a Barge on the ryuer of Thames met the same Duke, and without abode boarded the Dukes Barge, and him in the kings name attached. And then from him were put his seruauntes, and the Duke was brought to the Hay wharfe, and there landed, the Dukes seruauntes were commaunded to go to the Manor of the Rose in Saint Laurence Pountnay, and there to abide till the kinges pleasure were further knowen.

The Duke of Buckyngham attached of treason, and brought to the Tower.

Sir Henry Marney brought the Duke through Thames streete to the Tower of London, the people much mused what the cause might be, and for troth till it was knowen, among them was much speakyng. There was also attached a Monke of a Charterhouse besydes Bristow called Henton, also Mayster John Delaker the Dukes Confessor, and the Dukes Chauncelor before mencioned, all were in the Tower prisoners. The.xbj.day of Aprill was the same Duke brought to the Tower. Alas the while that euer ambicion should be the losse of so noble a man, and so much in the kings fauour, by him all the Lordes and other may beware how they geue credence to false prophecies or false hipocrites. For a Monk of the Charterhouse shewed the duke that he should be king of England, which to ỹ kings person could be no higher treason. Alas that euer he gaue credence to such a false Traytour.

In this tyme inquirys were made in dyuers shires of Edward Duke of Buckyngham beyng prisoner in the Tower of London, where by the knightes and Gentlemen, there he was endited of high treason for certaine wordes spoken by the same Duke in Blechyngly to the Lorde Aburgany, and the same Lorde was attached for conspailment, and so was the Lorde Mountague the kinges Cosyn, and both ledde to the Tower. And sir Edwarde Neuell knight, brother to the sayde Lorde Aburganey forbidden the kinges presence.

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The Duke of Norffolke was made by the kinges letters patentes high Steward of England, to accomplish the high cause of appele of the Piere or Pieres of the realme, and to deceme and iudge the causes of the Pieres. &c.

Wherefore shortly after was made in Westminster hall a Scaffolde for the Lordes, and a presence for a Judge, rayled, and counter rayled about, and barred with degrees. The Duke of Norffolke was chiefe Judge, and many Pieres of the realme, as the Duke of Suffolk, the Marques Dorset, the Erles of Worcester, Deuonshire, Essex, Shrewsbury, Kent, Oxforde, and Darby, the Lorde of Saint Johns, Lord Delaware, Lord Fitzwarren, Lord Willoughby, Lord Broke, Lord Cobham, Lord Harbert, and the Lord Morley, sat as Pieres and Judges vpon the same Duke of Buckyngham.

The arraignment of the Duke of Buckingham.

When the Lordes had taken their places, sir Thomas Louell, and sir Richard Chomley knightes, brought the Duke to the barre with the Axe of the Tower before him, who humbly bare hedded reuerenced the Duke of Norffolke, and after all the Lordes and the kinges learned Counsaile. Then the Clerke of the counsaile sayde, sir Edward Duke of Buckingham, holde vp thy hande, thou art indited of high treason, for that thou traytorously hast conspired and imagined as farre as in thee lay to shorten the life of our soueraigne Lorde the king: of this treason how wilt thou acquite thee, the Duke aunswered by my Pieres.

And when the enditement was openly reade, the Duke sayd it is false

and vntrue, and conspired and forged, to bring me to my death, and that will I proue, alleagyng many reasons to falsifie the inditement, and agaynst hys reasons the kinges Atturnay alleged the examinations, confessions, and proofes of witnesses.

The Duke desired the witnesses to be brought forth, then was brought before him sir Gilbert Perke priest his Chauncelor, first accuser of the same Duke, Maister John Delacourt priest, the Dukes confessor, and his awne hande writyng layde before him to the accusement of the Duke. Charles Kniuet Esquier, Cosyn to the Duke, and a Monke, Prior of the Charterhouse besydes Bath, which like a false ypocrite had enduced the Duke to the treason, and had dyuers tymes sayde to the Duke, that he should be king of England, but the Duke sayd, that in himselfe he neuer consented to it. Diuers presumptions and accusements were layde to him by Charles Kniuet, which he would faine haue couered. The depositions were read, and the deponentes were deliuered as prisoners to the officers of the Tower.

Then spake the Duke of Norffolke, and sayde my Lord, the King our souereigne Lorde hath commaunded that you shall haue his lawes ministred with fauour and right to you: Wherefore if you haue any other thing to say for your selfe, you shall be heard. Then he was commaunded to withdrawe him, and so was led into Paradise a house so named. The Lordes went to counsaile a great while and after tooke theyr places. Then sayde the Duke of Norffolke to the Duke of Suffolke, what say you of Sir Edward Duke of Buckyngham touchyng the high treasons that he hath bene arraigned of: the Duke of Suffolke answered, he is gylty, and so sayde the Marques, and all the other Erles and Lordes: Thus was this Prince Duke of Buckingham found giltie of highe treason by a Duke, a Marques, seuen Erles, and .xij. Barons.

The Duke was brought to the barre fore chafyng and sweat meruaylously, after he had made his reuerence, he paused a while. The Duke of Norffolke as a Judge sayde, sir Edward, you haue heard howe you be indited of high treason, you pleaded thereto not giltie, puttyng your selfe to the Peres of the realme, the which haue found you giltie: then the Duke of Norffolke wept and sayde, you shall be led to the kinges prison and there layd on a Hardell, and so drawen to the place of execution, and there to be hanged, cut downe aliue, your members to be cut off & cast into the fyre, your bowels brent before you, your head smitten of, and your body quartered and deuided at the kinges will, and God haue mercy on your soule. Amen.

The duke of Buckinghās iudgement.

The Duke of Buckingham sayde, my Lorde of Norffolke, you haue sayd as a traytor should be sayd vnto, but I was neuer none, but my Lordes I nothing maligne for that you haue done to me, but the eternall God forgeue you my death and I do: I will neuer sue to the king for lyfe, howbeit he is a gracious Prince, and more grace may come from him then I desyre. I desyre you my Lordes and all my felowes to pray for me.

The Duke of Buckingham is led through London to the Tower.

Then was the edge of the Axe turned towardes him, and so led into a Barge, sir Thomas Louell desired him to sit on the Cushyns and Carpet ordayned for him, he sayde nay, for when I went to Westminster, I was Duke of Buckingham, now I am but Edward Bohehen the most caitiffe of the world. Thus they landed at the Temple, where receyued him sir Nicholas

cholas Vaux, and sir William Sandes Baronets, and led him through the Citie, who desyred euer the people to pray for him, of whome some wept and lamented, and sayd this is the ende of euill lyfe. God forgeue him, he was a prowde Prince, it is pitie that he behaued him so agaynst his king and liege Lord, whom God preserue. Thus about foure of the clocke he was brought as a cast man to the Tower.

Fryday the .xviij. day of May, about .xj. of the Clocke. This Duke with a great power was deliuered to John Kyeme, and John Skeuington thirtes, who led him to the Skaffolde on Tower hill, where he sayde he had offended the kinges grace through negligence and lacke of grace, and desired all noble men to beware by him, and all men to pray for him, and that he trusted to die the kinges true man. Thus meekely with an Axe he tooke his death. Then the Augustyne Friers tooke the bodie and head, and buryed them.

The Duke of Buckingham beheded.

About this tyme Fraunces the French king made open warre agaynst the Emperour Charles both by land and sea. The Prouinces of Arragon, Castell, and all Spaine, Germany, Brabant, Flaunders, and the steades mayntayned the partie of the Emperor. The kinges highnesse considering the murder and effusion of Christen blood, and the trouble that might ensue to all princes of Christendome, by inuasion of the great Turke, sent the Cardinall of Yorke his Chauncelor by name Thomas Wolsey to his towne of Calice to intreate an amitie & peace betwene those two mighty princes. For this voyage great preparation was made, not onely for the Cardinall, but also for the Erle of Worcester then Lord Chamberleyn, the Lord of Saint Johns, the Lord Ferrers, the Lorde Harbert, the Bishop of Duresme, the Bishop of Ely, the Primate of Armicane, sir Thomas Bullen, Sir John Peche, sir John Hussey, sir Richard Wingfielde, sir Henry Guylforde, and many other knightes, Esquiers, Gentlemen, Doctors, and learned men that accompanied him. And thus honourably accompanied he rode through London the .xxv. day of July, and at Thomas. Beckets Church the Maior and Aldermen tooke leaue of him, prayyng God to sende him good speede. Thus passed he to Cauntorbury where the Archbishoppe, of Cauntorbury, and other Prelates receyued him in pontificalibus and brought him to his lodgyng vnder a Canapie to the Bishops palace. The .viij. day of July he came to Douer: the .xx. daye, he and the other Lordes with their retinues tooke passage, and arriued at Calice in safety, where the Lorde Deputie and the Counsaile receyued them with much honor, and lodged the Cardinall in the Staple hall.

The French king maketh open warre vpon the Emperor.

Shortly after whose arriuall, came thether the Chauncelour of Fraunce and the Countie de Palays with foure hundred horse, as Ambassadors from the French king, and lykewise from the Emperor came great Ambassadors and when they sate in counsayle, the Emperours Ambassade shewed their commission and power. And euen so did the French kings Ambassade, which was more larger then the Emperours commission.

Thus when the grudges were declared on both sides, when the Emperors Ambassadors consented to peace, the French kings would not. And when the french Ambassadors consented to peace, the Emperors would not. The Cardinal then would haue knitted the Emperour, the king our soue-

raigne Lorde, the frenche king, and the Bysshop of Rome in a league and amitie together: the other Ambassadors had no such commission, especially the Bysshop of Romes, wherevpon letters were sent to Rome in all haste, and the Frenchmen taryed in Calice, till he returned and beheld the towne, with which the counsayle of Calice were not contented. Herevpon the Cardinall rode to the Emperor accompanied with his Ambassadors (and left the Frenche Ambassadors in Calice to abide his returne) and passed by Grauelyng, Dunkirke, Newport, Owdenborow, and sundry times in the waye he was encountered and receyued with noble men. And without Bruges he was receyued with many noble men, and manye Lordes and other of the Emperors court, and a myle without Bruges the Emperor his awne person met him, and shewed to him and to the other Lordes and Gentlemen of England gracious countenaunce, and so accompanied the Cardinall into the towne, where great multitude of people beheld them, and so rode to the Emperours palace where he lyghted, and first embraced the Cardinall, and after all the Lords, knights and Gentlemen of England. It is to suppose the Emperour knewe of the commission geuen to the sayde Cardinall, which had the kings power as if his grace had beene present, and also had the great seale with him, which had not bene sene before, or else the Emperour would not haue done him so high honor and reuerence.

Cardinall Wolsey caried the great seale with him out of England.

The Englishe Lordes, knightes, Esquiers, yomen of the kings Garde and other beyng to the number of foure hundred and three score horse, were well lodged euery man after his degree, and euery lodging furnished wyth fewell, Bread, Bere, Wyne, Beeues, Muttons, Veles, Lambes, Venison, and all maner of daintie viand, as well in fishe as flesshe, with no lacke of spices and banketting dishes.

The next day after the great cheere made to the Lord Cardinall and to all his Lordes, knightes, gentlemen, and all other Lordes and knightes of England (in whose presence) the Cardinall made his proposition concerning peace to be had betwene the sayd Emperour and the French king declaring the calamities, miserie, and wretchednesse that came by warre: and the commodities, benefite, and welth that came by peace, concorde and tranquilitie, which proposition continued a great whyle: and when the Cardinall had made an ende, the Emperour himselfe answered and sayde: The lawe of God byndeth euery man to clayme and aske his right, and that the same law byndeth no man to holde, keepe, and withstande another mans right. Our Cosyn of Fraunce doth withholde our rightes and patrimonies, which we haue princely desired, and eftsones will, and if he will render to vs our sayde rightes and patrimonies, we are contented to haue peace with him and hys subiectes, if not, we trust in God & our right that the troubles by your fatherhed rehersed, shal come vpon him and his adherents. And for the titles of our regalitie, to put that to the Bysshop of Rome, we doe consider that king Edward of England the thirde of that name of noble memorie, warred by iust title to recouer the realme of Fraunce from Philip de Valois, which title by intercession was put to the Bysshop of Rome and his Court to discusse, and expended there by the space of twentie and three yeres vndetermined, notwithstanding great pursute and labor was made to haue it ended: Such like time should be to vs tedious, wherfore we entend by the ayde of God to folow

folow our title.

The Cardinall replyed and declared the league that was betwene the three mightiest princes of the worlde, that is to say, the Emperour, the king oure souereigne Lorde Henry the eyght, and the Frenche king, and howe that to the Prince that first mooued warre, the other two should be enemyes vnto hym, and sayde, beholde the mightie power and puyssaunt realme, riches, shippes, vytayles, and ordynaunce, Lordes, chiualrie, horsemen, archers, and communaltie, this is in the high and mightie king of Englande my souereigne Lorde, and he that first warre beginneth, by the sayde league my sayde souereigne Lorde to his honour maye lawfully spred hys Banner, and make warre in defence of hys friende. For thys and other thinges my souereigne Lorde desires of your highnesse and Maiestie the consent of peace.

My Lorde Cardinall, sayde the Emperour, I esteeme most the honor of my dere Uncle the king of Englande and trust in hys assuraunce, that neither his royall person, his realme, his power, Nauie, nor ordinaunce shall be but to our ayde in assisting in our tryed tytle, nor will consent to any thing in dishonouring vs or our Empire: God defende but we should humble our selfe to his request, our high honor reserued. Lorde God who may esteeme more higher iniuries and wrongs then we in our person, our predecessours, and our louing subiectes haue endured by the house of Fraunce. My Lord Cardinall sayde the Emperour, their pride with our honor we may and must reprehende and ouerthrowe by the helpe of God: with these wordes the counsayle brake vp.

All the Lordes and men of honour of Englande that day dyned in the Emperours Court.

When they were set and serued, it came to passe that an honorable man of the Emperors as he sat at dinner sayd thus. It is thought that the kinges Maiestie of Englande entendeth to make a peace. Alas that euer he shoulde imagine a thing so much to the dishonor of the Emperor. The king is his Uncle, is it not come to his hearing that all the world heareth? It was so that by the assent of the Bishop of Rome and other Princes to make peace with vs, the French partie after the battaile of Spingate obtayned by Maximilian then Archeduke of Osteriche, where euerie noble man of vs fought with the Frenchmen quarter naked, and slew of them a maruelous number. They desyred the daughter of Maximilian named Margaret to wife, which Lady is Duches of Sauoy and yet liuing, and she being like an Emperors childe was deliuered into their hands as Queene of the realme, with diuers townes in Picardie rendred with her and part of highe Burgonie, and treasure maruelous. Now sithen the same Maximilian had spoused Jane daughter and heire of Fraunces Duke of Britaine, which lande the Frenchmen ouer ranne and spoyled, and she constrained to sue vnto Charles king of Fraunce for a safeconduict to passe through his realme to Maximilian her spouse, and vpon the same safe conduict graunted, the sayd Ladye Jane passing through Fraunce with a small company, was by the same Charles taken at Amboys, and there maried her agaynst her will, wherupon he forsoke the Lady Margaret and sent her againe to her father the Emperor without redpliuery or rendring again the townes that were deliuered wyth her. And

where

where as the Duke of Gelder is subiect to the Emperor, is he not yet at this day by the procurement of the French king, rebell? And where also by iust title the realme of Naples ought to be vnited to the crowne of Castell, did not the French king fayne a iournay into the holy lande pretending title by Jeniamy brother to the great Turke being then Captiue in Rome, and by a craftie treatie obtayned the said Jeniamy, and so passed into Naples without perill, and seazed all the lande into his handes, and then prisoned he the same Jeniamy? Thus to the great dammage of Castell, he made clayme to Naples by Margaret Queene of Englande late wife to Henrie the first.

The king of Nauerne is euermore vassall to the house of Aragon and Castell, yet the French kyng caused him to rebell, hoping thereby to subdue the sayde Countries.

Of late dayes the French king by false treason caused sir Robert de la March to submit himselfe to the Emperors maiesty, who receyued him vpon his oth & fidelity, pardoning al offences past, is not this false traitor returned, and is of the French partie? how may that Court, that counsaile, that king, that realme that consenteth to treason and periury by mayntenaunce of traytors be called honorable? hath not the French kyng sworne, and is bounden neuer to retaine the Switchers in wages to make warre against the Emperor? and yet doth at this day: And albeit that his maiestie speaketh not of these thinges, yet he well considereth them. I trust verely sayd this noble man that God sayth, viue Burgoigne, euery man ỹ heard this reherssall, knew that it was true, howbeit he was not aunswered, but some English knights sayd, Sir you haue sayd well, and as God will all must be. Thus was this narration ended.

In this season the Emperor gat the towne of Mewzon: Also of the Emperours partie a great armie arryued in the Duchy of Mylan, and also the Emperors power besieged the Noble Citie of Mesliers, but the Captaine called Franciscus was suspected of treason, for he remoued with the hoste from the siege without knowlege of the Emperor.

The Emperour made a siege volant about the Citie of Tournay, for the rescue whereof and also of Mesliers, the French king made a great army and himselfe in person.

During this siege the Frenchmen tooke a Spaniardes ship laden with English mens goodes at Margate within the kings streames, not without great slaughter on both parties, yet the Frenchmen were a hundred and three score men, and of Spaniards and Englishe men onely. xxb.

The king of Denmarke Chzistianus came to see the Emperour his brother in lawe (beyng a stately prince) and meanes was made by the Lord Cardinall that they spake together without any great signe of amitie.

The Lorde Cardinall after he had soiorned in Bruges by the space of xiij. dayes and concluded diuers matters with the Emperor and accomplyshed his commission: he tooke leaue of his maiestie, and lykewise did all the noble men of Englande, and after conuenient iorneis arryued with all hys company at Calice, where the Ambassadors of Fraunce taryed him, and immediatly after his arryuing he treated with them of peace, yet not so earnestly as he did before, and that perceyued well the said Ambassadors, and wrote thereof to the French king, yet the welth and prosperitie of both the realmes and

and their subiects were highly reasoned betwene the Cardinall and the sayd Ambassadors, especially for fishing, whereupon was concluded that the subiectes of both the princes might freely fishe on the sea, and repaire to anye port of the one or the other prince without robbyng, spoyling, or takyng vnto the second day of February next.

The French king with a mightie armie and himselfe in person repaired to the Countrie of Cambzay, minding to passe the streytes, but they were withstanded by the Emperors power, yet he continued there from October vnto Nouember wythout any thing doyng, to the great displeasure of the French king. The Duke Dalesou heering that, made preparations with the Almaynes to passe the marrys by the poynt Dassans & there the Almaynes had made bridges of Pipes & bessels, and brought thether their great ordinaunce. The Emperour beyng in the towne of Valencian and thereof aduertised, caused strong watch to be made, and as they would haue passed, the Bastarde Emery, and the Capitayne of Gaunt with twelue hundred men met with them, where was a great conflict and many men slayne, and at the last the Almaynes were put to flight and their bridges and other prouisions broken: Of the french partie were slayne in thys conflict. xiiij. hundred men, and of the Burgonians were slayne the Bastard Emery, the Capitaine of Gaunt and foure hundred men.

The French king setteth forth with a great power against the Emperour.

The Lord Cardinall after he had long treated with the Ambassadors of Fraunce, and coulde bring them to no conformitie of peace, he sent to the Emperour the Lord of saint Johns, and syr Thomas Boleyn knight to aduertise his maiestie thereof.

Lykewise the sayde Lorde Cardinall sent to the Frenche king the Erle of Worcester, and the Bishop of Ely to exhort his grace to peace, he heard them, but he gaue them but few words to aunswere, and after they had bene xix. or. xx. dayes in his hoste, they tooke leaue and returned to Calice.

During the continuaunce of the Cardinall in Calice all wryters and Patentes were there by hym sealed and no Shrieues chosen for lacke of his presence.

The king of Hungarie sent an Ambassador to the kinges highnesse for ayde against the Turke, whome the Cardinall honorably entertayned during his abode in Calice. His comming was for ayde as men sayde against the French king.

The Lorde Cardinall after the returne of the Englishe Ambassadors from the Emperour and from the French king tooke shipping and landed at the port of Douer, the. xxbij. day of Nouember, and there tooke his iorney to Blechyngly, where the kings grace welcommed him, geuing him also thankes for his great paynes and trauayle.

The last daye of December the Cardinall accompanied the Emperors Ambassadors to the court where they were honorably receyued and highlye feasted during their abode there, and many sumptuous and gorgious disguisinges, enterludes and banquetes made in the same season.

This yere was a great pestilence and death in London and other places of the realme, and many noble Capitaynes dyed, as the Lorde Broke, Sir Weston Browne, Syr John Heron, Sir John Peche and manye other people.

A great pestilence.

The

The Bishop of London, Doctor Fitz James, likewise deceased this yere, and Doctor Tunstall was preferred to the same benefice

The Lorde Thomas Hawarde Erle of Surrey, came out of Irelande to the court the. xxv. day of Januarie, when he had bene there the space of xx. monethes in great trauaile and paine, and often tymes sore troubled by the wild Irish, howbeit by his noblenesse and manhod he brought the Lords of Ireland to the kinges due obeysaunce, and had of them many victories to his perpetuall laude and praise.

The Frenchmen robbed and spoyled the kinges subiectes and Merchauntes vpon euerye coast of the Sea.

The Frenchmen this yere spoyled and shamefully robbed the kinges subiectes on euery coast of the Sea, so that wheresoeuer the kyng roade his poore subiectes came with lamentacions and cryes shewing his grace of the crueltie of the frenchmen and of their inhumane dealing with them, but euer the French Ambassadours promised restitucion of euery thing, but none was restored.

In this moneth of January the king commaunded all his shippes of warre to be made in a readinesse, which was done with all diligence.

About this time the Duke of Albany arriued in Scotlande, notwithstanding that the French king sware vnto the Cardinall that he should neuer come into Scotland wythout the king our souereigne Lordes consent, but for all that he had commission from the French king although the French king wrote to the king that he was entred Scotland without his assent.

King Henry the eight writeth a boke against Luther.

About this time the king wrote in Latine a vehement booke against Martyn Luther and confuted his iudgement, touching Indulgences, and defendeth the Bishop of Romes authority, and in the ende repreueth all his disputacions concerning the Sacraments of the Church. The which booke the Pope liked so well that the seconde daye of Februarie, the king being at Grene which, came thether the Cardinall with a Legation from Leo Bishop of Rome, and also his Ambassador, on whome waighted many a noble man, the king met wyth them at his chamber doore welcoming them as though they had both come from Rome. Then sayd the Cardinall, high and victorious king it hath pleased our Lorde God to indue your grace with a great multitude of manifolde graces as a king elect in fauour of the high Heauen, and so appereth presently by your noble person, so formed & figured in shape and stature with force and pulcritude, which signifieth the present pleasure of our Lorde God wrought in your noble grace. And further he praysed his wisedome, prudence, and learning, with many other goodly wordes in the praise of his most noble grace. And finally the Cardinall declared how the sayd Bishoppe of Rome had sent his highnesse an Acte in Bull vnder leade, declaring therein his grace to be the defendor of the Christian fayth and his successors for euermore.

This title Defendor of the fayth, was receiued from Iuly Bishop of Rome.

And when his grace had receyued the said Bull and caused it to be read and published, he went to his Chappell to heere Masse accompanied with many nobles of his realme and also with Ambassadours of sondry Princes, the Cardinall being requested to sing Masse, the Erle of Esser brought the Bason with water, the Duke of Suffolke gaue the assaye, the Duke of Northfolke held the towel, and so proceded to Masse. And that done he gaue vnto all them cleane remission and blessed the King and the Queene and all the people: then was the Bull efsones declared, and trumpettes blewe, the

the shalmes and saggebuttes plaied in honor of the kynges new style. Thus his highnesse went to dynner. In the middes whereof the king of Heraulds and his company began the larges, crying. Henricus dei gratia rex Anglie, & Francie defensor fidei, & dominus Hibernie. Thus ended the dinner, with much habundaunce of vitaile and wine, to all maner of people.

The. x. day of Februarie, the Lorde Hodie chiefe Baron of the kinges Eschequer gaue ouer his office, and for him was admitted by the Cardinall, maister John Fitziames, a right honourable man and well learned.

In this tyme was much businesse betwene the Emperor and the French king, wherefore the king sent to the sea sixe good shippes, well manned and vittayled for the warre: the Admirall was called Chriſtopher Coo, a man expert on the Sea, for safegarde of the Marchauntes, and other the kinges subiects, that were grieuously spoyled and robbed on the sea, by Frenchmen, Scottes, and other rouers.

This tyme the. viij. day of Februarie, the Lorde Dacres Warden of the Marches of Scotland, entered into Scotland with fiue hundred men, by the kinges commaundement, and there proclaymed that the Scottes should come into the kinges peace, by the first day of Marche folowyng, or else to stand at their perilles, the Duke of Albanie beyng then within fiue myles, with a mightie power of Scottes.

The. xj. day of Februarie, Sir George Neuell, Lorde a Burgayny, beyng then prisoner in the Tower was brought to Westminster, and there in the kinges Bench confessed his enditement of misprision, in the cause of Edward late Duke of Buckyngham to be true, and after the open confession thereof, led againe to the Tower.

The Lorde Montacute the kinges cosyn, was about this tyme reconciled to his graces fauour, which had bene prisoner in the Tower, wyth sir Edward Neuell knight, this sir Edwarde Neuell was forbidden the kinges presence, for bearyng fauour to the Duke of Buckingham.

This yere the second of Marche, certaine noble men of the Empire arriued in England to passe into Spaine, who were honourably receyued, and in honor of them great iustes and triumphes were made, and that finished, and done, they tooke their leaue and departed on their iournay.

General musters taken throughout al the realm, and men sworne what value and substaunce they were of.

Also this tyme commission was geuen throughout the realme, for generall musters to be had, to know what power might be made within the same and also men sworne of what substaunce and landes they were of, and the Cardinall aduertised of the same: not without grudgyng of the people, and marualyng why they should be sworne for their awne good.

The Citie of London was this moneth aduertised of the commyng of the Emperor, wherefore was made great preparation: and the Citizens sent the kings grace one hundred tall men well harnessed, to furnishe his naule, appoynted to kepe the narow seas.

The French king certefyed the kinges highnesse, by his letters dated in Marche, howe the Graund capitaine of Fraunce, the Countie de Palais, Mounsire de Lescue, and other noble men of Fraunce, had wonne the towne of Milaine, which was not true, for within fiue or sixe dayes after, it was euidently knowen that the Frenche men were beaten backe, and had wonne nothing, to their great shame and reproche.

The French king certefieth king Henry of a lye.

Moreouer

Moreouer the same season the Frenche king wrote his letters to the Seignory and commonaltie of Gean, to sende him three Carectes, and fiue Galyes furnished for the warres, vnto his port of Brest, to maintaine hys warres agaynst the foresayd Emperor, who made him by theyr letters suche a reasonable excuse, that he was contented to spare them for that tyme.

A gracious and a mercifull act of king Henry the eyght.

The kinges highnesse kept this yere his Easter at his Manor of Richemonde, and caused his Amner to make inquirie, eight myles round about the sayd Manor, what poore people was in euery parishe. And for the eschuing of murder, that most commonly fortuned euery good Friday, by reason of the great resort of poore people, his grace caused them to be refreshed with hys almose at home at their houses.

About this tyme a rouer or theefe of Scotland, called Duncan Camell, was after long fight taken on the sea, by a Squier of Cornewall called maister John Arondell, and presented to the kinges highnesse, who committed him to the tower of London, where he remained prisoner a long season after.

Preparation made for warre.

The king like a Prince which foreseeth all thinges, sawe what warre was like to ensue, caused the Erle of Surrey his highe Admirall, to put in readinesse his nauie, both for the conducting of the Emperor into England, and also for the defence of his subiectes, which were dayly robbed and spoyled on the sea, which Lord Admirall tooke such diligence with the helpe of Sir William Fitzwilliam his vice Admirall, that all the shippes by the beginning of Aprill, were rigged and trimmed, and in especiall the Henry grace of Due, the kings great shyp, was brought out of the riuer of Thames into the Downes, readie to sayle whether God and the king would.

The Justices of Assise poysoned by an infectious ayre.

In this yere at the Assise kept at the Castell of Cambridge in Lent, the Justices, and all the Gentlemen, Bayliffes, and other, resorting thether, tooke such an infection, whether it were of the sauour of the prisoners, or of the filth of the house, that many Gentlemen, as sir John Cut, sir Gyles Alyngton knightes, and many other honest yomen there of dyed, and almost all which were their present, were sore sick and narrowly escaped with their lyues. And this yere also dyed Sir Edward Bownynges, knight of the Garter, Sir John Pechy, and Sir Edward Belknap, valyant Capitaines which were suspected to be poysoned, at a banquet made at Arde, when the two kinges met last.

A pestilence and dearth.

This yere also, was not without pestilence nor dearth of Corne, for Wheate was sold this yere in the Citie of London, for. xx. shillings a quarter, and in other places for. xxvj. shillings. viij. pence. And in the same yere in December, dyed Leo Bishop of Rome, for whome was chosen, one Adrian borne at Utrike the Emperours schoole maister. And in the same moneth Gawan Douglas Bishop of Dunkell in Scotland, fled out of Scotland into England because the Duke of Albanie was arriued in Scotlande, and had taken vpon him to be gouernor of the king, and the realme, to whome the king assigned an honest pencion to liue on. But when the king was aduertised, that the Duke of Albanie was arriued in Scotland, and had taken the rule of the yong king his realme, and he much doubted the sequele of the matter, consideryng the Duke to bee heyre apparaunt to the Crowne of Scotlande: Wherefore he sent Clarenseaux king at Armes into Scotland, with commaundement, that he should declare to the Duke of Albanie, that

that his pleasure was, that he should depart the realme of Scotland for two causes, the one, because it was promised by the French king, at the last meetyng, that he should not come into Scotland, the second was, that the king of England was vncle to the king of Scottes, and by the verye bonde of nature, ought to defend his nephewe. Wherefore his nephew beyng yong, and in the custodie of him, to whome if he should die, the realme of Scotlande should discend, he doubted least he might be brought out of the way, as other Dukes of Albany before had serued the heyres of Scotland: and if he would not auoyde Scotland, then Clarenseaux was commaunded to defye him, which accordingly did defye him at holye Rode house in Edenborough to the which he answered, that neither the French king, nor the king of England, should let him to come into his naturall Countrie, by their agreement: also as touchyng the yong king, he sayd, that he loued him as his souereigne Lord, and him would keepe and protect agaynst all other.

When Clarenseaux had reported hys answere to the king, then he knew well that all thys was the French kings doyng, wherefore he prouided in all things accordingly. The Erle of Anguishe of Scotlande that had maried Ladie Margaret, the king our souereigne Lordes sister, late wyfe vnto king James of Scotlande, that was slayne at Floddon field, was by the Duke of Albany, sent by a coloured Ambassade into Fraunce, where shortly after his arriuyng, he was by the French king committed to prison, and hys brother likewise, which escaped after as you shall heare.

The French king arracheth the Englishmens goods.

Also the first day of Marche, the French king commaunded all Englishe mens goodes beyng in Burdeaux, to be attached and put vnder a rest: and lykewise deteyned the kings tribute, which he should haue out of Fraunce, and also the French Queenes Dowry, and when the king sent to him for it he euer gaue fayre wordes, and made delayes, but none was payde, and euer the Ambassador promised fayre.

The king thys yere kept the day of saint George with great solempnity, at his manour of Richmond, where were elected to the order of the Garter, Done Ferdinando brother to the Emperour, and Archduke of Oystrike, and syr Rychard Wyngfield knight by the Emperours meanes, to the which the Emperour had giuen two hundred pounde pention, out of the house of Burgoyne, which syr Edwarde Bounynges before had of the Emperours gift. During thys warre betwene the Emperour and the French king, and the king of England lyng still an entreator betwene them, the English men were robbed on both sydes, and when their wynes were laden at Burdeaux, and readie to depart, they were attached, and the Marchants put in prison: the poore fisher men on the coast of England, sometime met with the french men and them spoyled, but to no recompence of that they had taken. The Marchaunts of Englande, that had factors at Burdeaux, complayned to the king of England, and shewed him how the French king, contrarie to his league and hys safeconduyt vnder hys seale, by his people, had taken their goods & emprysoned their factors and friends, & can haue no remedie. Likewise complayned all the Marchaunts, how their shippes were restrayned, in euery port of Fraunce, and their goodes ryfeled, and could haue no redresse. The king and his counsayle were sorie to here the complaynts of the Marchaunts, and so concluded to sende for the Frenche Imbassadours, to whom

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the Cardinall sayde: syr how is this chaunce happened? you haue promised euer in the name of the king your mayster that all leagues, promises, and couenaunts should be kept, and that full restitution should be made of euery hurt and dammage, and that firme peace and amity should be kept: but contrary to your saiyng, our Marchaunts be robbed and spoyled, yea, although he had graunted hys safeconduyt, yet they be robbed, and staied at Burdeaux, is thys the peace that you and your mayster hath promised to be kept? is thys the amitie that he was sworne to keepe? Is thys the worde of a king? Is this the strength of a Prince to breake his safeconduyte? And where you aduysed our Marchauntes to sue in Fraunce for restitution, and did warraunt them to be restored, you haue put them to coste and losse, for they haue sued there long, and spent their goodes, without any redresse, and now you haue imprisoned them, and kept both them and their goods, is this iustice? is this restitution? And all thys was your procurement, and nowe see what is come of your promise, surely this may not be suffered, and beside thys the king is informed, that the king your maister hath spoken by him, foule and opprobrious wordes, yea, in the heering of the Englishe men which were sore greeued to heare such wordes, and were not able to be reuenged.

The Imbassadour of Fraunce sayde, that it was not so as it was reported: well sayde the Cardinall, if you note the Counsayle of England so light, as to tell fables, you be misaduised, but I praye you how often times hath the king written to your maister, for restitution of suche robberies as hath bene done, and yet can haue no redresse? Wherefore he graunted letters of marke, which may stande with the league, but Mounsire Chastilion hath taken Marchaunts of England prisoners, and hath sent certayne hether for their raunsome, thys is open warre and no peace. Maister President Poliot or Bulteyne the french Imbassadour, aunswered, that surely the matters which were alleged agaynst his maister the French king, were but forged matters and not true: but he sayde that for a truth, daylie in the Court of Fraunce, were complaintes made agaynst the Englishemen for great robberies done by them, as well on lande as sea, affirming it to be done in the Emperors quarell, and yet the French king for the loue he beareth to England, letteth his subiects to be vnheard, although he daylie lament the great iniurie, done to him and his subiectes by Englishe men: and therefore my Lorde I pray you beleue no such tales, till I haue tolde you the truth.

Then the Cardinall called the foure hostages, that laye here for the payment of money for Tournay, and they foure were deliuered, to my Lord of saint Jhones, to sir Thomas Louell, to sir Andrew Wyndsore, and to syr Thomas Neuell, euery knight one to kepe safe, and none of their countrey to speake with them priuely, and the Imbassadour was commaunded to kepe his house in silence, & not to come in presence, till he was sent for, which order sore abashed the French hostages, and the Imbassadour, but there was no remedy, and commaundement was geuen to the Maior of London, to attache all the Frenchmen, bodye and goodes, and them to keepe in prison, tyll he heard farther of the kinges pleasure: then were all the Frenchmen in London and about, arrested and brought to prison, so that all the prisons in and about London, were full of them, some of them escaped by speaking dutche, and sayd they were Flemings borne, which was not tried.

All the french men in London were attached and committed to prison.

The

The king for safegarde of his Marchaunts sent .xxviij. goodly shippes to the Sea, well manned and trimmed for the warres, and seuen other ships he sent towarde Scotlande, which entered the Frithe, and proffered to enter into the Scottish shippes that lay in the hauen, but the Scottes ranne their shippes on lande, and the Englishe men folowed with boates and landed, and set the ships on fire, and at Lithe tooke certayne prisoners, which they brought into Englande, and still the kinges great Naule kept the narrow Seas, for then was neyther peace betwene England and Fraunce, nor open warre as you haue heard.

The king had perfite knowlege, that Charles the Emperour would be at the kings towne of Calice, the .xxiij. daye of Maye, to passe thorowe Englande into Spaine, wherefore the king sent the Marques Dorset, accompanied with diuers knightes and gentlemen, to receyue him at Calice, which in all hast sped him thether. Likewise the Cardinall toke his iourney towarde Douer the twentie day of May, and rode through London, accompanied with two Erles .xxvj. Knightes, and a hundred Gentlemen, eyght Bishops, ten Abbottes, thirtie Chapleines, all in Velvet and Satin, and yomen seuen hundred, and so by iorneying he came to Douer the .xxvj. daye beyng Monday. In the meane season tydinges were brought to the king, that the French king had sent a great armie toward Calice, and the men of warre lay at Abuile, Munstrell, Bullein and about, nere the English pale. Wherefore the king like a prince that foresawe all, and entending not to be deceyued, wrote to his Nobles, and Cities and townes, to prepare certaine men of warre in a readinesse, which was shortly done, and so they were sent to the Naule, so that they might shortlye be at Calice if neede requyred.

The comming of Charles the Emperor to Calice.

Note here the state of Cardinall wolsey.

On Sunday the .xxv. daye of Maye, the Lorde Marques Dorset, the Bishop of Chichester, and the Lorde de Laware, with other noble men, at the water of Gravelyng, receyued the Emperour in the name of the king of England, and so the Emperour embraced them, and he hauyng in hys company many noble men, came toward Calice, where at the Turnepike in the Lordshyp of Marke, he was receyued of syr Edwarde Guylford Marchall of Calice, with fiftie men of armes richely besene, and also a hundred archers on horsebacke, then in passing forward towarde Calice, the ordinaunce shot terribly, & into Calice he was receyued with procession, and then by the Lord Barne deputie there, and the counsayle of the towne: And after he was receyued by the Maior and Aldermen of the towne, and lastly of the Maior and Marchauntes of the staple, and so conueyed to the Checker, and there lodged.

On the Monday, he and all the Nobles of Spaine, Flaunders, and Germany, tooke ship at Calice and landed at Douer, at foure of the clock at after noone, and wyth hym the Duke Dalua y, the prince of Orenge, the Countie of Nassaw, the Countie Vascord, the Lorde Egmonde, and the Marques of Brandenbrough, all in one ship bote. The Cardinall receyued hym on the Sandes, accompanyed with three hundred Lordes, Knightes, and Gentlemen of Englande: the Emperour embraced the Cardinall, and tooke him by the arme, and so passed forward and tooke horses, and rode to-

gether to Douer Caſtell, where they were lodged. The Engliſhe Harbingers diligently lodged the Emperours traine, euery man accordyng to hys degree. The king of England was come to Cantozburie, the.xx.vij. daye of May, and receaued by the Archbyſhop: and hearing of the Emperours arriuall, with a ſmall companie on the Wednesday, beyng the Aſſenſion euen, he rode to Douer, and with muche ioye and gladneſſe the Emperour and he met, and there taried the Aſſenſion day, and on Friday, the king brought the Emperour abozde on his newe ſhip, called the Henry grace de dieu, a ſhip of xb. hundzed and rowed about to all his great ſhips, which then lay in Douer rode, the Emperour and his Lozdes, much prayſed the making of the ſhips, and eſpecially the artilerie, they ſayde, they neuer ſaw ſhips ſo armed.

The ſame daye at after none, the two noble prynces marched fozwarde to Cantozbury, where the Maioz and Aldermen receiued them, without the towne, with a ſolempné ozation, to whome the Emperozs Secretarie anſwered oznatly. Then the Prynces with their ſwozdes bozne naked befoze them, and the Emperoz on the right hand, entered the Citie of Cantozburye, and ſo with procеſſion were brought to Chriſtes churche, where the Archebiſhop and twelue Prelates mitered, receyued them vnder a Canapie, and ſo they offered to the ſacrament, and the Emperoz was brought to the Biſhops palace, where he lay foz that night, and the king lodged at ſaint Auguſtines. The mozrowe after, theſe Prynces remoued to Sitynghozne, and the next daye to Rocheſter, where the Biſhop receyued them with the whole Couent, and on Monday they came to Grauеſend by one of the clocke, where they tooke their Barges, and there were thirtie Barges appoynted, foz the ſtrangers, and ſo by ſyx of the clocke they landed at Grenewhiche, the ſame Monday the ſeconde daye of June, where the Emperoz was of the king newlye welcomed, and all his nobilitye, and at the hall dooze the Queene and the Prynces, and all the Ladies, receyued and welcomed hym: and he aſked the Queene bleſſing (foz that is the faſhion of Spayne, betweene the Aunt and Nephewe) the Emperoz had great ioye to ſee the Queene his Aunt, and in eſpeciall his young Coſyn germaine the Lady Mary. The Emperoz was lodged in the kinges lodging, which was ſo richely hanged, that the Spaniardes wondered at it, and ſpecially at the riche cloth of eſtate: nothing lacked that might be gotten, to cheere the Emperoz and his Lozdes and all that came in his company, were higly feaſted.

The Wedneſday, the moze to do the Emperoz pleaſure, was prepared a Juſtes royall: and as the king was arming him, there came one George Luffkin and ſhewed him that there was one come from his Ambaſſadoz in Fraūce, the king called foz the meſſenger, and he deliuered the letters, which the king red, and ſaid to ſir William Compton, tell the Emperoz that I haue newes, if it pleaſeth hym to come hether: Sir William Compton went and tolde this to the Emperoz, which without delay came to the king, which ſhewed hym the letters from Sir Thomas Cheyney his Ambaſſadoz, wherein was conteyned the definitiue aunſwere, made aſwell to Sir Thomas Cheney, as to Clarenſeaux king at armes of Englande, by the French king, to the kinges requeſtes: foz you ſhall vnderſtand, that the king of England by hys Ambaſſadoz, had often tymes demaunded, both his tribute and his lawfull dette, and alſo reſtitution to be made to his ſubiects grieued, and farther alſo

alſo the league was broken, by making warre on the Emperoz, ſo that now by the league the king of Englande ſhould be enemie, to him that firſt brake, and did take part with the other, yet he had ſo much compaſſion, on ſheding of Chriſten bloud, that he would not enter warre but ſhew himſelfe a mediatoz, and an entreatoz betwene them. And vpon this ſir Thomas Cheyney had often moued the French king, and alſo moued him to take peace with the Emperoz foz two yeres, ſo that ſome mediacion of peace might be entreated in the meane ſeaſon: to all this the French king aunſwered, we haue well conſidered your Maiſters deſire, to the which we nothing agree, noz holde vs content with his requeſt. Sir ſayde the Ambaſſadour, the king my Maiſter ſhall be aduertiſed of your aunſwere by me, wherefoze I beſeech your grace of ſafeconduite, to retourne into England: then ſayd the king, there is an officer of Armes come out of England, let him come and he ſhall be herd and haue an aunſwere, to which thing ſir Thomas Cheiney aunſwered not, but with reuerence departed, and ſo on the .xxj. day of Maie, the ſayd officer called Clarenſeaux king at Armes, came to the French kinges chamber at Lions, which was accompanied with many noble men and Gentelmen, and then Clarenſeaux put on his coate of Armes, and deſyred license to ſpeake, and libertie accozding to the law of Armes, which was to hym graunted: then he declared that where the French king was bound by league tripertite to keepe peace with the Emperour, and with the king of England, & whoſoeuer firſt brake, the other two to be enimies to him, to the which league the French king was ſwozne, which league he apparauntly had broken, by making warre on the Emperour, by Sir Robert de la Marche, and by himſelfe in perſon. Wherefoze the king by that league muſt be his enimie, and take part againſt him.

Alſo he declared, the French king kept away the kinges rentes, and debtes, due to him. Alſo that he deteyned the Dower of the French Queene. Alſo that contrary to his promiſe, he had ſent the duke of Albany into Scotland: Alſo that contrary to Juſtice he had empriſoned Marchants, hauing hys ſafeconduit, where they ſhould haue gone in ſafetie, ſeyng there was no warre proclaymed, betwene hym and the kyng his Maiſter: all theſe articles with many mo, the king my maiſter is readye to proue. Nay ſayd the French king I began not the warre, noz ſent Robart de la March to make warre, but cōmaunded hym to the contrary, and oz I made warre in proper perſon, hys warre was open, and he had our towne of Tournay ſtrongly beſieged, and as touching the Duke of Albany, it hath coſt me .xl. thouſand Frankes to kepe hym out of Scotland, but I could not let him to go into hys owne countrey. Thus the French king excuſed hys vntruth. Then ſayd Clarenſeaux, ſir I am farther charged to tell you, that the king my ſouereigne Lozd, holdeth you foz his moztall enimye, from this daye fozth and all your adherents: well ſayde the French king, I loked foz this a great while agon, foz ſith the Cardinall was at Bridges, I loked foz no nother, but you haue done your meſſage: then the French king roſe and departed, and Clarenſeaux was conueighed to his lodging, and ſhortly after, Sir Thomas Cheiney and he by a ſafeconduit departed and came to Bulleine, and there Mounſire Fayett Capitaine there, ſtayed them both till the Ambaſſadour of Fraunce, which had lien in England, were clerely deliuered out of Calice. The whole

Clarenſeaux king at armes geueth y French king defiaunce in the kings name of England.

circumſtaunce of the demaundes and defiaunce, and the French kynges anſwere, was conteyned in the letter, which was brought to the king, which ſhewed it to the Emperor (as you haue heard) but while the king and the Emperor loked on the letter a ſodaine noiſe roſe amongſt both their ſubiects, that it was a letter of defiaunce ſent to them both by the French king, which was nothing ſo. Thus now was the warre open of all parties, betweene England and Fraunce, and Spayne.

The cõming of the Emperour into London.

On Friday the ſixt day of June, the king and the Emperour, with all their companies marched towarde London, where in the way, a myle from Saint Georges barre was ſet a riche Tent of cloth of Golde, in which Tent were two lodgings, one for the Emperor, & another for the king, where theſe two Princes ſhifted them. And when the Heraulde had appoynted euery man their rowmes, then euery man ſet forwarde in order, richely apparayled in cloth of Golde, Tiſſue, Siluer, Tynſell, and Veluets of all coloures. There lacked no maſſy Cheynes, nor curious Collers: an Engliſheman and a ſtraunger roade euer together, matched accordyng to their degrees. Before the Emperour and the king, were borne two ſwordes naked, then the two Princes folowed in Coates of cloth of Golde, embraudered with Siluer, both of one ſuite: after them folowed the kinges Henxtemen, in coates of purple Veluet, pieled and paned with riche cloth of Siluer, and with them were matched the Emperors Henxtemen, in equall number, in coates of crimoſen Veluet, with two gardes, the one golde, and the other ſiluer: then folowed the Capitaynes of the gardes, then the Emperors garde on the right hand, and the Engliſhe garde on the left hand, and ſo in this order they went forward, and in the way the Maior John Milborne, and his brethren, in fine Skarlet and well horſed, met with the Emperour and the king where one ſir Thomas Moore knight, and well learned, made to them an eloquent Oration, in the prayſe of the two Princes, and of the peace and loue betweene them, and what comfort it was to their ſubiectes, to ſee them in ſuch amitie, and howe that the Maior and Citizens, offered any pleaſure or ſeruice that in them lay, next their ſouereigne Lord.

Anotation made by ſyr Thomas Moore to the Emperour.

When this was done, they came into Southwarke, where the Clergie receyued them in Copes, with Croſſes, and Senſers, and ſo kept the one ſyde of the ſtrete, all the Citie through. When they came by the Marchalſie, and the kinges Benche, the Emperour deſyred pardon of the king, for the priſoners, and he at the Emperours requeſt, pardoned a great number of them. When they were almoſt at the bridge foote, there was a ſtay, the king demaunded the cauſe, and it was tolde him, that the Heraulde had appointed two gentlemen to ryde together, one was ỹ Ambaſſador from the Marques of Mantua, to the Emperor, & the other from the Citie of Seynes, to the Emperour alſo, and the Citie, and the Marques were not friendes, the Emperour incontinent, ſent his Lorde Chamberleyn to them, ſaiyng: that if they would that day do him honor, he would thank them, & if they would not ride as they were appoynted, he prayed them to depart. When ỹ lord Chamberleyn had tolde this meſſage, they rode forth and made no more curteſie.

When they were come to the draw bridge, there were ſet Targets, of the armes of the Emperour and his dominions, richely painted, and on the other ſyde, ſtoode one great Giaunt, repreſentyng Hercules, with a mighty Club

Club in his hande, and on the other ſyde ſtoode another Giaunt, repreſentyng Sampſon, with the Jawe bone of an Aſſe in his hande. Theſe two Giauntes helde a great Table, in the which was written in golden letters, all the Emperours ſtile. From the draw bridge theſe two Princes paſſed, to the middes of the bridge, where was rayſed a fayre edefice, with Towers embattayled and Gates, all lyke Maſonry, of white and blacke, like Touch and white Marble: aboue this buildyng was a fayre Pagiant, in the which ſtoode Jaſon all in harneſſe, hauyng before him a golden fleece, and on the one ſyde of hym ſtoode a fiery Dragon, and on the other ſyde ſtoode two bulles which beaſtes caſt out fire continuallye, and in a tower on the one ſyde ſtoode a fayre Mayde repreſentyng the Ladie Medea, which was verye ſtraungely and richely apparayled.

And when they had beheld this Pagiaunt, they came to the Conduite at Gracious ſtreete, and from thence to Leaden hall, and to the Conduite in Cornehill, and ſo to the great Conduite in Cheape, and to the Standard and little Conduite in Chepe, where at euery of them were very riche, ſumptuous, and coſtly Pagiantes. And all the way as they went the Citizens well apparayled ſtoode within rayles ſet on the left ſyde of the ſtreetes, and the Clergie on the right ſyde in riche Copes, which ſenced the Princes as they paſſed, and all the ſtreetes were richely hanged with clothes of golde, ſiluer, Veluet and Arras, and in euery houſe almoſt Minſtrelſy, and in euery ſtrete were theſe two verſes written in letters of Golde.

Carolus, Henricus, viuant defenſor vterque
Henricus fidei, Carolus Eccleſie.

Which verſes were alſo written in other Tables in Golden letters, as enſueth.

Long proſperitie To Charles and Henry Princes moſt puyſſaunt: — The one of fayth The other of the Church Choſen defendant.

When they were paſt the little Conduite they came to the weſt ende of Paules Church and there they alighted, & there was a Canapy ready vnder which they two ſtoode and were receyued by the Archebiſhop of Cauntorbury, and .xxj. Prelates in pontificalles and ſo they offered at the high aulter and returned to horſebacke, and came to the blacke Friers where the Emperour was lodged in great royaltie: All his nobles were lodged in his newe palace of Bridewell, out of the which was made a Gallery to the Emperors lodgyng, which Gallery was very long, & that Gallery & all other Gallerye there were hanged with Arras. The kinges Palace was ſo richely adorned of all thinges, that my wit is to dull to diſcriue them, or the riches of the hangyngs, or the ſumptuous buyldyng and giltyng of Chambers.

On Whitſonday the. viij. day of June the Emperor and the king with great honour roade to the Church of Saint Paule, and there heard highe Maſſe. When Maſſe was done they returned to Bridewell, where the Emperor was highly feaſted. The ſame Sonday at after noone the two princes went by water to Weſtminſter, and roade to the Church, and in ridyng all the ſanctuary men cryed mercy and pardon, they were ſo haſtie and preaſed ſo neere that the Sergeauntes at Armes coulde ſcaſe keepe them from touchyng the Emperor and the king: The Cardinall gaue them a gentle anſwere

ſwore which contented them for a tyme. They were receyued with Procеſſion into the Abbey and heard Euenſong & beheld king Henry the ſeuenthes Chapell and then went into Weſtminſter hall, at the largeneſſe whereof the Emperour muche maruayled, then they turned to Bridewell and there ſupped.

On Monday they dyned in Southwarke with the Duke of Suffolke and hunted there in the Parke, and rode to the Manor of Richemond to their lodgyng and the next day to Hampton Court, where they had great chere, and from thence on Thurſday to Windſore, where he hunted Fryday & Saterday. And on Sonday, Monday, Tueſday, and Wedneſday the Princes and their counſayle ſat moſt part in counſayle, & on Corpus Chriſti day, they with great tryumph rode to the College of Wyndſore where the Emperour ware his mantle of the Garter and ſat in his awne ſtall, and gaue to the Heraulds two hundred crownes: that day both the princes receyued the ſacrament, and after Maſſe both ſware to keepe the promiſes and league eche to other, for the which amitie great ioy was made on both parties, and after the Maſſe was ended they went to dynner, where was great feaſting.

On Fryday they departed out of Windſore, and by eaſy iorneis came to Wynchester, the .xxij. day of June, and in the way thether, the Emperor hunted the Hart. Before the Emperor was come to Wynchester, the Erle of Surrey Admyrall of Englande with all the kinges Nauie was come to Hampton, and with him the Lorde Fitz Water, the Baron Curſon, Sir Gyles Capell, Syr Nicholas Carew, Syr Rychard Wyngfield, Sir Rychard Jernyngham, Fraunces Bryan, Anthony Browne, John Ruſſell, of which many were of the kings priuie chamber: theſe with many mo departed from Hampton with thirtie ſhips well manned and ordinaunced in the ende of June, noyſing that they ſhould onely ſcoure the ſeas for ſafegarde of the Emperor and his Nauie: But they had priuie inſtructions to go to another place as you ſhall heare after.

All thys whyle was the warre on the parties of Picardie hot, and the Capitayne of Bullayn called Fayet wrote euer mockyng letters to the garriſon of Calice, and ſayde: if the garriſon of Calice would iſſue out, he would meete with them halfe way with foure thouſand men. Wherevpon Syr Edward Guyldford Marſhall of Calice, whome the Capitaine of Bullaine called the Fyrebrand, becauſe it was his badge, ſet forth out of Calice the eleuen daye of June with twelue hundred men, and went out of Calice, and ſent a Purſuiaunt to the Capitaine of Bullayne certefying him that he was comming with his fyrebrand, and bad him keepe promiſe. This officer declared the meſſage to him, but he came not. Forth marched Sir Edward till he came to Marguiſon and taryed to ſee whether the Capitayne of Bullayne would come or no, and when he ſawe he came not, he ſet fyre in the towne, and the light horſemen forerayed the beaſtes and pillage, and brent Villages all about, which was well perceyued in the Countrie a farre off, and towarde night all the crewe came home with good pillage, and on the morrow Syr Edward Guyldford deliuered a priſoner franke and free, on condition he ſhould tell the Capitaine of Bullaine that he had bene at Marguiſon with his Fyrebrand, which truely did his meſſage, for the which the Capitayne brake his head: all the Caſtels and forteſſes in the Engliſhe pale were

were well manned and vytailed and lacked no artilerie, ſo that the Frenchemen could doe them no harme.

When the Emperor and the king laye at Bychops Waltham they ioyntly ſent letters of defiaunce to the Duke of Lorraine, as Alye and confederate with the French king. The firſt day of July the Emperors Nauy ſayled before Hampton, which were. C.lxxx. goodly ſhippes. When the Emperors ſhippes were come, he tooke leaue of the king, and had great giftes geuen him and much money lent to him, and ſo the ſixt day of July he tooke his ſhip, ſo with all his nauie he made ſaile towarde Spaine where he arriued in ſafetie the tenth day after. *The Emperour taketh his leaue and departeth out of England.*

The king about this very time ſent to the Citie of London to borowe twentie thouſande poundes, which ſore chafed the Citizens, but the ſumme was promiſed, and for the payment the Maior ſent for none, but for men of ſubſtaunce. Howbeit the companies ſolde much of their plate. Ths ſumme was payde, and the king ſent his letter promyſing payment of the ſame, and ſo did the Cardinall. The poore men were content with thys payment and ſayde, let the riche Churles paye, for they may well. Lyke loane was practiſed through all the realme, and priuie ſeales delyuered for the repayment of the ſame.

This ſeaſon the .xxj. day of Maye was the Citie of Geane gotten by the Emperors Capitaine called Octauiano de Columna, which had with him foure thouſande and foure hundred Spanyardes, fiue thouſande Italyans, and foure thouſand Lanceknightes: and in the Citie was taken Porter de Nauarro the French kings familier Capitayne, and all the Lordes of Geane which fauoured the French king were taken priſoners or ſlayne, and eſpecially one Octauiano Farragoſo, which ruled there for the French king, was euill puniſhed: the ſpoyle of the Citie that the ſouldiours had, was foure thouſande Dukates beſide the pillage, which was a great thing *The Citie of Geen gotten by the Emperour.*

Now let vs retourne to the Lord Admyrall of England which departed from Hampton as you haue heard, and ſo with his nauy ſayled and ſkowred the Seas, and at the laſt came on the coaſt of Britaine, and commaunded the wyſeſt Maiſters and Mariners to boy the hauen of Morles, which was done, and ſo the next night all the flete came to the hauen of Morles in ſafety and mored their ſhippes together. Then all men were commaunded to harneſſe and to aduaunce their ſtandardes, and all ſouldiers to giue their attendaunce on their Capitaynes, and then the Lord Admyrall appoynted and cauſed .xiiij. peeces of ordynaunce called Faucons to be brought to lande and drawne forth with ſtrength of men. Then when all men that ſhould go forewarde were landed, the Lorde Admyrall with banner diſplayed tooke lande on the Eaſt ſide of the hauen the firſt day of July, and with hym a fayre band of ſouldiers, to the number of ſeauen thouſand, whome the ſayd Lorde Admirall and ſir Richard Wingfield brought in good order of battayle, and cauſed Chriſtopher Morres the Maiſter Gunner to ſee all thinges redy prepared, and then about eyght of the clock the firſt day they marched toward Morles in good order of battayle with baners diſplayed. The alarme roſe in the Countrie and came to the towne of Morles whereby the gentlemen of the countrie ſhewed themſelues pricking, but when they heard the Gunnes they fled as though they neuer vſed warre. They of Morles armed themſelues *The maner of the aſſauting of Morleſſe in Fraunce and how the ſame was gotten.*

and

and went to the walles and shut the gates and layed ordinaunce where was most ieoperdy. The Englishmen had gone .v. long mile and were now come to the subburbes of the towne: then the Englishe Archers shot, and the Britons them defended: then the Admyrall commaunded the towne to be assaulted, then the Lord Fitzwater and the Baron Curson quartered the towne on all sides, the Englishmen shot with long bowes, & the Britons with Crosbowes, which defended themselues manfully. Before the port Mozuer where is a Meason de Dieu *. At this gate gaue the assaut Sir Richard Wingfielde, Nicholas Carew, Fraunces Bryan, sir John Wallop and al their bands, hauing with them thre peces of ordinaunce called Faucons, which the Master Gunner oft times shot, but the Britones had set the gate full of Arcubuches, then the Gunner sayd, haue at the wicket, and in the smoke of the gunnes let vs enter the gate, the Gentelmen assented, then the sayde Sir Christopher Gunner strake the locke of the wicket, so that it flew open, then in the smoke came to the gate the said Christopher and the other foremamed Gentelmen, and when Christopher came to the gate he found the wicket open and entred, and the gentelmen followed, the Britons defended themselues, but they were put backe and slayne, then was the greate gate opened and then entred the souldiers that were on the other side of the towne. When the Britons on the walles saw the towne gotten, some fled at the Posterne, & some by another way, the best way that they could.

* That is an Hospitall.

Mozles assaulted and woon.

The Erle of Surrey with Banner displayed tooke the market place. Then the souldiors fell to pillage and rifled the chestes and ware houses of Marchauntes, for the towne of Mozles was very riche, and specially of linnen cloth, the Gentelmen suffered the souldiers to doe what they would. When the souldiers had taken their pleasure of the town as much for a truth or more then they coulde beare away.

The Lord Admyrall commaunded the Trumpettes to blow, and commaunded all men to sette fyer in all places of the towne, the fayre Market place was set on fyer, and eth subburbs brent ardantly. Wherefore all men were commaunded to their standardes, and about syx of the clocke the armie retreated, and as they passed they brent diuers villages and places. And when night approched they drew together and all night laye on lande abiding their enemies. And the next day with honor they tooke their shippes, and when all men were shipped and fewe or none missed: The Lorde Admirall commaunded .xvj.or.xvij. shippes small and great lying in the hauen to be brent. Then they sayled forth and came to anker before saint Polle de Lion, then he commaunded that the Foyst and other small shippes and great botes should be manned to enter into an harborow for shippes called Dymzoll or Pimpole, which was sone done, the botes entred the place and some landed, but then the Britons were to strong, and so they toke their botes and bet the Britons on the shore, and the Britons shot great ordinance at the Englishmen, but it did them no harme, and yet the Englishmen brent a shippe of two hundred and many small vessels. When time came the whole flete sayled into the hauen of Brest and with barkes and rowe barges entered the hauen and tooke lande, and some Englishmen did so much that they set fyer in houses nere the Castell. And euen as the Englishmen sayled by the coast, the Britons them afkried and fortefied the landing places, yet dayly

ly the Englyshmen skyrmyshed with the Britons and came safelye to their shipsagaine: with thys warre was all the Duchy of Britain sore troubled.

When the Lord Admyrall had wonne the towne of Mozles as you haue heard: he called to him certayne Squyres whome for their hardinesse and noble courage he made knights, first Sir Fraunces Bryan, sir Anthonye Broune, sir Richard Cornwall, sir Thomas Moze, sir Gyles Huse, sir John Russell, sir John Rapnsford, sir George Cobham, sir John Cornwalles, sir Edwarde Rigley and diuers other, and after he wrote letters to the king of his good spede: in the which he much praised al the gentelmen and souldiers for their hardynesse. When he had sayled a while on the seas, he had letters sent from the king that he shoulde retreyte, and so he came withall his flete vnder the Isle of Wyght to a place called the Row, and then he departed from his shippe and came to Estamstede the one and twentie day of July to the king, of whome he was well welcomed you may be sure. And so on Monday the thre and twentie daye of July the king and he came to London to the Cardynals place and there sate in counsaile to determyne what should be done. After this the King dyned wyth the Cardinall the .xxiij. daye of July, where he rehersed that he had knowledge that the Admirall of Bryttaine was in Mozles with a hundred horsemen & a hundred crosbowes, and yet he fled, & the king much commended the Lord Admyrall for his paine and hardinesse, and praysed them of his gard, and specially .I. which left pilfering and neuer went from the Lorde Capitaine.

On the thirde day of July while this enterprise was done at Mozles, certaine Frenchmen to the number of three hundreth horsemen came neere to the Castell of Guisnes, and kept themselfe in a close couert, and so appered. viij.or.x. horsemen, and came neere Guisnes: out of the Castell came .viij. Englishe Archers, and issued out of the Gate, and fell with the Frenche horsemen in skirmish: to the Frenchmens reskue came foure men of Armes and skirmished with the Archers which were afoote. Then out of Guisnes issued .xij. Dimilances all Welchemen, and ranne boldelye to the Frenchemen in rescue of the footmen. Then the whole bend of Frenche men issued out and set on the Welchemen, the footemen shot while arrowes lasted and were faine to fight with swordes, the Welchemen kept themselues together, and entered into the bend of Frenchmen, and brake their speares, and then fought so with swordes, that they made away, so that they escaped from the bende of three hundred horsemen, and of the Frenchmen were slaine thre men, and fiue horse, the footemen were ouerpressed, and solde their liues dere, for the French men slue them all, and woulde take none prisoner, they were so angrie with the killyng of their horse.

Also the .xxv. day of July, sir William Sandes Treasorer of Calice, and Sir Edwarde Guilforde Marshall, with Banners spred, issued out of Calice with .xiiij.C. men, and went into the French pale lokyng for Monsire Foyat, which was a great mocker and a cowarde: But when he appered not, they went to Whitsandbay, and set it on fyre, and the people fled to the Church which was fortified and stood at defence, the body of the Church was wonne, and then they tooke the Steple, and some relded themselues, but the remnant by counsaile of a priest maintayned so long, that the Steple was fiered, and then the priest cryed for succour, but it was to late, and so the

French

French people was faine to leape the Steple, and diuers perished, and they that were saued were led to Calice as prisoners. Farther the. xxiij. day of the same Moneth, Thwaites a Capitaine of an Englishe Shippe tooke land beside Bullein, and went vp three myle into the Countrey to a towne called Newe Castell and forraged all the Countrey, and in his returne set fyre on the towne and brent a great part thereof mauger the Bullenoys, and with his bowes and men which onely was vi. score, he put backe. lxxx. Hagbushes and three hundred men of warre of the Countrey and so came to their Shippe with all the bootie and lost no man, notwithstanding they were sore folowed to their ship.

On the. vj. day of July the Cardinall sat in the starre Chamber at Westminster, where he sayde, my Lordes it is reason that you should knowe the honourable enterprise done by the Lorde Admirall and his company in Britayne which hath dispoyled and destroyed the great towne of Morles in Britayne with all the villages and Countrey adioynyng to the same, which is in the Frenche Dominion, which mischiefe had neuer risen if Fraunces the French king had kept his othe and promise. For he is bound that he should neuer retayne the Swyches from the Emperor, nor that he shall not inuade any of the Emperors landes or dominions, which he hath done, for he hath inuaded the Countrie of Henaude and Cambrices, and taken Hedyng and Fountraby with many other iniuries. For when the king sent me and other to his great costes the last yere to Calice to treate an vnitie and peace betwene them, all our saiynges were by the French king turned into a mockery. Also contrary to his promise he hath suffered Duke John of Albany to enter the realme of Scotland to the great perill of the yong king, Nephew to our souereigne Lorde, and also entendeth to mary the Queene of Scottes contrary to the kinges honour. The sayde Frenche king also withholdeth the kinges dueties, and his sisters Dower: wherefore of necessitie the king is entered into warre, for no Prince will suffer the wrong that the French king offereth him, as an vntrue and forsworne Prince, wherefore for your awne welth you must now ayde your Prince, trusting to punishe and chastice him to your great honour and fame.

All Frenchmen and Scottes imprisoned.

Then by commaundement were all Frenchmen and Scottes imprisoned, and the goods seased, and all such as were denizens were commaunded to shew their letters patents, and such as were allowed had all their goodes and the other not, and all Frenchmen and Scottes that had maryed English women, the wyfes & children had halfe the goodes deliuered vnto them, and euery denizen to finde suretie for his good abearyng, and all the other if they would be bayled to finde sureties for their truth and allegiaunce, or else to be kept in prison, for the portes were so kept that they could not flye.

The king nowe beyng entered into the warres, thought not to sleepe and let the French king alone, wherefore by his letters he commaunded certaine persons with their powers to come to London in August. They that were appoynted came accordyngly, euery man with such a number as to him was appoynted, and when they had mustered at London before the kinges Commissioners, they were nere. xij. thousand men with the Pyoners, and they were sent to the Lorde Admyrall which lay at Douer with foure thousand men, but because Haruest was not done, the vitaile at Calice was to little

little for so great an armie, wherfore they lay in Kent at townes there a good space, which made vitaile dere there.

In this Sommer the Lorde Rosse, and the Lorde Dacres of the north which were appoynted to keepe the borders against Scotland, did so valyauntly, that they burned the good towne of Kelsey, and. lxxx. villages and ouerthrew. xviij. towers of stone with all their Barnkyns or Bulwarkes.

The king also in this Moneth was credibly informed that the Duke of Albany prepared an army royall of Scottes and Frenchmen to inuade England. Wherefore the king appoynted the Erle of Shrewsbury his Lorde Steward to be his Lieutenaunt generall against the sayde Duke and hys inuasions, which directed his letters to the shyres of Yorke, Darby, Stafford, Shropshire, and all other beyonde Trent, that all men shoulde be in a readinesse.

The Cardinall bseth the Citizens cruelly and gricuously.

The. xx. day of August, the Cardinall sent for the Maior, Aldermen, and the most substanciall Commoners of the Citie of London, where he declared to them that the king had appoynted Commissioners through the whole realme of England for to sweare euery man of what value he is in moueables, the more to be in redinesse for the defence of this realme. And the king for the loue he beareth you, would haue sit with you himselfe, but for certaine other affayres in his warres to be done is letted, and so hath appointed me your Commissioner. Wherefore in conuenient tyme certifie me the number of all such as be worth one hundred poundes and vpward, to the entent I may sweare them of their values: for first the king asketh of you your louyng heartes and due obeysaunce, the which shall appere by your conformitie to his requestes, and when the value is taken, he desireth onely the tenth part of goodes and landes, which is the least reasonable thing that you can ayde your prince with. I think euery one of you wil offer no lesse. As for the spiritualtie, euery man is in the shires sworne, & shall and will gladly pay the fourth part to the king, and liue on the three partes. Nowe to your part I am sure you will not grudge, therefore name me the men of substaunce, and for the meaner sort, meaner Commissioners shal be appoynted. Sir (said a Marchant) if it may please you, how shall this tenth part to the king be deliuered, in money, plate, or Iuelles? the Cardinall sayde at a value. O my Lord sayd the Aldermen, it is not yet two monethes sithe the king had of the Citie. xx. M. pound in readie money in loane, whereby the Citie is very bare of money, for Gods sake remember this, that riche Marchantes in ware be bare of money: Well sayde the Cardinall, this must be done, and therefore go about it. So the Aldermen resorted to their Wardes, and named such as they iudged to be of that value, which came before the Cardinall, and moste humbly besought him that they might not be sworne for the true value of their substaunce for the true valuation to them was vnknowne, and many honest mennes credence was better then his substaunce, and therefore they doubted the perill of periurye. Well sayde the Cardinall, sithe you dread the crime of periury, it is a signe of grace, and therefore I will for you borow of the king a little. Make you your billes of your awne value, likely to report your fame, and then more businesse needeth not: for you see what two costly armies the king hath ready against both Fraunce and Scotland, therefore nowe shewe your selues lyke louyng subiectes, for you be able ynough. And I

dare swere the substance of London is no lesse worth then two Millions of golde. Then sayde the Citizens, we would to God that it were so, and the Citie is sore appaired by the great occupiyng of straungers. Well sayde the Cardinall it shall be redressed if I liue: But on Saterday next I shall appoynt one to receyue your Billes, and he that is of credence more then of substance, let him resort to me, and I will be secrete and good to him. Thus the Citizens departed in a great agony saiyng, that at the last loane summe lent the fift part, and now to haue the tent part was to much. And here note well that the .xx. thousand poundes that was lent, was not taken as the .x. of euery mans substaunce, but it should be allowed as part of the tenth part, and this valuatiō should performe vp the whole tenth part. Great was ỹ mourning and murmuryng of the common people, as it is euer in suche cases of paymentes. But in the ende one Doctor Tonys, a Secretary to the Cardinall, came to the Chapiter house of Paules, & to him the Citizens brought in their Billes, and on their honestie they were receiued, which halues afterward turned them to displeasure.

Hall begetteth repentaunce.

The Spiritualtie made suite to the Lord Cardinall, that no Temporal men should syt to examine them, to bee made priuie to their possessions and goodes: Wherefore Bishops and Abbots were appoynted Commissioners to take the value of their substaunce.

In this season was great plentie of vittaile sent to Calice, and to the Lorde Admyrall were sent Tentes, and Paullions, some of .lxx. lodgyngs for him and other noble men.

The Friday beyng the .xxij. day of August, certayne Welchmen were lodged at a pore village named Caule, because in Calice was verie narow lodging, and the same night foure hundred Frenchmen passed by Calice hauen for lack of good watche, and came into the same Village, and set fyre in the house where the Welchemen lay, which ranne away naked into the marishe and saued themselues, but their horses were taken. Thys chaunce happened for lack of good watch.

The Lorde Admyrall with a goodly company of souldiours entreth into Fraunce.

When the Lorde Admirall had brought all his men out of the shippes, and that all the souldiors were come out of Englande, and the ordinaunce set on lande, then came into Calice hauen .xiiij. ships out of Spaine from the Emperour, which set on lande three hundred Spanyardes, which were sent to serue the Lorde Admirall, and vnder him they were put. When all things were readie, the Lorde Admirall set in order his battayles, and for the forewarde he appointed syr Robert Ratclyffe Lorde Fitzwater, for Capitayne, and with him dyuers knightes and gentlemen, which Capitayne kept his men in verie good order.

After that battayle followed the ordinaunce, artilerie and other trusses with vittayle and all necessaries, and for the Capitayne of the horsemen was appointed syr Edward Guylford, by whome the currers and vewers of the Countrey were appointed. The middle warde led the Lorde Admirall himselfe, and in his companie the Lord Edmond Hayward his brother, with many worshipfull knightes, squires and tall yomen: The last battayle was led by two valyaunt knightes of the Garter, syr Wyllyam Sandes, and syr Richard Wyngfield, and with them was sir Rychard Jernyngham with many other. In good order of battayle they passed ouer Newnam bridge the .xxr. day

day of August to a place called Calkewell, and there lodged betweene the Wyndmill and the marriche.

The same day came to the Lord Admyrall a certayne number of wilde persons, as men out of seruice and prentises that ran from their maysters and other ydle persons, and him desired that they might be retayned in the kings wages, to whom he aunswered that the king had appointed the number of suche as should haue wages, which was fully complete, and aduised them to returne into England and not to loyter there. Then sayde a tall yoman, my Lorde here be many good felowes, that with your fauour woulde ieopard to get or loose, for their minde is to be reuenged on the Frenchmen, enemies to the king & his realme. Good felow sayd the Lord Admirall, their mindes be good, but if for lack of conduyte they should be cast away, it were a losse to the king, and a great courage to the French men. Then all the company cryed, let vs go in the name of God and saint George: then after counsaile taken, he gaue them a Penon of saint George and bad them aduenture (of which they were called aduenturers) and farther bad them that if they got any bootie they should euer bring it to the armie, and they should be payde to the vttermost, and then he gaue them money and commaunded them weapons and so the sayde .xxxj. daye, the sayde aduenturers foure hundred in number and mo, set forward before the hoste, but howe they did, you shall heare afterwarde. Aduentures.

Monday the first day of September the armie remoued toward Guisnes, which day was verie hote and drinke lacked, and water was not nere, so that some dyed for faintnesse, and thys night they lay at Guysnes.

Tuesday the second day of September the armie passed toward Arde: And in the golden Valey where the king of Englande and the French king met two yeres before, there met with the armie of England two Capitaines of the Burgonions, the one called the Erle of Egmond the Seneschal of Henaude, and the Lorde of Bauers Admirall of Flaunders with fiue hundred horsemen, like men of warre. The Lorde Admirall in gentle maner receyued these two Capitaynes and their company, and so they ioyned themselues to the Englishe armie, and the same daye they tooke lodging at Arde south from the towne, where they were well vytayled, and there laye Wednesday all day, and the Burgonions lay vnder the Castell of Mountorrey. The next daye they remooued to the Vale of Lykes, and there encamped themselues. Sir George Cobham the same day with two thousand men, by the Admiralles commaundement came to the towne of Selloys, and set fyre in the towne, and when the towne was on fyre he assaulted the Castel. They within made resistence, but it auayled not, for the walles were entered and the souldiours taken, and the castell set on fyre, and with Gunnepowder ouerthrew the walles: then with haste he remoued to a towne called Brune bridge and set it on fyre, and also brent a towne called Sencherke, and also the townes of Botyngham and Wanstier, and so returned to the Lorde Admirall which gaue him great thanks. The French men appered in plumpes, but yet they durst not rescue their townes.

On Saterday the Lorde Admirall remoued with the whole armie to a ground beside saint Nerbyns, and there lay all Sunday, beyng the seuenth day of September, where he sent diuers companies out, which forraged

the Countreys and brent manye Villages as farre as they might trauaile: the Lorde Admirall caused the towne of Narbyn to be brent, and tooke the Castell and raced it and vtterly destroied it.

On Monday the.viij.day, he remooued to Dauerne and brent all the townes as he passed, and lying there he brent the towne of Dauerne, and cast downe the Castell of Columberge, and the castell Rew, but the Churches of Dauerne and a house of Nonnes were saued by his commaundemēt.

The same daye was brent Saint Marie de Boys and all the countrey twelue Mile about was of light fire, the people fled and left townes and Castels full of wine, corne, and all other necessaries, so that in Dauerne the Englishemen founde great plentie, which or they went away they set a fire.

The.ix. day of September the whole armie came before the towne of Boyardes in the which was a Church more lyker a castell then a Church, for it was deepe dyched with drawe bridges and with Bulwarkes fortefied and lopes very warlike. The Admirall beholding it sayde, this is like no house of prayer. Then he commaunded his people to enter the dyches, and pluck downe the drawe bridges, and set fyre in the Church, and with Gunpouder ouerthrew it, and brent the towne and all the vilages adiacent to the same, the people cryed and fled, well was he that might saue himselfe.

The.x.day they came to the towne of Vaus, which was nighe the towne called Foucamberge, and there a company of Frenchmen were ascried, for out of a wood they shewed themselues, but they taried not long, but without profer of encounter they departed. Wherefore the whole armie tooke their campe, and there lay til the.xiij. day which was Saterday, euery day sending plumpes out to set fyre in the Country, and on that day they tooke the waye to Frynge or Frynges, and there brent the towne and destroyed the Castell which was very strong.

The Sonday beyng the.xiiij. daye, the Lorde Admirall with his company in great rayne and yll weather passed by hilles and baleys verie painefully, and with great labor came to a towne called Blantow, and there taried Monday all day, and there all daye counsayled the Capitaynes both of England and Flaunders or Burgoyn, what was best to be done.

Message frō Hedyng. On Tuesday in the morning came a Trumpet from the Castell of Hedyng and desired to speake with the Capitayne, which incontinent sent for him: my Lorde Capitayne sayde the Trumpet, the Capitayne of Hedyng desireth you to come thether and see the place, and on the walles he will bring you good luck, and he prayeth you not to hurt the Dere in his Parke, and for any other hurt you can doe him he careth not: well sayde the Lorde Admirall, I will send him aunswere by my Trumpet. Incontinent he called a Trumpet, and bad him go to Hedyng to Mounsire de Bees, and to say to him that he will come to the Castell of Hedyng, and if he slaye any of my men with his artillerie, let him trust me, that if I get the Castell, I will saue neyther man, woman, nor childe. So with that message the Trumpet departed and declared it to Mounsire de Bees, which sayde that it was spoken of noble courage, and so the Trumpet returned, and the same daye the campe was remooued and the whole armie came about the Castell of Hedyng, at which time the towne of Hedyng was sore infect with pestilence, wherefore a generall commaundement was geuen, that no man should once come into

The aunswere.

Hedyng besieged.

into the towne, howbeit some of the Burgonions did set fire in the houses.

When the siege was planted, the ordinaunce was verye light for the wayes were so deepe and the ground so wet, that the great ordinaunce could not be caried. This thing was well debated by the Lorde Admirall and the Capitaynes. After they had bene there a.xj. dayes, first they considered that the Castel could not be obtayned without great ordinaunce, which in no wise could then be caryed, and also if they with the light ordynaunce shootyng shoulde spend all their pouder and not get the Castell, then in them might be reckened great foly, and also they should be in great ieopardie to passe without ordinaunce, and further the plague began sore in the armie, wherefore they determined to leaue the siege and returne. But whyle they laye at the towne, they beate downe roffes, galleries, chimneis, and such other things as the light ordinance would beate downe, which sore defaced the beautie of the Castell. They also destroyed all the Dere in the Parke, which were fallowe Dere, and left none for the Capitaine. The English men were clerely determined to haue assauted the Castel, if the Burgonions would haue done the same: but they refused, which seyng the Englishemen left the assault alone: For though the Englishe men had gotten it, it should haue bene deliuered to the Emperors vse by the treaty, for he claymed it as his inheritaunce, which caused the Englishemen to leaue the assault.

The cause why the Castell was not assaulted.

And so the.xvij. daye of September they reered the siege and set themselues in good order of battayle and passed still onwarde, till they came to Dozlans, and brent the towne, and raced the castell, and from thence came to the good towne of Darrier and brent and spoyled the same. Thus he brent all the waye as he passed: and euer the weather was worse, and men fell sicke, wherefore the Burgonions and the Spaniardes returned into Flaunders about Betwyn.

The siege rayfed.

Then the Lorde Admyrall sawe that it was no time to keepe the fielde, turned backward in good order of battayle, and came to Calice the sixtene day of October. And whi'e he lay at Calice he sent out syr William Sandes, Sir Horice Barkeley, syr William Fitzwillyam with three thousand men, which brent Margupson which was newly edified and fortefied, they brent also the towne of saint Johnes Rhode and Temple towne, and many Villages. At thys voyage were taken many prisoners.xiiij.M.sheepe.xiiij.C. great cattell, as Oxen and Kyen, and.xiij. hundred Hogges, and seuen.C. Mares and horses, with thys great bootie thys crewe returned to Calice in safetie.

A great pray taken.

Then the Lorde Admirall sent syr John Walop with.v. hundred men to saint Omers to lye there and at Guysnes, Hammes, and at Marke, and at Oy he left another number, and left Capitaynes to ouer see them, and all the Souldiours had a Monethes wages payde them, and so returned into Englande.

The aduenturers taried still and gat many good prayes, and brought to the garrisons, and lacked nothing: they were much dred of all the comō people, for of them they had great prayes, and daylie learned feates of warre which made them the bolder.

The Lorde Admirall returneth into England.

When the Lorde Admirall had set all things in an order on that side the sea, he toke ship and with the Nauy came into the ryuer of Thames, and so

to the king, of whome he was well welcommed and not vnworthy.

Scottes banished the realme.

In thys season were banished out of Southwarke twelue Scottes, which had dwelt there a long season, and were conueyed from parishe to parishe by the Constable lyke men that had abiured the realme, and on their vtermost garment a whyte Crosse before and another behinde them. Thus were they conueyed thzough London Northwarde, tyll they came to Scotlande.

Whyle the Lorde Admirall was thus in Fraunce destroiyng the countrey, the noble Erle of Shrewsburie Lorde George Talbot, and Steward of the kings housholde prepared by the kings commaundement a great armie towarde Scotland: for the king was enformed that Duke John of Albany (which in the parliament of Scotland was made Lorde gouernour of the realme, and of the yong king during his noneage) had rayfed a mightie and puyssaunt hoste of Scottes, to the number of foure score thousand men, as after was well knowne, which were warlike appointed, and that he with fiue hundred Frenchmen with hand Gunnes and other great artillerie was cõming forward to inuade the west marches of England adioyning toward Scotlande. Wherefore the king sent worde to the Erle of Shrewsburie, which with all diligence like a noble Capitaine set forward towarde Yorke, and wrote to the Erles of Northumberland, Westmerland and Darby, to the Lorde Dacres, Lumley, Clyfforde, Scrope, Latemer, Ogle, Darcy, Conyers, and to all other gentlemen, to be readie within eyght houres warnyng with all their powers, and so in horryng, he with his power which was great, came to the Citie of Yorke abyding the ordinaunce and the Lordes, and all other things necessarie in such a case.

In the meane season, the Scottes were come nigh to the Citie of Carleyle & lodged them nigh the water of Elske, not farre from Sulway sandes, and there made their abode. The Erle of Westmerland, the lord Dacres, the Lorde Roos, the Lorde Mountaigle, with the knightes of Lancashire, Westmerland, and Cumberland, were readie with. xxviij. thousande men to haue geuen them battaile.

The saiyng of a Scottish Erle.

When the Scottes sawe that they could not enter into England without battaile, the Lordes of Scotland drew to counsaile, and amongest all one wise man sayde, my Lordes, hether we be come by the commaundement of my Lorde Gouernour the Duke of Albany, but for what cause the warre is we should knowe: you all remember that the last warre was to the realme of Scotlande much preiudiciall: For king James the fourth brought the realme of Scotlande to the best that euer it was: and by his warre it was brought to the worst almost that may be, for by that warre was he and hys nobilitie slaine, which Scotland sore lamenteth: Wherefore by mine aduise let vs go to the Duke, and knowe of him the cause. Then they all came to the Dukes Court, and the Erle of Arrayn an auncient man spake for them all and sayde, my Lorde Gouernor, by your will and commaundement here is assembled almost all the Nobilitie of Scotland with their power vpon a pretence to enter into England, my Lordes here would know the cause and quarell why this warre is begon, if it might please your goodnesse, it should well satisfie their mindes.

The Duke studyed a good while, and sayde: this question would haue bene demaunded or nowe: For well you knowe that I for the very loue that I bere to the realme of Scotland, of the which I haue my name, honor and linage. I haue passed the seas out of the noble realme of Fraunce into thys realme of Scotland. One great cause to bring you to a vnity when you were in deuision: By reason of which deuision your realme was likely to be conquered and destroyed. Also the French king by my suytes and intercession will ioyne with you in ayde against the Englishe Nation: And when thys warre was determined in the Parliament, you made me Capitaine, authorising me to inuade England with banner displayed: then was no question demaunded of the right or quarel, & that that I haue done is by your assent & agreement, and that I will iustifie: but to answere your demaund, me thinke that you haue iust cause to inuade England with fyre, sworde, and blood, if you be not to forgetfull, and without you will beare dishonour and reproche for euer: For you knowe that this realme of Scotland is our inheritaunce as a portion of the worlde allotted to our nation and auncetors whome we succede: Then where may be better warre then to maintaine this our naturall inheritaunce: is not dayly sene the great inuasions that the Englishe men on vs make, the great manslaughters, and murders, with robberies, and spoyles that they doe dayly? Is not this a cause of warre? To defende the Countrey is the office of a king, the honour of noble men, and the very seruice of chiualrie, and the duetie naturall of the commonaltie. For I thinke it a iust quarell if we might conquer the realme of England and anner it to our realme and make a Monarchie: For sith the beginnyng of our habitation in this Isle of Britayne, that nation and we haue bene enemyes, and vs they haue euer hated, and yet we haue withstood them till at the last battayle of Bramston, where we vnchaunce lost our souereigne Lorde, and many noble men, but that was by treason of his Lord Chamberleyn, and yet I thinke we wanne the field: which murther I think al we noble men ought to reuenge. Therefore I would that ye should couragiously aduaunce your selfe in thys quarell to get honour and to be reuenged.

The answere of the Duke of Albany.

Then a sad man called the President of the counsaile sayde, my Lorde, Fortune of warre is led by hym that all leadeth, and he striketh the stroke, we can worke no miracles, and here are the Lordes of Englande readye to encounter vs, and surely they will fight, for their power shal encrease daily and ours is at the hyest. And if God geue vs ỳ victory as I trust he wil, yet haue we not wonne the field: For ready cõming is the Lorde Talbot Erle of Shrewesbury so much dred in Fraunce as you know well, with a great puissaunt army, and there is no doubt but the king of Englande will send or bring an other army, yf we should chaunce to get the first battaile: if we get the second fielde that will not be without the losse of many nobles, by reason wherof the realm shalbe weaker. And if we be ouercome how many shal be slaine God knoweth: They that fliee ar worthy to be reputed as traytors to the king and so by wilfulnesse and foolish hardinesse the realme shall be in ieoperdy to be vndone, and I say while the king is within age, we ought to moue no warre, sith by warre we may bring him to destruction. Alas sayde the Duke here is all the puyssaunce of Scotlande: if we retourne we shall encorage our enemies, and the realme of Scotlande shall euer be rebuked and defamed. All this communication in counsaile was written by one syr

Lother Priest and Scot and Secretary to the Queene of Scots, which was a Secretary there in the host at that time, to a Scottishe Priest that dwelt in London: and farther he wrote that the Scottish king did much for the French kings pleasure to draw the Lords of England with their powers toward the partie and to put the king of Englande to charges, so that he should not inuade Fraunce.

After this communication, the Queene of Scottes which doubted the sequele of this matter, sent worde to the Duke, and him required to common of a peace with the warden of the English Marches, which sent an Herauld to the Lorde Daker then warden of the west Marches, the Lorde Daker agreed, and vpon hostages went to the Duke of Albanye into his campe, where the Queene of Scottes by that tyme was come, and so there was an abstinence of warre taken for a season: and in the meane tyme the Duke and the Queene promised to send Ambassadors to the king of England to conclude a peace: And thus the Scottes returned into their houses. Thys truce was taken the. xj. day of September betweene Englande and Scotland, this. xiiij. yere of the king. The Erle of Shrewsbury heeryng of the truce by the Lorde Dacres letters, returned with all his companie, forp that he had not gone forward on the Scottes. In this season the Commissioners sate for the loane of the tenth part of euery mans substance in euery shire, the people were swoorne and some aduaunced themselues more then they were worth of pride, not remembring what was commyng, and the Commissioners did what they coulde to set the people to the vttermost, which afterward turned the people to much heauinesse, and by reason of this great summes of money were leuyed, but the most part were not content, because the loane was so sodainly payed. But vnder the value of. v. pound no man lent a peny.

A truce taken with the Scottes.

The warre thus continuyng betwene the French king and the king of England, there was a valiaunt Capitaine Constable of the Castell of Hemmes vnder the Lord Mountioy called sir Richard Whethill, the Frenchmen him somuch hated, that they deuised a policye to take him, and so on Christmasse day at night there issued out of Bulleyn two hundred horsemen, and three hundred footemen, and so much they trauayled that altogether were come to a place where Hoppes grew, nere Hammes Castell called Cat hal. When they were come thether, they kept themselues couert, and in the morning they brake by the Turne pyke by Saint Gertrudes: Then sent they into Hammes Marshe. ix. or. x. footemen to take Cattell. In the Castell the alarme rang, but the embushement kept them still close: The Constable perceyued what the alarme ment, and armed him, and so did his archers and tooke his horse, and three Gentlemen went on foote by him. The French men of purpose driued the Cattell here and there, as though it would not be driuen, sir Richard Whithill pursued them. When the drouers sawe him, they droue the Cattel into a great fielde: then were the bushement of horsemen and footemen betwene them and Saint Gertrudes, and they sodainly brake out on them, and the three Gentlemen on foote fought valiauntly, but they were slaine, the knight alighted and fought on foote manfully, but he was borne downe with Pykes, and sore wounded, and so was compelled to yelde himselfe prisoner: by that tyme were. xxx. archers come out of the Castell, and when they sawe the great number of the Frenchmen, then they knewe that

that their Capitaine was betrayed, and so returned.

The duke of Albany returned.

About this time the Duke of Albany sailed out of Scotlande into Fraunce, and the French king so much fauored hym, that as it was shewed to the king of England for truth, that when the French king rode through Parys he rode on the one hand and Richard de la Polle a Traytor to England and by parliament attaynted on the other hande, and that the Duke had asked of the French king fiue thousand horsmen and ten thousand Almaynes, and that he had promised the French king that if he had those .xv. thousand men, he woulde doe one of these three things, eyther slay the king of England in battayle, or else take him prisoner, or else driue him out of his realme. These were shamefull bragges of a noble man and very foolish.

Ye haue heard before how truce was taken by the Duke of Albany and the Lorde Dacres for a season betwene Englande and Scotland, and that Imbassadours should be sent to the king of England, so it was that in October according to their accustomed doublenesse they sent three personages of small behauior as it seemed, as Imbassadours from Scotlande: they were finally regarded and shortly departed. There commission was to know whether the same tyme or abstinence of warre was by the king assented to or not, and other Commission had they none. Thus they ment craftily as you may perceyue, for in such troublous tyme they may scale vnpunished, which they may not do in tyme of peace. Wherefore the king to be sure of them sent for Henry the fift Erle of Northumberland, and him made warden of the whole Marches, which thankfully accepted the same, and so departed Lorde warden. But howsoeuer it happened he made suyte to the king and his Counsail and neuer left, till he was discharged of the same, & then the Erle of Surrey Lorde Admirall of England was made general warden, and the Lord Marques Dorset was made warden of the East Marches and middle, and the Lorde Dacres of the West Marches: which three Lordes spedde them thether the first day of Marche for the defence of the Borders. For refusyng of this office the Erle of Northumberland was not regarded of his awne Tenauntes, which disdeyned him and his blood, and much lamented his folye, all men esteemed him without heart, or loue of honour and chiualrie.

Imbassade from Scotlande.

The loane gathered.

The king out of hand sent Commissioners to gather the loane, this was called the practisyng of the loane, which sore emptied mens purses. In the same moneth were musters taken through the realme, and euery man commaunded to be readie within a dayes warnyng to do the king seruice in harnesse, which caused euery man of honestie to by harnesse and weapon.

A road made into Scotland by the Englih men

The Lorde Marques Dorset warden of the East Marches betweene England and Scotland, accompanied with sir William Bulmer, and sir Arthur Darcie, and many other noble men, the second day of Apryll, then beyng there Thursday, entred into Tiuedale, and so ten myle into Galoway, and brent on euery syde townes and billages, and the Scottes in great number shewed themselues on the hilles, and did not approch, and so he all that night tarryed in the Scottish ground, and on good Fryday returned with their boty which was foure thousand head of nete into England, when they had brent which was foure thousand head of nete into England, when they had brent Grymslay, Mowhouse, Dufford myles Ackeforth, Crowlyng, Nowes maner, Widder Crowlyng, Marbottell, Low Bog, Seffoth Maner, Widdyl rigge, Prymsed, Broket, Shawes Harnel, wide open Haught, and other townes

townes and billages, and yet loſt not many men.

A parliamẽt

The. xb. day of Aprill began a Parliament at the blacke Friers in Lõdon, and that day the maſſe of the holy ghoſt was ſong, all the Lordes beyng preſent in their Parliament robes. And when Maſſe was finiſhed the king came into the Parliament Chamber and there ſate downe in the ſeate royall or throne, and at his feete on the right ſyde ſat the Cardinall of Yorke, and the Archbiſhop of Cauntorbury, and at the raile behinde ſtood Doctor Tunſtall Biſhop of London, which made to the whole parliament an eloquent oratiõ, declaryng to the people the office of a king. Firſt he muſt be a man of iudgement, according to the ſayng of ỹ prophet Dauid Deus iudicium tuum regi da. &c.

The oration of Doctor Tunſtal biſhop of London.

Alſo he muſt be a man of great learning, according to the ſayng of the Prophete. Erudimini qui iudicatis terram. According to which ſaynges, he ſayde that God had ſent vs a prince of great iudgement, of great learnyng, & great experience, which according to his princely dutie forgat not to ſtudie to ſette forwarde all thinges which might be profitable to his people and Realme, leaſt there might be layde to his charge the ſayng of Seneca. Es rex & non habes tempus eſſe rex? Art thou a king and haſt no tyme to be a king? which is aſmuch to ſay, as art thou a king, and doeſt nothing profitable to thy people? Art thou a king and ſeeſt the people haue an inſufficient lawe? Art thou a king and wilt not prouide remedie for the miſchiefe of thy people? Theſe things haue moued the kinges highneſſe to call this his high Court of Parliament both for the remedie of miſchiefes which be in the common lawe, as recouerynes, forraine vouchers, and corrupt tryals. And for makyng and orderyng of newe eſtatutes which may be to the highe aduauncement of the common wealth, wherefore he willeth the Commons to repayre to the common houſe, and there to elect them a ſpeaker, or their common mouth, and to certifie the Lorde Chaunceloz of the ſame, which ſhould thereof make report to the kinges moſt noble grace, which ſhoulde declare his pleaſure when he would haue him preſented before his perſon. This was the cauſe of the parliament he ſayd, but ſurely of theſe things no word was ſpoken in the whole Parliament, and in effect no good act made, except the graunt of a great ſubſidie were one, but according to this inſtruction the Commons departed to the common houſe, and choſe for their ſpeaker Sir Thomas Moore knight and preſented him the Saterday after in the Parliament Chamber, where he according to the old vſage diſabled himſelfe both in witte, learnyng, and diſcretion, to ſpeake before the king, and brought in for his purpoſe how one Phormio deſired Hanniball to come to his readyng, which thereto aſſented, and when Hanniball was come, he began to reade, de re militari, that is of Chiualrie: When Hannibal perceyued him, he called him arrogant foole, becauſe he woulde preſume to teache him which was maiſter of Chiualrie, in the feates of warre. So the ſpeaker ſayde, if he ſhould ſpeake before the king of learnyng, and orderyng of a common welth and ſuche other lyke, the king beyng ſo well learned, and of ſuch prudence and experience, might ſay to him as Hanniball ſayd to Phormio. Wherfore, he deſired his grace that the commons might chooſe them another ſpeaker: the Cardinal anſwered, that the king knewe his wit, learnyng and diſcretion, by long experience in his ſeruice: wherefore he thought that the commons had choſen him as the moſt meeteſt of all, and ſo he did admit him. Then ſir Thomas Moore gaue to the

The oration of Sir Thomas Moze.

the king his moſt humble thankes, and deſyred of him two peticions: the one if he ſhould be ſent from the Commons to the king on meſſage, and miſtake their entent, that he might with the kinges pleaſure reſort agayne to the Commons, for the knowledge of theyr true meanyng: the other was, if in communication and reaſonyng any man in the common houſe ſhould ſpeake more largely then of dutie he ought to do, that all ſuch offences ſhould be pardoned, and that to be entered of record, which two peticions were graunted, and ſo thus began the Parliament and continued as you ſhall here.

The Rhodes beſieged.

Becauſe an euill chaunce happened to the great rebuke of all Chriſten Princes, I entend briefly to declare the ſame miſerable chaunce. In the beginnyng of this yere Sultan Solyman Pac called the great Turke, which was but the .viij. of the ligne of Ottoman, the firſt that tooke vpon him to be a great Capitaine or ruler. And to whome Sultan Solyme his father had loſt the Empyres of Conſtantinople, Trapeſonde, Alexandry, and Babilon, with many diuers kingdomes and realmes: which Sultan Solymon the yere before had gotten the towne of Belgrado beyng the key of Hungary. Becauſe he ſawe all the great Princes in Chriſtendome nowe at diſcorde, thought it moſt for his honor and profite to make warre on the Iſle of the Rhodes, and to take the ſame, which Iſle had bene kept by the ſpace of two hundred. xiiij. yeres by the brethren or knightes of the order of Saint Johnes of Jeruſalem. Diuers thinges moued him to take this enterprice. One was becauſe this Iſle ſtoode ſo that the religious of the ſame oftentymes tooke and deſtroyed his ſhippes as they came with golde and other riches from Egipt, Siric and other ỹ Eaſt parties to Conſtantinople, ſo that by them of that Iſle he ſuſtayned more hurt then by all Chriſtendome, becauſe the ſayd Iſle ſtood in the entry toward Conſtantinople. Another motion was, becauſe his father when he dyed charged him to aſſay to take the Rhodes for to be reuenged of the ſhame that they had done to his graundfather Mahomet the great Turke which was with diſhonour beaten from the ſiege of the Rhodes. But the greateſt occaſion of all was, the exhortation of a great Counſaylor of the religion called Andrew Admyrall borne in Portyngale, which knewe the whole eſtate and in what caſe the towne ſtoode in: The cauſe why this Andrew Admirall bare malice to his religion, was becauſe after the death of Frier Fabrica de Laretto Lord maiſter of their religion, he was not elected to that honour, but one Philip de Vyllyars de Liſle Adam of Fraunce was named to be Lord Mayſter, wherefore the ſayd Andrew prouoked the Turke to come to the Rhodes.

Why the Turke coueted the Rhodes.

The great Turke ſeyng ſo great an occaſion offered and deſiring honor and alſo knowing the fortreſſe of the Rhodes to lacke munitions (for ſurely the brethren of the ſayd order were both of ſuch welth and pride, and alſo lyued after ſuch an vngratious and vngodly faſhion, that they neyther tooke heede of their vow and ſolempne profeſſion, nor alſo did foreſee the thing to come, ſo that the great wealth of them, and their euill liuing blinded them that they thought the Turke durſt not once attempt to ſet on their garriſõ, and ſo they being eleuate in this point of pride, left their towne vnfurniſhed and were ſodaynly ſurpryſed (as you ſhall heere) wherefore the ſayde Turke couertly prouided for thre hundred ſayle, in the which he caryed all his artillary and all other thinges neceſſary: in the which army were .lx. thouſande

Mynors

Pyoners and Pyoners prepared for the only intent to digge and mine: al the reſt of the armye of the Turke came by lande to a place called Fiſco, which ſtandeth ſo directly againſt the Rhodes, that a fyer may be ſeene from the one ſide to the other, from which place the Turke ſent letters to the above named Phillipe de Vylliers Lord Maiſter of the ſayde religion, ſignifying to hym that he woulde haue the ſayde Iſle for the great damage that they had done to him and to his people, and if they woulde yelde to him the ſayd Iſle, he promiſed on his fayth and by Mahomet his firſt Phrophet, they ſhould haue no damnage nor hurt by him, and that they that would depart ſhoulde goe in ſafetie, and they that would tary and ſerue him ſhould haue good wages, and if they refuſed this to doe, he ſware that he would ſubuert the walles of their fortreſſe and deſtroye them all and make them ſlaues; which letter was dated at Conſtantinople the fyrſt day of June. The ſayde Lorde Maiſter and his company were greatly abaſhed of this letter, but yet like hardy Gentelmen they intended to defende them, and made all the preparations that they could do in ſo ſhort a ſpace, and wrote to al Princes chriſten of their neede and diſtreſſe. But the Turke like a wily ſerpent knowing the great deuiſion amongeſt the Chriſten Princes, ſo that he knew that they could ſend no ſuccors to the Rhodes, ſent two hundred. M. Turkes which arriued in the Iſle of the Rhodes on Midſomer day which was the feaſtfull day of the Rhodians in honor of ſaint John Baptiſt, which ſodaine comming ſore abaſhed the Rhodyans being but fiue hundred knights and .v. M. other meete to beare armes: yet of noble courage and truſting in God, they determined to defend the enemies of God, and the .xxviij. daye of July the Turke arriued there in his owne perſon, which much encouraged his people.

The Turkes letter.

When the Turke was arriued, he bent his ordinance toward the towne and did no great harme, when he ſaw that the walles were of that defence that ordinaunce did litle harme, he cauſed all his Pyoners to caſt yearth one banke ouer another ſtyl, tyll they came within a bowſhot of the wall. And although that many of the pyoners were ſlayne with ordinaunce of the towne they neuer ceaſed till they had made a banke of yerth higher by ten foote then the wall of the towne, and they there laide their ordinaunce, ſo that no perſon durſt ſtirre on the walles or Bulwarkes, thus with mountaynes of earth was the towne enuironed, and behinde the mountaynes laye the Baſſaus and chiefe Capitaines of the Turke which were euer ready to take their aduauntage, and dayly did ſhote into the towne and bet downe houſes, and ſlew the people in the ſtreates, for they vpon this mount might eaſily ſee into the towne. Beſide this, the Turke cauſed ſo many mynes to be made in diuers places, that they within, were not able to make countermynes for lacke of people, in ſo muche as women were ſet at worke to digge and carye, by reaſon where of a great part of the walles were ouerthrowne. And if they within had not made countermynes, the towne had bene gotten within a ſhort ſpace. Alſo the Turkes in September gaue to the Rhodyans foure great aſſaultes like valiaunt warriers, but the Chriſten men within, ſo valiantly defended them, that at euery aſſault they loſt at the leaſt two thouſand men, and at the fourth aſſault they loſt ten thouſand Turkes and more.

Turkes mounts

Rhodians make countrolling trenche.

The mynes.

The Turkes

The great Turke ſeyng the loſſe of his men at the aſſaultes, ſent for Muſtaphaph Baſſhaw, through whoſe counſayle he toke on him this enterpryce and much blamed him that he made him beleue that he might haue the towne

towne within .xij. dayes or in a moneth at the moſt, wherefore in that furye he woulde haue put him to death, if the other Baſſhawes had not intreated for hym: but in concluſion the Turke determined clerely to raiſe his ſiege and to depart, and ſo had done if that ſame night ſyr Andrewe Admyrall that you haue heard of before and a Jew being within the Rhodes had not written letters and ſhot them out on quarrels into the Turkes army. By which letters the Turkes knew the neceſſitie of the towne and feblenеſſe of the people, which cauſed him to chaunge his purpoſe. But this treaſon was eſpyed, and the Traytors taken and put to terrible execution, and the Turke cauſed ſo many mynes to be made, that although ſome tooke none effect, yet by ſome he ouerthrew both bulwarkes, walles and towers, ſo that he might enter into the towne: and ſo on ſaint Andrewes euen he cauſed a great aſſault to be geuen, which was very fierce, but yet the Chriſten men ſo valyauntly defended them that they ſlew thre thouſand Turkes and mo, and kept them from entring that day, but the Citizens of the Rhodes after this aſſault came to the Lord Maiſter, and prayed him to haue compaſſion of them, their wyfes and children, and ſhewed him that if the towne were taken by aſſault (as it was like to be) that they all ſhould be cruelly murdered, the Lorde Maiſter much regarded his honor, and comforted the people with fayre words, but by chaunce about the ſame time the great Turke ſent a letter into the Rhodes, willing them to deliuer the towne, and they al ſhould haue their liues and goodes, and they that would tary ſhould tary in quiet, and they that woulde depart, ſhould ſafely depart.

A vile traytorous act.

Treaſon eſpied.

When this letter was knowne, then the people cryed out on the Lord Maiſter, to take the offer, wherefore he calling all hys counſayle together, ſeyng that it was not poſſible to keepe the towne longer, both for lack of artillarie and vittayle, and alſo becauſe his number was ſo minished, that ſcarce he had Souldiours to keepe the walles: wherefore he by great aduiſe determined to take the Turkes offer, and ſo ſent to hym two of hys religion, for the farther concluſion and aſſurance of the ſame, which wel entertayned them, and had writyngs ſealed of all thinges that they deſired, to which two knightes. Aymeche Baſſhaw ſware by hys fayth that there was ſlayne at the ſiege .lxiiij. M. Turkes, and .xl. thouſand dead of mortalitie and mo.

The yelding vp of the Rhodes.

And ſo on Chriſtmas daye, the great Turke him ſelfe entered into the Rhodes, and tooke poſſeſſion thereof, and the Lorde Maiſter and all his religion, the firſt day of January tooke ſhip and ſayled to Candy, and ſo in concluſion came to Rome, and there declared hys chaunce and aduenture. Thus was the towne and the Iſle of the Rhodes taken by the great Turke, which was a great ſuccour to all chriſtian men, reſorting into the Eaſt parts of the worlde, which chaunce was much lamented thorow all chriſtendome, and muche blame put in all Princes, becauſe they ſent no ſuccour nor ayde to the Iſle.

And thys yere the Biſhop of Dureſme died, and the king gaue the ſayd Biſhoprike to the Cardinall, and he reſigned the Biſhoprike of Bathe, to Doctor John Clerke maiſter of the Rolles, and he made ſyr Henry Marney his Vicechamberleyn Lorde priuie ſeale, and after created him Lorde Marney. In the ende of thys yere, Doctor Blithe Biſhop of Cheſter, was attached for treaſon, but he quyted himſelfe. And about thys ſeaſon, the

Cardinall Wolſey made Biſhop of Durham.

The Court Legantine.

Cardinall of Yorke beyng Legate, proued Testaments, and did call before him all the executors & administrators of euery Dioces within the realme, so that the Bishops and ordinaries, did proue no great willes in their Dioces, except he were compounded with, not to their little disauauntage. Also by his power Legantine he gaue awaye all the yerely profites of benefices belonging to spirituall persons, by the which doing, he not onely had the hatred of the spiritualty, but also he ranne into the daunger of the Premunire, which he sore after repented, as it shall appere in the. xxj. yere of this king.

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The Parliament beyng begon, as you haue heard before rehersed, the Cardinall accompanied with diuers Lordes, as well of the spiritualtie, as of the temporaltie, came the. xxix. day of Aprill into the common house, where he eloquently declared to the commons, how the French king Fraunces, the first, called the most christened king, had so often times broken promise with the king of Englande, and his welbeloued Nephew Charles the Emperor, that the king of his honor could no longer suffer. For first he declared, that the meeting of the sayde two princes at Guysnes, the sayd French king was swoorne, to kepe all the articles conteyned in the tripartie league, made betwene him, the Emperour, and the king of Englande sithe the which time, he hath made warre on the Emperours dominions, by Robert de la March his Capitaine. He also hath withholden the tributes and other paimentes, whiche he should pay to the king of Englande, for redemption of Tournay and Tirwin, and not with this content, hath not alonely robbed and spoyled the kings subiectes, but also hath sent John Duke of Albany into Scotland to make warre and to inuade thys realme, wherefore the king of necessitie, was driuen to warre and defence, which in no wise could be maynteyned, without great summes of money, and he thought no lesse then eyght hundred thousand pounde, to be raysed of the fift part of euerye mans goodes and landes, that is to say foure shillings of euery pounde, for he sayde that the yere following, the king and the Emperour should make such warre in Fraunce, as hath not bene sene.

The Cardinals oration.

The demaunde.

A great subsidie.

After that he had declared his matter at length, exhorting the commons to ayde their prince, in time of necessitie, he departed out of the common house. The morrowe after, syr Thomas More beyng speaker, declared all the Cardinals oration agayne to the commons, and enforced his demaund strongly, saying: that of duetie men ought not to denie to pay foure shillings of the pound. But for all that, it was denied and proued manifestly, that if the fift part of substaunce of the realme, were but eyght hundred thousand pound, and if men should pay to the king the fift part of their goodes, in money or plate it was prooued, that there was not so much money out of the kings handes, in all the realme, for the fift part of euery mans goodes, is not in money nor plate: For although fiue men were well monied, fiue thousand were not so, the Gentlemen of landes, hath not the fift part of the value in corne: the Marchaunt that is riche of Silke, Wolle, Tynne, Cloth, and such Marchaundise, hath not the fift part in money, the husbande man is riche in corne and cattle, yet he lacketh of that somme. Likewise braylers and al other artificers, be rich in houshold stuffe, and not in money: and then consequently, if all the money were brought to the kings handes, then men must barter cloth for vittayle, and bread for cheese, and so one thing for another:

A straunge reconyng.

ther: then consider that after this valuation, the king hath had by the waye of loane two shillings of the pound, which is foure hundred thousand pound, and now to haue foure shillings of the pound, which amounteth in the whole twelue hundreth thousand pound, which first and last is fiue shillings of the pounde, which is almost the thirde part of euery mans goods, which in coyne cannot be had within this realme, for the proofe whereof was alleged, that if there were in Englande, but fiftene thousand parishes, and euery parishe should geue a hundred Marke, that were but fiftene hundred thousande Marke, which is but ten hundred thousand pound, and how many parishes be in England one with another, able to spare a hundred Markes, out of Cities and townes: and where it is written, that in Englande there be. xl. thousand parishe Churches, it was proued that there were not. xiij. C. parishe Churches at this day. Then accompt the whole somme cannot amount aboue ten hundred thousand pound, and the king demaundeth eyght hundred thousand, and he according to this valuation, hath had foure hundred thousand pound, therfore it was thought, the somme was impossible to be leuied, and if all the coyne were in the kings handes, how should men liue: Also the king had of the spirituall men the last yere, foure shillings of the pound.

After long reasoning there were certaine appointed, to declare the impossibilite of this demaunde to the Cardinall, which according to their commission, declared to him substantially the pouerty & scarcenesse of the realme: all which reasons and demonstrations, he little regarded, and then the sayde persons most meekely beseeched his grace, to moue the kings highnesse, to be content with a more easier somme, to the which he curtisly answered, that he would rather haue his tongue plucked out of his head with a payre of pinsons, then to moue the king to take anye lesse somme: with which answere, they almost dismayed, came and made report to the common house, where euery day was reasoning, but nothing concluded.

Wherefore the Cardinall came againe to the common house and desired to be reasoned withall, to whom it was answered, that the fashion of the nether house was, to heare and not to reason, but among themselues. Then he shewed the realme to be of great ryches, first because the kinges customes were greater nowe, then they were before time: also he alleged sumptuous buyldings, plate, riche apparell, of men, women, children, and seruauntes, fat feastes, and delicate dishes, which things were all tokens of great abundaunce: with which repeting of mens substaunce, as though he had repined or disdayned, that any man should farewell, or be well clothed but hymselfe, the commons greatly grudged. And when he was departed out of the house, it was proued, that honest apparell of the commodities of this realme, abundance of plate, and honest viandes, were profitable to the realme, and not prodigall. After long debating, the commons concluded to graunt two shillings of the pounde, of euery mans landes or goods, that was worth twentie pound, or might dispend twentie pound to be taken for the king and so vpwarde of euerie twentie shillings, two shillings, and from. xl. shillings to twentie pound, of euery twentie shillings, twelue pence, and vnder. xl. shillings of euery head. xvj. yeres and vpward foure pence, to be payde in two yeres. This graunt was reported to the Cardinall, which therewith was sore discontent, and sayde, that the Lordes had graunted foure shyllings of

the pound, which was proued vntrue, for in deede they had graunted nothing, but harkened all vpon the commons.

A frenche offer of a Gentleman.

Then a knight called syr John Hussye of Lincolneshire, sayde, to please the Cardinall somewhat, let vs gentlemen of fiftie pounde lande and vpwardes, geue to the king of our landes twelue pence of the pounde, to be payde in three yere: with which motion diuers gentlemen were sore discontent. And when the question was asked, ten or twelue of the Gentlemen said yea, and when the nay should be asked, the commons sayd nothyng, for they would not condempne, nor let the Gentlemen to charge themselues, and so by ten or twelue persons, the gentlemen were burdened, with twelue pence more then other, for the which graunt, syr John Hussye had much euill will.

After thys graunt made, the. xxj. day of May, because of Whitsontyde, the Parliament was proroged to the tenth daye of June: During which prorogation, the common people sayde to the Burgesses, Sirs, we heare say you will graunt foure shillings of the pound, we aduise you to doe so that you may go home, with many euill wordes and threatnings.

And in this season, the Cardinall by his power Legantine, dissolued the Conuocation at Paules, called by the Archebishop of Cauntorbury, and called him and all the clergy, to his Conuocation to Westminster, which was neuer sene before in England, wherof maister Skelton a mery Poet wrote.

Skelton.

Gentle Paule lay downe thy Sweard:
For Peter of VVestminster hath shauen thy Beard.

When the parliament was begunne againe, the landed men of fiftie pounde and vpwarde, seyng that they were charged, with twelue pence of euery pound of their landes, moued that all such as were worth fiftie pound in goods and vpwarde, should pay also twelue pence of the pound, in the fourth yere. At the which motion was much reasoning, and at the last the .xxbij. daye of June, the question was asked, and doubtfull it was,

A hard triall

whether the yea or nay were most, then was the house deuided, and all the commons seuered themselues, from the knightes of the sheeres, so that one yea part remayned onely in the knightes of the Shire, and the commons stiffely affirmed that the motioners of thys demaunde, were enemies to the realme. At the last the Speaker called them altogether, and after long perswading, and priuie labouring of friendes, it was agreed that twelue pence of the pound should be payde the fourth yere, of fiftie pounde in goodes.

After this the Parliament the. xxxj. day of July, was adiorned to Westminster, and there continued till the. xiij. day of August, and that day at. ix. of the clock in the night dissolued. During the time of this Parliament the xxbij. daye of Aprill, was syr Arthur Plantagenet, Bastarde sonne to king Edward the fourth, at Bridewell created Viscount Lisle, in the right of his wyfe, which was wife to Edmond Dudly behedded.

Christian king of Denmarke.

This yere Chrisierne king of Denmarke with hys wyfe, which was sister to the Emperour Charles, and his three children, with. xbiij. shippes arriued in Flaunders, cleane banished out of his realmes and dominions, by hys Uncle Frederick Duke of Holst, and hys owne subiectes, for his cruelties as is written. Which Chrisierne with his wife, was well entertayned of the Duches of Sauoy, and a pencion assigned to him to liue on, in Brabant and Holland, During the time of his there soiorning, he made much sute to come into England, to see and speake with the king, which request was to him graunted, and so he and hys Queene, with foure Gentlewomen, and a traine of fourtie persons, pore and euill appareled, landed at Douer the. xb. day of June, where he was nobly receyued, by the Erle of Deuonshire, and the Bishops of Excester, and Rochester, and diuers knightes and Esquiers, and so brought to Grenewiche: where the king and Queene, standing vnder their clothes of estate, receyued them into the great hall of Grenewiche. And he dyned with the king, and she with the Queene, both set vnder the cloth of estate, and were sumptuously serued of all delicate viands.

The king of Denmarke commeth into England.

And when he had soiourned there a season, euery daye feasted at the Court, he was conueyghed to London, and lodged at Bathe place, where he hearyng of the watch in London, on saint Peters euen, desired to see it, and so was accompanyed with the Duke of Suffolke, the Erles of Oxford, Essex and Kent, and diuers other Lordes and Ladies, and brought into the Kings head in Cheape, where the Citie of London made to him and hys wife a costly banquet. And when he had sene the watch, he sayd, I would to God I had so many archers, Pikes, and Halberders, as I sawe this night, then I trust I would punishe suche, as haue wrongfully dispossessed me, of my realme and Country. And after he had solaced himselfe in London, he resorted to the king, of whome he had many great giftes, and likewise had hys wyfe of the Queene her Aunt, and so tooke their leaue, and were conueyed to Douer. And when he had bene in England. xxij. dayes, he toke shipping, and sayled agayne into Flaunders, praysing much the king of Englande and hys Court.

The king of Denmarke commendeth the watch of London.

During all thys season, and session of the Parliament, the warre was fierce, both betweene England and Fraunce, and England and Scotland, in so much that eche part, did as much as in them lay, to hurt the other. For on the borders of Scotland lay the valyaunt Erle of Surrey, great Admirall of Englande, and the Marques Dorset, and hys three brethren, Syr William Compton, and sir William Kyngston, with diuers other knightes and Esquiers, sent to them by the king, which daylie inuaded the realme of Scotlande, and threwe downe the Castell of Wedderberne, the Castell of West Nesgate, the Castell of Blakkater, the Tower of Mackewalles, the tower of East Nesgate, and many other, and brent to the number of. xxxbij. villages, and haried the Countrey from the East Marches to the West, and neuer had skirmishe: but they oftentimes shewed themselues in plumpes, wayting their auauntage, howbeit in all thys iorney were fewe Englishe men lost. Wherefore the Lordes perceyuing that the Scottes entended not to make any armie into England, fortefied the frontiers on euery part, with men and all things necessarie for defence, for stealing or other small rodes. After all which things set in a perfitenesse, they returned toward the king, and came to the ende of the Parliament.

Scotland sore harried and spoyled.

In this season, the Frenchmen hauing a great desire, to haue the kings towne of Calice, deuised first to destroy the hauen, by the which they supposed, that Calice might haue bene lightly gotten, for fault of rescue. Wherupon they laded an olde Ship of foure hundred Tonne, with great Cane stone, in the port of Deepe, which Ship had no Mast, but came with a foresayle, as though the mast had bene cut, and cast ouer the boord in the sea in a tempest.

A ship sonke with stone in Calice hauen

a tempeſt. And when ſhee came before Calice, euerye man that ſawe her, thought ſhe had bene weather driuen, and loſt her maſt by tempeſt, and ſo about ten of the clock at night the .xxiij. day of May, the ſayde Ship came before Calice hauen, as though ſhe would enter for harborow, and ſo was entering and miſſed the Chanell, and turned to the ſandes, towarde Riſe banke, and the Frenchmen ſuppoſing that they had bene in the very chanell, launched out their Boate, and ſodainly ſet the ſhip on fire, and lept into their Boate and ſo ſcaped by the ſhore. When they of Calice ſawe the fire, they were ſore troubled, and at the laſt when the water was gone, they perceyued the Shippe conſumed, and the goodly Caue ſtone lyng whole.

Wherefore the Lorde Barnes Deputie of Calice, the Lorde Barkley Lieutenaunt of the Caſtell, the Lorde Sandes Treaſorer of Calice, and other commaunded all the laborers that might be gotten, to breake the remnaunt of the Shyp, and to carie awaye the ſtone, and ſo the ſayde ſtone was brought to Calice: wherevpon the ſayde Capitaynes ſent a letter, to the Capitaine of Bullepne, by Calice purſuaunt at armes, deſiring him to geue thankes, to Mounſire Lodowyke Capitayne of Deepe, for the ſendyng of ſo fayre a Shyp, and goodly ſtone to Calice, which ſtone the ſayde Lordes ſent word, they had receyued into the towne of Calice, and that it did them much profite, for the fortification of the ſayde towne, deſiring him to ſend more, and they would receyue it on the ſame price. To the which letter, the Capitayne of Bullepne aunſwered, I haue nothing loſt, nor they haue nothing gotten of me, tell him that hath loſt, with which aunſwere the Purſuaunt departed. Wherevpon the Engliſhemen beyng greeued, there iſſued out of Calice an hundred light men of warre, called aucturers, and came neere Bullepn, and obteyned a great bootie, whereof the garriſon of Bullepn beyng aduertiſed, iſſued out and folowed the Engliſhmen, and ſharply them encountered. The Engliſhemen ſhot ſo, that the French men which were fiue hundred, lighted and fought ſore, ſo that as it appered euidently, that there were dead on the ground .xlvj. Frenchmen, and .xxij. Engliſhe men, and the Frenchmen tooke twentie Engliſhe men priſoners, the reſidue of the Engliſhe men kept them together, and ſo came to Calice, the Capitayne of thys enterpriſe was one Latheberie.

The Lorde Sandes Treſorer of Calice, entending to be reuenged on the Frenchmen, called the Counſayle of Calice to hym, and declared to them how the Frenchmen, and in eſpeciall Mounſire de Bees Capitaine of Bulleine, dayly imagined to deſtroy the Engliſh pale, and that they on the Engliſh part, had nothing done yet againſt them, wherefore he aduiſed them all to do ſome acte, and he himſelfe would be preſent, and foremoſt man. Wherevpon it was concluded and commaunded, that euery man ſhoulde be in a readyneſſe, at the ſounding of a Trumpet, vpon which warning, the ſayde Lorde Sandes the ninth day of July earely in the morning, ſent forth two hundred light horſes, through the Engliſh pale, to ſtoppe the people from going, the one toward the other, leaſt his enterprice ſhould be aſcried, and ſo the people were kept in all that daye, and in the euening about ſeauen of the clocke, he himſelfe with a Capitayne called Guyot, Thomas Palmer, Ripton, Rafe Broke and other, ſet forwarde with light ordinaunce and vitaple, and embattayled themſelues in good aray, and marched toward Sandifield by

by a .vj. of the clock, and there refreſhed them ſelues, and in good order, they came to the water of Sclaukes, not far from Bulleyn, which was the tenth day of July.

When they were deſcryed A larme was rong all the country, and the Capitaine of Bullepne ſent forth .lxx. men of Armes, and foure hundred footemen with morrice pykes, Croſbowes, and hand gunnes, wherfore capitaine Guyot was ſent with his bande of horſemen, to ayde the Engliſh footemen, which were farre behinde, and Capitaine Ripton, was appoynted to fight with the Frenchmen, and ſir Thomas Palmer, and Rafe Broke, with the remnaunt of the horſemen, ſtode for a ſtale. Then Capitaine Ripton profered forwarde with the ſperes of Calice, and the Frenchmen came on valiantly, then began a ſore ſkirmiſhe, the Frenchmen both horſemen and footemen, defended the paſſage at the water of Sclaukes, which is but a gut made by force of land water, but after long fight the Engliſhmen gat ouer the water by pure force, and tooke the Frenchmens ſtandard, and a Gentleman which was a man of armes of Bulleine, called Charles de Maruiele, and euer Sir Thomas Palmer and Raufe Broke, ſtode and ayded where neceſſitie was moſt. Thus this ſkirmiſh continued from foure of the clocke in the morning, till nine of the clocke, before noone, and euer the Frenchmen encreaſed, but at the laſt they retrepted themſelues toward Bullepne, in which retourne diuers of them were ſlaine. Or the ſkirmiſh was ended, came the Lorde Sandes with the footemen, with his ſpeare on his thigh, and his helme on his head, and greatly encoraged his company: during which conflict, diuers of Picardye had gathered them together, and had taken the church of Odirſaell, which was well fortefied, and a ſtrong place: whereof the Lord Sands beyng aduertiſed, he marched thetherward, and in the way burned all that might be brent, and ſent an officer at armes, to them that kept the churche of Odirſaell, to yelde the church to hym, which to hym aunſwered that they would ſtand at defence: then he commaunded an aſſault, which quickely was done, and the Frenchmen defended themſelues, with hande gonnes, Croſbowes, and pykes, ſo that the Engliſhmen could not enter. Then the Lorde Sandes commaunded a curtall, which he had with him, to be ſhotte to the church, and pierced it through: then they within ſaw that their defence could not holde, yelded themſelues body and goodes. Out of the Church came lxxij. Frenchmen, which were taken as priſoners, and all the goodes which they had caried into the church were taken for a bootie. Thus by one of the clocke, the ſayde tenth daye of July, was the church of Odirſaell taken.

In this while alſo, had the Frenchmen manned the ſteple of Odingham, which was a very ſtrong Tower, much like a Caſtell, to whome the Lord Sandes ſent an officer at armes, to commaunde them to yelde the fortreſſe, to whom they aunſwered, that they were Frenchmen, and to him they would not yeelde, and if he came thether, they would withſtande him: wherevpon he and his army marched thetherwarde, and about foure of the clocke at after noone, he aſſaulted the ſteple, and the Frenchmen themſelues valiauntly defended, but ſodainly by a chaunce vnknowne, the ſteple was a fier, and the Frenchmen fled downe to the quyer, then the Engliſhmen lightly entered the body of the church, and aſſaulted the Frenchmen, which cryed mercy and yelded themſelues, and at twelue of the clocke at midnight the aſſault ended, and

and there were yelded out of the church fortie prisoners.

After which time the Lord Sandes encamped himselfe, and made good watch for feare of enimies, and in the morning called to him all the Priestes, which were in both churches, and stode at defence, and sayd to them, that they ought not to be men of warre, & not withstanding he had them as prisoners, yet for Gods sake he released them, admonishing them, that if euer after they were taken at defence, they should be hanged on the next Galowes: after which monition done, he deliuered them freely.

Hardingham Castell brent and spoyled.

About eyght of the clocke in the morning, he marched forwarde in good order of battayle, and came to the Castell of Hardingham, the which he brent and spoyled, and so the .xj. day of July he and his company which passed not xij. hundred men, of which he had lost but only .xij. returned to Calice with great store of bestyall and pyllage.

This same season, the Frenche kyng sent an armie of .xviij. thousande men, towardes the parties of Flaunders, which secretly enterprised to take a place called Newdike, which is a strong passage, betweene Fraunce and Flaunders, kept by the Fleminges, whereof they beyng aduertised, arrayed a great power of .xiij. thousande and came to the passage, and slewe of the Frenchmen syx hundred: then the Frenchmen reculed, and seuered themselues: some went to Mount Ozry, and some to Saint Omers, and some brent the Suburbes, they within Mount Ozry defended themselues, and hurt the Capitaine of Bulleine, called Mounsire de Bees and slew his horse: wherefore the Frenchmen went thence and brent a village called Arkus: thus was all the frontiers full of Frencheimen, in so much that in the moneth of August, they bette into the towne of Guysnes, the scourers and the scoutwatch, whereof began Alarme, and the Frenchmen which were many in number, alighted as though they would geue assault mayntenaunt, and fiersly profered towarde the Ditches, but when the ordinaunce begaune once to shote, it was no nede to bid them go. Then the Englishemen corragiously folowed the chace, but sodaynly out came an embushement of Frenchmen and tooke two Englishmen, and thus all the army of Fraunce, remoued to Syngate beside Tyrwyn.

The French king seeyng the king of England, dayly moze and moze encouraged to make warre on him and his dominions, and that the Scots did nothing to his pleasure, for lacke of the Duke John of Albany, whom the Scottes called their Gouernor. He therefore caused great preparation to be made on all parties for men, Shippes, Harnesse, and Artillary, for the sendyng of the Duke John of Albanye into Scotland, which Duke of a great presumption promised to the French king to driue the king of England out of his realme, as before ye haue heard, which promise was not kept.

The king of England, heeryng that the Duke of Albany, should passe into England, to make warre on his realme, thought to haue him met on the seas, and therefore he prepared a fleete of tall and strong shippes mete to encounter with the sayd Duke and his power, and made Admirall of that iourney, sir William Fitzwilliam, and with him sir Fraunces Bzian, sir Anthony Poynez, Seriant Rot, John Hopton, William Gunstone, Anthony Kniuet, Thomas West, and other, which with great diligence laye in wayte to meete with the sayd Duke of Albany, and as they sayled on the French coast, they determi-

determined to lande, to do some harme to Tray porte, and as they houered there, they were espyed: then the Capitaine of the towne fired the Beakens, sent for ayd of all the fortresses about, and strengthed and manned the towne very warlyke. This notwithstandyng, sir William Fitzwilliam and other Capitaynes, left not their enterprice, and so the .xxiij. day of August beyng Sunday, at seuen of the clocke in the morning, they tooke lande in the Hauen of Trappozt, at whome the Frenchmen shot out ordinaunce, quarelles, and stones, the Englishmen in the Boates shot likewise, and encouraged by their Capitaines, assaulted the Frenchmen in their Bulwarkes, the French men them valiauntly defended, and the Englishe Capitaynes as men wythout feare, them assayled, and yet the number was nothing egall, for the English men were but seuen hundred men, and the French men sixe thousand. For the well fighting of the Frenchmen, their Bulwarkes were taken, and theyr ordinaunce seased, and all that were about, fled to the towne of Trappozt, and euer the Englisheimen folowed shotyng arrowes at them, and sleayng them, in which skirmishe Seriant Rot had his Bowe in his hande striken with a Gonne. Then the Capitaynes cryed Saint George, to the Gates of Trappozt, then euery man aduaunced forwarde, and as they were goyng, Chzistopher Mozres mayster Gonner, espyed a piece of a Maste, which he caused to be taken vp, and then Anthony Kneuet, and Fraunces Neudigate, with their men, ranne with the sayde Maste to the Gate, but the Gate was so strong, that it could not be broken: and also at euery loupe laye a piece of ordinaunce, which continually shot at the Englishemen, which caused them to leaue the gate, and they they set fyre in the suburbes, which was a fayre strete and all was brent, and while the Suburbes brent, the Englishemen went to the hauen, and would haue had out the shippes, but water lacked, wherefore they set fire on them, & brent there .vij. faire ships, beside other. All this while was there skirmishyng at the Gates, and much murder on both sydes, for the Frenchmen in flyng from their Bulwarkes to the towne, lost. lxxx. persons, and many were hurt with arrowes. The men of the Countrie came thether still, insomuch as the number became very great, which sir William Fitzwilliam perceiuyng, caused his trumpet to blowe a retreat, and with suche prisoners, pillage, and ordinaunce as they had gotten, they returned to theyr Boates, and the Capitaynes sent their Souldiours before, the Frenchmen perceiuyng the Englishmen returned, issued out and found on land, Fraunces Neudigate, Thomas Vagham, Seriant Rotte, and other Capitaynes to the number of .xij. and ranne hastily toward them in great number, which perceiuyng that, bended themselues to sell their lyues dere. Sir William Fitzwilliam perceiuyng the great ieopardie that they were in, turned hys boate toward the lande, and discharged his ordinaunce, and with much paine saued these gentlemen, and them toke into Boates, notwithstandyng a great number of Frenche men, which were in the water to let him: and thus the whole army returned to their shippes, after they had bene fiue houres on lande, and brought with them. xxvij. pieces of fayre ordinaunce, which were in the Bulwarkes, and lost of theyr men not fully .xx. persons, and then euery Capitaine tooke his awne ship, and coasted the seas, euer lookyng for the Duke of Albany, but they heard no tidynges of him.

In the Parliament (as you haue heard) it was concluded, that the king of

Charles Duke of Suffolk entereth with an army into Fraunce.

of neceſſitie, muſt nedes make ſtrong warre on the realme of Fraũce, wherfore the noble Charles Duke of Suffolke, was appoynted as Capitaine generall, to paſſe with an army royal into Fraunce, in the ende of Auguſt, which with all diligence, prepared all thinges neceſſary for ſuch a royall enterpꝛice: and for the furniture of this armie, there were appoynted to geue their attendaunce on him, the Lorde Mountacute, and ſir Arthur Pole his brother, the Lorde Harbert ſonne to the Erle of Worceſter, the Lorde Ferrers, the Lord Darnay, the Lord Sands, the Lord Barkeley, the Lord Powes, and Baron Curſon, and of knightes, Sir Richard Wingfield, Chauncelor of the Duchy of Lancaſter, ſir John Veere, ſir Edward Neuel, ſir William Kingſton, ſir Richard Weſton, ſir Andrew Winſore, ſir Anthony Wingfielde, ſir Edward Guldford, ſir Edward Griuel, ſir Edward Chamberleyn, ſir Thomas Luce, ſir Guerard Digby, ſir Adrian Foſcew, ſir William Skeuyngton Maiſter of the ordinaunce, ſir Thomas Cheyney, ſir Richard Cornwal, ſir William Courtney, ſir William Sidney, ſir Henry Owen, all theſe lords and knightes, with many other knightes and couragious Eſquiers, and actiue Gentlemen, came accordyng to the kings commaundement at laſt, with all theyr people and retinue to Douer, where they muſtered at ſeuerall tymes, as they paſſed to the ſea, and ſo the number taken, that is to ſay of Demilaunces, fiue hundred, of Archers on horſebacke, two hundred, of Archers on foote three thouſand, of Billmen fiue thouſand, of Pioners and labourers two thouſand fiue hundred: and when the view was taken on the other ſide of the ſea, there were adioyned to this number. xvij. hundred, which might be ſpared out of the Fortreſſes, and crewes of Hams, Guyſnes, and Calice, ſo that all the army were. xiij. thouſand, and an hundreth well harneſſed, and apparayled for the warre, the Pioners onely except: But the Duke himſelfe arriued at Calice, the. xviij. day of Auguſt, with his retinue and Counſaile abidyng the armye, and cauſed all thinges, as victaile and other, to be prepared for the ſame.

Much commonyng was in England, whether this army ſhould go, becauſe that no man except a fewe, knewe the ſecretneſſe: ſome ſayde to Bulleyn, ſome to Parys, and ſo euery man iudged accordyng to his owne opinion, as the common vſe is.

In this ſeaſon, becauſe the mortalitie was great in Calice, the Duke of Suffolk cauſed his army to be lodged in Tentes and Pauilions, vpon the faire grene beſide Saint Peters Church for their more helth, and he accompanyed with diuers noble men, the. viij. day of September roade to Graueling, and thether came to him Chriſtierne king of Denmarke, and the Lorde Iſilſten, Capitaine generall of Flaunders, which amiably enterteyned the ſayd Duke, and after they had ſecretly commoned of diuers matters, conterning diuers armyes to inuade Fraunce, in ſundrie places, the Duke tooke leaue of the king and other, and came to Calice.

A riot at Calice.

While the armie laye without Calice, they daply came into the towne, and ſo it happened that a ſimple felow cut a purſſe, as he made to buy apples, which in continent was taken, and brought to the Maiors houſe to warde, which thing diuers Welſhmen perceiuyng, and not knowyng what appertayned to iuſtice, ranne in great companies to the Maiors houſe, & would haue broken the houſe, the Officers of the towne entreated, and the Welſhmen

men more and more approched, the number of the Welſhmen were ſo great, that the watche of Calice ſtrake alarme. Then the Lorde Deputie and the Lord Sandes, did all that in them lay, to bring them to conformitie, but they were ſo rude that they nothing them regarded, the prieſtes brought forth the Sacrament, which alſo was not regarded. Wherefore the Lord Ferrers was ſtaightly commaunded to appeaſe their rage, for with him they came thether, which with great paine and entreatie them appeaſed: and then all the Welſhemen were commaunded to the field, and to depart the towne and ſo were all other Capitaines, and afterward diuers of the hed rioters were apprehended and ſore punished for example. And when all thinges neceſſary were prepared, the Duke iſſued out of Calice and toke the field, & ordeyned his marſhall, and Capitaine of the vauntgard, the Lord Sandes, Capitaine of his right wing ſir William Kingſton, and Capitaine of his left wing, ſyr Guerard Digby, ſir Edward Guyldford Marſhall of Calice, was Cappitaine of all the horſemen, ſir Richard Wingfielde Capitaine of the rereward: then the Duke with all his armye, as Capitaine of the middle warde, wyth Standardes, Banners, and Penons diſplayed, marched forward in good order of battaile, and came to a place called Kalkewell, and there lodged the xix. day of September. In which place diuers Souldiors, as Carters, and vp land men, which were vnmeete for the war, (for euery thing to them was paine) fell ſicke and diſeaſed, wherefore the Duke gaue them leaue by paſport to returne.

The Sacraments.

And on the. xvij. day of September, he tooke vp his campe and came to Hamſwell, and their pitched his field, he thus lying in abode for the army of Flaunders, which promiſed to ioyne with him, which as then were not come to Saint Omers. He entending not to lye ſtill idlely, ſent Clarenſeaur king at Armes, to ſommon the Caſtell called Bell Caſtell, to yelde to him, or elſe he would deſtroy it with fyre and ſworde, the officer of Armes did his meſſage accordyngly, to whome the Capitain aunſwered, that he would deliuer no Caſtell to the Duke, and if the Duke came thether, he ſhould nothing get, for he ſayd he was ſure of ſuch reſcues, that ſhould not be to the Dukes aduauntage: which with this aunſwere returned toward the Duke, and in the way he met the Lorde Sandes, and the Lord Ferrers, in array of battaile, with fiue hundred horſemen, and a thouſand footemen, to whome he reherſed the aunſwere, then ſayde the Lordes, we muſt compell him, if otherwiſe he will not. Then the Maiſter of the ordinaunce was commaunded to prepare for a battery, which was done, and thether came fiue hundred horſemen of Burgonions, and fiue hundred footemen, then the ordinaunce with great difficultie was brought nere the Caſtell, and although it were night, the Gunnes ſeaſed not, and bet the place ſore, they within defended the beſt that they might, and when the day began to ſpring, the Lordes cauſed to blowe to the aſſault, which heeryng, the Capitaine of the Caſtell ſayd to his Companions, that they were not able to abyde the aſſault, and that their ſuccors fayled them, wherefore of neceſſitie they muſt deliuer the Caſtell, wherto they agreed, and ſo he yelded the Caſtell, his life onely ſaued, and all other at the mercy of the Duke, which pardoned them, and toke them as priſoners and deliuered the Caſtell to ſir William Skeuington, which was ſhortly raſed downe to the ground, the. xxbij. day of September.

The Caſtell called Bell Caſtell taken and raſed.

Monday

Monday beyng the.xxviij. day of September there was a Proclamation made in the armie, how that Fraunces Duke of Burbon, and Constable of Fraunce, was become friend to the king of Englande, and enemie to the French king, and was swoorne to the king of Englande, and had in hys wages for the king of England ten thousand Almaynes to inuade Fraunce, or to let the French kings purposes, and for this intent to him was sent money in no little somme, but the common people sayde, that neuer was French man true to England, howbeit he was true as long as he liued.

Fraunces Duke of Burbon did sodainely become English against the French king.

To make thys proclamation more apparaunt, you must vnderstande that in thys season the French king was ruled by his mother the Countesse of Angulesme, and the Admyrall of Fraunce called Lorde Bonyuet, which as was reported and sayde, loued the sayde Lady as his Paramour, of which all the Court of Fraunce spake much. These two persons so ruled the king, that what they sayde was done, and no iudgement nor sentence passed in the Parliament at Parys without their assent, so that nothing was done without them, at which thing the nobles of Fraunce sore disdayned, and especially the Lorde Fraunces Duke of Burbon and Constable of Fraunce, which hauing a sute for the Erledome of Montpelyer, could not be heard speake nor hys counsayle neyther. At the last he beyng sore displeased with this vnkinde and vniust handlyng, came to the French king beseechyng him of iustice and fauor, which flattering him sayde, that all that was in hys power to doe he would gladly accomplishe, and other aunswere had he none, and to encrease hys grudge the more, the French kings mother made a tytle to the whole Duchy of Burbon and Auerne, and the Admyrall and shee so entised the king, that he sayde openly that the Duke of Burbon shortly should be as pore as the meanest gentleman in Fraunce, which wordes reported to hym, caused him to hate mortally the French king and hys mother, and so in displeasure departed into hys owne Countrie. The king of England beyng hereof aduertised, sent to the Duke of Burbon a knight of hys chamber called sir John Russell, a man well languaged, which wisely and couertly so behaued himselfe, that he came to the Duke to Molyns, and knewe all his intent how he would forsake his king, and serue the king of England and the Emperour agaynst the French king, and therepon toke his othe. The French king not mistrusting the allegeaunce of the Duke of Burbon, sent to the Duke to prepare him to go into Italy, for he had prepared a great army to passe the Mountaynes agaynst the Duke of Myllaine, in which armie he had sixe thousande men of armes, and.xxv. thousand footemen. The Duke hearing hereof fayned himselfe sick, and the French king passyng by Molyns, visited and comforted him: to whome the Duke promised to come shortly after to Lyons with all his power, and caused an horselitter to be caried emptie three dayes amongst a certaine of his Souldiours, as though he were there, but he himselfe fled secretly into the Countie of Burgoyne pertayning to the Emperour, where he retayned ten thousand Almaynes to inuade Fraunce, assone as the Frenche king was passed the Mountaynes.

This Sir John Russel was after Lorde priuie seale, and after Erle of Bedford.

When the French king heard of thys, he sent the Admyrall into Italy with his armie, and sent his great mayster to seaze all the Dukes landes. Of all these doynges Sir John Russell brought true worde, for he was present with the Duke, and also sawe the Frenche armie, and returned vnespyed, wherefore

wherefore he deserued and had of the king and his counsayle great thankes. Whereupon the king caused the proclamation to be made in the armie, that they might knowe that all the power of Fraunce should not trouble them. For what with the warres of Italy and for the Duke of Burbons power they might doe what they lust, and be vnfought withall, which so proued after. Which tydings much encouraged the Englishe Souldyours.

After this proclamation, there were tydinges brought to the armie for a truth, that one Iherom Vicount, a great familier friend with the Duke of Myllayne entised by the French king, had almost slayne Fraunces Duke of Myllayne with a dagger behinde at hys backe, with the which doyng the frenche king aboue all persons fayned himselfe to be most displeased. The morowe beyng the.xxix. day of September the Duke with his whole army remoued to Arde and there lodged, and the last day of September he remoued to a Village called Arlke, and from thence the first day of October he came to a village betwene Tyrwyn and saint Omers, called Esquerdes or Cordes, where the Duke lay and encamped himselfe abyding his enemies.

Now must I returne to tell you what was done betweene Englande and Scotland this same season. Whyle the Duke of Suffolke was thus inuading the realme of Fraunce. The Scottes thinking the warre turned into Fraunce, and that nothyng should be attempted agaynst them, began to robbe and spoyle on the Marches of Englande, whereof the king beeryng sent agayne thether the valyaunt Erle of Surrey, Treasorer and Admyrall of Englande, which in all hast sped him to the West Marches, and sent for an armie of sixe thousand men, and with banner displayed entered by the dyc Marches, beating downe Castels and fortresses on euery side. And although the Scots be men of high courage, yet they seyng the wise conduite of the Noble Erle of Surray and his chosen companye, durst not once encounter with him, and so he passed quietly through the dales, till he came to the strong towne of Jedworth, in which lay a great garrison of Scottishe men, which did all the hurt they could to the Englishemen, and hardely in great number fairmished with the Englishe men, so that on both parties dyuers were slain, but in the ende the Abbay, Castell, and towne of Jedworth were brent, and all rased a sunder in the open sight of the Scottes. And after this he would not returne but encamped himselfe in the Scottish ground abidyng battayle, and lay there from the.xxij. day of September, to the.xxv. day. Duryng which time he sent the Lord Daker of Gylderland to a strong holde of Doncar called Fernhurst, the which Castell stood very euill to come to, for the wayes were hylly, stony, and full of Marishes, and the Scottes had bent their ordinaunce that way: yet for all that the English men so fiercely set on that they gat the Castell, notwithstanding that the Scottes fought valyauntly, and many of them were taken, as Dan Car the Lord, the Lord of Gradon and dyuers other which was there taken, and so the Lorde Daker returned with his prisoners, and then he was ordayned to keepe the watch that night, which set his watches and hys wardes surely. In the night sodaynely three hundred good Geldyngs brake out of a pasture, which were in custodie of the sayde Lorde Dacres campe, and as beastes wood and sauage ranne enraged, and notwithstanding that men did as muche as they might to stop them, yet they ranne as though they were in array of battayle,

The Castell of Fernhurst in Scotland taken.

A straunge chaunce.

fayle, whereof the noyse in the night was so great, that the armie sounded alarme, the hoyse still in array ranne to the campe where the Erle laye, and bare downe many persons in their way, and so sodainly ranne away, whether it was vnknowne: the Lorde Dacres men sayde that the Deuill was sene amongst them: and after the third day the Erle returned into England.

When the Erle of Surrey departed from the borders in August as you haue heard heretofore: The Scottes wrote to the Duke of Albany of all their affaires, which was comming into Scotland. But when he heard that the Navie of England laye in a wayte to fight with him, he durst not aduenture, but sate still: And when he heard there was no Capitaynes of name on the borders of England toward Scotlande, he deuised by pollicie that all his ships should be remoued to the hauen of Brest, and sayde himselfe and caused it to be noysed that he would not sayle into Scotlande that yere. So ranne the voyce all the coastes of Normandie and Britayne, and so passed till the ende of September.

The craftie pollecie of the Duke of Albany.

The king of England was informed by such as knew none other, that the Duke of Albany had broken his iorney, and would not passe that yere into Scotland. Wherefore the king of England in the middest of September caused his ships to be layd vp in Hauens till the next spring: The Duke of Albany beyng thereof aduertised, boldly then tooke his shippes and shipped his people, and with. lxxij. sayle in sight passed by the West partes of England, and coasted Wales, and with great labor landed at Kylcowbye in the West part of Scotland with all hys people, the.xxj. day of September, which were in number three thousand or there about, and with him was the Traytor Richard de la pole.

Richard de la poole.

When it was knowne in Scotlande that the Lorde Gouernour was landed, muche gladnesse there was amongst the people. Then the Duke was highly receyued and his people well cherished, and then began a parlyament. The king of England heering that the Duke of Albany was landed in Scotland and was vnfought withall, was not a little displeased, and suspected that suche as enformed him that the Duke would not passe that yere, had deceyued him, but there was no remedie: Wherfore he made prouisions and put all things in a readynesse, if he would attempt any thing agaynst him and his realme.

The Duke of Albany landeth in Scotland.

The Duke of Albany gouernor of Scotland being in the parliament of the realme with great eloquence declared to them the loue and fauor that Fraunces the French king bare to the realme of Scotlande, in somuch that he being aduertised of the great murders, slaughters, and burninges done by the Englishmen, thought that he suffered no lesse hurt and dammage then they did, accompting himselfe one of their members, and them likewise the members of him and his realme, and for the reuenging of the same, he to be partener as their member, and for the more credite he shewed the French kinges letter, affirming his declaration. When the letters were red, there start vp a Baron of Scotlande called the Lorde Forbos, which sayde: the realme of Scotlande for the loue of Fraunce suffereth great paine as dayly doth appere, for our Nobles be dayly slayne or taken, our Commonaltie murdered, our landes ouerrunne our houses and forteresses brent and rased, the profites of our landes we lese: which mischiefe we nede not to haue had but

but for the loue of Fraunce, & what helpeth Fraunce? A far friend is not sone fet? A mightie neighbour may be a cruell enemie. I affirme this, if we would kepe amitie with the realme of England we were out of all these daungers. God forbid said the Duke of Albany that Scotland euer should seeke a new friende or prefer their amitie, to the destroyers of their countrie and nation, but you my Lords of Scotland ar sufficient of your selues to maintaine your landes, liberty and fredome against your common enemies the Englishmen. And therefore now let vs together reuenge the hurtes done to vs and oure countrye: and I on mine honor shall go with you, and therefore I haue brought with me both treasure, men, and artillery into this realme. I thinke not but we shall so doe that all christendome shall speake of oure noble conquest. To the Dukes request all the court of parliament agreed, and then were commissions sent through Scotlande and cryes made that all men should assemble at Doglas dale with vittayle for. xxviij. dayes. The Scottes in all hast prepared, so that the Lordes were come to the place appointed the xviij. day of October, with vittaile, gunnes, and all other artillery, and so came by easy iourneyes to the riuer of Twede on a grounde beside Hume castell, and from thence came to Cawdestrene and there lodged.

The Duke of Albany raiseth a great power of Scotland against king Henry and the realme of Englande.

All this doing the king of England knewe well, wherefore with all diligence he caused to be assembled the people of the North part beyond Trent whereof there were thre thousand bering coates of armes with their power and strength, which all were commaunded to resort to the Erle of Surrey with spede. The noble Marques Dorset Thomas was appoynted to kepe Barwicke with six thousand men, least the Scottes would therto laye siege.

The Duke of Albany which lay on the frountiers heering of the Erle of Surreyes preparing, sent to him an Herauld promising him of his honour to geue him battaile, and if he tooke him in battaile he would put him to curteous raunsome and his bodye to be safe: To whome the Erle aunswered, that much he thanked the Duke of his offer, and that he would abide battaile, promising him that he would geue him battayle if he durst abyde: and if that the sayd Duke were taken prisoner by him or his men he would strike of his head and send it to the king of England his Maister, and bade that he should trust to none other, at which aunswere the Duke of Albany and the Scots toke great despyte.

A bitter and yet a valiant aunswere made by the Erle of Surrey vnto the Duke of Albany.

The Erle of Surrey being at Alnwike, to him came the Erles of Northumberland and Westmerland, the lord Clyfford, the lord Dacres, the lord Lumley, the Lord Ogle, the lord Darcy, and many noble knightes, squiers, and yomen, to the number of. xl. M. And from the kings court was sent to be at the battail sir Nicholas Carew maister of the horse, sir Fraunces Bryan, sir Edward Baynton and diuers other. All this army lay on the borders abiding the Scots comming into England which lay still in Scotland, and did nothing till the last day of October beyng Saterday. The night before the Scottes had sent ouer the water into England three or foure thousand men, to laye siege to a little Castell called the Castell of Warke, which standeth nere the border: the great ordinaunce of Scotlande fore bet the Castell, and Dan Car and the Frenchmen which came out of Fraunce with the Duke of Albany gaue to the Castell a strong assault: within the Castell was sir William Lyle with a hundred persons, but the Scottes were so many in number

that they gotte the vttermoſt ward called the Barnkyns where the Beaſtes and barnes were, which ſeyng, the Capitaine ſent in all haſte to the Erle of Surrey aduertiſing him of their diſtreſſe, which in all haſt aſſembled his Capytaines to reſkue the Caſtell, therby hopyng that Duke John of Albany would enter into England. The Frenchmen and Scottes lay ſtill about the Caſtell continually ſhooting ordinaunce, Sonday and Monday the firſt and ſecond day of Nouember, and then the Scots thinking the place aſſaultable, corageouſly ſet on the Caſtell and by ſtrength entered the ſecond ward. Sir William Lile perceyuing that the Scottes had gotten the falſe brayes and that nothing remayned but only the inner ward or Dongeon, ſayde to his company, Sirs for our honor and manhood let vs iſſue and fight with the proude Scots & ſtately frenchmen, for more ſhal our honor be to dye in fight then to be murthered with gunnes, to the which his company that were left agreed: for of his hundred men he had loſt almoſt fortie at the other aſſaults. Then they iſſued out boldely and ſhot corageouſly as men that ſhot for a vantage, and with ſhooting and fighting they draue their enemies cleane out of the place and ſlew of them, and chiefely of the Frenchmen three hundred which lay there dead in ſight when the Erle came thether, beſide ſuch as died of woundes and were drowned. Then the Scottes remoued their ordinaunce, in great haſt ouer the water, and by that time was the Erle of Surrey come with fiue thouſand men on horſebacke and all his great army folowed and was very ſory that his enemies were gone, and much prayſed Sir William Lyle for his valiauntneſſe.

When the Duke of Albany and the Lordes of Scotland knew that the Erle of Surrey approched with his puiſſaunt army, they thought it not conuenient to iooperd all the nobilitie of Scotland in one field, conſidering their chaunce ten yeares before, and therefore they concluded to returne, and ſo on the ſecond day of Nouember in the night the Duke with all his army retreated more for his ſuertie then honor.

The Scots returne and dy ſcame into Scotland.

The horſemen of Scotlande kept the fordes that no man ſhould paſſe to greue the footemen as they returned, and when all the baggages were gone they caſt themſelues in a plumpe and returned.

When the daye appered, then the Engliſhmen might plainlye ſee the Scottes how they fled fiftie mens thickeneſſe, many a luſtie Engliſhman woulde fayne haue folowed them on horſebacke, and ſo woulde the Erle of Surrey with all his hart, but his commiſſion was only to defend the realme and not to inuade Scotlande, which thing him ſore diſpleaſed. Thus brake vp the great army of Scotlande to the great rebuke of the Duke of Albany and the nobles of Scotlande which two yeres together had made bragges and aſſembles and durſt not abyde battaile. The Scottes made much brags that they had beaten downe the walles of Warke Caſtel, but they ſpake nothing of their men that they left there, nor how cowardly they returned and would not abyde. After this returne Queene Margaret of Scotland and mother to the yong king, ſent to her brother the king of England for an abſtinence of warre to be taken betweene the realme of Englande and Scotland, to the entent that ſome way might be taken, that an amytie might be had betweene them: which requeſt was to her graunted, and ſo the great army of Englande was diſſolued & the Erle of Surrey returned to the coaſt.

In

In this ſeaſon, the Emperor Charles ſent to the king of England two Mules trapped in crimoſyn Ueluet curiouſly enbroudered, all the Buckles, ſtroppes and all ſuch other garnithyngs were ſiluer and gilt of maruelous comyng worke. He ſent alſo. xj. Geuets full goodly to beholde, trapped with ruſſet velvet richely wrought, and foure Speares, and two Jauelynges of ſtraunge timber and worke richly garniſhed, and fiue brace of Greyhounds: and to the Queene he ſent two Mules, with riche trappers & high Chayers after the Spaniſhe faſhion, all theſe preſentes were thankfully receyued both of the king and Queene.

Preſentes ſent from the Emperor to the king.

Now let vs returne to the Duke of Suffolke which lay at Cordes or Eſqwerdes the.xx. day of September, and thether came to him the armie of Flaunders, whereof was Capitain the Lord of Iſilſteyne, which had with him of Spaniardes, Almaynes, Cleues and other, three thouſand footemen, and fiue hundred horſemen well apparayled for the warres in all poyntes.

The Duke of Suffolke beyng thus furniſhed paſſed forwarde in wet weather makyng bridges and wayes, euer lookyng for battaile, and on the xxij. day of October he ſent the Lorde Sandes Marſhall of his armye, and with him three thouſand men to a good towne called Aire, which accompanied with diuers knightes and gentlemen in good order of battaile marched toward the towne. The Frenchmen perceiuyng the Engliſhmen comyng toward their towne, fled out as faſt as they might, and left the towne deſolate: then entered the Engliſhemen, and had there a great bootie, and tooke the Caſtell called Bonegard, & therein put a garriſon of Engliſhmen, whereof was Capitaine the Lorde Leonard Gray brother to the Marques Dorſet to conduct bittaylers to the armie, which now was farre from any ſuccors of the Engliſhe part. In this towne was an Abbay of Monkes which receyued humbly the Lordes and Nobles of England, which to them did no hurt nor dammage, and then they returned to the Duke.

The towne of Aire taken.

After this, the.xix. day, the Duke with his army, paſſed to a village called Qwede: and there after long counſailyng it was determined that the whole armie ſhould paſſe to a ſtrong towne and well fortifyed called Bray, which towne was well ordinaunced, and had in it .xvj.C. men of warre, the Capitain thereof was called Adrian, and for ſuccors to the towne were come Mounſire Pontdormy, the Vicount Lerneedam, the Vicount Turraine, Mounſire Applyngcort, and Mounſire Dampney, with fiue hundred horſemen, ſo that in the towne beſyde the Inhabitauntes were two thouſande good men. This towne ſtandeth on the ryuer of Some. xviij. Engliſhe mile from Arras, and.xviij. myles aboue Amias: This towne was well ditched and ſtrengthned on euery ſide.

The towne of Bray beſieged.

The.xx. day of this moneth, the Duke commaunded all his great ordinaunce to be brought by foure of the clocke in the morning before the towne of Bray, they that had the charge thereof ſo manfully acquited them, that notwithſtandyng all the dammage that their enemyes could do, brought the ordinaunce before the towne at the houre appointed. Then eche part ſhot dreadfully at other, but the Engliſhe Gunners ſhot ſo well, that the walles of the towne were beaten downe and raſed with the ordinaunce, inſomuche that by. ix. of the clocke the towne was made aſſaultable. Then the Duke cauſed to blowe to the aſſault. Then the Engliſhemen and Fleminges, and

Burgonions lept foorth quickly, and notwithstandyng that the ditches were deepe, yet they so couragiously entered by the good comfort of the Lorde Sandes, and other noble men that they gat the ditches. The Frenchemen perceiuyng that the towne should be gotten, hastily made traynes of Gunpowder from streete to streete, and house to house, saiyng that the Englishemen after their entry into the towne would fall to pillage, and then sodainly sodaine fyre should destroy them. This was the prouision of the Frenchymen: by this tyme the Englishmen were entryng on the walles, and the Frenchmen stoode yet at defence with Pykes, Crosbowes, Handgunnes, and Halberdes, but they were to weake, for on all parties entered the Englishmen, and sodainely the Frenchymen fled, and the Englishemen folowed and killed and slue in euery part.

The towne of Bray taken by the Duke of Suffolke and destroyed

Nowe you must understand that this towne of Bray standeth on the riuer of Some which is there deuided in diuers braunches, and betweene euery braunch is a marishe ground, where on the farside of the towne was fortified a Bulwarke full of ordinaunce to kepe the passage ouer the water, and the Frenchymen had losed the plankes of the bridge nere a myle aboue Bray, and the horsemen of Fraunce passed by a mile which was to the French fotemen a great ayde, for they stood and kept the passage till the footemen were come ouer the bridge, and then they plucked away the plankes of the bridge, so that no man shoulde folowe, but euer the Englishe men folowed, and cast plankes on the bridge, and passed ouer the bridge, in which passyng diuers were drowned, but with great trauaile all men passed, horsemen and footemen, and fiercely assaulted the Bulwarke, and tooke it with al the ordinance, and in it was taken, Capitaine Adrian, and Capitaine Ulterlew. The Englishe horsemen folowed the Frenchmen, and diuers of them were slaine and taken, sir Robert Jernyngham brake a speare of the Lorde Pountdormy. The Lord Leonard Gray did valiauntly that day. You must remember that when the Frenchmen issued out of the towne, they forgat not to lay a match to the traine of Gunpowder which they had made, which in short space set the towne all on fyre, so that when the Englishemen returned againe, all was on fyre, so that there they had litle profite but wyne, which to them did great pleasure. Thus was the towne of Bray taken, and destroyed the.xx. day of October.

The Duke considery ng that little succors were for him and his Souldiors in the towne of Bray, because the sayd towne was consumed with fire, he therefore commaunded the bridges to be well repayred for to passe ouer the great riuer of Some into the realme of Fraunce: and when the passage was sure, the Lorde Sandes the.xxj. day of October in the morning was prest to passe ouer with the vawarde. Then some Gentlemen sayde that they would passe no farther forward, and diuers Souldiours were of the same opinion. It was asked why they should feare, and they answered that if they were past ouer the riuer, they were past all succours and vittaile, none coulde be brought to them. By reason of this noyse, the Souldiours stayed, which the Lorde Sandes perceiuyng, saide to the Welchemen which were euill willyng to passe the riuer: Sirs sayde he, beholde what I do, and with that he tooke a Banner of Saint George, and sayde, as many as loue the king of England, and be true to him and to the Crowne, folow me, & then he

he and sir William Kingston set forwarde and passed the water, which there runneth in three streames, then al other persons couragiously folowed, with the ordinaunce and vittayles.

After the forward folowed the Duke and all his battaile: At this time the armie was sore minished by reason many were diseased, and from the host departed, so the host was not of that strength that it was at the setting out of Calice. When the Englishmen were passed, then folowed the Burgonions in good order, and so that night this armie came to a towne called Kappe, and there encamped themselues, all the Inhabitauntes were fled both out of the towne and Castell: there the Englishemen found a hundred tonne of Wyne, and other good pillage. The garrison that lay at Anker, knowyng that the Duke was passed the riuer of Some, rased the towne and Castell, and came and ioyned with the Dukes armie at Kappe.

There the Duke caused Proclamations to be made in the armye that all the people of Fraunce that would vittaile the armie of England should be well entreated, and haue their vittayles well payed for, and safe goyng and comming, by the which Proclamation the host was well vittayled, for the people of the country resorted with all thinges necessary.

The towne of Roy yelded to the Duke.

The Duke thus lying at Kappe sent to the towne of Roy to yeeld them to the king of England. The towne perceiuyng that their power was not able to withstand the great armye of the Duke, assented to deliuer the towne to the Duke. This was a strong towne well walled, ditched and ordinaunced, but not manned: the Duke sent thether sir Richard Cornwall, and other with foure hundred men to receyue the towne, which went thether in good array, and had the towne to them delivered, and then they set the Banner of Saint George in the highest part of the towne, and full well this garrison kept the towne of Roy till the Duke came thether with his whole armie.

The towne of Lyhome taken.

The Duke and his army the.xvb. day of the sayde moneth remoued to a village called Lyhome, & had there great pillage: for this towne was much haunted of Marchantes, & there kept great markets. The next day he remoued to Dauenker, and the.xxbij. day he remoued and came before the strong towne of Mountdedier, where for defence of warre lacked neyther ditches, walles, nor bulwarkes: The horsemen of the English army roade about the towne to view it, at whyome the Capitaynes caused diuers peeces to be losed, which shewed well their strength. The Duke sent an officer of armes to somon the Capitaine to deliuer the towne: the officer departed, and wyth him a trumpet which blewe before the Gate, but no person would answere, because they would haue no summons made to them: the officer of Armes returned and made report. Then the Dukes skyrrers made profer afore the towne, out of the which issued a great company of horsemen and skirmyshed with the Dukes horsemen, and fought valiantly, but at the last.xl. of the horsemen were taken, with which the Lorde Roche Baron Capitaine of the towne was sore displeased, yet he thought him able to maintain the towne agaynst the whole army. Then the Duke of Suffolke pitched his field and layd his siege round about the towne of Mountdedier, and kept good watch and warde on euery syde: which thing the Lorde Roche Baron perceiuyng, comforted his men of warre, and bad them not be afrayed, but to be of good courage, and sayd that the Duke there should get nothing. When the Duke had

The towns of Mount dedier besieged.

had thus planted his siege, he considered that he was farre from rescue and that lying still and nothing doyng was not profitable, he knewe also by report of the prisoners that in the towne of Mountdedier were two thousand footemen, and one thousand horsemen: wherefore he sent for all the Lordes and Capitaines of his army, and much praysed their hardinesse, and sayd that the noble courage that he sawe in them did much auaunce him to set forward in all things, the prayse where of should be to them, and not to him, and therfore nowe he encouraged them againe to continue still in their valiaunt doyng, for with Gods grace he entended to bend his ordinaunce the next morning before the towne, to the which all the Lordes agreed, and praysed much the Dukes courage and forwardnesse.

Sir William Skeuington

Sir John Walop.

Aduenturers.

Crecchers.

Then was sir William Skeuyngton knight, Maister of the ordinance, commaunded to prepare for the battery, which with all diligence made trenches, and prepared all things meete for the purpose. In this season sir John Walop knight, had with him almost a thousande proper men and hardy, hauyng little wages or none which lined alonely on their auenture, wherefore of some they were called aduenturers, of some they were called Krecchers. These men were light, hardie, and politike, and by their manhood and hardinesse had robbed many townes, taken many prisoners, with great booties, and dayly brought to the army horses, mares, vitaile, cloth, corne, and other necessaryes which might not be missed. Of this company the Frenchmen, and especially they of villages, and passengers were sore afrayed, for they were neuer pitie, but doyng something in one part or other. The Lord Pountdoymy, or Pountremy, hearing Mountdedier was besieged, called to him diuers great Lordes and Capitaynes to the number of fiue hundred men of Armes and diuy Launces, and a great number of footemen, entendyng to bring Gunpowder and other necessaryes to the towne of Mountdedier: and as they were thether comming by night, Thomas Palmer, Capitaine of the shout watch of the Englishe army them alaryed and skirmished with them although they were more in number: manfully fought the French men, but for all that, they were compelled to flie backe, and then the Englishmen them followed, and slue diuers, and two Speares were broken on the brother of the Lorde Pountdoymy, but by the swiftnesse of his horse he saued himselfe, and in this chase were an hundred prisoners taken, which much reioysed the Englishe men.

When the maister of the ordinaunce had all thinges readie, at the houre of foure of the clocke in the morning, he discharged the ordinaunce continually in such fashion, that by. viij. of the clocke the. xxviij. day of October the walles were made low, and the towne assaultable. All which while, the great ordinaunce shot still out of the towne till the walles and towne were beaten downe. The Capitaine of the towne perceiuyng this, called to him all the Capitaynes, declaryng to them that their towne was in foure houres made assaultable, and that surely the Englishmen would assault the towne which should be to their confusion, wherefore he asked their aduise what was best to be done, all they answered, do as you will: Then he went into a Tower, and caused a Trumpet to blow, and set forth a Banner of truce. Then the Duke commaunded the ordinaunce to cease. Then sir William Skeuyngton came to the walles and demaunded what they would, and the lord Roche Baron

Baron sayd, that if it pleased the Duke for the loue of the king of England, and his honor, to graunt to him and the other Gentlemen that were there, licence to depart with life, bagge and baggage, they would deliuer the towne of Mountdedier. Then sir William Skeuyngton made report to the Duke which thereto consented, saiyng: they be men of warre, their ryches is not great. Then the Lord Sandes and diuers other were appoynted to receyue the towne, and so they entered and set Standardes on the top of the Gates, and tooke the keyes of all the strong houses, Towers, and Bulwarkes. The French men were redie to depart with trussages, and cariages, wyth Crosbowes, Pykes, and Handgunnes, with which doyng the Lord Sands and the Englishmen which were within the towne were not content, & sayd that the Frenchmen should passe without weapon: on this poynt was much alteration, and the Frenchmen were stayed, but the Lord Roche Baron gaue many sayre wordes, and passed forward with a red standard, with a whyte Crosse before him, that seyng sir Thomas Palmer, ranne to the standarde and plucked it in pieces. Then sayde the Lord Roche Baron, that it was vngently done: to whome he answered that he should beare no standard there lyke a conquerour. Then after long disputation, the Frenchmen sayd, that it was promised them that they should haue their weapons and baggage, and so vpon that they were suffered to depart. The footemen likewise had a standard before them, which was rent by sir Robert Jernyngham. The number which departed truely accompted, were two thousand footemen, fiue hundred horsemen and odde, well and warlyke appoynted, and they left in the baggage behinde them, because they sawe the Englishmen so fast come into the towne, they were in feare of losse of all.

The towne of Mountdedier yelded and taken.

When the Frenchmen were departed, the Duke with his whole army entered the towne and there the Englishe men founde fiue Fetherbeds, napery, couerings, and much housholde stuffe, and especially of wyne great plentie, and there the armie rested till the last day of October, and then were all the gates of the towne rased and the towne downe, and all the Bulwarkes lykewise, then the Duke caused all the ordinaunce to be taken, and so remoued to the towne of Roye, where he and all his armie rested for a whyle: where of they were glad, for they had trauayled sore, and the weather was wet and colde. On the feast of all saints called Whalon day, the Duke in the chiefe Church of Roye made knightes, the Lorde Harbert, the Lorde Powes, Olyuer Manners, Arthur Pole, Richard Sandes, Robert Jernyngham, Robert Salisbury, Edmond Benyngfield, Richerd Cozbet, Thomas Wentworthe, Wyllyam Stoxton, Water Hantell, George Warran, Edward Seymour after Erle of Hartford, and Duke of Sommerset, and most worthy gouernour of the kinges maiesties person, and Protector of all hys realmes, dominions and subiects.

The morrow after, the armie remoued to a place called Neele, there the Burgonions began to wax wearie, and so did the Englishmen, for euery day was foule weather, and raine both day and night. Wherefore diuers companies fell to grudging saiyng, now you may see that by our remouing we shall be led from place to place all this Wynter, which is to the vtter losse of our lyues: for daylie we see that of our companye dyeth no small number (and truth it was that some dyed but not many) they sayde farther, the Burgonions

gonions haue the great gaine, and doe least for it, for they haue wagons and carie their booties to their Countrie, which is nere hande, and we go before and fight, and we haue no meanes to conuey anye thing into our Countrie for lack of cariage, and so we beate the bushe and they take the byrdes. This grudge was sealled by gentle woordes for a time.

In these iorneys was commonly spoken that the Duke of Burbon with his ten thousand Almaynes would haue inuaded Fraunce and so ioyned with this armie, but the truth was contrarie, for he turned his host another way and went into prouince and layde siege to Marcelles, whereof the Duke beyng aduertised, not a little mused, and also seyng his men daylie fall sick, was sorie, and yet he so comforted them that euery man was glad to folow his will and entent.

On the fire day of Nouember the Lorde Sandes beyng Capitayne of the forewarde, and the Duke of the middle warde, and syr Richarde Wyngfield Capitaine of the rereward came in order of battayle prest to fight, to a village called Ueane, and there rested for that night, and the morrow after the whole armie returned agayne ouer the water of Some, and came to a place called Beauffort: At this passage the Duke made knightes, John Dudley, and Robert Utreyght Esquires.

This John Dudley was after made Erle of Warwick and Duke of Northumberland.

The eyght day the Duke remoued to a place called Mount saint Martyne, a very meete place for an armie, and then was the Dukes instructions looked vpon by the Capptaynes, and they perceyuing that they hard nothing of the Duke of Burbons comming, ayde nor counsayle, all they thought and determined to send the Lorde Sandes in post to the king, to declare all the case as it stoode and their necessitie, according as he himselfe knewe and sawe in all poyntes: which Lorde Sandes tooke great paine, and made good diligence toward the king, and while he was ridyng, the Duke remoued his armie to a place called Permount and there lodged for a time to rest, and the armie was well bytayled, but euer the Welshemen muttered and grudged more and more.

A great frost

After the great raynes and windes that had fallen, came a feruent frost, so sore that many a soldiour dyed for colde, some lost fyngers and some toes, but many lost their nayles of their hands, which was to them a great griefe. The Duke all this notwithstanding remembring that he came not thether to lye still, the. xiij. daye remooued to a place two Myle from the Castell of Bowhen and still it friesed, in so much that the Maister of the Ordinaunce was compelled of necessitie to set the wheeles of his ordinaunce on Hardels for sinking. In the morning the Welshemen set out a shout and cryed home, home, the Brebers hering that, cryed hang hang. For which matter deuision was like to haue fallen, but by pollicy it was ceased. Sir Edward Guldford Capitaine of the horsemen bewed the Castell of Bowhen or Boghan, which euer was thought to be impregnable, but he iudged it might be wonne, for the Castell was enuironned with marises, so that to no mans iudgement it was possible to winne it: But nowe he perceyued that the frost was so great and strong that it might be besieged, and al that night it friesed againe: wherefore he desired the Duke to geue him leaue to assault it, which thereto agreed. Then he caused the ordinaunce to be set foorth ouer the marrishe. When they within the Castell perceyued that the marrishe fayled them, they were

The welshemen waxed weery.

were sore dismayed. Then syr Edward Guldford shot three great pieces at the Castell, and the Castilian shot three pieces agayne. Then as the Englishe Gonners were preparing to the batterie, the Capitayne seyng hys Castell could not hold by reason that the marishe fayled, and that he coulde defende none assault, delyuered the Castell to him to the behoofe of the Emperor, and the king of Englande, and after a small communication had betweene the sayde syr Edward Guldforde and the Capitayne, the Capitayne with all his retinue departed, leauing behinde the ordinaunce of Bombards, Curtawes, and demy Curtaux, Slinges, Canons, Volgers, and other ordynaunce, there were. lxxvj. pieces, plentie of pellettes and powder. The Duke of Suffolke perceyuing that this Castell stood on the border of Henaude: wherefore the more to please the Henawders he made Capitain of the same Castell of Boghan the Seneschal of Henaude, to the behoofe of the Emperour and the king of Englande. In thys place the armie was euill bitayled, because the Frenchmen had stopped the water of Some, that no bitayle should passe ouer the ryuer: wherefore the Duke sent to them of Henaude, and especially to them of Valencien to haue ayde of bitayle, which of their little sent to the armie a little, but yet it did them some seruice, and all thys whyle the feruent frost with bitter windes contynued, which caused many people to die: yet still lay the armie abidyng the aunswere of the Lord Sandes, which as you haue heard rode in poste, and so much trauayled that he came to the king of Englande to his Castell of Wyndsore, and there declared to the king his message, which was that his people which were in the Frenche ground abode much miserie, for the weather was wet, the wayes deepe, long nightes and short dayes, great iorneys and little bytaile, which caused the souldiours daylie to die. Also they trusted when they passed the seas according to their instructions to haue ayde of the Duke of Burbon (of whome sithe their departing they neuer heard worde) wherefore the Duke of Suffolke and other nobles of your armye hath sent me to your highnesse to declare their state and condition, their good will to tarie, and the euill chaunces which daylie happeneth to them by God and not by their enimies. Well sayde the king, all thys we knewe before your comming: wherfore we haue appointed the Lorde Mountioy with fyre thousande men, to passe the seas for the reliefe of our armie, which Lorde Mountioy is almost in a readynesse: For we will in no wise that the armie shall breake.

The Castell of Bowhē or Boghan is yelded to the king and the Emperor.

Then the king came to Westminster to the Cardinals place, and there receyued letters from the Duke of Suffolke by syr Robert Jernyngham, of the getting of the Castell of Boghan or Bowen: wherefore incontinent it was by the king and his counsayle determined that the Lorde Mountioy should make speede, which did suche diligence that manye of hys Souldiours were come to London well harnessed and weaponed readie to passe the seas. Wherefore the king sent in all haste syr Robert Jernyngham agayne to declare to the Duke the kings pleasure and what ayde was comming towarde him. But or syr Robert Jernyngham could come to the Duke, the armie was remooued from Bohan and brent the towne, and so came to the Citie of Valencine in Henaude, and there layde vp their ordinaunce, and from thence came to the Citie of Tournay (which then was vnder the Emperour and out of the French kings hands) and so tooke their iorney homewarde

The duke of Suffolke breaketh vp his armye, and returneth agaynst the mind of king Henry the eight.

warde thorow Flaunders and the armie there broken and dispatched. But when the Duke met with syr Robert Jernyngham at Bridges in Flaunders and knewe the kinges minde and entent, he did what he might to retreate the souldiours, which could not be, for many Englishe men shipped at Andwarpe, and many at Scluce, and at Newport and other Hauens, and they that were at Calice were staied for a time, but when the Duke sawe that he could not bring al his armie together scarcely the fourth part, he then licensed the remnaunt to depart. Of thys breaking vp of the armie were letters sent to the king, which incontinent stopped the Lorde Mountioy and sent his men into the Countrey agayne. The Duke and other Capitaynes hearing of the kings displeasure, were sore abashed, and did write to their frendes that they had perfite knowledge that the Duke of Burbon had broken vp his campe for the extremity of the Winter, and also shewed that their souldyours dyed, and vitaple fayled, which caused them to breake the army, for of truth the souldiours would not abide: with which reasons the king was somewhat appeased, and so on good hope the Duke came to Calice the twelfe day of December, and there abode long, till their frends had sued to the king for their returne. And when it was graunted, and that they were returned, the Duke and the Capitaines came not to the kings presence in a long season, to their great heauinesse and displeasure: But at the last all things were taken in good part, and they well receyued, and in great loue, fauour, and familiaritie with the king.

While the Duke of Suffolk was in Fraunce and the Erle of Surrey on the Marches of Scotland, the Cardinall sent out commissions in the moneth of October through the realme, that euery man that was worth .xl. pound should pay the whole subsidy before graunted out of hande, and before the dayes of payment. This payment was called an Anticipation, which is to say, a thing taken, or a thing comming before his time or season: This terme was new to ỹ Comunaltie, but they payd well for their learning, for their money was payed out of hand without delay.

An anticipation.

The king this yeare kept his Christmas solempnely at his Castell of Wyndsore and thether came to him the thyrde daye of Januarye the Erle Bountiuer of the royall bloud of Brytayne and pretending to be Duke of the same, which was nere Cosin to the Duke of Burbon and banyshed Fraunce. Thys Erle came hastily from the Duke of Burbon and was well entertayned and feasted of the king, and after aunswere made to him by the king, he went to the Cardinal to Hampton court, and so with great spede returned to the sayd Duke into the countrie of Prouince.

In the same season was brought to the court a Gentleman of Scotland called Andrew Steward taken on the sea with diuers letters by one Water Jago a yoman of the kinges, with diuers letters from the Duke of Albany to the French king, by reason whereof the king knew much of their counsayle. This Gentleman payed raunsome and was very soone redeemed.

The .xix. day of January six fayre shippes of Fraunce well appoynted met with a ship of the kinges of England called the Caterine Galley a shyp of forty tonne, the Capitayne whereof was one John Mariner, with a small company, for many of his company were a lande: But he so encoraged his men that all feare was set aside, and euer as the Frenchmen approched, they bette

bette them of with arrowes, pikes, and fighting, and still they continued from foure of the clocke in the morning till nine of the clocke, and euer on the coast of England, and the Englishmen dyd the best they could to saue themselues: For by that time shee had spent her powder, arrowes with shooting, and her byls with hewing, and her pikes with keping them of from comming aboord, and al the company almost sore hurt, and the Capitaine wounded to the death so that they had no other remedy but to sayle. This chace was perceyued by one called Cappytayne Markam, Capitayne of the Barke of Sandwyche hauen and with good winde came to rescue the Katerine Galley. The six shippes perceiuing that, left their chace and made with the Barke of Sandwiche. The Capitaine couragiously comforted his men and made the quarters of his shippe defensable. The Frenchmen set on fiersly, and their toppes were higher then the toppe of the English shippe. Out went the ordinaunce, quarels and dartes of the French shippes: the Englishmen shot fiersly again and when the Frenchmen profered to enter, the Englishmen bette them of with bylles. The Frenchmen at the last with a great gunne bette downe the toppe of the Barke and slue the men in the same, and lastly they strake downe his Mast. This conflict continued from ten of the clocke tyll two at after noone. Then he could make no shifte, but to sayle: and euer the Englishmen shot arrowes, and while the Englishmen had any arrowes the Frenchmen durst not enter: But when their arrowes were spent, the Frenchmen came aboord all at once and entred the Barke. In this fight were slayne of French men out of hand .xxvij. and .lxx. sore hurt, and of the Englishmen were slaine xiij. What should I saye, the Englishmen fought valiauntly but they were to weake for six talle shippes. Wherefore they were taken and brought to Depe for a price, but the Frenchmen saide they neuer bought price so dere. After this John Marmer Cappytayne of the Katerin Galley dyed and many Frenchemen that were hurt died at Depe, so that neyther part wan greatly.

In the last month called December were taken certaine Traytors in the Citie of Couentrie, one called Fraunces Phillip Scholemaister to the kings Henrmen, and one Christopher Pykering clerke of the Larder, and one Anthony Maynuile Gentleman, which by the persuasion of the sayd Fraunces Philip, entended to haue taken the kinges treasure of his subsidye as the Collectors of the same came towarde London, and then to haue raysed men and taken the Castell of Kyllingworth, and then to haue made battayle against the king: wherefore the sayd Fraunces, Christopher and Anthonye were hanged, drawne, and quartered at Tyborne the .xj. day of Febrvary, the residue that were taken, were sent to the Citie of Couentry and there were executed. One of the kinges Henrmen called Dygby which was one of the conspirators fled the realme, and after had his pardon.

An insurrection moued at Couentry.

The .xvij. day of January there was a fayre or marquet at the towne of Marguyson in the French kings dominions beside Calice, and for defence of the people and their marchandise, there were appointed two hundred men in harnesse well weaponed: the Souldiers of Guysnes heering of this, departed in the night and came nere to the towne of Marguyson, and closely kept themselues tyll the Market was faire and at the best, then the Englishmen which were .lxx. Archers and byllers, set sodainly on the Market, that seyng the Frenchmen stood manfully at their defence with handgunnes and

pykes, but the Englishe men shotte so wholy together that they drawe the Frenchmen out of the towne, and would for succors have taken the churche but the Englishmen were betweene them and the Churche, so that they had none other remedy but to flee and many French men were slayne. Capitaine John de Pounde, and Capitaine John de Babage and diuers other were taken prisoners, and diuers Marchantes that were there to sell their goodes were also taken, and all their goodes brought in Frenchmens wagones to Guysnes and no Englishman slaine but diuers were sore hurt.

The first day of Februarye the valiaunt knight sir Robert Jerningham and with him fiftie Demilaunces of the garison of Calice skoured the countrye to Oursaell and there tooke a hundred hedde of Beastes, by that doing an askry rose throughe the country, wherby the Frenchmen gathered together to the number of twelue score, and or Sir Robert and his companye came to Houndingbridge they were beset rounde about, so that of necessitie they must fight, the Frenchmen set on with handgunnes, Crosbowes and pykes, and for a while there was a strong encounter, but the Englishmen as men desperate (because of the number) fought so fiersly that they caused the Frenchmen to geue backe and slew many of them and tooke. xiij. prisoners, and in the chase they tooke seauen more which made vp one and twentie. Then the saide sir Robert retourned with his bootie and prisoners and lost no man, but almost all were hurt.

The. v. day of March the king hauing a new harnesse made of his owne deuise and fashion, such as no Armorer before that time had seene, thought to assay the same at the tilte, and appointed a Justes to serue him. On foote were appointed the Lorde Marques Dorset and the Erle of Surrey, the king came to the one ende of the tilte, and the Duke of Suffolk to the other: then a Gentleman sayd to the Duke, sir the king is come to the tiltes ende. The leopardie that the king was in at a Justes.

I see him not sayd the Duke on my faith, for my Headpeece taketh from me my sight: with these wordes God knoweth by what chaunce, the King had his speare deliuered him by the Lorde Marques, the viser of his Headpeece being vp & not downe nor fastened, so that his face was cleane naked. Then the Gentleman sayde to the Duke, sir the king commeth, then the Duke set forwarde and charged his speare, and the king likewise vnaduisedly set toward to the Duke: the people perceiuing the kinges face bare, cryed hold, holde, the Duke neyther saw nor heard, and whether the king remembred that his visar was vp or no, fewe could tell: Alas what sorrow was it to the people when they saw the spleters of the Dukes speare strike on the Kinges Hedpeece: for on a suertie the Duke strake the king on the browe right vnder the defence of the Headpece on the very coyfe, scull, or bassenetpece wherunto the barbet for power or defence is charneld, to which coyfe or bassenet neuer Armorer taketh heede, for it is euermore couered with the visar, barbet and volant peece, and so that pece is so defended that it forceth of no charge: But when the speare on that place lighted, it was great ieoperdie of death insomuch that the face was bare, for the Dukes speare brake all to shyuers, and bare the kinges visar or barbet so farre backe by the counter buffe that all the kinges Headpece was full of spleters. The Armorers for this matter were much blamed, and so was the Lord Marques for the deliuering of the speare when his face was open, but the king saide that none was to blame but himselfe,

selfe, for he entended to haue sayed himselfe and his sight. The Duke incontinently disarmed him, and came to the king, shewing him the closenesse of his sight, and sware that he would neuer runne againste the king more: But if the king had beene a litle hurt, the kinges seruauntes would haue put the Duke in ieoperdy.

Then the king called his Armorers and put all his peces together and then tooke a speare and ranne fiue courses very well, by the which all men might perceiue that he had no hurt, which was great ioye and comfort to all his subiectes there present.

In this yere the king sent the Lorde Morlay, sir William Hosy knight, and Doctor Lee his Almoner to Done Ferdinando Archeduke of Austrich, and brother to the Emperor Charles, with the order of the Garter, which in the towne of Norymberge receyued the same, where then were all the princes of Germaine assembled at a counsail or dyet, against the bishop of Rome, agaynst whom the Germaynes put a hundred grieues.

The. xiij. day of Aprill one Capitaine Bizarton one of the Capitaines of the aduenturers at Guysnes with. xvj. tall men, came to a village called Waste, and there tooke a bootie of beastes, by which taking an askrie arose, and by chaunce certaine of the garrison of Bulleyn were then abroade, and by the cry of the people came where the Englishe men were, the Frenchmen were two hundred horsemen, and with great cryes enuironed the Englishe men about, so that the Englishemen could make no defence. Then Capitain Bizarton called to the Capitaine of the Frenchemen, and sayde, sir I am a Gentleman, and this enterprice was mine, I haue brought these good fellowes to this ieopardie, wherefore we yeelde vs all prisoners to you, and so they deliuered their weapons, the Capitaine was a Gentleman and gently them receyued, then to the men of warre drewe all the peysantz or choyles of the Countrey nye hande to the number of. vij. or. viij. score, which desyred to bye the Englishemen that were taken, the Frenchemen were content, and tooke money, then the Englishmen were deliuered to the vplandishe people, and the men of warre roade away.

When the men of warre were departed the rybaudes with Pykes, Jauelyns, and knyues, fell on the Englishmen which had no weapon, & them slue all. xvij. and cut them in pieces the most shamefully that euer was seene. Capitaine Bizarton murdered.

When knowlege hereof was brought to the Capitaine of Guisnes sir John Gage, he sent for the aduenturers, willyng them to reuenge their Capitaynes death. So all the aduenturers the. xiij. day gathered together to the number of. xl. archers and pykes, and by good guyde the next day in the morning they came to the same village of Waste, and there toke. xxxvij. prisoners, and most part were at the murder of Bizarton and his company, and of the. xxxvij. they slue. xxxv. and so they left one, and carped him with them, but or they departed they set the towne on fyre, and spared nothing, their yre was so great: the men of warre of Fraunce costed the English men, but they would not meddle with them in that rage. The murder reuenged.

When they came to Guysnes they sware the Frenchman that was left on liue, to declare their message to the Capitaine of Bulleyn, which was that after that day they would saue neyther man, woman, nor chylde, that came to their handes for the great crueltie that the Peysantz had done to Capitaine

taine Bzeerton and his companye, wyth which message the Frenchemen were discontent, and sayde that the villaynes deserued to haue vengeaunce for their cruelties.

In this yere through bookes and Pronostications made and calculate by Astronomers, the people were sore afrayd for the sayd wryters declared, that this yere should be such Eclipses in watry signes, and such conjunctions, that by waters and floods many people should perish. Insomuch that many persons vittayled themselues and went to high groundes for feare of drowning, and specially one Bolton, which was Prior of Saint Bartholomewes in West Smithfield in London, builded him an house vpon Harow of the hill, onely for feare of this flood, and thether he went and made prouision for all thinges necessary within him, for the space of two Monethes: But the faithful people put their trust & confidence only in God. And this raine was by the wryters pronosticate to be in February, wherefore when it began to raine in February, the people were much afrayde, and some sayde now it beginneth, but many wise men which thought that the worlde coulde not be drowned againe, contrary to Goddes promise, put their trust in him onely, but because they thought that some great raynes might fall by inclinations of the stars, and that water mylles might stande still and not grynde, they prouided for meale, and yet God be thanked there was not a fairer season in many yeres, and at the last the Astronomers for their excuse sayde, that in their computation, they had mistaken and miscounted in their number an hundred yeres.

Bolton prior of saint Bartholomewes buylded a house vpon Harowe of the hill for feare of a flood.

The Emperour Charles which also was enemy to the French king, seeyng the great armye that the king of Englande his confederate had in Fraunce, thought it was to him honorable to make warre also on that part of Fraunce that toucheth to Spaine, and in especially he imagined how to recouer the towne of Fountraby, which the Frenchmen before that tyme had gotten: wherefore he assembled a great puissaunce, and made Capitaine the Lorde Barnardine de Belasco Constable of Castile, which with great diligence came before the towne of Fountraby which was strongly fortefyed, and the Capitaine thereof was a Nauerois: but when the Capitaine and his company saw the towne besieged with such a puyssance, and also that the sea was so narrowly kept that they could not haue vittaile nor succor, they determined to geue vp the towne: but yet the Capitaine of a high stomack shot out his ordinaunce, and sent his trompet to the Capitain of the Spaniardes to know what prisoners he had of his, and for the communication thereof he desyred abstinence of warre till he had commoned with the Counsaile of the Spanishe hoste, which to him was graunted. Then was communication for fiue dayes, and nothing ended, for the Spaniardes were haute on the one syde, and the Frenchmen prowde on the other syde, but on the first day it was concluded that the towne should be delyuered wyth ordinaunce and Artillarie, and all the men of warre to depart with bagge and baggage, and so the .xvij. day of February was the towne of Fountraby brought againe to the handes of the Emperour, and he that was Capitaine of Fountraby was afterwarde restored to his landes in Nauerre by the Emperour, and became his man.

The Bishop of Rome called Pope Clement seeyng the great warres that were this yere on all parties, and in especiall betwene the Emperour and

and the king of Englande on the one partie, agaynst Fraunces the Frenche king and his alyes, sent an Archebishop of the realme of Naples first to the French king, and after to the Emperour, which declared to the French king the manifold mischiefes that ryse by warre, the great stroke of vengeaunce that God will strike for vniust warre and specially for the death of innocentes and effusion of Christen blood, and shewed farther, that the sayd French king made dayly warre on the Emperor, and the king of England without cause, but only because he himselfe would do no right to them, nor to their subiectes.

An Archebishop sent from the Pope to entreat peace betwene the Emperor and king of England & the French king.

The French king after counsaile taken aunswered, my Lorde Legate, we assure you that we make no warre, but warre is made on vs, & we stand at the defence, notwithstanding our right is kept from vs, both the Duchy of Millain, and realme of Naples, by the Emperour, and the vsurped Duke, to the which we haue good tytle, and the king of England warreth on vs without cause, notwithstandyng that we haue geuen hym and many Lordes of his Counsaile diuers kayze pencions, not because we be afrayde of hym, but because we woulde haue his loue and amitie, & when we perceyued that he toke part with the Emperor our mortal enemy, we withdrew our pencios as with right we might, and now with all his power he would conquere our good will, which is against reason, and we claime nothing of him. Well sayd the Ambassador, I will first speake with the Emperor, & after with the king of England, and then I will declare to you theyr rightes and demaundes, with which the French king semed to be content.

Then the sayde Ambassadour tooke his leaue and in post came to the Emperour in Spaine, and there exhorted him to peace with many goodly reasons, affirmyng that the warre was vniust and without reasonable cause made on the French king, as the sayd king affirmed. Then the Emperour like a noble prince aunswered, that the warres were neuer of his beginning: For the French king or he wist had taken the towne of Fountraby, and also had sent an army to conquere the realme of Nauerne, and not with this contented, retayned the Swyches which be the Emperours subiectes, and caused them to be enemyes to the Empyre, and he also withholde the Duchie of haute Burgoyne, and the Countie of Arthoys with diuers other Countries, and seignories belongyng to him: wherfore his quarell was alway iust, and because the College of Rome should perceiue ꝑ whole cause of his warres, he deliuered to ꝑ said Ambassador a scedule, with which he departed, refusing all giftes which the Emperor offered him, & came again to the French king, and rehersed to him the Emperors saiyng, but the french king himself highly excused and sayd, that he might not lese that that his predecessors left him, & so the Bishop of Romes Ambassador tooke his leaue and came into England.

In the beginning of this .xvj. yere, the king lay at his Maner of Newhall in Esser, and there kept the feast of saint George, and hearing that the Bishop of Romes Ambassador was comming into Englande, remoued to his Maner of Grenewiche where the sayde Archebishop and Legate came to him, and was highly entertayned, which declared wisely and eloquently the message and entent of his maister, which was to make a peace and concorde betwene the princes of christendome, and especially betwene the Emperor, the king of England and the French king, & for that cause he had bene with the Emperor, & also with the French king, which as he sayde affirmed,

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that without cause the king of Englande made on him warre, considering that he to the intent to haue the more amitie and fauor of you and your nobles hath liberally geuen to you and them honorable pencions, which by no duetie as he affirmeth you can nor may clayme, but of his beneuolence and bountie. Also he sayeth that you claime his crowne, realme, and possessions, which toucheth him highly, and of yours he claymeth nothing, and therefore he thinketh of right you ought not to make him warre. Wherefore maye it please your highnesse to tell me your mind, and I shal it declare to the whole Court of Rome God wylling and forget nothing.

A declaration of the kinges right to the crowne of Fraunce, and to the erbitage of the Fleins and certain other rightes.

Then the kyng called to him his counsayle and after diuers consultations had, the Ambassador was sent for, and there was shewed to him many recordes, proouing the king of Englande to be inheritour to the realme of Fraunce by bloud, and also confirmed by dyuers Charters in the time of king Charles the seuenth. And as concernyng the pencion, to him was shewed dyuers Charters, that it was no pencion of friendship, but due rent for the Duches of Normandie and Guyan, and the Countries of Aniow and Maine, which are the king of Englandes verie enheritaunce. Farthermore there were shewed to him diuers bondes of the sayde French kinges for the payment for the Citie of Tournay, and other duties which he ought to the king of Englande, all which articles to fulfill, the French king hath oftentimes bene required by Ambassadors, and yet he euer dissembled, and would not conforme himselfe to reason: of all these things were notes written and deliuered to the Bysshop of Romes Ambassadour, which tooke his leaue of the king and returned in post accompanyed but with three persons. By reason of the comming of this Ambassador men hoped that peace should ensue, but it succeeded not this yere: for the thirde daye of Maye the garrison of Bulleyne with dyuers other in the most secret wise that coulde be, came to a place within the Englishe pale called Sentricas, and sodainely strake vp a Dromme or Drounslade: the people hearing this in the night were sore abashed, some fled naked and some clothed, the most part fled to the Churche, and the Frenchemen them folowed, and tooke. xxi. prisoners, and then set fyre on the Churche: By this time was all the pale rayled, which thing the Frenchmen perceyuing, left their bootie and returned in all haste with their prisoners to Bulleyn.

Tirwyn besieged.

In this season the Lordes of Flaunders laye at the siege before Tyrwyn, and were lykely to haue taken it by famine, whereof the French king beyng aduertised assembled an armie of. xxij. thousand horsemen and footemen vnder the conduit of the Duke of Vandosme, and the Lord Dowmdorny, and the French king himselfe came downe to Ampas, and there caused it to be noysed that he would besiege the towne of Valencyen in Henaude, where the Duke of Suffolke the last yere had left the king of Englandes ordinaunce. The king of England hearing of this, sayde, that if the French king besieged Valencyen, he in person would go thether for to rescue hys ordinaunce. The Lorde Fynes and other Lordes of Flaunders which laye before Tyrwyn with. ix. thousand men were aduertised of the French army, but because of the fame that the hoste should go to Valencyen, they sent for no more succours.

When the Frenchmen had all things ready, they left the waye to Valencyen

Valencyen and toke the way directly to Tyrwyn. When the Lordes of Flaunders perceyued that, they were sore abashed, and then they knewe that they were deceyued, and that they were not able to abide the puyssaunce of the French armie. Wherefore they raysed their siege, and put themselues in order of battayle on the Southeast side of Tyrwyn: the French armie passed forward the first day of Maye toward Tyrwyn and made no semblaunce to fight: Howbeit some of them skirmished with the horsemen of Flaunders, but they at the last entered the towne, whereunto they were welcome, and the Lordes of Flaunders departed sore displeased, but there was no remedie. Then ranne a bruite that the French army would lay siege to Guysnes: wherefore the king caused men and all other things to be put in a readinesse for the speedie rescue thereof if it had so chaunced. But the Frenchmen tooke a better aduise.

In this Month of May syr Robert Jernyngham Capitaine of Newnam bridge commoned with Christopher Coo, a Capitayne of dyuers Englishe ships that kept the Sea, which then was in Calice hauen for vitayle, and sayde, Capitaine Coo you know how the Bulleyners haue visited nere to Calice the Englishe pale, and haue burned Sentryeas. If you will promise to set many of your men a lande at the hauen of Bulleine the. xix. daye of Maye, I with as manye as I can furnishe will meete with you there in Base Bulleyne at the time and houre betweene vs appointed, to the which the sayde Christopher agreed and faythfully promised, and so prepared accordingly euery thing necessarie and so sayled toward Bulleyn, syr Robert Jernyngham sent worde of this enterprise to syr William Fitzwilliam Capitaine of Guysnes to know if he would aide any part toward this iourney, which sent worde that he would be at the same auenture himselfe: then all the gentlemen desired him to be Captaine of that enterprise, which he thankfully and with hart receyued: then all the men of warre and the aduenturers and the Bayle of Marke assembled together, so that when all were come together, they were three hundred horsemen, and of the Countrey and Marke three hundred and of the auenturers. C. lx. and so one an other they were seuen hundred men. All these persons met at an houre appointed at Sandyngfield: the night was short so that it was daye or they came neere Bulleyne all set in good order of battayle, but they were aspied before they came nere Bulleyne, and so it chaunced that Christopher Coo with his ships which had winde at will, was come with his foure shippes before Bulleyne somewhat before day, the Bulleners that kept the watch him espied, & then he manned his Boates and with men and ordinaunce stretched towarde the lande, by that time was all base Bulleine in harnesse readie to defende the Englishemen from landing, but Capitayne Coo did what he might, and almost all the people of Base Bulleyn were on the shore, that seyng the garrison, made them readie and bent their ordinaunce. Sir William Fitzwilliam hearing the Gonnes towarde the hauen side, knewe well that Christopher Coo was in his businesse, and so encouraged euery man to do well and marched forward with as much speede as might be, in so much that all the Englishe men were on the hilles before Bulleyne in sundry plumpes, then issued out the horsemen of Bulleyne betweene the Castell and Cardons Tower, the light horsemen of the English part them encountered, there was a good fight

fight, the French men shot with Crosbowes, and the Englishe men with long bowes, and the great ordinaunce shot terribly, the English men approched the towne walles, this skirmishe was fierce and euer the archers ayded the horsemen. While the horsemen were thus skirmishyng, the eyght score aduenturers which were hardie and valyant men cast themselues about and came to base Bulleyne, and there they were hardily receyued of the French men, yet notwithstanding they lost their barriers and the English men entered, there was shooting on all sides, and a strong fight. The Frenchmen cryed Bulleyne, and the Englishe men saint George Calice: but at the last the Frenche men were driuen back and many slayne, and.xliij. taken prisoners, and so they returned to their Capitaine syr William Fitzwilliam. All this while was Chystopher Coo on land on the sea coast, and bet the French men vp to the towne, and when the tide turned, he with all hys came agayne in safetie to their shippes. The Englishe horsemen after long fightyng tooke three of the Frenchmen of armes, and the other reculed to the towne. By thys time by reason of the alarme was all the Countrie of Picardie raysed and much people resorted to Bulleyne on all sides, which doyng syr William Fitzwilliam wisely perceyuing, by the sounde of a Trumpet brought all his men together in a plumpe, and then sent them hither and thether to fet hys driftes of beastes that were nere in the Countrie on euery side, which was quickly done, for the aduenturers brought Oxen, Kyne, Horses, and many other pillages, and brent the granges and villages, and so met together, and with their bootie returned in safetie.

The Tuesday folowyng, beyng the last day of May, syr William Fitzwilliam, with a hundred and fiftie horsemen, and the aduenturers, and a hundred other persons mo, came to a place called Samer de Boys, the sayde Capitayne wisely considered, that in that place the Frenchemen had diuers times lurked, and taken at auauntage the Englishe men, wherefore he layde his horsemen, & his archers on horseback in a wood, in a waite if the french men folowed the stale: then he sent forth the aduenturers, which passed farther then the Capitaine would that they should haue done, and sodainly they were assayed: then on came the Frenchmen, the aduenturers sware that they would not flie, but bent themselues to defend their enemies, which were thre hundred horsemen. The Frenche men knewe well their hardinesse, but yet they called them Crakers, which by missoundyng was commonly called Krekers, for a surctie these men were hardie, and full of pollicie, and verie farre would ieoparde, the Frenchmen sent about a Valey, a hundred of the best horsemen, and two hundred footemen, then were the Krekers betwene two bendes of the french men: syr William Fitzwilliam, beyng assured of the conduit of the french men, much doubted the chaunce of the aduenturers, wherefore in great haste sent for his stale of horsemen that he had left couered: and the frenchmen that were before the Krekers, came and set on very fast, in hope of their horsemen that were gone about an hill in the Valey. The Englishemen them valiauntly defended, then as the horsemen had compassed the hill, the aduenturers were come on a playne: then the horsemen that were come to syr William Fitzwilliam, set on the french horsemen, there was a hard and a fierce encounter, for the french men fought sore, but at length they fled, and in the chase were taken. lxj. horsemen, and. xliij. slaine one

one and other, and many Englishe men sore hurt and dyuers slayne, thus the Krekers scaped a narow hazard.

In June, syr William Fitzwilliam, Capitayne of Guysnes, syr John Wallop, and Sir John Gage, secretly called to them. ir. C. men of warre such as they trusted, and on Midsomer day, passed the lowe Countrie of Picardie vnto the Castell of Hardyngham, or Rigsam and they caried with them but one piece of ordinaunce called a Curtall, thys Gonne they bent against the castel, which was well furnished with harnesse, ordinaunce, and al other artillerie, and things needefull, and the Capitayne also was a valyant and hardie gentleman. The Englishmen euer shot that peece and remoued it from place to place with great paine, & in conclusion made a battery of the walles, so that they might assault it, then the Trumpet blewe to the assault, and the Capitayne with his companye stoode at defence: then Syr John Wallop, & syr John Gage with the auenturers or Krekers entred the diche. and the archers shot at euery loupe arrowes, and the Frenchmen likewise shotte quarelles: the Englishemen set vp Ladders to the walles, but the Frenchemen threwe them downe, at this assault was slaine a Gentleman called Butler, and.xv. other Englishe men, but for all that the assault was not left, for some clined by pikes, and some amended the Ladders, and cryed againe to the assault: but sir William Fitzwilliam chiefe Capitaine of this enterprise, perceyued that they lacked engynes and other thinges for the spedie assault of the Castell, and not willyng to lose his men without cause, caused them to stay, while he and other Capitaynes counsayled together, and as they were concluded once againe to attempt the assault, they heard newes that two thousand horsemen, and two thousand footemen, were at hande to fight with them, they then perceiuyng that nine hundred men beyng wery, were no power to encounter wyth foure thousand Frenchmen, they in good order returned to the English Fortresses.

Mounsire de Bees Capitaine of Bullene, well considered all the enterprises, that the Englishmen had done in Pycardy and Fraunce, now of late: he determined to requite them, to his honor and fame, and for that purpose, sent for the Erle of Dampmartine, the Lorde Pountremie, and the Lorde Chastillion, which concluded to enter the English pale, and to shew themselues before Calice. Wherefore they assembled all the men of armes and Souldiers, of the garrisons about and so they were. viij. hundred good horsemen, and with Pikes, Gunnes, and Crossebowes. viij. hundred footemen: and when all this company was assembled Mounsire de Bees as Capitaine of this iourney, with the other Lordes, the fourth daye of August wyth banner displayed, came towarde Calice in the euening: and the next daye in the morning by vr of the clocke, they came to a village within the Englishe pale, called Bonynges. Then the Alarme rose through al the English pale, and so came to Calice. These lordes of Fraunce sent out their foreriders to serch and ouer see the country, & then they laide an embushement of three hundred horsemen, at the said towne of Boninges, and with that bend abode Mounsire Pountremy and Mounsire de Bees rode to Kalkewel with thre hundred fresh horsemen, and all the footemen with banner displayed, and forraged all the Country, of which three hundred speres, they let one hundred go at large and kept the residue with them.

When

When the Alarme came to Calice, euery man made to horse and harnesse. Then sir Robert Jerningham with .lxxx. horsemen with all speede, rode out of Calice to beholde the companie of the Frenchmen. And he sent forth hys light horsemen, which met with the skourers of the French men, and because the French men semed a fewe in number, the Englishe forerynders prosered toward them, which fledde towarde Sandifflelde, and the Englishemen chased after, not beyng of knowlege of the embushements, that lay at Bonynges, and Kalkewell.

When sir Robert Jernyngham sawe his light horsemen chase, he folowed after soft, to kepe his horse in brethe. Then sodainly the Frenche men that were in chase returned, for some of their ayde was nere them. When the Englishemen which passed not .xbj. horse, sawe the Frenchmen returne, they encountered with them manfully, but to the Frenchemen came still mo and mo, so that the Englishemen were constrayned to flie another way, to the hye land in great ieopardie, for the Frenchmen them pursued, but by the helpe of the light Geldynges, the Englishemen gat the Sea syde, or sea sandes beyonde Skales: Then were the Englishemen glad and returned, and fought with the Frenchemen hande to hande, for the Frenchemen behinde folowed not the chase, but onely twentie horsemen, and with pure fightyng the Englishemen tooke one of the Frenche horsemen, and came with hym to Calice, and so were saued.

When sir Robert Jernyngham sawe his men in chase (as you haue heard) and sawe that they were in great ieopardie, he aduaunsed for theyr rescue all that he might, which was the sauyng of the light horsemen, for the French men left them, to encounter with sir Robert Jerningham, and so it was that he went so farre forwarde, that the Frenchmen were betweene him and Calice. And when he sawe all the bendes and embushments breake out, he sayd to his companie: sirs Saint George to borow, let these French galantes know what we English men be: Sir sayd his companie, they shall buy vs dere. Then he marched towarde the high lande: Then approched a great number of horsemen of Fraunce, the Englishmen them valiauntly receyued, and manfully defended, but euer the Frenchmen came fresh and fresh, so that the Englishemen beyng werye and oppressed with multitude, were faine to flie: and in this chase was taken Thomas Cheyney an Archer, whose horse was tyred, and two other Archers on horsebacke, one called George Karre, and the other Rowlande Atkinson, and three other of the Englishe pale: sir Robert and the remnaunt saued themselues the best that they coulde.

When sir Robert was returned, the Frenchmen souned their trompet, and reculed to Bulleyn, and sent worde to Calice, that they would visit them oftener. Sir Robert Jerningham remembryng this chaunce, thought to be reuenged of the same, and so aduisyng himselfe to what place hee should repare, he remembred that when soeuer the Englishmen made any iourney to Marguyson, the Frenchmen would flie ouer the water or creke, to a highe ground by botes, and there as it were in an Iland saue themselues, because on that syde they might euer haue succors, for the creke or water, is beyonde the towne of Calice. Therefore the sayd sir Robert caused fiue great boates to be carryed in Wagons, and so he with other Capitaynes, of Calice, and Guisnes,

Guisnes, to the number of three hundred fotemen, with the Kreekers, and .lx. horsemen the .xij. day of August, with Banners displayed, tooke their way to the towne of Margison, and in the night the light horsemen gaue alarme to the towne of Bulleyn, and tooke two Souldiours prisoners, and brought with them certaine Cattaile to their companie. Then the Englishmen marched forward, towarde Margison, that seyng the Frenchmen, tooke their Boates in trust of the water, and passed ouer, the Englishemen perceiued that, and launced their Boates, and so like aduenturers entered, and by force passed, and so mo and mo, till a hundred .lx. were passed ouer: the Countrey began to gather, so that the Frenchmen were three hundred, which fought with the Englishmen, and would haue letted the Boates to land, but the Archers on the other syde drawe them backe, and the Englishmen slue at the first encounter .lx. men, and tooke .xl. prisoners, yet the Frenchmen that fled met with new succors, and then began a new battail, and the Frenchmen fought hardily, but at the ende they fled, the most poorest of the people, on the other syde of the water, fled to the Church, and abode at their defence, then was there fyre set in the Church, then the French men lept out of the Church, to their destruction, for of three hundred there was saued but sixtie on liue.

The whole power of Bulleyn was come downe, nere to the place: but when they perceyued that it was to late, and that the Englishemen were returned, they came no further. Thus was sir Robert Jernyngham euen with the Frenchmen, and brought a good bootie, and many prisoners to Calice, which sore grieued the Capitaine of Bulleyn.

The Frenchmen perceiuyng, that they gat little at the Englishmens handes, thought to take their aduauntage of the Fleminges, wherefore they assembled of the garrisons, of Bulleyn and Tirwyn, fiue hundred footemen, and three hundred horsemen, and so in good order marched toward saint Omers & they sent to go a foraging one hundred fotemen, and as many horsemen, and the rest kept themselues in a stale. These Frenchmen came by Arkus, nigh to saint Omers, and foraged all the Countrie, the alarme sprang al the Countrie to Turnahan, the Capitaine of Turnahan sent worde to Sir William Fitzwilliam, Capitaine of Guisnes, that the Frenchmen were abroade, which made answere, that if the Frenchmen came nere to him, surely he would speake with them, with which answere the Capitaine of Turnahan beyng encouraged, sent forth two hundred Fleminges on foote, still the Frenchmen marched toward Turnahan, the Flemynges that were sent from Turnahan, marched toward the waye, where the Frenchmen shoulde come, thinking that when the Capitaine of Guisnes had set on them, that then they would haue lyen in the chase at the receipt.

The sayd Capitaine of Guisnes valiauntly marched forwarde, with a hundred horsemen and foure hundred footemen, entending to meete with the Frenchemen, and sodainely as he was passing forwarde, worde was brought him that the Erle of Damarten, with the garisons of Mustrel and Abuile, to the nũber of vj.C. horsemen, were cõming forward toward Guysnes. This heering sir William Fitzwilliam, sware that the Erle should not take paine to come to Guysnes, for he would meete him on the way: by this meane he left his first enterprise, & marched toward the Erle of Damartin.

The Frenchmen of Tirwin being thereof aduertised by a Spye, called all

all the people together, and with their bootie came on forwarde t owarde Turnahan, and sodainely they asskryed the poore Fleminges, which were sent out of the Castell of Turnahan, and when they perceyued the Frenchmen, comming toward them, they turned their backes, and fled like sheepe: the Frenchmen folowed a pace, & slue the most part of them, for few escaped.

The Capitaine of Guysnes came to a fayre Greene, fiue myle from Guysnes, and there in good order of battayle, taried for the Erles comming, which heering that the Capitaine of Guysnes, was readie to receiue hym, made his returne backeward, without any thing doing: when the Capitaine knew the truth of the Erles returne, he then in all hast, sped hym to meete with the Frenchmen, that were comming to Turnahan, and in the meane waye, he heard tidinges of the chaunce of the Fleminges, and how the Frenchmen were reculed toward Tirwin, which aduenture sore him displeased, but there was no remedy, wherfore he returned to Guysnes again, very sory that the Frenchmen went awaye vnfought withall: The Frenchmen litle medled after this time, wherefore let vs now returne, and shewe what warres were kept on the frontires, betwene England and Scotland, in this season.

The Scots inuadeth England.

The one and twentie day of Maye being Trinitie Sonday fiue hundred Scottes in the morning by seuerall fordes, entered into Englande, and laye couertly by the high waye, to distresse Marchauntes and Market men, that should passe to Berwike, that day to the faire: for euery Trinitie Sonday, there is kept a great Fayre, which the Scottes knew well, and as they lay thus lurking, they robbed many Marchauntes, and tooke rich prisoners but at the last they were perceyued, then the Alarme rose, and people began to gather, the Scottes drew together toward Wranxstone, and the Englishmen them assayled, which so manfully them defended, that if the yong Lorde of Fulbery, had not come with one hundred lyght horsemen, the Scottes had gon away with their bootie, but then began a sore fight, many were hurt on both sides, and some slayne, and at the last the Scottes fled, and in the chace there were two hundred Scottes taken prisoners, and the residue fled and saued themselues.

After this the fift daye of July, sir John a Fenwicke, Leonard Musgraue, and bastard Heron, and diuers other, gathered together. ix. hundred men and entred into Scotland, in the countrye called the Marche, and robbed and spoyled all the countrie, and by chaunce the same season, the Scots had assembled two thousand men, to inuade Englande, and none of these knewe of other, tyll they by aduenture met together. Then began a strong med'ye, for the Scottes fought valiauntly a great while, and the Englishmen them hardely assayled, and at the last by fine force, caused them to leaue the grounde and flie, and in the fight were taken two hundred Scottes, and many slaine, of the which prisoners diuers were Gentlemen Sir Rause of Fanwicke, Leonard Musgraue, and Bastard Heron, with .xxx. other Englishmen well horsed, folowed so far the chace, that they were past rescues of their company, which perceyuing the Scottes sodainly returned, and set on the Englishmen, which oppressed with multitude, were sone ouercome, and there was taken sir Rause a Fanwicke, Leonard Musgraue, and syr other, and Bastard Heron, and seauen other slayne, the remnaunt by chaunce escaped:

ped: the other Englishmen with their two hundred prisoners, returned safely into Englande: the slaying of the Bastard Heron, was more pleasure to the Scottes, then the taking of the two hundred was displeasure, they hated hym so.

The seauenth day of July the Lorde Maxwell of Scotlande, and Sir Alexander Jorden, with banner displayed, and Scottes to the number of foure thousand, entered into England at the west Marches by Carleile, and began to burne on euery syde: then the Englishmen assembled on euery side and so they were in number two thousand men, and fiersly set on the Scots, there was a great fight, for the space of an houre, at the last the Englishmen brake the array of the Scottes, and them discomfited, and tooke three hundred Scottes prisoners, the Englishmen that had taken prisoners, went away with their prisoners: For sir Alexander Jorden and his sonne & diuers were taken prisoners, & by their departing, the company of the Englishmen was much minished, the Lorde Maxwell being a politique man, perceyuing that, and sodainly called his people together, and them encouraged, and began a new skirmishe, and recouered all the prisoners almost, and tooke diuers English men prisoners, this was the chaunce of warre.

A parliament holden by the Scots ferher in they shewe many causes for the which they ought to beare with Fraunce before Englād.

After this iourney, in the courte of parliament of Scotland, was much commoning of the warres, which were betwene Englande and Scotlande: some of the Nobles sayd, that Fraunce neuer did so much good to Scotland in twentie yeres, as Scotlande had lost by Englande, in one yere, for the loue and cause of Fraunce: wherefore they thought it conuenient to make a perpetuall league of amitie, with the King of Englande, and to leaue the Frenche kinges parte. Other Nobles which had pencions in Fraunce, declared the olde amitie betweene Fraunce and Scotlande, and how the French king, brought vp many Gentlemen of Scotlande in his Courte, geuing them great liuinges, which the king of Englande would not doe: they also alleged the fraunches, and priuileges that the Scottes haue in Fraunce, and specyally they shewed, that if the kyng of Scottes shoulde breake with Fraunce, and then if it happened the king of England, to inuade Scotlande, which beyng without ayde of any friend, might well by the power of England be conquered. After many long reasons it was thought expedient, to sue to the king of England for a truce, which was done, and a truce graunted tyll saint Andrewes daye.

A Rose brought frō Rome.

This yere the first day of September, was Doctor Thomas Hanibal Mayster of the Rolles, receyued into London, with Erles and Bishops, and diuers other nobles and gentlemen, as Ambassador from Clement Bishop of Rome, which brought with him a Rose of Golde (the which sayeth Sledane was consecrated as is accustomed three weekes before Easter) for a token to the king, of the great loue that he bare vnto him, the people as he passed thought to haue sene the Rose, but it was not shewed, till he came to the king to Wyndsore, on the day of the Natiuitie of oure Ladie, on which day after a solempne Masse song by the Cardinall of Yorke, the said present was deliuered to the king, which was a tree forged of fine gold, & wrought with braunches, leaues and flowers, resembling Roses: this tree was set in a pot of Golde, which pot had three feete of antike fashion: the pot was of measure halfe a pinte, in the vppermost Rose, was a fayre Saphier loupe

perced, the bigneſſe of an Acorne, the tree was of heigth halfe an Engliſhe yarde, and in breedth it was a foote. The ſayd Ambaſſadour in delyuering the ſame roſe, made an oration, declaryng the good minde, loue and fauour, that the Bychop of Rome bare to the king, in token whereof he ſent him that preſent, which the king thankfully receyued, and deliuered it to him agayne, and ſo he bare it open before the king, from the College to the great chamber, and there deliuered it to the mayſter of the Jewell houſe, and ſo there ended hys Legation.

Before this time in the Monthe of July, Lorde Archebalde Douglas Erle of Anguiſhe, which had maried the Queene of Scottes, ſiſter to the king of Englande, and was ſent into Fraunce by the Duke of Albany, and there kept, contrarie to hys will and pleaſure, and from thence hardely eſcaped, and came to the king of Englande, to his manor of Grenewiche, and there beſought him of his aide and comfort, to whom the king made a gentle aunſwere. Thys Erle was not in the fauour of his wyfe the Queene of Scottes, wherefore ſhe cauſed him to be ſent into Fraunce: ſome ſayd that ſhe loued the Duke of Albany better then him, but whatſoeuer the matter was, ſhe wrote to the french king, that if the Erle euer came againe into Scotlande, that the french king ſhould haue no pleaſure in Scotlande, that ſhe might let, ſo that the Erle being in Fraunce, was in ieoperdie of his life. Wherefore ſecretly he fled and came into England as you haue heard, and one daye at the Caſtell of Wyndſore he declared, that in the counſayle of Fraunce when he was there, they happened in communication, to talke of the warres that were then, betweene the Emperour and the french king, and betweene the king of Englande and the french king: there was a Lorde of the counſayle that ſtood vp and ſayde, it were better that one perſon ſuffered, rather then all the realme ſhould be daylie in this miſchiefe. Then was it aſked, what he meant by that one perſon, he aunſwered, that if the french Queene, which was lame and vgly were dead, that then wayes might bee found, that the french king ſhould marry the Emperors ſiſter, and to haue with her the Duchy of Millain, and then with the money of her mariage, the king of England ſhould be payde, and ſo a peace might be concluded: to this no aunſwere was made, but whether this were true or falſe, for a truth the french Queene was dead the.xvj.day of July, & was buried at S.Deniſe.

The Duke of Burbon this Sommer made ſharpe warre on the french kings domynions, and did high enterpriſes: wherefore the king of Englande ſent his letters to diuers Lordes and gentlemen in this ſeaſon, the tenor wherof enſueth. Truſty. &c. For as much as (our Lord God be thanked) our armie, vnder the leading of our Coſyn the Duke of Burbon, hath not onely entered the rea'me of Fraunce, gainyng and attayning many townes, Cities, Caſtels, and places, with the whole countrie of Prouince, without anye reſiſtance of our auncient enemie the french king, but alſo goeth daylie marchyng, and continually doth chace, and driue before them ſuche men of warre, as our ſayd enemie hath prepared for his defence, in reſiſtance of our Coſyn the Duke of Burbon, and our ſayde armie. In ſuch wiſe that it is thought vndoubtedly, nowe to be moſt conuenient time and ſeaſon, eyther in our perſon (although the yere be ſomewhat paſt) or by a Lieuetenaunt with a puyſſaunt armie to inuade Fraunce on the other ſide, both for the recouc-

ryng

The tenor of the kinges letters ſent to diuers gentlemen in England.

ryng of the Crowne, and to compell our ſayde enemy, to knowledge his obſtinate, wilfull, and erronious demeanure, wherfore we will and commaund you to be readie with ſuch power as you ſhall be able to make, vpon the next proclamation to be made, dated the tenth day of September.

After which letters ſent forth, euery man made preparation accordingly, and the people murmured and ſayde, that it were much better, that the king ſhould maintayne his warres with his awne ſubiectes, and ſpende his treaſure on them, then to truſt the Duke of Burbon, beyng a ſtraunger to ſpende his money.

The king beyng at Wyndſore, to him came ſyr Anthony Fitz Herbert one of the Juſtices of the common place, a man of excellent learning in the lawe, as appereth by his workes, ſyr Raufe Egerton knight, Doctor Denton Deane of Lichfield, which in the beginning of thys yere, were ſent as Commiſſioners into Irelande, which ſo wiſely endeuored themſelues, that they reformed manye iniuries done in the Countrie, and brought dyuers of the wilde Iriſhe by fayre meanes to a ſubmiſſion, and made by the kinges auctoritie, the Erle of Kildare deputie of the lande, before whom the great Oneele bare the ſworde, and the Lorde Piers Butler, called Erle of Ormound, which was Deputie of Ireland, was by the ſayde commiſſioners, made high Treaſorer of Ireland. And when they had ſet all things in good order, in the Moneth of September they tooke ſhippyng, and in the ſame Moneth came to the king, which gaue them hys hartie thankes for their good doyngs.

In this Month the king ſent maiſter John Magnus prieſt, and Roger Rateliffe Eſquier into Scotland, for the ſuretie of his nephewe the king of Scottes, for diuers Lordes of Scotland, wrote to the king, that they doubted the ſuretie of their king, becauſe the Duke of Albanie, which was heyre apparaunt to the realme of Scotland, had the king in gouernaunce, and alſo they thought, he beyng a Frencheman borne, ſhould not rule their realme: wherefore they amongeſt themſelues, murmured ſore in this matter. The Duke heering that the Lordes of Scotland, had written to the king of England, and alſo that they repyned and grudged at his doynges, ſodainly with all the treaſure that he could make, departed from Scotland, and ſayled into Fraunce, with which departyng the Commons were nothing ſory, and ſone after his departyng, the Ambaſſadors of England were ioyouſly receyued into Scotland, and there the ſayd Ambaſſadors taryed, till Marche twelue moneth, in which tyme, there were many concluſions driuen, betweene the two realmes: now let vs returne to Fraunce.

The.xxiiij.day of September, three horſemen of the garriſon of Bulleyn, which well knew the Hauen of Calice, came at a deepe tyde, and paſſed ouer Calice hauen, by Riſe banke in the night, and went behinde the Caſt Wyndmill, and then toke land, and went to a little village called Middleway, and paſſed the Turne-Pikes, and entred into a Wheelers houſe, and tooke the man and the wyfe, and. xx. pound in money ſterlyng, and went away clere without eſcrie or perceiuyng of the watche of Calice, and no man wiſt where they were become, till the Trompet of Bullein brought worde, and demaunded the raunſome.

The laſt day of September, fiftie light horſemen of Calice, apperteyning

nyng to sir Robert Jernyngham, rode toward Bulleyn, and passed the water of Warguison, and came to the water of Sclakes nere Bulleyn, where sodeinly they encountered. ix. Frenchmen, of the garrison of Bulleyn, there was shotyng with long Bowes and Crosbowes on euery syde, strong was the fight, but at the last the Frenchmen fled, the Englishmen folowed, and tooke three light horsemen, and when they perceiued the alarme on euery side, they put themselues in array, and with their bootie came to Calice.

The same day sir Thomas Palmer, with. ix. horsemen of Guisnes, encountered with the Capitaine Bertram, leader of the horsemen of the Erle Dammartyn, with. ix. horsemen, there was a strong fight two houres together, but in the ende the Frenchemen fled, and the Englishemen folowed, and tooke. xviij. prisoners, and. xvj. good horse, and with this bootie they returned to Guisnes.

In this busye season, the aduenturers heeryng what the horsemen on their parties had done, and especially perceiuyng that the English horsemen had taken good prisoners, commoned amongest themselues, what was to be done: then one of their Capitaines sayd openly: sirs you see howe long we haue beene here, and wages we haue none, our liuyng ryseth on the gaine of our enemyes, and sith our beginnyng, we haue had good chaunce in all our enterprises, God be thanked: nowe the Winter draweth neere, let vs now aduenture to get some good bootie, to make vs merye with, in the colde weather, and if you will, we shall enterprise a thing, that I trust to vs shall be profitable. Then all the companie cryed forth, forth. Then with a Banner of saint George, they marched toward a village, lyng towarde Moustrell, hauyng only. xxv. light horsemen, to be their scourers, and they were not fully two hundred men. This companie folowyng their scourers, went farre on and had gotten a fayre bootie, of Oxen, kyne and other beastiall, and were nere at their returne, and by chaunce the same day, was the Erle of Dammartyn, & the Capitaine of Moustrell, with the power of the Duke of Uandosme, goyng toward Saint Omers, to burne and destroy that Countrey, and for that purpose they had gathered together. xv. hundreth horsemen, and eight hundreth footemen, howbeit, the footemen were a large myle behinde the horsemen.

The Frenchmen on horsebacke espyed the Englishe horsemen, which perceiuyng the great number fled, and as the sayd Frenchmen marched forward, they espied the aduenturers on foote, and made toward them: the Englishmen seeyng the great number of the horsemen, studied to get some hedge, or strong place to fortifie them, but there was no such place in sight, and also they had no such tyme so to do, wherefore the Capitain sayd: Good felowes and brethren, we haue of long time bene called aduenturers, now is the time come of our aduenture, the Frenchmen will not raunsome vs for nothing, we be amongest them so feared: if any thing saue our lyues, it must be God and our hardinesse, and therefore sayd he, if you see me begin to flie, slay me out of hand. Then euery man cryed God mercy, and made themselues prest to the defence.

The Frenchmen came on, on euery syde, the Englishmen shot their arrowes, and defended them aswell as they coulde: the Frenchemen perceyuyng that the Englishemen kept themselues so close, caused diuers of the horsemen

horsemen to light a foote, and so they did, and fought with their speares against the pykes, and shot with Crosbowes, on euery syde. Alas the while, for while the Englishmen had arowes to shote, they were not broke, but close without perill, but when their arrowes were spent, the Englishmen fought valiauntly, and slue many Frenchmen that lighted on foote, but in the conclusion the horsemen entered, and killed them all in maner, because there were so many of their company slaine, and tooke few of them prisoners. This was the end of these Companions, called the Krekers or aduenturers, which were as hardie men, as euer serued Prince or Capitaine. The end of ỹ aduenturers.

The Duke of Burbon, with the Marques of Picardie, in the moneth of October, with a great puyssaunce, layd siege to the strong towne of Marcell in Prouince, and lay there a great space. The French king raised a great armie, and sware that he would rayse the siege, whereof heeryng the Duke of Burbon, sent for the Marques of Piscare, and his other Capitaynes, and declared to them that his entent was to giue the French king battaile: the Marques of Piscare sayde that the French kinges puyssaunce was great, and theirs small, and sayde: although the Duke of Burbon, which was a banished man from his Countrie, had no other remedie to reuenge him, but by battaile, yet he said he would not put all the Emperours men, of the which he had the guide, in such a hazard, till the remnaunt of the Emperours power were come. Well sayde the Duke of Burbon, then you do not as you haue written, both to the Emperour, and to the king of England, which shall be a reproche to your honour: Nay sayd the Marques, I will kepe me from reproche. Then sayd Doctor Richard Pace, Imbassador for the king of England: my Lorde you haue had the king my Maysters wages, I would be glad to heare what way you would take: I will tell you sayd the Marques, the French king hath a great armie gone into Italy, and he himselfe foloweth with another, not to come to fight with vs, I dare assure you: but only to take the Duchie of Millaine vnprouided, which shall do him more pleasure then he had slaine all vs. Also the Emperour shall leese more then ten Marceles be worth, and the French kinges power shall be more elated, that he will not set by the Emperour, nor the king of England. Therefore my aduice is, to breake vp this siege, and with all speede to preuent him in Italy, and if we be entered the townes, and put munitions in the same, he shall lye a colde in the fieldes, and then you shall see what shall become of him, when his beastes dye, and his vittayle spent. To this counsaile the Duke and all the Capitaines agreed, and so brake vp the siege, and with all hast departed into Italy, and fortified all the townes in the Duchie of Millain, with men and other necessaryes.

The French king heeryng of this, with all his army passed the Mountaynes and camped nere to Millain. It chaunced in this Moneth of November the. xiij. day, about the towne of Calice, there fell a great mist, in which mist the Frenchmen came to a village called Sause beside Newnam bridge, and tooke. xl. beastes, then the Alarme was brought to Calice, which heeryng, the Marshall of Calice, called to him sir Robert Jernyngham, and they had with them a. C. xx. horsemen, and sent sir Anthonie Browne to tell the Capitain of Guisnes, what they entended to doe, but they tarryed not for the companie of Guisnes, but marched so farre forward, that they came to the

water of Sclakes, which is nere Bulleyn, and there they ſet their ſtale. And in the morning betime, they ſent forth a Gentleman called Richard Lambord with .xx. light horſemen on ſwift Geldinges, and they came by moone lyght nere Bulleyn, and then they ſawe the men of Bulleyn and other thereabout put out their beaſtes into the field. Then the Engliſhemen with great diligence brought all the beaſtes together, and ſo began to driue them together toward their embuſhment. Then the alarme began at Bulleyn, and the men of warre iſſued out of the towne, and fought with the Engliſhmen, their horſes were freſhe: wherefore they had a great aduauntage, but in concluſion three Frenchmen were ſlaine, and their horſes taken, and ſo the light horſemen came with their cattaile, nere to the embuſhment, and the Frenchmen folowed, that ſeyng, the Engliſhmen that kept the ſtale, came in all haſte and reſcued their light horſemen, and draue the Frenchmen backe, and then made returne with their beaſtes, and as they were returning, they had worde brought to them, howe that ſir William Fitzwilliam Capitaine of Guiſnes with his retinue, were beſiegyng a pile called the Caſtell of Capell, wherefore they ſped them thether in all haſt, and when they were come thether, the Capitaine of Guyſnes them hartily welcomed, and then they concluded to giue an aſſault to the Caſtell, and ſo with good courage ſet on, the frenche men defended it very valiauntly a great while, but at the laſt the Engliſhmen gat ouer the ditches, and ſcaled the walles, but the Frenchmen ſtill them defended, till the Engliſhmen had gotten to the higheſt of the Dungion, and then was there ſlaiyng a pace. For there were .liii. perſons ſlaine out of hand, in reuengyng the great obſtinacie of the Frenchmen, and the Caſtell was raſed and brent. Then ſir William Fitzwilliam with his bootie, and ſir John Wallop Marchall of Calice, and ſir John Jernyngham returned, he to Guiſnes, and they to Calice. The ſame day. xiiij. Burgonions, and .xiiij. Spaniardes, all horſemen of Guiſnes, came to the Church of Falſke, not far from Durnam at high Maſſe tyme, and there drewe their ſwordes, and ſo much did, that all the men in the Church, to the number of fiftie, yelded themſelues priſoners, of the which number they tooke eight perſons with them, which ſhoulde be gages for the remnant, and with theſe eight they came to Guiſnes.

Ambaſſadors ſent from James the fift king of Scottes.

The .xix. day of December were receiued into London, Lorde Gilbert Keuet Erle of Caſtelles, ſir Robert Cockeburne Biſhop of Dunkell, and the Abbot of Campſkenell, Ambaſſadors from James the fift king of Scottes, by the Biſhop of Lyncolne, the Lord of Saint Jhones, and diuers other noble men, and were conueyed to their lodgynges at Taylers Hall.

The .xxiij. daye of December, the ſayde Ambaſſadors were conueyed to Grenewiche, accompanied with the ſayd Lordes by water, and when they came to the vtter gate, they were receyued of the officers of the houſe, and ſo paſſed through the haule, which was well furniſhed with people, and ſo through the vttermoſt chamber, into the great chamber of preſence, where they were receyued and welcomed of all the Princes and Nobles of the realme, and within a ſhort ſpace the king came forth, and ſet himſelfe in a throne of three ſteps high, vnder his cloth of eſtate, which was very riche, but his apparell was exceeding rich, both of Goldſmithes worke and perle, and ſtone, which the Scottes well auiſed, and then they wiſely and humbly made

made their obeyſaunce, and the Biſhop in good playne Latine made a ſolempne oration, in the which he declared, that although the realme of Scotlande and he had often times heard the renoume and fame of hym and hys Court, both for the giftes of grace and nature, which were in his perſon, yet he ſayde that his princely countenance, his louely fauor, which he himſelfe did ſee, did much ſurmount the fame and name, which he hath heard of report. He declared further, that although fortune had him fauored in conquering of regions, and vanquiſhing of battayles, yet that thing was not ſo honorable to hym, nor profitable to his realme, as was a good peace, which pleaſeth both God and man, and for that cauſe he ſhewed, that king James the fift his Nephewe and felow to the king of Englande, had ſent them his Ambaſſadours, to entreate a peace, ſo that a conuenient mariage might be made, betwene him and the Ladie Marie daughter to the king, which ſhould be a linck neceſſarie, to knit together the realme of Scotland and Englande, in perpetuall loue and amitie.

To which oration, the Biſhop of London Doctor Tunſtall anſwered and ſayde: that the king was at their deſire, content to haue peace vpon reaſonable conditions, and as touchyng mariage of his daughter, he woulde ſo anſwere them, that they ſhould be contented. Then the king roſe from his place and welcomed them, and all the honeſt perſons of the traine, and after communication had, they toke their leaue for that time, and ſo toke their Barge and came to London.

Friday the .xxx. day of December the Erle of Caſtelles one of the Scottiſhe Ambaſſadors tooke his leaue and departed toward Scotlande: for to commen with the counſayle of Scotland, for things which were not in their commiſſion, and left behinde him the Biſhop of Dunkell, and the Abbot of Campſkenell: ſome ſayde the article was, that the Scottes ſhould forſake the French king, and that the king of Scottes ſhould come into Englande, but whatſoeuer it was euery man knewe it not.

The Obſeruaunt Friers would not obey the Cardinall.

In thys Moneth the Cardinall as Legate, by his power Legantyne, would haue viſited the Friers Obſeruauntes, but they in no wiſe woulde therein condiſcende, wherefore .xix. of the ſame religion, were accurſed at Paules Croſſe, by one of the ſame religion, called Fryer Forreſt. Of thys Fryer Forreſt ye ſhall here more hereafter, in the thirtie yere of thys king.

Myllayne yeelded to the French king

In thys ſeaſon the French king was in Italy with all his Nobilitie, and to him was Millaine yeelded, but becauſe of peſtilence he would not enter, but departed and layde ſiege to the ſtrong towne of Pauia, wherof was Capitayne a valyaunt Spanyard called Anthony de Leua. The Frenche kings mother beyng Regent of Fraunce, perceyuing that the king her ſonne with all his good Capytaynes were in Italy, doubted that the king of Englande, in the next ſpring time would inuade Fraunce. Wherefore thee by the aduiſe of the counſayle of Fraunce, did ſo much with the king of Englande, that her Stuard of houſhold called John Jokin, had a ſafeconduit to come into Englande, which was kept cloſe in the houſe of Docter Larke, a Prebendarie of ſaint Stevens, and euery day priuily ſpake with the Cardinall and ſo ſecretly he remayned till the .xviij. daye of Januarie, at which daye came into London, the Preſident of Roan called Mounſire Bryon, as an Ambaſſador from Fraunces the french king, and was lodged with John Jokyn:

John Jokin a priuie meſſenger.

Mounſire Bryanon an Ambaſſador frō Fraunce.

Jokyn : this John Jokyn was kept priuie, because that no man shoulde knowe that there was any man of Fraunce, here to sollicite any cause for the French king, which after grewe to great trouble. For he shewed himselfe to straungers, which favored the french partie, and so at last it was openly knowne to the kings counsaile, and almost to all men : but when the Emperours Ambassador knewe thys darke dealyng, he mused not a little & sayde, that the Cardinall did driue priuie drifftes, and that by his meanes onely, John Jokyn was come into Englande, to entreat a peace in secret maner, or the kings frendes might know it, and all people sayde that John Jokyn was but a cast away of Jeane, and had no liuyng to liue on, but of the Lady Regent, and marueyled why he should be kept close, and so much cherished of the Cardinall. For this keping close of thys Jokyn, Englishemen were rebuked at the Marte in Flaunders and Brabant. The Emperors Ambassador, and the Bishop of Romes Ambassador also sore murmured, why thys John Jokyn should be kept as a spirite in close, consydering that there was open warre betwene the two kings, & feared that the kings counsaile should be corrupt. This John Jokyn was much with the Cardinal, but neuer was sene with the king nor his counsaile, but for al the secretnesse, Mounsire Pratt the Emperours Ambassadour knewe all the offers that he made for peace (which in deede were very great) and howe he had offered pencions to dyuers yong men about the king, of the which some were very glad, and so the noyse by reason of such offers came, that a peace was likely to ensue in short space.

The Cardinall did now grow in suspicion.

Mounsire Pratt wrote of this matter in all haste to the Emperour, in the which letters he highly commended the king of Englande for his stedfastnesse : but he saide some of the kinges counsayle loued neyther the Emperour nor the king of England, and wrote to him farther all the maner of the secret keping of John Jokyn. These letters at last were brought to the Cardinall, by what chaunce it was not openly knowne, and so he sent for Mounsire Pratt, and declared to him the matter, which answered him that he was counsaylour and Ambassadour to the Emperour, and that it was his part, to assertayne the Emperour of euery thing, that was or might sounde preiudiciall to his maiestie, but howsoeuer that his aunswere was taken, he was not fauored with the Cardinall, but he sayde openly that it was not well ment to the Emperour to stop his packet with letters and to open them, and the Spanyardes sayde, that the Emperour sent them not into Englande to sleepe, but to doe him seruice. The Bishop of Romes Ambassador wrote to his maister, that peace was lykely to be concluded betweene Englande and Fraunce, and wylled him to be the first friend to the French king, rather then the second. Of which writing came harme after, as you shall heare.

Mounsire Pratt the Emperors Ambassador.

In this Month tydings came to the king, how the Marques of Piscaire in Italye, had gotten from the french king a Castell, called the Castell saint Angell, which was a great fortification of his siege at Paue.

There was in this Moneth a Flemyng in Heddyng Castell, which came oftentimes to saint Omers, and promised them if they would come to Heddyng, he would delyuer the Castell : vpon thys worde they of saint Omers gathered together seuen hundred footemen, and fiue hundred horsemen, and poynted wyth the spie, that the fourth daye of Februarie, they would

would come thether, and when the false knaue knew the day, he told Mounsire Pontdormie Capitaine of Heddyng, which incontinent filled the castell with men of warre, and layde bushements on euery side, and had layde the ordinaunce, all on the one syde of the Castell, that waye that the Flemings should come. The men of warre of saint Omers were conueyed by their spie, mistrusting nothing, to a posterne which was little vsed, and when there were as many in, as the french men thought sufficient, they let fall the portcolis : Then Mounsire Pontdormie cried, slay, slay, then the Flemings wist that they were betrayed, and put themselues to fight for their lyues, that seyng Mounsire Pontdormie, commaunded to fire the ordinaunce in suche haste and furie, that the flame was so great and fierce, that it brent the sayde Lorde Pontdormie, and.xxbij. of hys companions all Gentlemen, the trayne was so hastily fired, that they had no leasure to auoyde. In the fight ten of the Flemings were slayne, and thirtie kept themselues so hardily together, that their liues were graunted them, and so was taken as prisoners, the remnant that entred, lept ouer the Castell wall, and so saued themselues, and tolde newes to their horsemen, which were without, which heering the mischaunce, returned toward saint Omers.

Treason at Heddyng Castell.

Sunday the fift day of Marche, were receyued into London, Mounsire de Beuer Lord of Camphere, Admyral of Flaunders, and the President of Malines, called Maister John de la Coos, and Maister John de la Sache, as Ambassadours from the Lady Margaret, in the name of the Emperor, for causes of the low countryes, of Brabant, Flaunders, and Zeland : and on Tewesday they were brought to the king to Bridewell, which nobly them enterteyned, and then they shewed how the Emperors maiesty had commaunded them to obaye the king of England, as Protector and Gouernor, wherfore they and all theirs, were at hys commaundement, and if they had done otherwise, and not obayed him as their gouernor, they asked him mercy, then the king and they talked together secretly, and then they departed. These Ambassadoures demaunded three thinges.

Ambassadors of Flaunders.

1 First, they demaunded the Lady Mary the kinges onely daughter, to be deliuered to them out of hande, and she to be named Empryse, and to take possession of al the low countries, and to be gouernor of the same, this article was not agreed to, for causes.

2 Also that all such sommes of money, as the king should geue with her in maryage for a dower to be made to her, should be payed incontinent this article was also denied.

3 Thirdely, that the king of England himselfe, should passe the Sea and make warre in Fraunce, the next Sommer, to this the king sayed he would take aduisement.

Articles demaunded of king Henry in the behalfe of the Emperour.

Thursday the .ix. day of March, at seauen of the clocke in the morning there came a Gentleman in poste, from the Lady Margaret Gouernesse of Flaunders, and brought letters, shewyng how that the foure and twentie day of Februarie, the siege of Pauia, where the French king had lien long, was raysed by force of battayle, and the French king him selfe taken prisoner, and how by the Duke of Burbon, the Viceroy of Naples called Wyngmoale, and the Marques of Piscaire, and other the Emperors Capitains the whole power of Fraunce was discomfited, and how the Duke of Albany with

The French king taken prisoner at Pauia.

The Bishop of Rome become French against the Emperor.

with seauen thousande men, was going to Naples, and how the Bysshop of Rome was become French against the Emperour, and had sent his Cosyn in ayde of the French king, wyth a great power. The same day the Presydent of Roan and John Jokin, were going to the courte (for they had not yet spoken with the king) and in Holborne in their way was tidings brought them, of the taking of the king their Maister, & of the losse of the field, which hering this misaduenture, returned to their lodging sorowfull, and within short space returned to the Regent of Fraunce. It was thought surely ỳ the king of England, would haue had peace with the French king, if this chaūce had not happened, for al the people of England, grudged against Flaunders, for their euill entreating, in the time of warre, & also the king was displeased with them, for enhaūsing his coine there, which was a cause that money was dayly conueied out of the realme, & many other causes there were of grudge.

A triumph for the taking of the French king.

Saterday the. xj. day of Marche, in the Citie of London for these tydinges, were made great fiers and triumph, and the Maior and Aldermen road about the Citie with trumpettes, and much wyne was layed in diuers places of the Citie, that euery man myght drinke, and on Tower hill the Ambassadours of Rome, of Flaunders, and Uenice, had a great banquet made in a goodly tent, which pleased them well, and as they returned homeward, all the streates were full of harnised men and Cressets, attending on the Constables, which they praysed much.

Sonday the. xij. of Marche, the king accompanied with the Ambassadors, of Rome, of the Emperor, of Scotland, & Uenice, of Millaine & Florence, roade in his estate to Paules Church, and there the Cardinall sang Masse, & a. xj. Prelats waighted on him in pontificalles, & after Masse was done, the quere sang Te deum, & the Minstrels playd on euery side, & when all was done, the king returned to Bridewel, and there kept a solempne dinner. The Bishop of Scotlande was much marked this day, for whensoeuer he came to the court before this time, his apparel was sūpteous, his whood was euer Ueluet or crimosin satin: but after the taking of the French king, he ware onely blacke chamlet, by which token men iudged his French hart.

The true reporte of the taking of the French king.

From the. ix. day of Marche to the. xvj. day, the king had no mo letters, of the maner of battaile of Pauie, and that day he receyued a letter from the Duke of Burbon, by a Gentleman called Gropayne: when the king had redde the letter, he came into the Queenes chamber, and their the sayd Gropaine declared the manner of the siege, and how well it was planted, and how the Emperors men entered the French campe by force, and threw downe their bastiles, and fought with the Frenchmen, within their campe, and tooke their king prisoner in the same, and many other which was marueil. For when the French king entred Italy, he had in his gard. xj. hundred men, and of speres furnished two thousand three hundred & fifty, and of light horsemen eyght hundred and. xx. and of footemen. lvij. thousand and of these the Duke of Albany had but eyght thousande so that there remayned with the French king nine and forty thousand, nine hundred and fifty men, wherof was taken. xiiij. thousande and mo, beside the great riches, and the goodly ordinance, which were twelue great Bombardes of brasse, and foure and twentie great Canon peeces. xxiiij. double Curtalles, foure double Canon peces, two middle Canon peces, and eight other peces. After the fielde was done, the French king was put in the custodie of the Uiceroy of Naples, which

which much comforted hym, and praysed his valiauntnesse, and prayed him to be content, for he should haue a gentle ende, then he desired to wright to his mother, which was to him graunted, the very wordes were these.

The french kings letter written to his mother when he was prisoner.

To aduertise you of my infortunate chaunce nothing is left but the honor, and the life that is saued, and because some other newes shall recomfort you, I haue desired to write to you this letter, the whych liberally hath bene graunted to me: beseching you to regarde the extremitie of your selfe, in ensuing your accustomed wisedome. For I hope that at the length God will not forget me, to you recommending your little infauntes and mine, supplying you to geue sauf conduite, to passe and returne from Spaine, to this berer that goeth toward the Emperor, to know in what wise I shall be intreated, and thus right humbly to your good grace, I haue me recommended: This subscrybed by your humble and obedient sonne Fraunces.

The Cardinall first began to suppresse Abbayes.

This season the Cardinall obteyned licence of the Bishop of Rome, to suppresse diuers Abbayes, to the entent to erect two Colleges, one at Oxford and another at Ipswich, and to endue them with the landes: which Colleges he began so sumptuously, and the scholers were so prowde, that euery person iudged, that the ende woulde not be good, as you shall heere, fiue yeres hereafter.

The Scots returned into Scotlande.

The Erle of Castelles which was sent into Scotlande, returned into England, the. xix. day of March, but because the French king was taken, his commission for the most part was determined, and so he and all his companie tooke their leaue of the king and without any rewarde returned into Scotland, the fourth day of Aprill.

Imbassadors sent to the Emperour.

In this moneth of Marche, the king sent Cutbert Tunstall Bishop of London, and sir Richard Wingfield, Chauncelor of the Duchy of Lancaster, and knight of the Garter, into Spaine to the Emperour, for great causes concernyng the takyng of the french king, and in especiall for warres to be made on Fraunce, on euery side. For so the king of England and his Counsaile were agreed and determined: and the same moneth the Imbassadors, departed againe into Flaunders.

Cōmissions.

The Counsaile remembring that it was determined, that the king in proper person should passe the sea, they considered that aboue all thinges, great treasure & plentie of money, must needes be had in a redinesse: wherefore by the Cardinall were deuised straunge Commissions, and sent in the end of March to euery shire, and Commissioners appointed, which were the greatest men of euery shire: & there were priuie instructions sent to them, to say & order the people, & the tenor was, that the first part of euery mans substaunce, should without delay be payed in money or plate, to the king, for the furniture of his warre: wherefore the Cardinall, as chiefe Commissioner for London, sent for sir William Bayly knight, then Maior of the Citie, and the Aldermen, and diuers head Commoners, and sayd to them in maner following. You the kinges welbeloued friendes and subiectes, of the Citie of London. I must declare to you, how the king contrary to his auowe minde and will, but compelled of very force, is determined to enter into a new war, and for the more explanation of the truth, you shall vnderstande, that after that Fraunces the French king that now is, had obteyned the Crowne and sceptre of the realme of Fraunce, he most humbly sued to the king our mayster

The proposition of the Cardinall.

ster for peace, loue and amitie, promisyng vpon the Euangelistes to keepe the league then concluded, and also to pay to Lady Mary Queene dowager of Fraunce, her due pencion and dowar, to her graunted by king Lewys her husband. After this he by his Ambassadors, humblie desired the Citie of Tournay which king Lewys before tyme had loste: the king which woulde that the Citie of Tournay, should be no cause of grudge, betweene him and the French king, consented that for certaine summes of money, it should be deliuered. And farther the more to bind amitie betweene them, the king was content, that a communication of mariage shoulde bee had, betweene the Dolphyn of Fraunce, and the Ladie Marie, Princes of Englande, yet for to entreate more loue, familiaritie, and acquaintaunce, the king to his great cost and charge passed the sea, and met in person with the French king, thinkyng that by reason of personall sight and actuall communication, the more stable and firme loue, should growe betweene them, then by writyng at which tyme it was vndoubtedly thought, that there could no more loue be knit betweene two persons. There were couenauntes made and swoorne, and the king our maister sayde to the French king: Brother, now that you and I be thus knit, I require you to kepe firme peace, & amitie, with my nephew the Emperour: and also suffer not Duke Iohn of Albany, to go into Scotland, for puttyng the yong king my nephew in ieopardie of his person, wherfore if you loue me, in especiall keepe these two articles: if you obserue these articles, and all other couenauntes betweene vs agreed, I assure you there had neuer Prince a surer friend, then you shall haue of me. Then the French king layde his hand in mine (sayd the Cardinall) and sware by the othe of a king, he would obserue and kepe firmely, these poyntes with many mo, and after the kings were departed, and that the Emperour was come to the king to Calice: the French king sent Mounsire de la Roche Baron with letters, declaring that he was in perfect league and amitie with the Emperour, and this notwithstandyng, he within lesse space then half a yere, sent Robert de la Marche to inuade the Emperors lande, and made warre in Nauerre, and other places. The king our maister heeryng this, of his meere charitie sent me, and other Nobles with a great traine to Calice, to knowe by whom the warre began, for he promised to be enemie to him that brake first. To which place came from the French king, his Chauncelor, and Mounsire de la Palice, and many other noble men. And from the Emperour came his Chaūcelor, and the Lord Cheuers, and there in open counsaile, the Emperors Ambassadors did shewe the French kinges letters, signed and sealed, by the which he enforced & began the warre: to which point the french Ambassadors could not aunswere. What should I say, the warre was open on both parties, I sent to the French king Ambassadors, to entreate peace, but in no wise he would consent: wherefore I with my company returned. In the meane season (although I doubted nothing, the French kinges fayth towarde our Maister) yet for a more suretie I obtayned a safeconduit for the Englishe Marchauntes, that they should go to Burdeaux, and vpon suretie of that, our Marchauntes passed, yet he contrary to his safeconduit, tooke the Marchauntes goodes, and put their bodies in prison, which the Turke would not haue done. The king sent gently to him his Herault Clarenseux, desiryng him to redresse all these enormities, and to pay him his summes of money,

The saiyng of the kyng of England.

The othe of the French king.

due

due to him, and to the Queene his sister, for her dowar, which to do he refused and denied, which thinges you knowe, the king of his honour might not suffer. Wherefore mightily he hath these three yeres, kept warre continually both on land and sea, and inuaded Fraunce with two armies royall, and bet their townes, Castelles and fortresses, destroyed the people, and passed the water of Some, and profered battaile to the Frenchmen, in their awne Countrie, and hath brought the Countrie in such penury and wretchednesse, that in many yeres it will not be recouered.

And the more to hurt and dammage the French king, the king hath in wages the Duke of Burbon, which was the greatest strength on the french part: by whose power and ayde of other, which had great summes of money of the king our maister, the French king in person is now taken, and all his nobles in effect, before Pauia, and kept as prisoner to the Emperor and the king our maister, and that for great reason: for our maister sent sir Gregory de Cassado his Ambassador, to the Viceroy of Naples, and to the Duke of Burbon, and the Marques Piscaire, with a hundred thousand Crownes, so that they would fight with the French king: For the which money they assented, and so gaue battaile, in the which they slue .xij. thousand men, & drowned seuen thousand, and .xvj. thousand taken prisoners, and now sith God hath geuen vs victorie, the king remembring the saiyng of the Poet that saieth: It is more maystry to vse victory gotten, then to get it, thinketh it necessary now in all hast, to make an army royall, and he in person to passe the seas, and to recouer his right inheritaunce, both of the Crowne of Fraunce as of Normandie, Guyen, Gascoyne, Aniow, and Maine, the writynges whereof comprehendyng the very title, you may see heere present if ye list, but I doubt not but you know them well enough. And now I aske you this question, whether that you thinke it conuenient, that the king should passe with an armie or not, for the king will do by the aduise of his subiectes: to the which many sayde yea, yea.

Well sayd the Cardinall, then must he be made able to go like a Prince, which cannot be without your aydes, and for to shewe you what the Archbyshop of Cantorbury and I, which be primates of the realme haue done, we haue geuen of our landes, and all landes appertainyng to the Church, the thirde part, and the temporall Lordes, haue geuen of landes and goodes, the first part, and to ieopard their bodyes in paine and trauaile, and nowe sith they which shall aduenture theyr lyues, doth profer the first part, what should they geue which abide at home? Forsooth I thinke that halfe your substaunce were to little, not meanyng that the king so asketh. For he demaundeth only nomore of fiftie pound, the first part, and so vpon euery fiftie, aboue fiftye pound, to what summe soeuer it amount to, the first part, that is three shillings foure pence of the pound, and from .xx. pound, to fiftie pound, and so vpward two shillings and .viij. pence of the pound, & from .xx. pound to .xx. shillings. xij. pence of the pound, and thus to be leuied accordyng to the first valuation, as appereth by your awne valuation, which is but a small matter to the thing that is meant. Then they beyng astonyed, at last the one sayd, my Lord, sith the last valuation, diuers Marchauntes be decayed, by the seas, and suretiship, and other wayes, so that valuation can not be had. Then aunswered the Cardinall, sirs, speake not to breake that thing that is concluded, for some

The Cardinals demaūd of a subsidie.

shall not pay the tenth part, and some more, it were better that some should suffer indigence, then the king at this tyme should lacke, and therfore beware and resist not, nor ruffle not in this case, for it may fortune to cost some their heddes: But I will speake to the king to be good to you, so that if he go not ouer the sea in person, then you shall haue your money redelyuered, but first let the money be gathered, and lay it where you will, and if the king need it not, you may take it againe.

The Cardinalles threatenings.

When the Cardinall had thus perswaded the Maior and his brethren and other head Comiuers, they tooke their leaue, and euery day after by the space of a fortnight, he sent for a certayne number of Compners, and tolde them lyke tale, but some spake suche wordes to him, and some geyng from him, that they were sent to warde.

The fourme of the Clergy

Nowe were Commissioners sent to the clergie, for the fourth part of their landes and moueables, and in euerye assembly the prelates answered, that they would pay nothing, except it were graunted by conuocation, otherwise not: for they said that neuer king of England did aske any mans goods but by an order of the lawe, and this commission is not by the order of the lawe: wherefore they sayde, that the Cardinall and all the doers thereof, were enemies to the king, and to the common wealth. This infamie was spoken in preachings, and euery where.

The grudge of the common people.

When this matter was opened through Englande, how the great men take it, it was marueyle, the poze cursed, the riche repugned, the right was rayled, but in conclusion, all people cursed the Cardinall, and his coadherentes as subuersor of the lawes and liberties of England. For they sayde, if men should gene their goodes by a commission, then were it worse then the taxes of Fraunce, and so England should be bond and not free.

It happened in this time at Redyng in Barbefire, that the commissioners sat for this money to be graunted, and the people in no wise would consent to the first part: but of their awne mere minde, for the loue they bare to the king, they graunted the twelth part, that is twentie pence of the pound, the commissioners hearing this, sayde they would send to the Cardinall, desiring him to be content with this offer, and so the Lorde Lisle wrote the letter, so that syr Richard Weston would beare it, the which letter at the request of the gentlemen of the Countrey, the sayde syr Richard tooke vpon him to carie, and roade to the Cardinall: which therewith was sore grieued, and sayde, but because that the Lorde Lisle wrote, that the matter was but communed of, and not concluded, it should cost the Lorde Lisle his head, and his landes should be solde to pay the king the values, that by him and you foolish commissioners he had lost, and all your lyues at the kings will: these wordes sore astonied syr Richard Weston, but he sayde little.

Stowte wordes of the Cardinal

Sir Richard Weston.

Then the Cardinall wrote letters to all commissioners of the realme that they should keepe their first instruction, and in no wise to swarue one iote, vpon paine of their lyues, and euery man to be valued, according to the valuation taken in the.xiiij. yere. This last poynt sore touched the Citie of London, for the Cardinall in the.xiiij. yere sent one Doctor Tunes his secret Chapelcine, to the Chapter house of Paules, promising to the Londoners, that whatsoeuer they valued themselues at, that no man should knowe it but the king, the Cardinall, and he, vpon which promise, many persons for their more

Presidents are daungerous

more credite, and to be higher esteemed valued themselues at a greater substaunce then they were worth: thinking neuer to lend or pay by that confession, for the loane and the subsidie were payde, according as men were sessed, and not by maister Tunes booke, when men valued themselues, not knowyng what should succeede.

Now in this time was that subtile valuation layd to their charge, which when they perceyued, they murmured muche and sayde, they woulde paye nothyng, except the kings lawes, vnder which they were borne, so determined it: But this notwithstanding, commissioners went out to euery shire, for the leuie of the sayde money, but for all that could be perswaded, sayde, lyed, and flattered, the demaunde could not be assented to, saying, that they that sent forth such commissioners were subuerters of the lawe, and worthy to be punished as Traytors. So that in all the realme were Billes set vp in all places: Some Billes sayde that the king had not payde that he borowed: Some sayde that the subsidie amounted treble, more then he had bestowed: other sayde whatsoeuer was graunted, no good came of it: and other sayde that the Cardinall sent all the money to Rome, thus was the muttering throughout all the realme, with curses and wepings, that pitty it was to behold.

The muttering of the people.

During this season that the commissioners sat, and that the Bishop of London, and other the kings Ambassadors were abidyng winde to sayle into Spaine to the Emperour (as you haue heard rehersed) Mounsire Pratt the Emperours Ambassadour, which was sore angrie for John Jokyns comming into Englande, as you haue hard before, departed priuely out of the realme of Englande, the.ix. day of Aprill, without speaking with the king or the Cardinall, and so much did by safeconduit, that he passed through Fraunce in poste, and came to the Emperour before the Ambassadours of England came thether, and whether it was by his report or otherwise, the accustomed fauor that the Emperour and his counsayle shewed to the Englishe men, began then to decay, and to shew themselues vnkinde to the Englishe nation without cause, as you shall hereafter perceyue.

In this yere the kyng folowyng of his Hauke, lept ouer a diche beside Hythyn, with a polle and the polle brake, so that if one Edmond Woody, a footeman had not lept into the water and lift vp his head, which was fast in the clay, he had bene drowned: but God of his goodnesse preserued him.

The ieopardie the king was in.

This yere at Whitsontyde died Thomas Duke of Norffolke, and was honorably buried at Thetford in Suffolke.

The death of Thomas Duke of Norffolke.

1525

In the beginning of this.xviij.yere, the commissioners in all shires sat, for the leuie of the first part of euery mannes goods, but the burden was so grieuous, that it was denied, and the commons in euerye place were so moued, that it was like to haue growen to a rebellion. When this mischiefe was shewed to the king, he sayde that he neuer knew of that demaund, and therefore with great diligence, he sent his letters to the Citie of London, and to all other places, in the which the kyng gently wrote, that he woulde demaunde no somme certayne, but such as his louyng subiectes would graunt to him of their good mindes, towarde the maintenaunce of his warres: wherefore the Cardinall, the twentie and sir day of Aprill, sent for the Maior of London, the Aldermen and counsayle of the same, with the most substanciall persons of the common counsayle, and when they were come to his

place at Weſtminſter, he ſayde: the king our ſouereigne Lorde, moſt graciouſly conſidereth the great loue, zeale, and obedience, which you beare vnto hym, and where lyke louing ſubiectes, without any grudge or againe ſay, of your louing myndes you haue graunted the firſt part, of all your goodes and ſubſtaunce, freely to be payde, accoꝛding to the firſt baluation, the which louyng graunt and good minde, he ſo kindely accepted, that it was maruaile to ſee. But I my ſelfe doe conſider the great loſſes, and other charges that daylie hath, and doth to you growe, and that notwithſtandyng anye loſſe oꝛ charge that happeneth to you, yet you neuer withſtood noꝛ againe ſayde, any of the kings demaunds oꝛ commiſſions, as it appereth now of late, of which doyngs, I haue highly the king enfoꝛmed, foꝛ the which he gaue you hartie thankes. Then I kneeled downe to his grace, ſhewyng him both your good myndes towarde him, and alſo the charges that you continually ſuſtaine, the which at my deſire and petition, was content to call in, and abꝛogate the ſame commiſſion, and where he by reaſon of your awne graunges, might haue demaunded the ſayde ſomme as a verie debt, yet he is content to releaſe and pardon the ſame, and will nothing take of you, but of your beneuolence: wherefoꝛe take here wyth you the kinges letter, and let it be read to the commons, and I doubt not but you wyll gladly doe, as louyng ſubiectes ſhould doe.

The ſayyng of the Cardinall to the Londoners.

Here note, that if the Cardinall had not ſayde, that the king had releaſed and pardoned the firſt demaunde, the Citezens would haue aunſwered the Cardinall, that they neuer made no ſuch graunt, and foꝛ a ſuretie no moꝛe they did not: and ſo they held their peace, and departed toward London, ſoꝛe grudgyng at the lyng of the Cardinall, and openly ſayyng that he was the verie cauſe, and occaſion of this demaunde, and would pluck the peoples hartes from the king.

The cõmon counſayle.

The. xxbiij. day of Apꝛill, in the common counſayle of the Citie, was read the kings letter, accoꝛding to the effect aboue rehearſed, wherefoꝛe the Citezens ſent foure Aldermen, and twelue Cõminers to Hampton court to geue thankes to the Lord Cardinall, which foꝛ buſineſſe as was ſayde could not ſpeake with him, wherefoꝛe they returned not content. Then euery Alderman aſſembled hys warde, in their places accuſtomed, and gently moued them of a beneuolence to be graunted to the king, the which they openly denied, ſayyng: that they had payde ynough befoꝛe, with many euill woꝛdes.

The anſwere made to the Lorde Cardinall by a counſayloꝛ of the Citie of London.

The eyght day of May, the Cardinall agayne ſent foꝛ the Maioꝛ and his bꝛethꝛen, which ſhewed them what they had done: then ſayde the Cardinall, you haue no ſuch commiſſion to examine any man, I am your commiſſioner, I will examine you one by one my ſelfe, and then I ſhall knowe the good will that you beare to your pꝛince, foꝛ I will aſke of you a beneuolence in his name. Then was it aunſwered to the Cardinall, by a counſayler of the Citie, that by the lawe there might no ſuch beneuolence be aſked, noꝛ men ſo examined, foꝛ it was contrarie to the ſtatute made the firſt yere of Richard the thirde, alſo ſome perſons commyng befoꝛe your grace, maye foꝛ feare graunt that, that all dayes of their lyfe they ſhall repent, and ſome to wynne your fauour, will graunt moꝛe then they be able to paye of their awne, and ſo runne in other mens debtes, ſo that by dꝛeadfull gladneſſe, and fearefull boldneſſe, men ſhall not be maiſters of themſelues, but as men diſmaied

maied, ſhall graunt that, that their wyfes and childꝛen ſhall foꝛe rewe. The Cardinall heard this ſayyng verie patiently, and anſwered: Sir I maruaile that you ſpeake of Richard the thirde, which was an vſurper and a murtherer of his awne Nephewes: then of ſo euill a man, howe can the actes be good, make no ſuch allegations, his actes be not honoꝛable. And it pleaſe your grace ſayde the counſayler, although he did euill, yet in his time were many good actes made, not by him onely, but by the conſent of the bodye of the whole realme, which is the Parliament. Then Syꝛ Wyllyam Bayly Lorde Maioꝛ kneeled downe and beſought his grace, that ſithe it was enacted by the common counſayle of London, that euery Alderman ſhould ſit in his awne warde, foꝛ a beneuolence to be graunted, which he perceyued to be againſt the law, that the ſame act by the ſame cõmon counſaile, might be reuoked and noꝛotherwiſe: well ſayde the Cardinall I am content. But now will I enter into the kings commiſſion: you Maioꝛ, and you maiſter Aldermen, what will you geue? my Lorde ſayde the Maioꝛ, I pꝛaye you pardon me, foꝛ if I ſhould enter into any graunt, it might foꝛtune to coſt me my life: your lyfe ſayde the Cardinall, that is a maruaylous woꝛd, foꝛ your good will towarde the king, will the Citezens put you in ieopardie of your lyfe, that were ſtraunge: Foꝛ if they would that waye, then muſt the king come with ſtrong power them to oppꝛeſſe, wherefoꝛe ſpeake no moꝛe ſuche woꝛds, and with that he ſtudied a little and ſayde: My Lorde Maioꝛ, let you and your Citezens, if you be grieued with any thing in this demaunde, humbly and after a good faſhion come to me, and I ſhall ſo entreat you that you ſhall be content, and no diſpleaſure ariſe, and ſo I pꝛaye you ſhewe your neighboꝛs, and ſo the Maioꝛ foꝛ that day departed.

The flatteryng of the Cardinall.

The Maioꝛ did wiſely not to aſſent to graunte to anye thing, foꝛ although he and the Aldermen had aſſented, the common counſaile would neuer haue aſſented. So on the next moꝛowe, it was declared to the common counſaile, that their act ẏ was made that euery Alderman ſhould ſit foꝛ a beneuolence to be graunted, was againſt a ſtatute lawe: wherebpon the ſaide act was annulled: and then was it declared, that euery man ſhoulde come to the Cardinall, and to graunt pꝛiuily what he would, with this ſayyng the Citizens were ſoꝛe grieued, then the Maioꝛ gently ſhewed them, how he durſt warꝛant, that they ſhould be entreated gently, and exhoꝛted them to go thether when they were ſent foꝛ, which ſayyng nothinge pleaſed them: and then in a fury they would haue had Richard Greſham, and John Hewſter Mercers, and Richard Gibſon Sergeant at armes and merchant Taylor, bantſhed out of the common counſaile, and ſo without aunſwere made, what they would do, they departed home.

In the ſame ſeaſon through all the realme, this demaunde was vtterly denied, ſo that the Commiſſioners could bꝛing nothing to paſſe, and yet they aſſayed both by fayꝛe wayes and foule: ſome ſpake faire and flattered, other ſpake cruell and thꝛeatened, and yet coulde not bꝛing their purpoſe about. Foꝛ in Kent the Lorde Cobham was Commiſſioner, and handeled men roughly, and by reaſon one John Skudder, aunſwered him clubbiſhly, he ſent him to the Tower of London: Foꝛ which doyng the people muttered, and grudged againſt the Lord Cobham, and ſaide expꝛeſly, that they would pay no money, and then they began to accompt the loanes and ſubſidies

graunted, so that they rekened the kings treasure innumerable, for they accompted that the king had taken of this realme, twenty fiftenes, sith the .xviij. yeare of his reigne, and in this grudge, they euill entreated sir Thomas Bulleyn at Maidestone.

In Essex the people would not assemble before the Commissioners in no houses, but in open places: and in Huntingdon shire, diuers resisted the Commissioners to sit, which were apprehended, and sent to the Fleete.

Insurrection in Suffolke.

The Duke of Suffolke sat in Suffolke this season in like commission, and by gentle handeling he caused the riche Clothiers to assent, and graunt to geue the first part, and when they came home to their houses they called to them their Spinners, Carders, Fullers, Weuers, and other Artyficers, which were wont to be set a worke, and haue their liuings by cloth making, and sayd, Sirs we be not able to set you a worke, our goodes be taken from vs, wherefore trust to your selues, and not to vs, for otherwise it will not be. Then began women to weepe, and yong folkes to crye, and men that had no worke, began to rage, and assemble themselues in companyes. The Duke of Suffolke heeryng of this, commaunded the Constables, that euery mans harneste should be taken from them, but when that was knowen, then the rumor waxed more greater, and the people rayled openly on the Duke of Suffolke, and sir Robert Dyrie, and threatned them with death, and the Cardinall also, and so of Lanain, Sudbery, Hedley, and other townes about, there rebelled foure thousand men, and put themselues in harneste, and rang the belles alarme, and began to gather still more: then the Duke of Suffolke perceiuyng this, began to rayse men, but he coulde get but a small number, and they that came to him sayd, that they would defend him from all perilles, if he hurt not their neighbors, but agaynst their neighbours they would not fight: Yet the Gentlemen that were with the Duke did so much, that all the bridges were broken, so that their assemble was somewhat letted.

The Duke of Norffolke pacifieth the Commons.

The Duke of Norffolke, high Treasurer and Admirall of Englande, heeryng of this, gathered a great power in Norffolke, and came toward the Commons, and of his noblenesse he sent to the Commons, to knowe their intent, which aunswered that they would liue and die in the kinges causes, and to the king to be obedient: When the Duke wist that, he came to them, and then all spake at once, so that he wist not what they ment. Then he asked who was their Capitaine, and bade that he should speake: then a well aged man of fiftie yeres and aboue, asked licence of the Duke to speake, which graunted with good will. My Lord sayd this man, whose name was John Grene, sithe you aske who is our Capitaine, forsooth his name is Pouertie, for hee and his Cosyn Necessitie, hath brought vs to this doyng, for all these persons and many mo, which I would were not here, liue not of our selues, but all wee liue by the substantiall occupiers of this Countrie, and yet they geue vs so little wages for our workemanship, that scarcely wee be able to liue, and thus in penurie we passe the tyme, we, our wyues, and children, and if they by whome we liue, be brought in that case, that they of their little, can not helpe vs to earne our liuyng, then must we perish, and die miserably. I speake this my Lorde for that the clothmakers haue put all these people, and a farre greater number from worke, the husbandmen haue put away their seruantes, and geuen vp housholde, they say, the king asketh so much, that they bee not

Pouertie. Necessitie.

not able to doe as they haue done before this tyme, and then of necessitie must we die wretchedly: wherefore my Lorde, now accordyng to your wisedome consider our necessitie. The Duke was sory to here their complaint, and well he knewe that it was true: then he sayde, neighbors seuer your selues a sonder, let euery man depart to his home, and choose foorth foure that shall aunswere for the remnant, and on my honour, I will send to the king, and make humble intercession for your pardon, which I trust to obteyne, so that you will depart, then all they aunswered they woulde, and so they departed home.

At the two Dukes requestes, Commissioners of great authoritie were sent to them, then the Duke of Norffolke, and the Duke of Suffolke, came to Bery, and thether came many people of the Countrey, in their shirtes, and halters about their neckes, meekely desyring pardon for their offences: the Dukes so wisely handeled themselues, that the Commons were appeased, and in especiall one Mayster Jermyn, tooke much paynes in ridyng and goyng, betweene the Lordes and Commons: then the demaund of money ceased in all the Realme, for well it was perceyued, that the Commons would none pay.

After this, the two Dukes came to London, and brought with them the chiefe Capitaynes of the rebellion, which were put in the Flete, and then the king came to Westminster, to the Cardinals place: Wherevpon this matter, he assembled a great Counsaile, and openly he sayde, that his minde was neuer, to aske any thing of his Commons, which might sound to his dishonor, or to the breche of his lawes, wherefore he would knowe of whom it was long, that the Commissions were so straight, to demaunde the first part of euery mans substaunce: the Cardinall excused himselfe and sayde, that when it was moued in counsell, how to make the king rich, the kinges Counsaile, and especialy the Judges saied, he might lawfully demaunde any somme by Commission, and that by the assent of the whole counsaile it was done, and tooke God to witnesse, that he neuer maligned nor desired the hinderaunce of the Commons, but like a true Counsaylour, deuised to enriche the king: And the spirituall men say, that it standeth with Goddes lawe, for Joseph caused the king of Egipt, to take the fift part of euery mannes goodes, but because euery man layeth the burden from him, I am content to take it on me, & to endure the fame and noise of the people, for my good will toward the king, and to the comfort of you my Lords, and other the kings Counsaylors, but the eternall God knoweth all. Well sayd the king, some haue enformed me that my realme was neuer so riche, and that there should neuer trouble haue ryssen of that demaund, and that men would pay at the first request, but now I finde all contrary, then euery man helde his peace.

The excuse of the Cardinall.

The king was sore moued, that his subiectes were thus stirred, and also he was enformed of the denial, that the spirituall men had made, and of their saiynge, wherefore he thought it touched his honour, that his counsail should attempt, such a doubtfull matter in his name, and to be denyed both of the spiritualtie and temporaltie, for although some graunted for feare, before the Commissioners, yet when they were departed, they denyed it againe. Then the king sayde, I will no more of this trouble: Let letters be sent to all shires, that this matter may no more be spoken of, I will pardon all them

The king sore moued.

that

that haue denied the demaund, openly or secretly: Then all the Lordes kneled downe, and hartily thanked the king. Then letters were sent to all commissioners to ceasse, with instructions howe to declare the kinges pardon. In which declaration was shewed, that the Cardinall neuer assented to the first demaunde, and in the instructions was comprehended, that the Lordes and the Iudges, and other of the kinges Counsaile, deuised the same demaund, and that the Cardinall folowed the minde of the whole Counsaile, these two poyntes were contrary one to another, which were well marked. And farther the instructions were, that at the humble peticion, and supplication of the Cardinall, the sayde great summes, which were demaunded, by the kinges auctoritie royall, were clerely pardoned and remitted, wherfore the Commissioners willed the people to pray for the Cardinall: but the people tooke all this for a mocke, and sayde God saue the king, for the Cardinall is knowen well ynough, the Commons woulde heere no prayse spoken of the Cardinall, they hated him so much.

The pardon of the great demaund.

The.xix. day of May the Cardinall sent for the Maior and his brethren and certaine commoners, and made the Maior to sit downe by him, and then declared, that where the king was determined, in proper person to passe the sea into Fraunce, for which cause he asked of the Cittzens of London, and his other subiectes, an ayde towarde his charges, to which request (he said) that the Londoners were at all times conformable, like louing subiectes, but sith the king considereth, the great fall of the French King, which is yet prisoner, and that dayly he hath sute made to him for peace, greatly to his honor and profite, for I trust that all his right and title, shalbe to him deliuered which thinge once agreed, I trust you shall haue peace, and therefore at my humble request, the king hath pardoned you, of all these sommes of money, that of you were demaunded: & if his grace had not passed the seas, although the money had bene gathered, suerly it should haue bene restored againe, and consequently the king thanketh you as hartely, as any Prince may thanke his subiectes: and forasmuch as peace, is not yet concluded, I counsaile you to shewe your selues, enemies to the Frenchmen, and to saie that you be the kynges, bodie and goodes at his will and pleasure, so that your louyng mindes towardes him, may to the Frenchmen appere, you wot well what I meane said the Cardinall.

The saying to the Maior of London.

The preatis feate of the Cardinall.

Then the Maior and his companye kneled downe and most hartely thanked the king and him, and so departed. The next daye all this was rehersed to the common counsaile, which humbly thanked the king for the pardon: but two thinges them sore displeased, one was that the Cardinall bad them saye, they were the kinges body and goodes, they sayd that they vsed no dissimulation, for they would not saye they were the kinges, but they thought and were the kings in dede, and not in saiyng: the second was, that the Cardinall excused himselfe, that he was ignorant of the first commission: For all they knewe and were present, when he himselfe made to them the first motion, and what soeuer was saide by the Recorder, in his excuse, was taken as a cloke for the raine, and a dissimulation or a mocke. for wisemen perceyued all the handelyng of the matter: after the king had pardoned euery offendor.

The

The.xxix. day of May the Lordes sat in the Starre chamber, and thether were brought one Deuereux a Gentleman of Huntingdon shire (which woulde not suffer the Cammissioners to sit, as you haue heard) and John Scudder of Kent, these two were brought from the Tower, bare footed in their shirtes through London, to the Starre chamber, and there the Cardinall shewed them theyr offences, with terrible wordes: and after that, he shewed the kinges mercy extended to them, and declared their pardon, and so they were deliuered.

The morow after beyng the .xxx. day, were the chiefe of the rebelles of Suffolke, brought to the Starre chamber barre, and there the kings counsaile learned, layde sore to them their offence, but the Cardinall declared for them the kinges pardon: then the kinges Attorney, asked suerties for their good aberyng, they answered that they could finde none, then saied the Cardinall I will be one, because you be my countrey men, and my Lord of Norfolke will be another, and so they were discharged, and had money to bring them home: Now here is an ende of this commission, but not an end of inward grudge and hatred, that the commons bare to the Cardinall, and to all those Gentlemen, that vehemently set foorth that Commission & demaund.

In this troubleous season, the vplandishe men of Germany, called the Bowres, rose in a great number, almost an hundreth thousand, and rebelled agaynst the Princes of Germany, of which a great number were slaine and destroyed.

An insurrection in Germanie.

In Aprill last past, the Tyndall men, with the ayde of the Scottes, to the number of. viij. hundred, did dayly great robberyes in Englande. For to represse this nest of theeues were sent, sir Richard Bulmer, and sir Christopher Dacres, with a great company of Englishe men, and to them dyuers men came, and submitted themselues, but the great theeues kept them in the Mountaynes of Cheuiot, and dayly fairmished wyth the Englishemen, and could not soone be taken: but after long liyng abroade, they seuered, and many of them were taken.

You haue heard before how the Cardinall suppressed many monasteries, of the which one was called Beggam in Sussex, the which was verie commodious to the countrey: but so befell the cause, that a riotus company, disguised and vnknowne, with painted faces and visers, came to the same Monasterie, and brought with them the Chanons, and put them in their place againe, and promised them that whensoeuer they rang the Bell, that they would come with a great power and defend them. Thys doyng came to the eare of the kings counsayle, which caused the Chanons to be taken, and they confessed the Capitaynes, which were imprisoned, and sore punished.

Riot at Beggam.

The Cardinall about this season, by his power Legantine, sent a Chapeleyne of his, called Doctor John Aleyn, a man of more learning then vertue, or good conscience, to visite all places religious: this priest road in his Gowne of Veluet, with a great trayne, & was receyued into euery house of religion with procession, as though the Legate had bene there, & tooke such great sommes for his visitation, that the religious sore were grieued, and murmured much against it, and in especial, for they were charged with great sommes of money to the king, and now this sodaine visitation or *Prædation, clean shaued them. The common people spake much against this, and also

*Prædation, that is a robbery.

also they sayde, that the Cardinall by visitations, making of Abbottes, probates of testaments, graunting of faculties, licenses, and other pollynges in his Courtes Legantines, had made his treasure egall with the kinges, and yet euery yere he sent great sommes to Rome: this was their communication euer against the Cardinall and his high auctoritie, and the spirituall men most disdayned it.

Elizabeth Blunt the mother of the Duke of Richemond.

You shall vnderstande, the king in his freshe youth was in the cheynes of loue, with a faire damosell called Elizabeth Blunt, daughter to Syr John Blunt knight, which damosell in synging, daunsing, and in all goodly pastimes, exceeded all other, by the which goodly pastimes, shee wanne the kings hart: and she againe shewed him such fauour, that by him she bare a goodly man childe, of beautie like to the father and mother. This child was well brought vp lyke a Princes childe, and when he was six yere of age, the king made him Knight, and called him Lorde Henrye Fitz Roy, and on Sunday beyng the. xviij. day of June, at the Manor or place of Bridewell, the sayde Lorde led by two Erles, was created Erle of Notyngham, and then he was brought back againe by the sayde two Erles: then the Dukes of Norffolke and Suffolke led him into the great chamber againe, and the king created him Duke of Richemond and Sommerset: and the same daye was the Lorde Henry Courteney Erle of Deuonshire, and Cosyn Germaine to the king, created Marques of Excester, and the Lorde Henry Brandon, sonne to the Duke of Suffolke and the French Quene the kings sister, a childe of two yere olde, was created Erle of Lincolne, and syr Thomas Manners Lorde Roos, was created Erle of Rutlande, and syr Henry Cliffords, was created Erle of Cumberland, and the Lorde Fitz Water syr Robert Radcliffe was created Viscount Fitz Water, and syr Thomas Bulleyne Treasorer of the kings housholde, was created Viscount Rocheford, and at those creations were kept great feastes and disguisings.

The creation of the Duke of Richmond

The Cardinal reformeth the kinges housholde.

After this the Cardinall tooke vpon him as the kings chiefe counsayler, to see a reformation in the order of the kings houshold, wherein he made certaine ordynaunces. He also made all newe officers in the house of the Duke of Richemond, which was then newely begonne: Also at that tyme he ordeyned a counsayle, and stablished another household for the Ladie Marie, then beyng Princesse of the realme, so that all thing that was done, was done by him, and without his assent nothing was done: he toke so much vpon him, and made the king beleue that all thinges should be to his honor, and that he needed not to take any payne, so that to him was the charge of all things committed, at the which wise men becked, and light men laughed, thinking great foly in his highe presumption. And at this time, the sayde Cardinall gaue to the king the lease of the manor of Hampton Court, which he had of the lease of the Lorde of saint Jhonnes, and on which he had done great coste. Therefore the king of his gentle nature, licensed him to lie in his Manor of Richemond at his pleasure, and so he laye there at certaine times: but when the common people, and in especiall suche, as had beene king Henry the seuenthes seruauntes, sawe the Cardinall kepe house in the Manor royall of Richemond, which king Henry the seuenth so highly esteemed, it was a maruayle to heare how they grudged and said, see a Boochers Dogge lye in the Manor of Richemond: these with manye opprobrious

They called him Boochers Dogge because he was a Boochers sonne.

wordes

wordes were spoken agaynst the Cardinall, whose pride was so high that he nothing regarded, and yet was he hated of most men.

In this season the French kings mother Regent of Fraunce, and the three estates of the realme, assembled together, concerning the estate of their realme: First, they sent a solempne Ambassador to the Emperour, with articles (as they thought reasonable) for the deliueraunce of the Frenche king, and also for a peace, they sent also a messenger to the king of Englande, for a safeconduit for an Ambassadour to be sent into England, for a treatie of peace, which to the messenger was graunted and deliuered.

John Jokin now called Mounsier de Vaux Ambassador frō Fraunce.

Then came ouer as Ambassadour from Fraunce, John Jokyn nowe called Mounsire de Vaux, which as you haue hard in the last yere, was kept secret in Maister Larkes house, and when he came into Englande, he was welcommed of the Cardinall, and there betweene them were such communications, that at the sute of the sayde John Jokyn, a truce was concluded, from the. xiij. day of July for fortie dayes, betweene England and Fraunce, both on the sea and on the lande. Full well wist John Jokyn what he ment, when he desired peace for fortie dayes, for in that season the Picards might haue a quiet harueste to carie in their corne, which they should not haue, if the garrisons of Calice and Guysnes: and other within the Englishe pale, had nat bene restrayned from warre, and also the Fishermen of Deepe, Bulleyn and Trapoyt, had quyet fishyng, by this truce, for the Naule of England, was come home to harborough, thys truce grieued the men of warre on both parties, it was so sodaine that they wist not well what to doe.

A truce taken betwene England and Fraunce, for fortie dayes.

When the Fleminges hard tell of truce, and that they were not comprehended in the same, they began to rayle and sayde, that the king of Englande had not done truely with them, to take a truce without their knowlege: the Englishe men answered, that they had no Ambassadour in Englande, and if that they had had any, they should haue bene made prime, but the king would send them no worde of his affayres, if they would not sende to knowe, for he ought their maister, nor yet them no such seruise.

The French men in this season, enterprised to enter into Flaunders, by Newdike, but they were manfully defended by the Flemynges, and because the French men passed by the Englishe pale, and had nothing done to them, the Flemyngs were sore displeased with the English men of Calice.

In the latter ende of July came into Englande Mounsire Bryond, chiefe President of Roan, and was brought to the Cardinalles presence at the Manor of Richmond, and when hys commission was shewed, it was doubted whether the auctoritie were sufficient, because the king his mayster was prisoner in Spaine: but then he shewed auctoritie, geuen to the Ladie Regent, and certaine nobles of the realme of Fraunce, by the French king in open Parliament, before his goyng into Italy for all things that did or might concerne the realme during his absence. When the commission was thought reasonable, then was rehersed to the Frenchmen their doublenesse, their vnstedfastnesse, and how they had behaued themselues toward the king of Englande: then they answered, if we haue offended you, you haue vs punished, for you haue brent our townes, slayne our people, destroyed our Countrey, so that you haue brought the lowe parties to a long miserie without recouery, and therefore sithe we be the lesers for our offence, yet wee

sue

sue for peace, least we be more punished. After long consultation, they offered many offers: first to paye all such sommes of money as were due, both for the yerely tribute, and also for the Citie of Tournay, and the Frenche Queenes dower, and farther to recompence the king of Englande his expences done in the warres.

A truce concluded with Fraunce by the Ladie Margaret for fiue monthes.

During thys treatie, worde was brought to the king of England, that there was a truce sodainely concluded, betweene the realme of Fraunce and the Ladye Margaret Duchesse of Sauoy, and gouernour of Flaunders and the low Countries, for the space of fiue Monthes, so that no entercourse should be betweene them for Marchaunts, but by safeconduit, and that thys Proclamation was proclaymed at saint Omers, the first daye of August, wherevpon the king was contented, that a peace should be taken from the xiiij. day of August, to the first day of December, which was proclaymed in London: and by this truce euery Englishe man without safeconduyt might passe into Fraunce, and they likewise into England. When thys truce was proclaymed, the people murmured and sayde, nowe hath the French men gotten their fishyng quietly, and if they had bene kept from that, they had bene vndone, and so with faire wordes they helpe themselues, which if we haue warre againe, shal hurt vs, for this Herryng shal bittaple their townes the next yere. This the common people talked, but it was to no purpose.

Ambassadors into Denmarke

This yere the king sent Doctor Henry Standishe, Bishop of saint Asse and sir John Baker knight into the realme of Denmarke, to commen and entreat with the nobles of the Country for the reduction of kyng Chyristiern, to his realme, crowne, and dignitie, but all that coulde be sayd or perswaded could not bryng the Danes to any reason, they hated him so for his great cruelte, and in especiall for the great tirany that he committed at Stockeholme in Swethen, where he desyred a great number of his nobles to a banket, and after the banket, strake of their heades. When the Ambassadors of Englande saw that they coulde not bring him in againe: they then began to require, that his sonne might haue the crowne and dominion, which neuer them offended, and was of progeny borne of Lady Isabell, sister to the Emperour Charles the fift which also made great labor and instance for the same: but the Danes answered they woulde none of his procreation, for they sayde, the sonne would folow the father, or else at the least he would reuenge his fathers wrong, and so with this answere they departed.

So much did the Ambassadors of Fraunce, both by offers and entreaties, that the king of England and his counsaile, did condiscende to appease, and the more soner because they saw if warre should continue, money must be demaunded of the commons, which had leuer rebell then pay any more money, as you haue heard in the last yere. When peace was concluded then were proclimations of the same, sent to euery Citie and good towne, and the viij. day of September this peace was proclaymed solempnely with a trumpet through the Citie of London, the effect wherof was, that vpon humble suite and large profers, made by the Lady Regent of Fraunce, and the three estates of the same, a peace, league, and amitie, was concluded betweene both the kings of England and Fraunce, and their countries and subiectes, so that the subiectes of eyther realme may lawfully passe and repasse, into the others realme and dominions, to by and sell frankely and freely, wythout let or

Peace concluded and proclaymed betweene the king of Englande and Fraunce.

or interruption, and that this league in no wise, was a breche of the league taken with the Emperor and the Lady Margaret, Gouernesse of Flaunders in no poynt, but that the sayd Emperor and Lady Margaret, and al other the kings old & auncient confederates and alies, were comprehended in the same, and for due restitucion to be made to the frenchmen, there was appointed the reuerend father Cutberd Bishop of London, & for restitution to be made to the Englishmen, was appoynted the chiefe Presydent of Roan.

A truce proclaymed in Spaine betweene the Emperour and ye french king.

And on the. xj. day of September, was a truce concluded in Spaine, in a towne of Vale Dolito, betwene the Emperour and the French king, from that daye to the ende of December next ensuing, at which time the Emperor had not seene the French kyng, which was conueighed by sea out of Italy into Spaine, to a Castell called Madrill, and there remayned: and shortly after fell sore sicke, and was in great ieoperdy, for the which the Frenchmen cared litle, for they sayd that if he died, they should pay no raunsome, and then their realme should be quyet.

This peace betwene England and Fraunce, nothing pleased the Flemyngs, wherfore when they had dronke well, they spake largely, and bosted how they had bittayled the English armies, and found them cartes and cariages, and thought it not kindely done, to refuse them as olde frendes and make peace with olde enemies, but they did not consider what money the Englishmen left in their countrey, nor how the Frenchmen for dred of the Englishmen, would not inuade Flaunders, so that they liued quietly, all this they considered not.

The conclusion of the peace.

In the same moneth this peace was proclaymed, in Paris, Lions, Roan and Amias: by this peace the king of England, should receyue at certaine daies. xx. hundred thousand Crownes, which then was foure hundred thousand pounde sterling, of the which one payment of fiftie thousand pounde was payed in hande. After this peace taken, all the men of warre, that were about the retinue of Calice, Hammes & Guysnes, were called home, and the shippes brought into the hauens, and many a Creker wist not how to liue.

Ambassadors sent out of England into Fraunce.

In the moneth of October were sent into Fraunce, Sir William Fitzwilliam Treasorer of the kings house, and Doctor Taylor, as Ambassadors from the king of England, and were receyued through Fraunce very honorably, and by long iourneys at the last, came to the Citie of Lions the. xxiij day of Nouember, where to them were presented, Wine, Fishe, Flesshe, and Ware, and they were visited with diuers noble men. And on the. xxvj. daye they were conueyed to the court by two Erles, and at the gate receyued with two Cardinals, and so brought to the Lady Regent, which with much honor them receyued, and then they delyuered the kinges letters, which she tooke in great reuerence, and so with her counsaile, departed into her priuie chamber, and there taried almost two houres, and then came out againe, to whome Doctor Taylor made an eloquent oration in Latin, of the commodities of peace, and declared that the king his Maister for very loue, and not for no dred nor nede did not condiscend to peace. To whom the Bishop of Besanson, Chauncellor to the Lady Regent made answere: And that done, the Ambassadors were feasted, and serued with men of great estate, and after that they were conueyed to their lodginges.

And on Sonday next ensuing, the Ambassadors were conueyed to the

The league sworne.

Court, and from thence the Lady regent and all the Court, roade solempnly to the cathedrall Church of Lions, and there a Cardinall sang a solempne Masse, and after that Masse was done, the Lady Regent tooke the two Ambassadors, the one on the right hand, and the other on the left hand, and so went vp to the high Aulter, and there she layde her hand on the Canon and Crucifix of the Masse booke, and there sware to obserue, fulfil, and kepe all the articles and agreementes, concluded in the league and treaty of peace by her Commissioners. And when this was done, the Bishop of Bisanson made an eloquent sermon, taking for his antheme. Quis est homo qui vult vitã: diligit dies videre bonos, inquirere pacem, &c. In this sermon he much praysed the king of England, which assented to peace, & lauded the Cardinall whome he called the Legat of God, for counsailing him to peace: for now was Fraunce free, and all hostilitie ceased, and when this sermon was done, Te deum was song, and then the trumptes blew, and all other instruments musicall, and then the Lady Regent, with all her traine returned to the palace, and there were the Ambassadours highlye feasted, and then Sir William Fitzwilliam tooke his leaue, and came shortely into Englande, leauing behinde hym Doctor Taylor, which taried there till the French king was deliuered.

When the articles of peace, were knowne to the Emperor and his counsaile, full well wist they that the king of England now would be friend to the French king, wherefore he and hys subiectes, shewed themselues more straunge and vnkinde to the Englishmen, then they had bene accustomed. Insomuch that the English Marchauntes, put vp a supplication to the Emperor, shewing him how their goodes were taken, by letters of Marke, their shippes restrayned, new impositions taken of them, and most of all they complayned, that by an act made in Spaine called Premetica which ordaineth that euery cloth, should be of a certaine number of threds, the clothes of Englande here could not be solde, to the great hinderaunce of the English Merchauntes: For the Clothiers of Englande know not the number appointed by the statute, and when they make cloth, they know not to what countrie that cloth shalbe solde, of these thinges the English Marchauntes desired a redresse.

At a day appointed the Englishmen had an aunswere deliuered them in writyng, conteinyng certaine articles. The first if any wronges be done vnto you, our iustice is open in euery place. The seconde, as touchyng letters of Marke, we will be aduised by our Counsaile. The third, as touching your shippes we freely graunt that you shall haue our friendship liberally, so that with your awne shippes and goodes, you may go at your pleasure, passyng or makyng abode. And as touchyng customes, or impositions of new: The accident may cause vs so to do, but that shall be in suspence. And finally as touchyng our Premetica, made by the Lordes of our counsaile, and by vs affirmed, we will not breake, but we will suffer to the entent that you English Marchauntes, may bring true and well made cloth, for the which you shall be the better welcome: this was the very aunswere that the English Marchauntes had, of the Emperour and his Counsaile.

The king keepeth a full house.

In this Winter was great death in London, wherefore the Terme was adiorned, and the king for to eschue the plague, kept his Christmasse at Eltham

Eltham with a small number, for no man might come thether, but such as were appointed by name: this Christmas in the kings house, was called the still Christmasse. But the Cardinall in this season, lay at the Manor of Richmond, and there kept open houshold, to Lordes, Ladyes, and all other that would come, with playes and disguising in most royall maner: which sore grieued the people, and in especiall the kinges seruauntes, to see him kepe an open Court, and the king a secret Court.

The Cardinall kepeth opẽ houshold

The Cardinall came to Eltham the. viij. day of January, and taryed there till the .xxij. day. In which season the Cardinall, and other of the kings counsaile, sat for a direction to be taken in the kinges house, and first it was considered, that the great number of the yomen of ỹ gard were very chargeable, and that there were many officers farre striken in age: which had seruauntes in the Court, and so the king was serued with their seruauntes, and not with his awne seruauntes, which was thought not conuenient. Wherefore first the officers seruauntes, were put out of the Court, and many olde officers were put to liue in their Countries, but the king of his bountie enhaunsed their liuinges, for he that had three pound wages, had sixe pounde annuitie, without attendaunce, and he that had .xl. shillings, had foure pound, and so euery man after that rate, and yong men were put in their rowmes. Then was there .lxiiij. of the garde, which had .xij. pence the day checked, put out of that wages, and they had sixe pence a day vnchecked, and should dwel in their Countries, and come not at the Court, till they were sent for, except it were for suites: in the which the Cardinall promised them, to be their helper: Alas what sorowe, and what lamentation was made, when all these persons should depart the Court. Some sayde that poore seruauntes were vndone and must steale: Some saide that they were found of the reuercions of the officers seruice, so that for them was nothing more set out at the dresser, and it was great charitie to finde them. Other sayd that the yomen of the gard, which were put out, were nowe not able to finde themselues and their horse, to do the king seruice. Other sayde, that nowe they would poll, and pil in their Countries, and oppresse the poore people, thus euery man had his saying.

The Cardinall reformeth the kinges houshold.

At this season the Cardinall made many ordinaunces, concernyng the kinges house, which be at this day called the statutes of Eltham, the which some sayde were more profitable then honourable.

A peace made betweene England and Scotland.

This Moneth of January was peace concluded, betwene the realmes of England and Scotland, for three yeres, and sixe Monethes, of the which the Scottes were very glad, and especially the borderers, for they were sore hurt by this warre.

All this yere was continuall suite made to the Emperor, and his Counsaile, by the Ladie Regent of Fraunce, and all the realme there, for the deliueraunce of Fraunces the Frenche king, and after many communications which tooke none effect, was sent into Spain of Ambassade, the noble Ladie Margaret, late Duches of Alanson, sister to the French king, with a great companie of Nobles and honourable personages. The Emperour Charles met the sayd Ladie in the Market place of the Citie of Toleto, and her right hartily welcomed, and after that the Duches and her companie had refused to agree to certaine articles, which the French king had offered himselfe, the

sayde Duches had licence of the Emperor, to go to Madrill, where the frenche king was kept as prisoner, & there to know his minde. When she was there, she and other deuised such a way, that the French king should haue scaped, and post horses were layd euery where: this was not so secrete, but the Emperour was thereof enformed, and tooke certaine French men, which confessed how all thinges shoulde haue beene brought to passe. The Duchesse of Alanson heeryng that her priuie deuise was opened, on post horses with all spede returned into Fraunce, leauyng the whole matter at large.

Ladie Margaret Duches of Alanson deuised waies for the French king to escape.

But for all this the Lordes of Fraunce ceassed not dayly to sue for the deliueraunce of theyr souereigne Lord, and at last to the Emperour was deliuered a booke for the French kings deliueraunce. For the Emperour sayde he woulde nothing demaunde of him, for hauyng him he had more then he could geue him. Then the French king and his Counsaile, offered a booke conteyning many articles to the Emperour: and when the Emperour had well vnderstand the contentes of the same, he sayde to the French Ambassadors, is this the full will and agreement of your Mayster, they answered yea: well sayde the Emperour, if this be his awne offer, I trust that he will kepe it. Then the Emperor thought best to bring the French king to more libertie and to visite him himselfe, which he had not done but in the tyme of his sickneſſe. Where the.xiiij. day of Februarye, the Emperour accompanied with the great Constable of Fraunce, the Duke of Enphantaso, the Duke of Ciuill, the Duke of Nasso, the Duke of Alnoy, the Duke of Arberkirke, the Duke of Medena, the Duke of Massedonia, the Marques of Aguler, the Marques Villafranca, the Marques of Sturgus, the Erle of Barselona, the Erle of Boniuent, the Erle of Jeneuer, the Erle of Salenas, the Erle of Arrowsse, the Erle of Saluator, and.xij. Bishoppes, and a great number of Nobles, came to the Castle of Madrill, to whome was the Frenche king brought with a noble repayre, to whome the Emperor made low reuerence, and declared to him how all victories consist in the hande of God, and where great debate, warre, and strife, had long continued betweene them, he sayd it was the very handy worke of God, to deliuer him to captiuitie, so that by his restraint of liberty, a generall peace should be concluded through all christendome and now sith you haue offered vs reasonable condicions, we entending not your punishment, nor restraint of your liberty, haue gently receiued your offers, signed with your awne hande.

And soone after a peace was concluded betweene the Emperour and the French king, and the same openly proclayned through all Spain, Fraunce, Flaunders, and the Emperours Dominions, whereof their subiectes were glad, and made fiers and triumphes through all their Countries. The king of England also shewed himselfe to be very glad of the said peace. Wherefore he heryng that the French king was at a poynt to be deliuered, sent a knight of his Chamber, called sir Thomas Cheyney to the French king, certefiyng him of the great gladneſſe that he had of his deliuery, and also the comfort that he had for the conclusion of peace: of which kinde remembraunce, the French king much reioyced. The French king tooke his leaue of the Emperour, and tooke his iourney into Fraunce ward, and came to Victoria, in which season the same went, that the Dolphyn which should haue bene deliuered, as one of the hostages, for the French king his father was deceased, and

and so the French king was stayed for.xv. dayes, till the truth was knowne: other sayd that the cause was that there were betwene Fountraby and Bayon. xxx. thousande men, and doubted least if he had bene brought downe to Fountraby, he might haue bene rescued: but whatsoeuer the cause was, he was restrayned as you haue heard: but shortly after he was deliuered and returned into Fraunce the. xxj. day of March which was taken the.xxiiij. day of Februarye in the yere last past.

After that the Emperour had concluded, and taken his leaue of the French king, he rode to the fayre Citie of Ciuill, and there he with great triumph maryed Ladie Isabell daughter to king Emanuell of Portyngale, with whom he had great treasures and summes of money, and great friendship of the Portingales, for he had. xj. hundred thousand Ducates with her maryage. When this mariage was knowne in England, the Englishemen sore murmured, that the Emperour beyng at Windsore, in the. xiiij. yere of the king, had faythfully promised to mary the Ladie Mary, daughter to the king of England. But for a very truth the Emperours Counsaile was not content with the answere made to Mounsire de Beuers the last yere, and so counsayled the Emperor, not to tary for the Ladie Mary which was yong: and also they sayd that she was begotten of the king of England by his brothers wife. And also an act was made in Spaine, that he should not depart the Countrie, till he had issue. All these thinges were layd to him, which caused him to encline to mariage, and seyng the great offer that the king of Portingall made to him, he was thereto agreeyng, and so maried the Ladie Isabell sister to king John of Portingall.

The mariage of the Emperour.

The.xxviij. day of Aprill, in the beginning of this.xviij. yere, came to the Court to Grenewiche, Mounsire Brenion chiefe President of Roan, and John Jokyn now called Mounsire de Vaux, which President of Roan, before the king set in a Throne, and accompanied with all his Nobles, and the Ambassadors of Rome, of the Emperour, of Venice and Florence beyng there present, made in the Latine tongue a solempne oration, the effect whereof was that he shewed, how dreadfull the warres had beene betweene the realmes of Englande and Fraunce, what great losse the realme of Fraunce had susteyned by the sayde warres: he declared farther of what power the king of England was, and what conquest he might haue made in Fraunce, the king beyng prisoner, and knowledged the king of Englands right in the warres, & their wrongs, where he humbly thanked him of his pittie & copassion that he had on them in their necessitie & affliction, that he would consent to peace. To this oration the Chauncelour of the Duchie of Lancaster, by name syr Thomas More made answere saying: that it much reioyced the king, that they first considered how by his power he might haue oppressed, and how by his pittie he had releued them: wherefore he would hereafter that for kindneſſe, they should shewe him none vnkindneſſe, but inuiolatly to kepe that league which was concluded.

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The oration of the President of Roan

The answere of sir Thomas Moore to the Ambassadors oration.

The next daye after beyng Sundaye, the Cardinall song a solempne Masse in the kinges Chapell of Grenewiche, and after Masse the king sware before the Frenche Ambassadors, the foure Ambassadors above rehersed beyng present, that he should keepe the peace and league concluded, betwene him and his brother and perpetuall alie the French king, during his

The peace sworne.

lyfe and a yeare after, and after Walle to all Ambaſſadours was made a great feaſt.

Because all this Sommer the king tooke his paſtime in hunting, and nothing happened worthy to be written of: I will returne to the Frenche king, now come agayne into his realme.

The French king is returned into his realme.

When he was at Paris he ſayde and wrote to the Emperour, that he would obſerue and keepe his promiſes in every point, but what he thought I will not iudge: For ſhortly after he ſet forth a booke, called the Apologie or defence agaynſt the conuention or agreement made betweene the Emperor and him at Madzill, alleaging that he was compelled to make that agrement, or elſe he ſhould neuer haue beene delyuered: He alleaged farther that the Lawyers of hys realme cleerely determined, all promiſes and couenauntes made by any perſons to his awne hurt, with him that is more of power then he, to be made by compulſion, & ſo of none effect and not to be performed. He alſo ſayde that the Gouernors of the lawe, determined that no othe or promiſe is of any effect, where a man is in ieoparde of lyfe, or of perpetuall impriſonment or bondage, and moſt in eſpeciall when it is done by compulſion or threatning. Moreouer he ſayde that he might geue awaye nothing apperteyning to his crowne, without the aſſent of his peeres, and the three eſtates of his realme (to the which he was ſworne at the time of his coronation, which would thereto in no wiſe aſſent, and therefore he ſaide that his othe and promiſe was voyde, and ſo he declared it to the Viceroy of Naples, beyng then with him as Ambaſſadour for the Emperour, and offred for his raunſome to paye as much money as euer French king payde, with diuers other articles of newe deuiſed.

The vntruth of the french king.

When theſe articles came to the Emperour, he them refuſed and ſayde, that he had deſyred nothing impoſſible of the Frenche king, and if he might not, or would not kepe the appoyntment betwene them made, yet he bad him kepe that poynt of couenaunt, which onelye depended in his will, that was that he ſhould yelde himſelfe priſoner againe, and ſo he ſhould haue his children deliuered: and then he would reaſonably common with him of new articles of agreement, and as to the Appollogie ſet foorth by the French king that his othe and promiſe was voyde, and made by compulſion and threatnyng, it was aunſwered by another booke called the Refutation or Querrynyng of the Appollogie, of the conuention of Madzill. Which two workes were ſo eloquently ſet forth, with ſuch and ſo many perſwaſions and alegations, both on the one part and the other, that it woulde comber a wyſe man (except he were perfectly indifferent) to iudge to which part he ſhoulde moſt encline, and giue credence, therefore I leaue it at large.

The French kinges Apologie.

The Emperours Refutation.

After that the French king was deliuered, and the peace concluded, the Emperor was fully determined to paſſe the ſeas into Italy, and ſo to Rome, and there to be crowned Emperor, wherefore heeryng the Biſhop of Rome, called Pope Clement the ſeuenth, a man of great wit and vice, and of little vertue or learnyng: much doubted in himſelfe what dammage might come to him, if the Emperor had both Naples, Scicill, and the Duchie of Millaine, and alſo were crowned Emperor. Wherfore he ſent to the Venicians, and to the Florentines, and to Fraunces Sforce Duke of Millaine, which had committed treaſon agaynſt the Emperour, and was depriued by iudgement

The Pope ſtirreth vp new warres.

ment of his name and dignitie, and the ſame geuen to the Duke of Burbon, but yet by power he kept much of the poſſeſſion: and declared to them, by what puyſſaunce the Emperor would come into Italy, and what great poſſeſſions he had there, at every ende of Italy, ſo that if he were once crowned Emperour, he would looke to haue the ſeigniorie of all Italy: wherfore they conſulted and debated for their awne ſuretie, howe to banithe him and his all Italy by power: and as they were debatyng of this matter, they hard word how the French king was returned into Fraunce, and ſought all wayes and meanes howe to breake with the Emperour. When they ſawe ſo open an occaſion offered to them, with all diligence they ſent their ſeuerall Ambaſſadors, that is to ſay, the Pope twaine, the Duke of Venice called Andrew Gritty, one (which was his ſecretorie) and the Florentines one, and the Duke of Millaine one, theſe fiue Ambaſſadors came to the French king, and declared what ioye & gladneſſe their maiſters had of his ſafe returne into his realme, and then they ſhewed to him howe they by the Biſhop of Romes exhortation had deuiſed a league, which ſhould ſet a perpetuall peace betwene all princes Chriſten, and for the more expedicion, they had ſet forth and agreed vpon articles, for the whole league. When the French king ſawe the articles it was as he would haue it, for he thought by the whole power of the Confederates, his children ſhould be deliuered, and he yet againe once to haue a medlyng in Italy: Wherefore with great gladneſſe and ſolemnitie, he entered into the league, and ſware to kepe it, and gaue to the Ambaſſadors great rewardes.

The holye league of Clement.

When this League was thus concluded, it was ſent to the king of Englande, which with great deliberation lyke a wiſe prince, conſulted much with his counſayle of this waightie matter, and when all things were fully perceyued, he aunſwered to the Ambaſſadors, that he thanked much the confederates of their good will, but he would not enter into the league, becauſe he would be an indifferent entreator betweene both parties and a meane for a peace: and ſo he wrote to the Emperour, which hartily thanked him, and tooke it for great kindneſſe: thys league was called the holy league of Clement. When the Biſhop of Rome ſawe that this league was concluded, because he would ſhewe that he and the confederates, had iuſt cauſe of warre againſt the Emperor for things done in Italy, he ſent to him a letter, dated at Rome the .xxiij. day of June: But for as much as this is no part ment to leaue the Pope and the Emperour, and agayne returne to our matters of Englande.

Grudge in London againſt Marchant ſtraungers.

Thys ſommer was great grudge agaynſt Marchaunt ſtraungers in London, in ſo much that if the matter had not bene well pacified, much buſineſſe might haue folowed, the cauſe of the grudge was this, there was an act made in the fourth yere of king Henry, that no ſtraunger ſhould bring in no Wyne nor Woade in any aliens ſhip: ſo that the Engliſhe men after that went to Tholoſe, and brought much Woade to London, and ſerued all the clothiers repayring to London: and now in thys yere by meanes of gentlemen about the king, the ſtraungers had licenſe to bring in woade in ſtraungers bottomes, ſo that all London was full of their woade, and alſo they ſent their woade into the countrey, ſo that the Engliſhe mens woade in London lay vnbought: wherefore ſyr John Aleyn knight beyng Maior, ſent for a great

great sort of straungers which were the chiefe Marchaunts of all, and shewed vnto them what gaynes they had gotten in the Citie, by reason wherof they should auaunce the City, and not hurt it, wherfore he willed them to sell their woade to the Marchaunts of London, and they should be payde incontinent and not to resort to other places in the Countrey with their woade, to the hinderance of the Londoners. The straungers proudely aunswered the Maior, that they would seeke euery place for their auauntage, and so in mocking maner departed. The Maior perceyuing that, called a common counsayle in the Moneth of August, and there were many billes layde agaynst the straungers, and at last it was enacted, that no Citezen or free man, should buy or sell in no place, nor exchange nor meddle with certaine straungers, called Anthony Bonuice, Laurence Bonuice, Anthony Viuald, Anthony Caueler, Fraunces de Bard, Thomas Calnecant, and a great sort mo whose names I let passe, and if any person did meddle or occupie wyth them contrarie to this act, he should leese his freedome and libertie in the Citie of London: by which act the straungers were so brideled, that they came to a reasonable poynt and conclusion.

The first inhaunsing of the Angell.

In thys season the angell Noble was iust the sixt part of an ounce Troy so that sixe Angels were iust an ounce, which was sortie shyllings sterling, and the Angell was worth two ounces of Siluer, so that sixe Angels were twelue ounces, which was but sortie shillings in Siluer: but in Flaunders, Brabant, and Zeland, the Angell was worth seuen shillings foure pence, so that Marchaunts daylie caried ouer much money to the great hinderaunce of the marchaundise of this realme, for most men caried Golde, and when it was there, it was losse in euery noble eyght pence to bring it hether againe: and when the Englishe men spake to the rulers there, to leaue the enhaunsing of the kings coyne, they laughed them to scorne. The king and his counsayle perceiued to what ende this enhauncement in Flaunders, if it were not met with shortly would bring the riches of thys realme: wherefore in the Moneth of September, he by proclamation, enhaunced the Angell to seuen shillings foure pence, and the Royall to a.xj.shillings, and the crowne to foure shillings & foure pence, and this proclamation was made through all Englande: and to bring out of Flaunders the great number of Englishe Golde which was there, the king by proclamation agayne the fift day of November, enhaunced the Angell to seuen shillings sixe pence, and so euerye ounce of Golde should be.xlv.shillings, and that an ounce of Siluer should be three shillings nine pence in value.

The second inhaunsing.

Thys yere on Mighelmas euen, Thomas Hynde which was chosen Shyrife before, was called to take his othe, but he made defaute, wherefore one Simon Rice was chosen which refused, then was one George Robinson Mercer chosen, which tooke his othe not to be able. The commons were in such a furie, that they sware that they would haue a Mercer. Maister Nicholas Lambert an Alderman and Grocer, which had a dispensation for the shyualtie for that yere, seyng this disorde, sayde to the commons, maisters although my time be not come, yet to appease your strife, if you will chose me I will take it, and so he was chosen with great thankes.

In this season a sodayne rumour beganne in Spaine, that the Emperour would haue warre with the king of Englande, whereof hearing the Englishe

Englishe Marchaunts, which lay in Spaine at dyuers Portes, concluded to send to Doctor Edward Lee, Ambassador for the king of England in the Emperours Court to knowe the certeintie, which gently aunswered them, that he trusted that there was no such cause, of the which they should be afeard, for the king his maister and the Emperour were yet in perfite loue and amitie, and farther he sent them worde, that the king of Englande was not entered into the league of Italy with the confederates, as they would haue him, for he laboreth to make a vniuersall peace, which he could not conueniently doe, if he were protector or a contractor in the league, this aunswere he sent to them from Granado, the fift day of September.

The.xiij. day of January came to the Court, Don Hugo de Mendosa a great man borne in Spain of a noble famely, this person was sent as Ambassador from the Emperour to the king of Englande with large commission, for the Emperour put it to the king of Englandes determination, whether his demaundes which he required of the French king, were reasonable or not, and for the declaration thereof, and for to knowe the king of Englandes requeit and entreatie concerning the peace, was this Noble man sent into Englande, which manye times consulted with the king and hys counsayle, and he taried here two yeres full.

Ambassadors from the French king.

In this yere the second day of Marche were receiued into London, with a greate company of noble men, the Bishop of Tarbe, Fraunces Vicount of of Tornaye, and Maister Anthony Vesey, second president of Paris, as Ambassadors from the French king, and so brought through London to the Tailors hall and there lodged, and afterward were conueied to Grenewich to the king, where they were right hartely entertayned, and after their letters red and their requestes heard, they departed for a season to London

Of this motion grew all the trouble betweene Queene Katheryn and king Henry her husband.

The French Ambassadors hauing their recourse to the king and his counsaile, much labored to haue in mariage the Lady Mary daughter to the king, and after long counsailing, that matter was put in suspence because the president of Paris, doubted whether the mariage betwene the king and her mother, beyng his brothers wife were good or no: of this first motion grew much businesse or it were ended, as you shall heare afterward. The common people repugned sore against that demaund, for they sayde that she was heire apparant to her father, and if he shoulde dye, they would haue no Frenchman to be king of England, and thus the common people spake, as their mindes serued them.

Ambassadors from the king of Hungary.

On the.xiiij. daye of March were conueyed from London to Greenewiche, by the Erle of Rutland and other, the Lorde Gabriell de Salamanka Erle of Ottonbrough, John Burgraue of Siluerberge, and John Faber a famous Clarke, after Bishop of Vien, as Ambassadors from Don Fernando, brother to the Emperor, newly elect king of Hungarye and Beame, after the death of his brother in law king Lewys, which was slaine by the Turke the last Sommer, as you haue heard before: this company was welcomed of the high Officers, and after brought into the kinges presence, all the nobilitie being present, and there after great reuerence made, the sayd Clarke Maister Faber made a notable oration, taking his grounde of the Gospell, Exiit seminare semen suum, and of that he declared how Christ and his disciples went forth to sowe, and howe that seede was good that fell into the good ground,

An oration made by maister Faber.

ground, and brought forth good fruite, which was the Christian faith: and then he declared how contrary to that sowyng, Machomet had sowne seede, which brought foorth euell seede, and shewed from the beginning, how the Turkes haue increased in power, what realmes they had conquered, what people they had subdued euen to that day: he declared farther what actes the great Turke then liuing had done, and in especiall he noted the getting of Belgrade, and of the Rhodes, and the slaying of the king of Hungarye, to the great rebuke (as he saide) of all the kinges christened: he set forth also what power the Turke had, what diuersities of companies, what armure, what Capitaynes he had, so that he thought, that without a marueilous great number of people, he coulde not be ouerthrowne wherefore he moste humbly besech the king, as saint Georges knight, & defendor of the fayth, to assist the king his Maister, to that godlye warre and vertuous purpose. The answer To this oration the king by the mouth of Sir Thomas More answered, that much he lamented the losse that happened in Hungarie, and if it were not for the warres, which were betwene the two great Princes, he thought that the Turke would not haue enterprised that act, wherfore he with all his studye would take paine, first to set an vnitie and peace throughout all Christendom, and after that he both with money and men, would be ready to helpe toward that glorious warre, as much as any other Prince in Christendome. After this done the Ambassadors were well cherished, and diuers times resorted to the Courte, and had great chere and good rewardes, and so the thirde day of Maie next ensuing, they tooke their leaue and departed homewarde.

After that the Ambassadors of Fraunce were departed, the king sent an other Ambassade into Fraunce (that is to say) Sir Thomas Boleyn knight, Viscount of Rochefoth, and sir Anthome Browne knight, which came to Paris to the Bishop of Bathe, which lay in Fraunce as Ambassador for the king of England, and then these three went to the Court, and saw the french king in person sweare to kepe the league and amitie concluded betwene him and the king of England, and there they had great cheare and Maskes shewed vnto them, but litle rewards were geuen, and so the Viscount Rochforth returned into England, and so did the Bishop of Bathe shortly after, leauing sir Anthanie Browne behinde for a ligier.

In this moneth of May the tenth day, the king sent sir Fraunces Poynes knight, as Ambassador from the king of England, to Charles the Emperour, and with him he sent Clarenseaux, king at armes, to demaunde the one halfe of the treasure and ordinaunce which was taken at Pauia, for so much as that warre, was made as well at the kinges charge, as the Emperours charge: he demaunded also the Duke of Orliaunce, to be deliuered to him, and also it was demaunded that the Emperor should deliuer the Bishop of Rome which was taken this Moneth as you shall heere, and also should bring his armie out of Italy, & if he refused to do any of these pointes, then Clarenseaux in the kinges name of Englande shoulde make to hym defiaunce.

When it was knowen that warre was like to be had betwene the Emperour and the king of England, the Commons of England sore lamented the chaunce, for all Marchaundice were restrayned to passe into any of the Empe-

Emperours Dominions, and the Marchants were desyred by the Cardinal to kepe their martes at Calice, to the which in no wyse they would assent.

This same moneth the king sent two fayre shippes, well manned and victualed, hauyng in them diuers cunnyng men, to seeke straunge Regions: and so forth they set out of the Thamys the .xx. day of May, if they sped well you shall heere at their returne. Ships sent to seke straūge Regions.

The .xvij. day of May came in post to the king out of Fraunce, the Bishop of Tarbie, this Bishop brought to the king of Englande, the Articles which the French king now offered to the Emperour, which were contrary to the articles sworne at Madrill in the .xvij. yere of the king, and farther he moued the king of England to be enemie to the Emperor, which request (as all men say) was much furthered by the Cardinall, because of the warres in Italy, betwene the Pope and the Emperour: this Bishop made short tarying with the king, for in post againe he returned to Paris, to sir Fraunces Poynes, and Clarenseaux, which tarryed there for him, and so they all tooke their iournay towarde Spaine.

And soone after, there were letters brought to the king of Englande from the Frenche king, of his affayres in Italy: but Sundaye the second day of June, the king receyued letters at the Castell of Wynsore, by the which he perceyued all the order and maner of the sackyng of Rome, and takyng of the Pope: Wherefore the king was sory, and so were many Prelates: but the Commonaltie little mourned for it, and sayde that the Pope was a Russian, and was not meete for the towne: wherefore they sayde that he began the mischiefe, and so he was well serued. But the Cardinall which tooke this matter highly, called to him the Prelates, and the Clergie, and much mourned the fall of the Bishop of Rome, & saw how the people grudged against the Spiritualtie, for their great pride, pompe, and all liuyng: wherefore he came to the King, and sayde: Sir by the onely callyng of God you be made defender of the Christian fayth, nowe consider in what state the Church of Christ now standeth: See, howe the heade of the Church of Rome is in captiuitie: See, how the holy fathers be brought into thraldom, and be without comfort: nowe shewe your selfe an ayde, and a defender of the Church, and God shall rewarde you.

The king answered, my Lorde, I more lament this euill chaunce, then my tongue can tell, but where you say that I am defender of the fayth, I assure you, that this warre betwene the Emperor and the Pope is not for the fayth, but for temporall possessions and dominions, and now sith Bishop Clement is taken by men of warre, what should I doe? my person nor my people cannot him rescue, but if my treasure may helpe him, take that which to you seemeth most conuenient: for the which offer the Cardinall thanked the king on his knee, and therepon the Cardinall caused to be gathered together of the kinges treasure .xij. score thousand pound, which he caryed ouer the sea with him, as you shall heere after. The kinges answere. The Cardinall hath of the king to release the Pope twelue score thousand pound.

Then the Cardinall sent Commissions, as Legate to all Bishops, commaundyng that they should cause in euery parishe Church, solempne Processions to be made for the releasyng of the Pope, and moued the people to fast three dayes in the weeke, but few men fasted, for the Priestes sayd, that their commaundement was, to exhort the lay people to fast, and not to fast themselues:

Prayer and fastyng.

themselues: and the laye people sayde, that the Priestes shoulde first fast, because the very cause of the fastyng, was for a Priest, but none of both almost fasted.

Longland bishop of Lincolne findeth fault with the kings mariage.

This season began a fame in London, that the kinges confessor, beyng Bishop of Lincolne, called Doctor Longland, and diuers other great Clarkes had tolde the king that the mariage betwene him and the Ladie Katheryn, late wyfe to his brother, Prince Arthure, was not good, but damnable, and the king herevpon shoulde mary, the Duches of Alanson, sister to the French king, at the towne of Calice this Sommer, and the Viscount Rochforth had brought with him the picture of the sayde Ladie, and that at his returne out of Fraunce, the Cardinall should passe the Sea to go into Fraūce to fetche her.

This rumor sprang so much, that the king sent for sir Thomas Seymer Maior of London, and straightly charged him to see that the people should cease of this communication, vpon paine of the kinges high displeasure.

But whatsoeuer the Commons talked, it was concluded by the king & his Counsaile, that the Cardinall should passe into Fraunce, as his high Imbassador, but for what cause no person knewe but the king, till his returne.

Then was much preparation made at Calice, for the receiuyng of the Cardinall, but the common saiyng was that the king would come to Calice, and meete with the Frenche king, and for that cause such preparation was made, but he came not there at al, and alwayes the people commoned as they durst of the kinges mariage.

The Cardinal rideth towarde Fraunce.

The third day of July, the Cardinall of Yorke, passed through the Citye of London, accompanied with many Lordes, and Gentlemen, to the number of twelue hundreth horse, towarde the Sea syde, and at Cauntorburie hee rested, and there to the people declared the destruction of Rome, and howe the Pope was in captiuitie with many Cardinalles: wherefore he caused a Letanie to be song by the Monkes of Christes Church, after this maner.

A new found Letanie.

S. Maria, ora pro Clemente Papa. S. Petri, ora pro Clemente Papa. and so forth all the Letanie: then he exhorted the people to fast and pray for his deliueraunce, which fewe did.

The .xj. day of May, the Cardinall with all his traine, tooke shipping at Douer, and the same day landed at Calice, where he was receyued with Procession, and with the whole garrison of the towne.

Barelles of Golde.

When the Cardinall was landed, there were set on lande .xvj. Barrels al full of Gold of the kings money, which were deliuered to the Capitain of the Castell in charge: of this money the people much grudged, and said this money shall be spent out of the realme, and yet Englishe men shall haue no part nor profite of it, but onely it shall be spent for the Cardinalles pleasure, and the French kinges, and the Popes profite.

The Cardinall was so sore displeased with the Emperour for keeping the Pope in prison (although it were against his will and knowlege) that he imagined all the wayes and meanes possible, howe to hurt and domage the Emperour, and therefore he sent for the Englishe Marchauntes, willyng them to kepe the Mart at Calice, but they answered that the towne of Calice, was a towne of warre, and all Marchauntes must haue libertie at all houres of the night, in the Mart season, which they could not haue at Calice: also

also the hauen is not able to receyue great Hulkes, and Carickes that come to a Mart: but some Marchauntes to please the Cardinall, brought their clothes to Calice, and so caused their friendes of Andwarpe to come to Calice, and to say, that they had bought the Marchauntes clothes, and there at Calice payed the custome, and so carryed them to the towne of Andwarpe at the Englishe mennes charge, and there solde them to the great losse of the Englishemen.

The Marte to be kept at Calice.

While the Cardinall lay in Calice, the Frenchmen dayly resorted to Calice, to welcome the Cardinall, and sodainly there vpon a noyse sprang that Calice should be deliuered, to the French king, which vaine saiyng, made many men muse.

But the .xxij. day of July, the Cardinall departed out of Calice, and with him was the Lorde Cutberd Tunstall bishop of London, the Lord Sandes, Chamberlain to the king, the Erle of Darbie, sir Henry Guldford, sir Thomas Wooze, with many knightes and squires, to the number of .xij. hundred horse & in the cariages .lxxx. Wagons, and .lx. Moyles and sumpter horses, and at Sandifield met with him the Countie Brian gouernor of Picardie, and Mounsire de Bees, Capitaine of Bulleyn, with foure hundred men of armes, well apparayled, with Banners displayed, & all well horsed, which with trompets and melodie receyued the Cardinall, and at Marquison there met him the Cardinall of Lorayn, and sixe Bishoppes, and .xl. Gentlemen, well furnished, and in their companie foure hundred horse, and so they roade forth to Bulleyn, where the Burges them receyued.

The receauing of the Cardinall to Bulleyne.

And at the gate was made a Pagiaunt, in the which was a Nonne called holy Church, and three Spanyards, and three Almaynes had her violated, and a Cardinall her rescued, and set her vp of newe againe.

Another Pagiaunt, was a Cardinall geuyng a Pax to the king of England & the French king, in token of peace, in another Pageant was the Pope, lyeng vnder, and the Emperour sittyng in his Maiestie, and a Cardinall pulled downe the Emperour, and set vp the Pope.

When wise men saw this Pagiaunt, they smyled and sayd, well can the French king flatter, for hard it were for one Cardinall to subdue him that hath pulled downe the Master of all Cardinalles.

Many words were spoken in reproufe of this Pagiaunt, but still with great triumph roade these two Cardinalles together, to the Abbey vnder a Canapie borne ouer them, and there lodged.

The morow being the three and twentie day he with all his traine remoued toward Muttrell, and two mile without the towne there met with him the Baylifes, and there to him was made a solempne Oration, and when he came to the towne he was receyued with the Clergy, and there the Englishe men had strait lodging the number was so great, and so the morowe he remooued towarde Abbeuile where he was of the Baylife and aduocates of the towne, and then of the garison of men of warre of the towne, receyued with procession, and Pagiants to his praise vnder a Canapye, and so brought to the Church, and after to his lodging, and all the Canapies were set with T C for Thomas Cardinall, and so were all his seruauntes coates.

The thyrde day of August in the Citie of Amias, came the French king

in a coate of blacke Ueluet vpon white Satin, and tyed with laces aglated wyth golde, and with him the king of Nauer, and the Cardinall of Burbon, the great Maister, the Duke of Uandosme, Monsier de Guise, and Monsire Uaudemount his brother, and the French kinges mother, with manye Lordes and Ladies, which were there solempnly receyued.

And on Sonday the fourth day of August, the Cardinal came fro Pickqueny towarde Amias, in which towne he lay the night before, and in the way he was receyued with the prouost of the Citie, and many honorable personages of the Citie, and after them came the Justices and Aduocates and with an eloquent Oration saluted him, and when he was within halfe a mile of the towne, the French king himselfe with all his nobles mette with him, and louingly embraced him, and welcommed him, and after tooke all the nobles of Englande by the hande, and so brought the sayde Cardinall to Ampas: where for him were deuised many Pagiauntes, to his prayse, and euer he was called Cardinalis Pacificus, the peaceable Cardinall, and so was written at the gate of his lodging.

The French king brought the Cardinall to his lodging, and he would haue brought the king to his Courte againe, but he woulde in no wise suffer him, but left him in his lodging, and the same night the Cardinall rode to visite the French kinges mother, and there he had long communication and so departed to his lodging.

The fift day of August, the Cardinal with the great estates of Fraunce was conueyed to the Frenche kinges Courte, where he was of the French king most honorably receyued, which Courte was then kept at Amyas, and there remayned more then three weekes daply conferring with the French kinges counsayle, and at the last with great solempnitie a Charter of peace was sealed by the French king, and delyuered to the Cardinall.

Now will I returne to sir Fraunces Poynes, and Clarenceaux which were at this time arriued in Spaine, in the towne of Vale Dolise, the third day of July, where they found Doctor Lee the kinges Almoner, there Ambassador for the king of England, and with him taried til the sixt day of July, and then sir Fraunces Poynes was brought to his presence, & deliuered the kynge his Maisters letter, and beside that prayed his Maiestie to consider what the king of England had done for him since his tender age, how that he holpe him at all times with money & treasure, & how that at such time as the Lords of Spaine would not receyue him as their king during his mothers life, yet by the kings meane & his great labor and cost, he was to that realme receiued: And also how the king of Englande had alwayes defended and protected the countries of Flaunders, Brabant and Zeland, against all persons, and in the quarell of the Emperor he had strongly inuaded the realme of Fraunce, so that by his inuasion at home, the Emperor had obtained great victorie in forreine places, which he coulde not haue done, if all the whole realme of Fraunce had bene without any enemies at home: wherefore the king desired him as reason would, the one halfe of the battayle of Pauie and also for his part he required the Duke of Orleaunce to be deliuered to him, and also to pay to the king fortie thousand pounde, which he ought to him as money lent, towardes his charges: and farther that he shoulde deliuer the Pope, and make him a reasonable amendes, and no farther to make warre on

on him or his dominions. The Emperor after this demaunde aunswered, sir we assure you that the loue of our Uncle of England, toward vs and the manifold benefits that we haue receyued of hym and by his meanes we shall neuer forget, and although our power be not able to recompence the same, yet oure good wyll shall neuer fayle, to endeuour vs to doe hym pleasure: and as concernyng his letters we with our counsaile shall take aduice, and we trust you shall haue a reasonable aunswere, during which time, you may repose you, and all thinges necessarie shall be at your commaundement: with this aunswere syr Fraunces departed at this time. When it was knowne in Spayne, that the king of Englande, was alied with the Frenche king, the Spaniardes spake largely and sayde that they cared not for the king of Englande, and sayde farther that all this was the drift of the Cardinall by reason whereof the Englishe Marchauntes were euill entreated in Spayne, but the Emperor perceyuing this, gaue a generall commaundement, that all Englishmen shoulde be ordered and reputed as his louing friendes. The Emperors answere

In this very Moneth tydings was brought to the Emperour, how the inhabitaunts of Turnay conspired to destroy Mounsire Delanoies their Capitaine, and deuised to bid him to a banket, and so to slay him and all that loued the Emperour, but as God would, he had knowlege of this treason, and tooke the chiefe Capitaynes, and did on them sharpe execution, for feare whereof many fled into Fraunce.

The Emperour within a day or twayne called to him Doctor Lee, and Syr Fraunces Poynes the king of Englands Ambassadors, and sayde, my Lords, we haue perceyued the king your maisters requests, which be great and of a waightie importaunce, wherfore we entend with all speede to write to the king our Uncle, and when we haue receyued aunswere from him, we shall delyuer you of such things as you demaunde, prayying you in the meane season to take pacience, and so for the time they departed.

By thys time was it knowne that the Cardinall of England was with the French king, and full well knew the Emperour that the Cardinall would doe all for to ayde the French king, and to domage him, yet had he a great pencion of the Emperour. The Cardinall laboreth to helpe the French king agaynst the Emperour.

The Englishe Marchauntes fearing the sequele of this matter, conueyed away their goodes daylie out of the Emperours dominions: but still the Englishe Ambassadours came to the Emperours Court, and one day the Emperour sayde to them, my Lordes, I marualye how the king mine Uncle is moued against mee and my subiectes, I assure you I will not warre with him, I trust in his faithfull promise, and his accustomed goodnesse, and his people I take as my friendes. If he loue the French king I may not so doe, for he to me is vntrue and keepeth no iust promise, and we neuer compelled him to make any offer, but his offer was of his awne motion, and he also sworne to maintaine the same, which he now refuseth, and to our great preiudice hath perswaded against vs our dere vncle of England by peruers imaginations, which I trust will neuer be our enemy. Thys many times the Emperour would common with the Englishe Ambassadors, which lay in Spaine.

But nowe must I returne to the Cardinall of Englande which laye at

A great counsail holden at Ampas in Fraunce, at the which the Cardinall was present.

Ampas, there was a great counsayling from day to daye: First howe the Pope should be delyuered, and the sea of Rome brought to a quietnesse: secondarily how to bring the Emperour to some reasonable agrement, so that the French kings children might be deliuered. It was well considered that the Emperour had a great foredell by reason of the sayde two hostages, which forsele might perchaunce so stomack him, that he would agree to no newe conditions nor agreements. Then it was aunswered on the other side that if a great armie were sent into Italy which might driue the Emperors power out of Italy, then that armie should set the Pope at libertie, and also driue the Emperour to come to their purpose, or else he should leese both the realmes of Naples and Scicile, and the Duchie of Millayne and other dominions, wherefore the French king determined to send an armie royall into Italy vnder the conduyt of Mounsire Odyt de Lawtrick Erle of Foys, which was appointed afore in June to go to the borders of Italy with a small number, but nowe to him was assigned eyght thousand Britons with notable Capitaines of the same countrie, and eight thousand Almans with like Capitaynes, and eyght thousand Gascoynes, and sixe thousand Burgonions, three thousand Sauoyns, eyght thousand Swychers and Almaines, and sixe thousand Pycardes of which men were fiue thousand horsemen vnder the conduit of Mounsire Galyos, and in this armie went Syr Robert Jernyngham and John Carew of Hakam, and. lxxx. other Englishe gentlemen, which were sent thether by the Cardinall from Amyas. When thys armie was assembled, the Cardinall deliuered the king of Englands money that he had brought out of Englande in barrels as you haue heard, with which money was this armie payde two Monethes before hande, and the remnaunt was delyuered to Sir Robert Jernyngham, which was called Treasorer of the warres. In this armie were three thousand cariage men, and aduenturers foure thousande, so that when they were ouer the Mountaynes, they were, lix. thousand men, and some writers say a hundred thousand. This armie was called in Latin Excercitus Angliæ & Gallorum Regum, pro Pontifico Romano liberando congregatus, that is to say, the army of the kings of Englande and Fraunce, gathered for the deliueraunce of the Bysshop of Rome, and so was thys armie reputed. Although fewe people knewe at the beginning in Englande of the conueying of the money ouer the sea, yet when the English coyne was the common payment of the army it was then openly knowen: then many men sayde alas, so much money spent out of the realme, and of thys charge the realme shall not be one peny the better, the king hath had of vs a loane and that is not payde, and the great subsedie was graunted to make the king riche, and now is that money to help our olde enemies and the Pope, which neuer shall doe vs good, this the people spake and much worse. Whyle the Cardinall was with the Frenche king, the Pope sent to him a Bull, and made hym Vicar generall vnder him through all the king of Englandes dominions, and there by a Bull he created Anthony de Prato Bishop of Sens and Chaunceloz to the French king a Cardinall with great solempnitie. The Cardinall for hys solace roade wyth the French kyng to Compeigne and Mountdedier, and was euer highly feasted of the king and his mother, and of the Chaunceller of Fraunce, and of all the nobilitie. Then was it concluded by the Cardinall and the French kings counsayle what articles

English money deliuered.

ticles of offer should be sent to the Emperor, which if he refused, then open defiaunce to be made to him in the name of both the kings.

The returne of the Cardinall into England.

The Cardinal toke his leaue of the French king & his mother (which tolde him that a noble Ambassade should be shortly sent again into England from the realme of Fraunce for fortefying of all the conclusions) and so the sayde Cardynall with great rewardes returned with all hys traine, and by iourneys the last day of September he came to Rychemond to the king of Englande, and there asserteyned the king of all hys doyngs, but so could no Lord that then was in commission with him, for they knewe nothing of all his doyngs, which sore grieued their stomackes.

The Cardinall which much reioysed in this peace, came the first day of the Terme into the starre chamber, and there by his commaundement were present the Lordes spirituall and temporall of the kings counsayle, and the Maior and Aldermen of the Citie of London, and the iudges of the lawe, and all the Justices of peace of all shyres then beyng at Westminster. And then he sayde, how muche is the realme of Englande bounde to God for the high peace that now is concluded? A high peace, yea suche a peace as was neuer concluded betweene no realme, for by my labor and industrie I haue knit the realmes of Englande and Fraunce in such a perfite knot that it shall neuer fayle, for the three estates of Fraũce (which here we call a Parliamẽt) haue affirmed the same, & therfore now my lords be mery, for ỹ king shall neuermore charge you with warres in Fraunce, nor the Maior & other Marchaunts shal neuer be charged farther with expences, so that with exactions for warres of Fraunce you shall no more be charged, for the king shall haue no nede, because that he by this league shal be the richest prince of the world for I assure you he shall haue more treasure out of Fraunce yerely, then all his reuenewes and customes amount to, yea and counte his wards, forfeits and all such casualties. Now syth you haue such an honorable peace and such a profitable peace, how much be you bounde to him which hath brought this peace about, for this peace is in secula seculorum. And because this peace is so noble, it is sealed with a seale of Gold, and so he caused all there present to looke on the seale, which was the very great seale of Fraunce printed in fine Golde: at thys tale many a man after laughed to thinke how the Cardynall lyed, for they knewe that that he sayde was for hys awne glorye, and nothing should folow as he sayde.

A peace sealed with a seale of Gold

A great Ambassade sent from the French king to the king of England.

The French king according to his appointment sent the Lorde Annas of Momorancie great maister of his house, and after that high Constable of Fraunce, and the Bishop of Bayon, the chiefe President of Roan, and Mounsire de Hunpers, as his Ambassadors to the king of England accompanied with. lx. gentlemen well appointed, which the. xiiij. day of October landed at Douer, whose seruauntes demeaned themselues so in passyng through Kent, that muche businesse was to lodge them in London, but the Cardinall commaunded corporations of the Citie to prouide lodgyng for them, which was neuer seene before, where at the people murmured sore, saiyng that the Cardinall was all French. Soon the twentie day of October the sayde Ambassadors were met on Black heth by the Marques of Exeter, the Bysshop of London, the Vycount Rochford, and Lorde Mountioy with many men of honor and gentlemen, to the number of fiue hundred

hozses and moze. The Maioz and Aldermen of the Citie of London, and the chiefe commoners on hozseback in their Gownes met the sayde Ambassadozs at saint Geozges barre, and there was made to them a solempne ozation, and so from thence they were conueyed thzough London to the Bysshop of Londons palace, and there and nere there about they were well lodged.

A present geuen by the Citie to the French Ambassadozs.

The Citezens of London pzesented them with fiue fat Oxen. xx. sheepe, twelue Swannes, twelue Cranes. xij. Fesants, foure dosyn of Partriches, twentie loaues of Suger, Comfettes, and other spice, and Ware, and eyght Hoggesheades of Wyne with many other things, which I cannot rehearse.

On Tuesday beyng the. xxij. daye of September, the sayde Ambassadozs were conueyed by water to Grenewiche, where befoze the king sitting vnder his clothe of estate the fozesayde Mounsire Bayon pzesident of Roan made an eloquent pzopolition in the which he much thanked the king foz sendyng so high an Ambassadoz as the Cardinall was, a man of such pzudence and wyt as it appered by the knitting of the league, that like to him coulde none be found, foz by his onely mediation the two pzinces were accozded so surely as neuer were pzinces befoze that time, so that by this confederation the Pope and his Cardinals which were in captiuitie and thzaldome should by the power of these two Pzinces be deliuered, and all the Emperours power should be cleane banished and dziuen out of Italy, and the Pope should be restozed to his olde estate and dignitie agayne.

When this ozation was done and an answere made to the same, the king welcommed all the gentlemen of Fraunce, and then they had Wyne and spice bzought to them, whereof they tooke part and dzanke, and so departed to their Barge. Daily these Ambassadozs repaired to the Cardinals place and there were highly enterteyned, and the mozow after saint Simons daye and Jude, the Bysshop of Bayon and a great number of the Frenche gentlemen dined at the Maiozs feast, & so they taried in London til Whalonday, on which day the king accompanied with the Ambassadozs of Fraunce and all his nobility rode to the Cathedzall Church of saint Paule, where the Cardinall sang Masse, & after Masse done the people were desired to pzay, that by their pzayers Pope Clement might the sooner be deliuered out of captiuitie: and when that was done the king of Englande befoze the aulter sware to kepe and perfozme the league. The common people sayde what neede all thys swearyng, the French king was once swozne and all his nobilitie, yea and all his good townes, but yet they bzake with vs, and so will they agayne when they see an auauntage.

The Ambassadozs departed.

The next day the great maister and all his company tooke their leaue of the king (except the Bysshop of Bayon which abode as Ambassadour in Englande) and were highly rewarded, and so passed to Douer and tooke ship there and landed at Bulleyn.

After that the Frenchmen were departed the commons spake soze agaynst the Cardinall and sayde that the Frenchmen did neuer good to England, and foz the Cardinals pleasure we should fozsake our olde friends and receiue our olde enimies. When the Cardinal heard of these sayings he was not content, wherfoze he sent a commission to the Maioz of London to commaunde all men not to talke of the kinges affayzes and businesse, oz of the Quene, oz of the kings counsayle. And if any person spake oz talked of any of these matters, then he to be taken and bzought to the Cardinall. When this commaundement was once knowne, euerye man mistrusted other and no man durst bzeake his minde to other.

The Army that was in Italy at the charges of the king of England.

Now let vs speake of the army that the Lozd Lawtrick had into Italy at the charges of the king of Englande and the French king foz the deliuerance of Pope Clement. The Lozde Lawtrick after that his whole army was come to him to Lions, and that all things necessarie were in readinesse then he set fozward with great dillygence: but oz he had passed the Mountayns, the Venicians army was come into Lombardy abiding the comming of the Frenchmen, and in the meane season, they marched towarde the Emperozs army which lay at the Citie of Myllayne. Whereof heering Anthonie de Leua with eyght hundzed Almaynes and Spaniardes on foote, and as many Italians marched fozward to meete wyth them, and by fozce caused them to take the towne of Meligna foz refuge, where he heering that John de Medices with a great number were comming toward the Venitians, he in the euening oz his enemies were aware sodaynly set on the sayde John de Medices, which beganne to set his men in an ozder, but he was so enclosed that he could do nothing, but tooke his hozse and fled, and left his companie alone, which were slaine almost all, and lost foure great peeces of ozdinaunce, which Anthonie de Leua caryed with him to Millaine. In which season the Lozd Lawtrick with his armie was passed the mountaines and was come to the Citie of Aster abiding the Swichers, where he heard tell how that Lewys Erle of Lodzon with a great crew of Almaynes was come to the towne of Boske nie Alexandzie, with money and vittayle to ayde the Almaynes that kept Alexandzie: wherefoze he sent hys hozsemen to stop them that they should not passe to Alexandzy, and after them he folowed with his whole armie, and besieged them in Boske, which a certaine dayes defended, but at the last they yelded the towne, and became Souldiozs to the Lozde Lawtricke. In this same season Andzew Dozy Admyzail of the French naupe, lay befoze the hauen of Geane, and kept the Genowaies from all Marchandise and vittayles, which to the Citie might repayze, and in especiall he letted certaine shippes of cozne which lay at Hont de Ferry, betwene Gene and Sauona, to come to Gene. The Genowayes which lacked cozne, and were on the land side besieged by a Citizen of their owne whiche was on the French part called Cesar Fulgosus, imagined how to bzing the shippes of cozne into the Citie, and when they sawe that Andzew Dozye had but. xvij. Galyes. They pzepared sixe Galleys to fight with Andzew Dozy, duryng which fight the shippes with cozne should enter the hauen. When the Galleyes were abzode, a sodaine tempest rose with such a violence, that Andzew Dozy was faine to take the Port of Sauona foz his succour, and so the shippes of cozne came safe into the hauen of Gene, and all the Galleyes in safetie: this good was Fozune to Geane at this tyme.

When the Citizens of Geane were thus bitailed, they tooke to them good courage & in warlike maner issued out agaynst Cesar Fulgosus which knewe well that they had little moze then thzee .C. Spanyardes that could skill of the warre, and as foz the remnaunt were neyther of stomacke, noz of experience in warre, wherefoze he boldly set on them, and while they were fighting without, the Citezens within which be euer mutable, sodainly cried Fraunce,

Fraunce, Fraunce, which clamor came to the eares of Adurnus which was imperiall, wherefore he retired backe into the Citie to appease the rumor, but their enemies folowed them in such haste that both entered together, and so Geane was become French. Then thether came the Lord Lawtrick, and put there a Capitaine with a retinue for the safe keeping of the Citie. Then Adurnus Duke of Geane which was in the Castell with diuers of the Emperours friendes, and lacked victayle, and sawe no comforte of rescue, yelded the Castell vpon condicion to depart with bagge and baggage, and so they did. In the meane season certaine Frenchmen which were left at Boske defaced the towne, and then came before Alexandrie, and there kept a siege volant that no ayde nor succour should come to the towne, till the whole armie were assembled to besiege the towne. But for all that purpose, by the Downes of Alexandrie, Albericke Barbian with fiue hundred souldiors came into the towne, which much comforted the garrison there, which was in maner dismayed because their ayde at Boske had failed them. The Frenchmen besieged the towne and bet it with ordinaunce, and they within manfully defended it, and made newe countermures, so that their enemies could not enter without ieopardie. But at the last the Venicians brought thether great pieces of ordinaunce which so sore bet the walles, that Baptist Lodyn the Capitaine sawe that he was not able to defend it, and so he deliuered the towne vpon this composition, that he and his should depart with bagge and baggage, and he nor his to weare no harnesse agaynst the French king, nor hys confederates by the space of fiue Monethes. Then the Lorde Lawtrick deliuered the towne to Fraunces Sforcia accordyng to the league, whiche Fraunces put there a conuenient garrison. Thence that army remoued to Belgrasse which to them was yelded and also deliuered to the Duke of Millain, and from thence he remoued towarde the Citie of Myllain, whereof heeryng Anthonie de Leua fortefied the Castell of Millayn, and sent Leroys Barbian to defende the Citie of Pauie. When the Lord Lawtricke was within. viij. myle of Millain, he sodainly returned towarde Pauy, which men iudged to be done for the displeasure that was done there to the Frenchmen when theyr king was taken, and so the. xix. daye of September they besieged Pauye, and dayly betwene them were great skirmiches, but at the last they bet the walles so with great ordinaunce, that they made the towne assaultable. Then the Frenchmen threw into the ditches fagottes, and empty pypes, and shortly entered the towne. The Capitaine perceiuyng the towne entered, opened the gate and yelded himselfe prisoner. Then the Frenche men slue and killed on euery syde, robbed and spoyled houses, and Churches, and spared no person nor place, and of crueltie raunsomed one man fiue or six tymes, and the Gascoynes which were most cruell, set fyre on the fayre houses, and had brent the whole Citie, if the Lorde Lawtricke after seuen dayes spoylyng had not commaunded them to ceasse. When Pauy was thus taken and spoyled. the Lorde Lawtricke determined with the Cardinall Innocent Legate of Bonony, which was come for the deliueraunce of the Pope incontinent to passe to Rome, and to driue away all the Emperours power from thence, and to restore the Pope to libertie.

The great Tower of Pauie taken by the french and spoyled.

Fraunces Sforcia Duke of Millain heeryng of this determination, came to the Lorde Lawtricke to Pauie and required him first to rid the Duchy

Duchy of Myllayne of the Emperors souldiers rather then to go forwarde and leaue his enemies behinde him. The Lorde Lawtricke aunswered that he was of the same opinion, but the commission that he had of the French king and the king of Englande, was, that with all spede he should go forward to deliuer the Bishop of Rome, which done he faythfully promised that he woulde retourne and expulse all the Emperors power out of Lombardy, and in the meane season he woulde that the Duke and the Venicians should besiege Anthony de Leua in the Castell of Myllayne. Duke Fraunces semed to be content with this aunswere, but yet he perceyued that the French king cared not for his restoring least he shoulde be emperiall. So for ỳ time the Duke dissimuled the matter, and toke possession of the Citie of Pauie. When the Lorde Lawtricke had lien. xbj. dayes at Pauie, he dismissed the Swychers which in no wise would go with him to Rome, wherfore he marched forwarde with his owne army and came to Plesance where he concluded a league with Alphons Duke of Ferrer, and Frederick Marques of Mantua, so that then he knewe well he might passe in safety: and in good order of battail he marched toward Rome for the finishyng of his enterprice. But or he was palled out of Lombardie, the Emperour had sent letters to the Bishop of Rome, and excused himselfe that he neyther willed nor commaunded such mischiefe to be done, and straightly commaunded his Capitaynes to deliuer him. The prince of Orenge and other Capitaynes of the Emperours heeryng his commaundement, tooke agreement with the Pope and his Cardinalles, and so he and. xij. Cardinalles were bound to performe certaine articles to the number of. xj. and then he was deliuered out of the Castell Saint Angell the tenth day of December, and was conueyed to Oruyet, where after he had payed certaine money for the souldiors wages, he was put at full libertie, and the Emperours people departed from him, and thence he remoued to Ancona. When tidynges was brought into Englande of his deliueraunce, the Cardinall in great hast caused Te Deum to be song on Newyeres day in the Kinges Chapell, and declared openly that he was escaped, and sayd not deliuered, which made many men to muse: and on Sunday the fift day of January, the Cardinall with great triumph came to the Church of Saint Paule in London, and on him attended diuers prelates of the Clergie, and there Te Deum was song again, and after that Doctor Capon openly declared, how that Bishop Clement had bene long kept in distres by fault of Tyrauntes and Infidels, and so kept as prisoner to the behoofe of Charles the Emperour, till now of late through the prayers of good christen people, he was escaped the handes of his enemyes, for which cause hee willed all men to geue thankes to God: That night were great fiers made in the kinges Court, and in all London. Shortly after this, truth was knowen, that the Pope was deliuered by composition, and not freely escaped as the Cardinall had blowen abroade, but men sayde that he could not leaue his lyeng.

The Emperor deliuereth the Pope out of prison.

Clement Pope deliuered.

Whyle the Lorde Lawtreck was thus passing towarde Naples, Syr Fraunces Poynes knight, which was sent with Clarenseaux king of armes into Spaine to the Emperour, returned into Englande before Christmas, in the ende of December, and left Clarenseaux behinde, to bring farther answere from the Emperour of things demaunded, wherof he sayd he woulde take

The returne and report of Sir Fraunces Poynes.

take longer aduice or he would answere. Thys syr Fraunces reported that the Emperour so much fauoured and esteemed the king of Englande, that at his only request and contemplation, he had released and discharged twelue articles, which were most grieuous and disprofitable to the French king, not for the French kings sake, but at the intercession of the king of Englande: yet this notwithstanding the Cardinall so inueigled the king, that he so highly fauoured the Frenche king, that all hys causes he toke and reputed as his owne, and did all that he might, to bring the french kings purposes about.

The Emperour before this time had written to the French king, and also aduertised thereof the Frenche Ambassadors that lay in Spaine, that he would that the French king should sende to him a diffinitiue answere, if he would withdraw his people out of Italy or not, and let the Duchie of Millaine alone, and to cease of all inuasions or not, and this answere to be taken for a defiaunce. Then the French Ambassadours before day shewed to the Emperour, the proffer which the French king offered to him in articles, as you haue heard before, in the conclusion taken at Amias by the Frenche king and the Cardinall in August last passed. Which proffers when the Emperour had heard and seene, he sayde to the Ambassadour, we thought surelye that oure Cosyn the Frenche king and we, had bene at a full conclusion, when the league and appointment was agreed at our towne of Madzill: for when he sued for his deliueraunce to vs, he and his counsayle offered vs certaine proffers, which we neuer demaunded, but we of pittie hauing compassion of his affliction, accepted the sayde offers, and agreed to his deliueraunce, which articles he promised in the othe of a king, and also on the holy Euangelistes, to performe to the vttermost, and them inuiolably to obserue and keepe. Wherevpon we cleerely remitted, and deliuered him into his countrey, of all which promises he hath performed none, wherefore we take him as periured, and not worthy to be trusted, and now he offereth new offers, which he can not performe, as for the money we beleeue he is able to pay, but as for the money due for the kingdome of Naples, we knowe no such duetie, for it is our inheritaunce, although king Charles the seuenth, by subtiltie once vsurped the same, which he long not enioyed: as to release hys title to Millayne, that release is voyde, for the Duchie is imperiall, and in our gift as many other seigniories bee: and as touching Tournay, ours it is of right and now in our possession: So that in all these things he would release and render things that he had not: and as to the withdrawing of his armie out of Italy, he shall not nede, for we trust that our armie shall expell them all Italy, maugre their hartes. And as touching the king of Nauer, the Duke of Gelder, and Robert de la Marche, we of pittie let them alone till we see our time, and then they shall knowe our puyssaunce: And as touching his offer to ayde vs with a nauie, we trust we haue suche a nauie prouided, that we shall nede none of his: and where he sayth he will marry our sister Queene Alienor, daughter of Portyngall, if he had bene true, that he might haue done or this, but now we entend not to geue her to our enemie: and as touching her daughter to be maried to the Dolphyn, that we leaue in suspence for thys time: But where he sayth that he will defend vs, that toucheth our honour, for well knoweth he that our awne might and puyssaunce, hath euer defended vs, & him and his power hath defaced and banquished,

The Emperours answere to the forsayde articles.

quished, wherefore we neede not of his defence, which is not able to defend hymselfe: and as touchyng the king of Englandes debt, we shall reasonably aunswere his Ambassadours, for that toucheth not the French king: But nowe my Lordes Ambassadours sayde the Emperour, let the French king your Mayster fulfill the promise that he was sworne to, as a true Prince ought to doe, and then he shall haue his children delyuered, or else according to his othe, let him yelde himselfe prisoner agayne, and so shall his honor and truth be saued or else not, so with this aunswere the Ambassadors departed. Neuertheless they dayly sued to the Emperour and his counsayle to take the offers which were profered by the french king, and amongs other things the warre was sore layde to the French Ambassadours charge, for that that the French king made warre on the Emperours possessions, without cause and without defiaunce, to which accusement they aunswered that that armie was procured by the Cardinall of Englande, when he was at Ampas, for the deliuery of Clement Bishop of Rome, and that the king of Englande bare the most charge.

The Cardinall procured warre against the Emperor for the deliuery of the Bishop of Rome.

When the Emperour heard this aunswere, he sent for the Ambassadour of Englande, and to him saide: My Lorde Ambassadour, I much maruaile why the king your maister hath so great loue to the French king, his newe reconciled friend, and withdrawne his loue from me, that am his Cosyn and alie: How fortuneth this that your olde auncient enemies be now in fauour and your olde frendes cast out of fauour. I see well there is indignation had at our estate, and waies sought to greue vs, which we hope to withstand: But who would haue thought that our Uncle of England, would haue made warre on vs? How would he haue vs graunt his requestes and desires for the Frenche king, seyng he sheweth himselfe our open enemie? Then the Ambassadour discretly aunswered, that he neyther heard nor knewe of such doyngs, on his fayth and honor. Well sayde the Emperour, if it be true that is reported, mine Uncle is not the Prince that I haue taken him for, and if he be mine enemie, I must withstande him, and in a great furie, the Emperour withdrew him from the Ambassadour to his priuie chamber.

The saiyng of the Emperor vnto the king of Englandes Ambassadors.

Daylie the Ambassadours both of Englande and of Fraunce, sollicited the Emperour and his counsayle, to accept the French kings offers, which made euer aunswere, that they would not trust to the newe promise, seyng that the olde promise which was sworne, was not obserued and kept.

Nowe whosoeuer indifferently shall consider the articles which were offered in the treatie of Madzill, and the articles offered now at Amias, shall openly perceyue, that the greatest thing which the Frenche king refused to doe, was the deliuerie of the Duchie of Burgoyne and the Countie Charoloys, for declaration whereof, the french king sent for all the nobles of both the countreyes, and declared to them thys promise and concorde taken with the Emperor, which aunswered that no realme or dominion could be transferred to any forreyn prince or person without the sentence, agreement, and submission of the nobles, and commons of the same countrey, and therefore they would neuer assent to that alteration: This answere was deliuered to Lorde Charles de la Noa Viceroy of Naples, then Ambassadour for the Emperour in Fraunce, which thereof certefied the Emperours counsayle. But the Emperour and his counsayle thought this to be but a deceyte, in so much

much as the French king had onely called suche of Burgoyne as him pleased, and not the substantiall of the countrey. And farther the Emperour so much desired the Duchie of Burgoyne, because he was the very heire there of bloud descended from Duke Philip, sonne to king John of Fraunce, that by no meanes he would haue that article broken, but that he would haue that Duchie. The french king perceyued his minde and offred to him great sommes of money for the redeeming of that article, the king of England also offred to be suretie for the payment: but all this could not moue the Emperour but he would haue Burgoyne, and all the sayde treatie and agreement performed.

The king of England considering how much he had done for the Emperor, and calling to his remembraunce, both that the Lordes and commons of Spayne, would not haue taken him as king (his mother liuing (although she were Lunatike) because she was heire, without his great labour and intercession, & also that he holpe him to be elected Emperor, which the French king had obtayned, if he had not put therynto his ayde, and sent Doctor Richarde Pace his Secretorie to the Electors of Franckefordе, and most of all that he at all times, had succored the sayde Emperor with mony and was not payed, wherefore he was not a litle displeased with the Emperors wylfulnesse, but more with his vnkindnesse, and perceyued clerely, that sith by his meanes he was so exalted, that now he had forgotten all the kindnesse to him shewed, wherefore he thought to make him to knowe himselfe by warres, the soner to bring him to accomplish his request, and to make him to remember his olde kindnesse, and so by the aduice of the Cardinall of Yorke (which loued not the Emperor, for the Bishop of Romes cause) and other of his counsaile, he sent word to Clarenseaux king at armes, to make defiaunce to the Emperor, and so Guyan Herault for the French king and the sayde Clarenseaux for the king of Englande, the. xiiij. day of January, in the City of Burgues in Castile, came before the Emperor beyng nobly accompanyed with Dukes, Marquesses, Erles, and Barons, in his great hall, and there made their defiaunces.

Richarde Pace Secretorie.

Defiaunces made to the Emperor.

When the defiances were made by both the kings of Armes, as you haue heard, al the nobles which were present, as ỳ Constable of Castile, ỳ Duke of Nassedonia the Duke of Inuancaso, the Duke of Alberkirke, ỳ Duke of Ciuill, the Duke of Nassaw, or Nazareth, the Duke of Aluoy, the Marques of Sturgus the Marques of Agular, the Marques of Villafranca, ỳ Erle Barcelon, the Erle of Salamatero, ỳ Erle Bonluent, the Erle Arowen, the Erle Agulard, the Erle Salienas, the Erle Geneuer, with six great Lordes Cõmendatories Crossed, & many other noble men & Gentlemen, for a truth to the number of seuen hundred at the least: all these drew out their swords and sware that the defiaunces, then made should be reuenged, and sayd to the Emperor: Sir if the despyte of this defiaunce be vnreuenged. the infamy and rebuke thereof shall remayne to vs and our heires for euer, wherfore our landes, liues and lordshippes, shall be at your commaundement, and while any lyne of your succession remayne, this ignominie shal be euer new and not die, till you haue obtained ỳ double honor, against all your enemies.

When the Emperor was thus defied, the warre was proclaymed in Ciuill, in Valedolite, in Burgus, and other places throughout all Spaine: But when

when the common people heard of this defiaunce, they wrong themselues by the Berdes and sware, that all their landes and goodes, shoulde be spent for the honor of the Emperor, and to be reuenged on the French king, whom they called the periured Prince, and so the common people cryed in the streets, now is come the time, that Spayne shall be renoumed, and reuenged on the frenchmen for their falsenesse, and wrong doynges. But alas sayde they, why shoulde we make warre with the Englishe nation, which euer loued vs and neuer offended vs: but this defiaunce proceedeth not of them, but onely of the French king, and of the Cardynall of Englande, which is sworne French: thus the Spanyards talked, and euer excused the king of England and accused the Cardinall, and sayd that he had a great pencion out of Spain and that notwithstanding, because he might not haue the Bishoprike of Toledo, he caused all this warre. This proclamation of warre was proclaymed with banners displayed, in the which were paynted a red sworde, & a Cressel burning, against the French king and his partakers, not mening the king of England, by erpresse name, but it was rehersed in the proclamation, that the king of England had manaced, and defied the Emperor, in the French kings quarrell. Then were the English Marchauntes in Spayne attached and their goodes put in safe custody, and to them was sayed that they were stayed onely, till the Emperor was aduertised how his subiectes were ordered in England.

The Cardinall is accused to be the onely author of this warre.

The English Merchaunts arrested in Spaine.

Tydings of this was first knowne in Fraunce, and from thence letters were sent to the French Ambassadors in London, how both the Ambassadors of Fraunce and of England, beyng in Spaine, and Guyen and Clarenseaux officer at Armes, were retayned by the Emperor as prisoners, which report was false, for they were at libertie, and well cherished, and in especiall the English Ambassadors and Clarenseaux, were friendely entertayned in all places. When the Cardinall heard this report he was too light of credence (which he repented afterward) and was sore therwith moued, and in his fury the .xij. day of February, he caused Don Hugo de Mendosa, the Emperors Ambassador, to be taken out of his house, in Saint Swithines lane in London, and to be brought to sir John Dauncs place in Marke lane, as a prisoner, and his house with his goodes were kept by the Cardinalles seruauntes, till the kinges pleasure were farther knowne.

The morow after being the .xiij. day of February, the Cardinall being in the Starre chamber, called before him all Justices of ỳ peace, and other honest personages to a great number, and to them sayde: My Lordes and all you the kynges louing subiectes, his graces pleasure is that I should declare to you, how that his highnesse, not of his owne seeking, but rather against hys will and intent, is entered into warre. For the elect Emperor Charles the fift, hath him so handled & moued, that he must of necessity with him make warre. First it is not vnknowne to you all, how good the king hath bene to him, sith his infancy, how he hath defended his low countries during his nonage: Yea, what payne the king toke by his Ambassadors, to solicite the Lordes of Spaine, which refused to take him as their king, while his mother liued, and by the kinges onely labor, he came to the kingdome of Spayne, what it cost the king to helpe him to be Emperor, we that be his counsaylors can tell, for if the king had not beene, surely the French

The Cardinalles saying in the Star Chamber.

king had beene Emperor. Beside all these kindnesses, he hath lent to the sayd Emperor, diuers great sommes of money, to defend his countryes, and what profite his countryes haue by the resort of Englishemen thether, you that be Marchants can tell, for these things with many mo profites, cõmodities, & gratuities, the king of him is so litle regarded, that I am halfe ashamed to report it. True it is that Fraunces the French king, was to him prisoner (which chaunce hath happened to many high Princes) the kyng our maister, highly regarding the peace of christen Princes, by which peace God might the more be glorified: desyred the Emperor to take some reasonable ende for his deliuerance, and for that purpose hath sent to him sundry Ambassadors, which gaue them eares, but dalied with them, and nothing would doe at all, and regarded no more his requestes, then I would the desire of my seruaunt (and peraduenture not so much) so that for all gratuities and friendships to him, by the king our soueraigne Lord, at all times shewed, he sheweth himselfe ingrate and vngentle, and for kindnesse rendreth vnkindnesse, as for the french king I assure you, he hath humbled himselfe as much as a prince may, his honor saued. He hath offered him so great offers, that except he should geue hym hys realme and crowne, he can offer no more larger, which offers I assure you, sore mincke the bewtie of his crowne, which I shall briefely declare vnto you. For he offereth to paye fiue hundred thousande poundes sterling, whereof three hundred thousande, to be payed in hande, for the remnaunt sufficient Bankers to be bounde, and farther to discharge the Emperor, of all such sommes of money, as he oweth to the king of England, and to deliuer him a sufficient acquittance for the same. Also where the French king should haue out of the kingdome of Naples an hundred thousande Crownes yerly, the French king will release the same pencion, with all the arrerages which are no small some. Also he will release his whole title and right which he hath to the Duchie of Millayne, his very inheritaunce, and neuer he to challenge or clayme the same nor his posteritie. Also where the Countie of Flaunders maye lawfully appeale to the parliamentes of Fraunce; from iudgementes geuen by the Emperor or his Iustices, he is content to release the same superiority and resorte, which is a great minishment to the prerogatiue royall or the realme of Fraunce, for which of you (sayd the Cardinall) would consent that the king should release his sygniorite or superiorities of Wales, Irelande or Cornewall, I dare saye you would rather spende your liues and goods.

Farther, where the French king bought of the king the Citie of Tournay, for fiue hundred thousand Crownes, and odde, yet he is content to relde and release the same Citie to the Emperour for euer, yea, and besyde this, he offereth to take to wife, Elianor Queene Dowager of Portingale, without any dower, yea, in her kirtell, and to indue her with ten thousand Markes sterlyng by the yere, and farther that the childe if it be a Male, which shall be gotten of them two, shal be Duke of Burgoyn, and be partaker of all the honours of Fraunce, which is a great thing: Also that the Dolphyn his sonne and heyre, shall marry the daughter of the sayde Ladie Elianor, without any treasure to be receyued for the same, which proffer is worth two hundred thousand Markes sterlyng.

Furthermore, he will lende the Emperour Shippes and Mariners, to conuey

conuey him to Rome, and also defend him agaynst all men, yea, what will he do more, although the king of Nauarre haue maryed his awne sister, whose kingdome the Emperour kepeth by force, yet he offereth neyther to ayde nor comfort him agaynst the Emperor, but in his quarell to be agaynst him: Also he offereth to forsake his olde and approued friendes, Sir Robert de la Marche, and the Duke of Gelders, which faythfully hath serued the realme of Fraunce, and all for the Emperors sake. But the Emperour sayde he, is so indurate, so vnkynde, and wilfull, that he neyther regardes these reasonable requestes, nor yet the kinges prayers nor requestes, but aunswered and sayd: that if the French king can do all this, he shall haue his children. So that the Emperor will trust no man, but euery man must trust him: Yet the French king offereth farther, to withdraw the puyssaunt army of the Lorde Lawtrick in Italy, and yet the same palleth prosperously forward, and is like to do the Emperour more disaduauntage, then I will nowe reherse: but the Emperour is so prowde, and his people so cruell, that he nothing regardeth these offers: for what a crueltie was this, to pull downe Goddes Vicar of Rome, and persecute the holy fathers by extreeme tyranny, violated the holy Sacrament, and threwe the hostes downe on the Aultare, and like robbers tooke the Pixe: and farther in the Church, they violated Virgins, and stupred Matrones, and dispoyled the holy Reliques of the Citye of Rome. And like as the king in hunting tyme hath slayne three hundred Deere, and the garbage and paunches be cast round about, in euery quarter of the Parke, so (sayd the Cardinall) euery streete lay full of the priuie members and gentures of the Cardinalles and holy Prelates: the whole history were to abhominable to tel. Yet notwithstanding all these offers mocioned, and nothing regarding this detestable tyranny, the which euery good Christen man abhorreth, he will encline to no reason, I am sure that I coulde shewe you. xx. articles of promise, which he hath broken with the king: so that I assure you he kepeth no promise with our soueraine Lorde, also contra ius Gencium, which I am sure the great Turke would not doe, he kepeth prisoner the kinges Ambassador Doctor Lee, the French Ambassador, & the Ambassador of Venice: and forasmuch as the Emperor refuseth these offers, which amount to eyght kinges raunsomes, I trust by this warre, we shall bridle him, and bring him to peace, and this occasion of warre, I would all you shoulde declare in your Countrie.

When the Cardinall had sayde, some knocked other on the elbowe, and sayd softly he lieth, other sayde, that euill will sayde neuer well, other sayde that the French Crownes made him speake euill of the Emperour, but they that knew al that you haue heard before said, that it was shame for him to lie in such an audience. The cõmon people much lamented, ỹ warre should arise betwene the king & the Emperor, and especiall theyr consideration was, because the Emperors dominions, had holpen them with corne, & relieued them with grayne, when they could haue no corne, or little out of Fraunce. And in this rumor were diuers ships come out of Flaunders, and that parties, laden with Hering, Sturgion, & al other vitaile necessary: beside eight fayre ships, which were laden with corne, all the sayde ships, & all the ships of Spaine, were stayed and arested, and theyr sayles taken from them, and put in safe custodie. This doyng was much talked of by Marchauntes, which frequen-

The murmor of the people.

Shippes arrested.

ted the Emperours Dominions, for they knewe and openly sayd, that the let of the entercourse of Marchauntes, shoulde turne to the great losse of the Princes, but yet the Englishe men were content to obey theyr king and his Counsayle.

The declaration of warre in England against the Emperour, and the restraint of shippes of the Emperours subiects, were shortly knowne to the Lady Margaret Duchesse of Sauoy, and aunte to the Emperor, which was gouernor of Flaunders, Brabant, and Zeland, and of all the lowe Countries: wherefore she by the aduice of the Emperours Counsayle to her associate, caused all the Englishe men, and their goodes and shippes to be restrayned, and they and theyr goodes were put in safe keepyng. Thus the poore Marchauntes suffered great losse, for the doynges of their Princes, as Horace sayth: Quicquid delirant Reges, plectuntur achiui. whatsoeuer kings do, the Cõmons be punished. Now after this sodaine storme, which the Cardinall had moued openly agaynst the Emperour for euill entreatyng of the kinges Ambassadour, he had perfect knowlege that the Emperour, both did the kings Ambassador great honour, and also that he neuer restrayned him from his libertie, wherevpon he caused the Emperors Ambassador, which before was restrayned of his libertie, to be sent to his owne lodgyng agayne, and sayd that by the report made by the French Ambassadors, he him restrayned, and now sithe he knew the truth, he mocioned the king for his deliuerance.

The Emperours Ambassador, called Don Hugo de Mendosa, dissimuled the matter by apparant signes: and the Cardinall the more to auoyde suspicion on his behalfe, towarde all the worlde, sayde: the king was informed by the French Ambassadours, that the Ambassadours of both Princes were put in prison, and further he sayde, that Clarensceaux had made the defiaunce to the Emperour without the kings commaundement, but onely did it by the mocion of the French Ambassadors, to accompanie the French Herauld, and for this presumpteous act, he should suffer death at Calice at hys returne: all these excuses the Cardinall shewed to the Emperors Ambassador, which certefied the Emperor of euery poynt, and sent the letter by poste into Spaine, which letters were opened & copied, by the Capitaine of Bayon, as the post passed that way. And when Clarensceaux returned homeward out of Spaine, the Capitaine gently shewed to him the copie of the letters, that the Emperors Ambassador had written. Thinke you not but Clarensceaux was dismayde, to heere his dayes so short: yet he trustyng in his truth, and grace of his Prince, passed forward and came to Bullein, where he heard worde agayne of the daunger that he was in, wherefore like a wyse man he left Calice, and tooke a ship at Bullein, and landed at Rye, and came secretly to Hampton Court, where the king laye, and by friendship of sir Nicholas Carew, one of the kinges priuie Chamber, he was brought to the kinges presence, or the Cardinall wist of his returne, and to him shewed the three letters, which the Cardinall had sent to him, chargyng him to make the defiaunce, or he did intimate the warre. He declared further, that neyther the Ambassadors of the king, nor the Frenche king, nor he were neuer sequestred from libertie, but gently enterteyned, and to the king he shewed a chaine to the value of seuen hundred Ducates, which the Emperor had geuen him, and shewed also the Copie of the Emperors Ambassadors letters, which he had

Clarensceaux made a feard

had at Bayon. When the king had heard all the circumstaunce of his declaration, he mused a great while, and sayde, O Lorde Jesu, he that I trusted most, tolde me all these thinges contrary, well Clarensceaux, I will bee no more of so light credence hereafter, for nowe I see perfectly, that I am made to beleue the thing that was neuer done.

The wise saying of the king.

Then the king sent for the Cardinall and priuily talked with him, but whatsoeuer he sayde to him the Cardinall was not very mery, and euer after that time, the king mistrusted him. When the king and his counsayle had well digested the Emperours aunswere, and his gentle demeanor toward the kings Ambassadors, and also had pondered that the lowe Countries of the Emperour, were glad to please the king of Englande and his subiects: wherefore the king commaunded syr John Style knight, to discharge all the Dutchmen and their shippes, and to deliuer their sayles, and gaue them lycense to returne: Nay sayde the Dutchmen, the Spaniardes and we be the Emperours subiectes, why should not they be also discharged? Sir John Stile aunswered them, that his commission was onely to discharge them. The Dutchmen fearing that the frenchmen would take the seas before them and so to stop them departed hastely, cursing the Cardynall as author of this warre.

The king now beginneth to smell the falshod of the Cardinal

When the Lady Margaret hard tell, how the Dutche nation with their Shippes and goodes were released, and not the Spaniardes, shee sent for the Englishe Merchaunts, and to them sayde: Sirs, sithe the king your maister hath deliuered onely the Dutchmen, and not the Spaniardes, we release your bodies free to go at your libertie, but your goods shall remaine till we knowe what shall become of the Spanyardes, and when they be deliuered come for your goodes, and you shall haue them deliuered, thus the Englishe men departed, and came to the king, and declared to hym and hys counsayle how they were entreated.

This warre with the Emperour was displeasaunt, both to Marchaunts and clothiers, for the Marchauntes durst not aduenture into Spaine, sithe Aprill last past, and now was come the .xj. daye of Marche, wherefore all broode clothes, Kerseis, and Cottons, lay on their handes. In so muche as when the clothiers of Essex, Kent, Wilshire, Suffolke, and other shires which vse cloth making, brought clothes into Blackwell hall of London, to be solde as they were wont to doe: fewe Marchaunts or none bought anye cloth at all. When the Clothiers lacked sale, then they put from them their spinners, carders, tuckers, and suche other that liue by clothworking, which caused the people greatly to murmure, and especially in Suffolke, for if the Duke of Norfolke had not wisely appeased them, no doubt but they had fallen to some riotous act. When the kings counsayle was aduertised of thys inconuenience, the Cardinall sent for a great number of the Marchaunts of London, and to them sayd: Sirs the king is informed, that you vse not your selues like Marchaunts, but like Graziers and artificers, for where the clothiers doe daylie bring clothes, to your market for your ease, to their great cost, and there be ready to sell them, you of your wilfulnesse will not bie them as you haue bene accustomed to doe: what maner of men be you sayde the Cardinall? I tell you that the king straighly commaundeth you to bie their clothes, as before time you haue bene accustomed to doe, vpon paine of his

Complaynt of the Clothiers.

high displeasure.

The Marchaunts aunswered, my Lord you knowe well that we haue had no trade outward thys twelue Monethes past, and we haue so manye clothes in our handes, that we knowe not how to vtter them, therfore it were great losse to vs to bye any more: wherefore we trust you will not moue vs to bye the thing which we can not vtter, for in all places our vent is stopped and forbidden. Well sayde the Cardinall, if you will not bie the clothes at Blackwell hall, they shall be brought to the whyte hall at Westminster, and so you of London shall lose the libertie, and the king shall bie them all, and sell them to Marchaunt straungers. Then aunswered a wise Marchaunt, my Lorde, the king may bie them as well at Blackwell hall, if it please him, and the straungers will gladlier receyue them there, then at Westminster: You shall not order that matter sayde the Cardinall, and first I will sende into London, to know what clothes you haue in your handes, and that done the king and his counsayle shall appoint who shall bye the clothes I warrant you, with this aunswere the Londoners departed.

When the clothiers hard that the Cardinall toke their part, they waxed prowde, and spake euill of the Marchauntes, and when the Marchauntes came to bye clothes, the Clothiers set them hire, then they were accustomed to be solde: but at length they were faine both to abate the price, and also to seeke of the Marchaunt men, for all the Cardinals saying.

If this warre was displeasaunt to manye in Englande (as you haue heard) surely it was as much or more displeasant, to the townes and people of Flaunders, Brabant, Holland, and Zeland, and in especial to the townes of Andwarpe and Barrow, where the Martes were kept, and where the resort of Englishe men was, for they sayde that their Martes were vndone, if the Englishemen came not there, and if there were no Marte, their Shyps, Hoyes, and Wagons might rest, and all artificers, Hostes, and Brokers might sleepe, and so the people should fall into miserie and pouertie: of these things daylie complaynts were made to the Ladie Margaret, and the Emperours counsayle, which wisely pondered the complaynts, and after long consultation had, they appoynted certaine Ambassadors to go to the king of Englande, and entreat for a truce, or abstinence of warre, which Ambassadors came into Englande, and associated themselues with Don Hugo de Mendosa, Ambassador there for the Emperor: the one Ambassadour was Prouost of Cassell, and the other maister John Lay souereigne of Flaunders: these three Ambassadors came to the king the, xxix. day of Marche to Richemond, and after reuerence done, the Lorde Hugo de Mendosa sayde to the king, sir the Emperors Maiestie so much knowlegeth himselfe bound to your grace, for manifolde kinde actes and beneuolences done and shewed to him sith his tender age, that he in no wise will take the defiance, done by your Herault as a paremptory intimation of warre, tyll he had heard farther of your pleasure, and therefore his counsayle hath sent hether these two noble persons and me, to knowe your determinate aunswere, and finall resolution in that behalfe. The king after a good auisement had, aunswered and sayde: Of warre I am nothing ioyfull, and of warre I am lesse fearefull, I thanke God I haue no cause to care for warre, for I haue both men and money, and all thing ready prepared for the same, (which things I know that

The saying of Hugo de Mendosa.

The Kinges answere.

other

other princes lack, for all their high wordes) and therefore to that question of warre I could sone agree, but or I make you a determinate aunswere, some part of my minde I will declare to you, and I tell you although your maister be a great Emperour and a mightie prince, I cannot nor maye not suffer him to beare downe and destroy the realme of Fraunce, which is our true inheritaunce, and for the which our brother and alie the French king, payeth vs yerely a great pention and tribute, wherefore we of iustice and equitie, muste maintaine that lande, out of which we haue so faire a rent, and such a profite.

Then sayde the Prouost of Cassell, yea syr and it please you to call to your remembraunce, the olde and auncient loue and familiaritie which hath beene betweene your realme, and the houses of Burgoyne and Flaunders, and the lowe countreys, I assure you the people of all those Countreys will liue and die with you, aboue all men next their souereigne Lorde, wherefore most noble prince neuer consent, that olde loue that hath so long contynued, be now broken and seperated: we say this for no feare, for we be well furnished for warre, both of men and strong Castels, all which before thys time hath bene at your commaundement, and therefore the loue that we haue euer borne you, we continue and offer you nowe to continue: and where we offer you choyse of warre or peace, at your pleasure, surely the Emperor meaneth that for your honour, as though you should commaund which you would: and if you chose warre, we haue commission to entreate for peace, and you chose peace, we haue like commission to thanke you, and to offer vs and ours at your commaundement. Then sayde the Lord Hugo de Mendosa to the king, syr of verie right the Emperour and his countries ought to haue your loue and fauor, before the Frenche king and his Nation: for the Frenchmen in the time of their affliction, made humble suites and requestes to your grace, which they neuer would do in the time of their prosperity, but the Emperour hath euer continued one man at all times, wherefore he is better to be trusted, then they which neuer were long true to you. Well said the king, sithe I haue well perceyued the intent of your comming, I will be auised, and then I will make you an aduised aunswere, and in the meane season I am content that there be an abstinence of warre for a time, so the Ambassadors departed for a season, and the Prouost of Cassels, daparted to the Lady Margaret with this aunswere.

After this the king which was wyse, well learned, and a farre casting Prince, consulted with his Counsaile of this matter, and there after long debating it was considered, that the king was riche, strong, and puyssaunt ynough to make warre with any Prince Christen, and that no Prince coulde hurt him by warre or inuasion, therefore some thought it best to haue warre, but the king and the wyser sort considered that if he had warre with the Emperor, that his marchauntes should leese much, and if they lost, the Clothiers and the Clothworkers, of which were a great multitude should leese and be brought to extreeme pouertie. For it was considered that the Emperor was Lorde of all Spaine, Naples, Sardinia, and so southwarde to Epuskaia, and likewyse northeastwarde from Graueln, to Rye and Reuell, so that Englishe Marchauntes passyng on those costes were euer in daunger. Also no Flame could come into England, but through his dominions, by reason

whereof

whereof cloth makyng should decay. Wherefore the king considered, if the marchauntes lost, the poorer sort should leese, and at length he should leese in his customes. Wherefore leauyng the glory of warre, he tooke mercye on his subiectes and concluded to take a peace for a tyme, till farther communication might be had betweene his counsail and the Emperors. And vpon this poynt letters were sent into Spaine, Fraunce, and Flaunders, and so this matter continued vndetermined till aunsweres were brought from outwarde partes.

The suite of the French Ambassadors

In this season the bishop of Bayon which afterwarde was Bishop and Cardinall of Parys beyng Ambassador from the French king, and soiournyng in London, heard tell howe the Emperours Ambassadors made much suite to the king and his Counsaile, wherefore he came to the Court, and desired to speake with the king, and so was brought to the kinges presence, to whome he sayde: pleaseth your highnesse to consider the great and highe peace that is concluded betweene you and your louyng brother, and perpetuall alye the French king my mayster, which is ratified and confirmed by the three estates of the realme of Fraunce, by the which you haue yerely twentie thousand pound sterlyng, which realme you haue promised to defend against all persons. Nowe in the wyng your loue that ye beare to the Frenche king and his subiectes, if you would make sharpe warre on the Emperors subiectes, I assure you the whole realme of Fraūce would take it so thankfully, that it should neuer be forgotten. Well sayd the king, as touchyng the league and amitie betweene my brother of Fraunce and me, it shall be inuiolately kept for me, but for to enter into warre it needeth no counsaile, but howe to ende warre with honour and profite, men must needes studie. As touching the defence of the realme of Fraunce, I assure you it shall be defended to my power, though it be to my losse, and my study is no lesse to haue a peace which might be more honourable to your mayster then to mine owne selfe. With which saiyng the Ambassador helde him well contented. So that you may perceiue that the great pencion and profite that the king of England had out of Fraunce with the great league and amitie concluded and sworne, was the very cause why the king of England so much held with the French king and not for mere loue. For this matter was dayly great counsayles, and one day the Emperors Ambassador was present, another day the French kings Ambassador was present, but the Cardinall was euer on the French part. So thus continued this dayly counsayles with great studie.

The kings aunswere.

In the same season, a Frenche Crayer of. xxx. Tonne, manned wyth xxviij. Frenchmen, lay at Margate to wayte for a praye of some Flemyng that should come out of the riuer of Thames, and by chaunce a Crayer of Armew which was apointed to waft the fisher botes betwene Graueling, & Ost ende, was come by North of Goodwyn sandes, to Northsand head, and so came to Grauesend and tooke in bread. This Crayer was of. xviij. tonne and had in her. xiiij. Flemynges: When she was victayled she made to the sea ward, and sodainly she espyed the Frenchmen which houed vnder a saile. The Flemynges mistrusted, and incontinent put themselues in a readinesse, and came so nye that he hayled the Frenchman then ỹ Frechman shot a piece of ordinaunce, and with that layd the Flemyng aboorde, there was sore fightyng, for the Frenchmen had Crossebowes, and the Flemynges had Handgunnes.

gunnes. The Frenchman fell of and would haue bene gone, that seeyng the Flemyng whistled, and after the Frenchman made sayle. Nowe the winde was so straynable East, that the Frenchman could sayle no whether, but into the Thames, and so he did and the Flemyng folowed, and before Grauesend the Flemyng boorded the Frenchman, and there they fought againe, but away agayne went the Frenchman, and the Flemyng after with all his sailes and so farre sayled the Frenchman, that he ranne along the Tower wharfe as though he would haue cryuen his shippe, the Fleming set on and entered the shippe for any thing the Frenchman could do, and cryed I haue taken the theefe. Sir Edmond Walsingham Lieuetenaunt of the Tower was on the Wharfe, and sawe them fight, called his men and entered the shippes, and tooke both the Capitaynes and theyr men. The Flemyng boldly chalenged his prise, for he sayde that open warre was betweene Fraunce and Flaunders, and sayde farther, that the Frenchman was a Pirate: The kings counsaile tooke vp the matter and made an ende betweene them. Thys chaunce was much talked of that two shippes should sayle in chase from Margate to the Tower Wharfe, because that before tyme suche a lyke thing had neuer beene heard.

A shyp chased to the tower wharfe.

Now let vs returne to the Lorde Lawtricke, which had gotten manye townes in Italy, and had with his great armie besieged the Citie of Naples and so it happened that the Prince of Orenge and other Capitaines the. xix. day of Aprill set on a great part of the Frenche army, and notwithstandyng their hardinesse, the Emperors army obteyned the victory, so that from that tyme forth the french men lost, what by pestilence which then was great in Italy, and what by sodaine skirmishes.

1528

The king kept the day of saint George with the companions of the order of the Garter with great solemnitie at his Manor of Richemond, where to him came tidynges of the army of the Lorde Lawtricke in Italy, which letters shewed that the Lorde Lawtricke had sent the Lord Peter de Nauarro the thirde day of March last past to a great towne called Melffe with ten thousand Frenchmen, and within the towne were eyght hundreth Spanyardes good men of war: The Lord Peter de Nauarro besieged the town, and after gaue to the same a great assault, but the Spanyardes so defended them with ordinaunce and resistences, that they slue fiue or sixe thousande Frenchmen, and caused them to retreate. The Lorde Lawtricke heeryng this, came in person wyth a great number to the towne of Melffe, and marualously bet the towne with ordinance and then gaue to it a great and fierce assault, and therwith so sore that the Spaniardes were put backe, yet they defended them, so that it was maruayle to behold, for they slue and destroyed foure. M. Frenchmen. The French army entred the towne on all sydes, and yet the Spanyards kept the market with their ordinaunce as long as they might, but at the last beyng oppressed with multitude, they all were slaine without mercy, so cruell were the Frenchmen: In this towne was taken the Prince of Melffe, a noble man pertaynyng to the Emperor. Thus was the towne of Melffe taken and spoyled, not greatly to the Frenche mennes profite, for they lost almost tenne thousande men whiche sore diminished theyr power.

Melffe taken by the frenchmen.

Although that this season was an abstinence of warre taken betweene the

the king of Englande and the Ladie Margaret, so that the dutch Nation might safely come and go into Englande, and the Englishemen might safely repaire thether, yet betwene the Frenche men and the Fleminges was hot warre on the Frontires, and manye a prisoner taken, and manye men slayne, and likewise the one part tooke the other on the seas, and sometime the Frenchmen would spoyle Englishe ships, saying that they had Flemings goodes or Spaniardes goodes, and likewise the Flemings would enter the Englishe ships, and say they had Frenchmens goodes, so the English men lost, till the king sent shippes to keepe the sea: But for a truth the Spanyardes were strong on the sea, and to the French men did much harme. The King perceyuing that there was nothing concluded betwene the Emperor and him, thought not to be behinde hande, wherefore he ordayned that the Lord Sandes should passe to Guisnes with a thousand souldiours that was fiue hundred archers, and fiue hundred horsemen, and that the Duke of Suffolke should passe ouer after with a great armie to inuade Flaunders. These Lords made much preparation, and mustered their men at the Mantels beside saint Johns and was ready to depart, but the Emperours Imbassador and the Imbassadour of Flaunders, so much did with the king and his counsayle (and the French king also assented) that truce was taken betwene England, Flaunders, and the countreys of Picardy on this side the water of Some for eyght Monthes, the peace to beginne the first daye of May, and to endure to the last day of Februarye. This peace was proclaymed in London, the .xix. day of June, so that nowe all Englishe men might lawfully passe into the lowe Countries but not into Spaine: which sore grieued Marchauntes that haunted that parties. In the same proclamation was farther contayned, ꝑ if a finall peace were not fully agreed betwene the sayde three princes within the sayde eyght Moneths, that then all Marchaunts should haue two Moneths after to passe into their owne countries with their wares and marchandises in safetie. The Emperour sone enclined to this peace, for he sawe that by the Marte many of his friends in high Dutchland and other places toke great profite, and especially his owne lowe Countries, wherefore he thought not to hurt his friendes, for the displeasure he bare to his enemies of Fraunce, and also to shewe himselfe louing to the king of Englande he was content to take this peace.

In this season the Duke Charles of Gelders perceyuing the Emperor was at warre with Fraunce, raised a great power of horsemen and came to a great towne of Holland called the Hage, where the lawe and iustice is kept for that countrie, by reason whereof the towne was verie riche, and sodainely he entred the towne without resistence, and spoyled and robbed the towne, and slue diuers persons and with much riches laded their Wagons and so departed and caryed with him diuers riche prisoners. The Ladye Margaret gouernesse of the lowe countries heering of thys raised a great power vnder the conduyte of the Lorde Isylsteinge, which Lorde with a great puyssaunce entered Gelderland and tooke the towne of Hatton, the Castell of Howting and forrayed and destroyed the countrie lastly on Whitsonday, beyng the last day of Maye, the Gelders gaue battayle to the Lorde Isylsteinge and fought valyauntly as any men could doe, but yet by fortune of warre they were ouercome and fled, and were chased a great waye and many

many slayne. This chaunce was whyle the treatie of peace was in England.

The iv casting sickenesse

In the verie ende of May began in the Citie of London the sickenesse called the sweating sickne, & afterward went through all the realme almost, of the which many dyed within fiue or sixe houres. By reason of this sickenesse the terme was adiorned and the circuites of Assise also. The king was sore troubled with this plague, for diuers died in the courte, of whome one was Sir Fraunces Poynes, which was Imbassador in Spaine, and other, so that the king for a space remoued almost euery day, tyll at the last he came to Tytynhangar a place of the Abbot of saint Albones, and there he with a fewe determined to bide the chaunce that God would send him, which place was so purged daylie with fyres, and other preseruatiues, that neyther he nor the Queene nor none of their company was infected of that disease, such was the pleasure of God. In thys great plague died syr Wylliam Compton knight, and Wylliam Cary Esquire, which were of the kings priuie chamber, and whome the king highly fauoured and many other worshipfull men and women in Englande.

Sir wylliam Compton

By reason of this plague the watches which were wont to be kept yerely in London on saint Jhons eue at Midsommer & saint Peters eue, whereby the king & his counsail commaunded to be left for that yere, wherfore the Armorers made great suit to the king and declared their great hinderaunce which was not so much considred as the mischiefe that might haue ensued if that so great a nũber should haue assembled together in ꝑ hote time, & the plague of sweating raigning. Now let vs leaue England al this somer season troubled & vexed with this sweating sickenesse, & let vs returne to the affaires of Italy.

Midsommer watch in London was layd downe this yere.

In this season was through all Italy a vniuersall warre, famine and pestilence, or a morrein whereof the people died in euery place, and in especially in the Dukes armie which caused the most part of the Almaines to returne into their countrey, wherefore the Duke wisely considered ꝑ chaunce and saw that his armie was greatly minished by death, and saw farther that for lacke of vittayle and money he was not able to conuay the remnaunt of his armie to Naples, by the aduise of Anthony de Leua concluded to returne, and so shortly after in good order returned, and lost more by the pestilence then by his enemies.

The French king was aduertised by the Lord Lawtrick how his people decayed sore before Naples, and how the Duke of Brunswike was comming to raise the siege and rescue the Citie, wherefore the French king sent Lorde Fraunces Erle saint Poul brother to the Duke of Vandosme with eyght thousand men to folowe the Duke of Brunswyke to Naples, and if he went not to Naples, then he should ioyne himselfe with Fraunces Sforcia Duke of Millayne and the Venecians, and so expell Anthony de Leua and all the Emperours souldiours out of Lombardy.

The Spaniardes within Naples were aduertised that new succors were comming to the Frenchmen, wherfore they determyned to fight with them or their new ayde came, and so one day they issued out of the Citie and fought with the Frenchmen and slew many of them, but by force they were compelled to returne. The Lord Lawtricke knew well that the Citie could not hold long for lacke of vittayle (for a suertye if vittayle had not come by Sea, the towne had beene yelded) wherefore the Lorde Lawtrike suffered his

his army to lie still in the plaine field all the heat of the Sõmer and brought them not to the shadow, by reason whereof there fell such a disease amongst his army, that they died dayly in great number and he hũ selfe fell sick & left the army and lay at Uerse, of the which mortallitie there died in the French campe aboue .xxiiij. M. men, beside the most part of all their horses & beastes of which number as diuers writers doe agree there dyed aboue fiue thousand Gentlemen, amongest whome there dyed the Lorde Uademount brother to Anthony Duke of Lorraine, the Lorde of Grauntmount, the Capitayne Malyac, the Lorde Lauall of the Dolphenye, the Cappitaine Luper, the Lord Charles Vyuone, Lorde of Chateygneray sonne to the Lorde Andrew of Vyuone Seneschal of Poytew, & many other noble men of name.

The death at Naples.

During which plague the towne of Cap (which most of all the townes in the realme of Naples helde on the Frenche part) became imperiall and turned to the Emperors part: Whereof heering the Lorde Lawtrick, made therefore great sorrow, and being somewhat amended of his disease, tooke his horse and came to visite the Campe, and when he saw his number so minished and hys Campe so desolate of people that he perceyued that his enterprise could not be performed, he fell into such a malencholy that his sickneſſe tooke hũ more feruently then before, so that within two dayes after, which was the one and twentie day of August he dyed at and his body was sered and conueied after into Fraunce.

The Marques of Saluce which was Luetenaunt vnder the Lorde Lawtricke called to counsaile the Erle Guy of Rancon and Peter de Nauer and other Capitaynes that were left, & after long consultacion they considered their number to be to small eyther to kepe the siege or to abyde battayle, for they passed not fiue thousand in all. Wherefore they concluded to leaue the siege and to returne, and so the fiue and twenty day of August they brake by their Campe and returned toward Fraunce, in which returne the Spaniardes euer coasted them, and when they tooke any Frenchmen at aduauntage, they eyther slew or toke them. Thus was the end of this iorney by reason of the great mortalitie, which if it had not happened, the Citie and the whole realme of Naples had bene recouered: For the citie of Naples could not haue holden ten dayes, after the army remoued as they confessed after.

The returne of the king of England and the French kinges camp out of Italy.

Nowlet vs returne to the king of England which was in a great scruple of his conscience and not quiet in his minde, because that diuers Diuines well learned secreatly enformed him that he liued in adultery with his brothers wife to the great peryll of his soule, and tolde him farther that the Courte of Rome could not dispence with Gods commaundement and precept. These thinges were talked among the common people sith the first day of his mariage as you haue heard before, insomuch that now the kinges counsaylors aduised hym to know the truth. Wherfore he like a wise Prince for quyeting of his conscience called together the best learned of the realme which were of seuerall opinyons, wherfore he thought to know the truth by indifferent iudges least peraduẽture the Spaniards in fauor of the Queene would say that his owne Subiectes were not indifferent iudges: wherfore he wrote his cause to Rome because the best clerkes in Christendome were there, and also he sent to all the vniuersities of Italy and Fraunce and to the great Clerkes of all Christendome to know their opinions, and desired the Court

Now was the king fully enformed that he liued in adultery.

Courte of Rome to sende into his realme a Legate to heare the cause debated which should be indifferent and of a great iudgement. At whose request the whole cõsistory of the College of Rome sent hether Laurence Campeius a Priest Cardinall, a man of great wit & experience, but more learned in the papall law then in diuinitie, which was sent as Legate into England the .x. yere of this king as you haue heard in the sayde yere, and with hũ was ioyned in commission the Cardinall of Yorke and Legate of England, and so this Cardinall Campeius by long iourneys came into England, and much preparation was made to receyue him triumphantly into London, but he was so sore vexed with the Gout that he refused all such solempnities, and desired hartely that he might wout pompe be conueied to his lodgyng for his more quyet and rest, & so the ninth day of October he came from saint Mary Overeis by water to the Bishop of Bathes place without Temple barre where he lodged the last time he was in England: Where he was visited of the Cardinall of Yorke and diuerse other estates and prelates. And after he had rested him a season and was somewhat releeued of his payne, he was brought to the kinges presence then lying at Bridewell by the Cardinall of Yorke, and was caried in a Chayre of Crimosin Ueluet borne betweene foure persons for he was not able to stande, and the Cardinall of Yorke and he sate both on the right hand of the kinges throne, and there one Francisco Secretary to Cardinall Campeius made an eloquent Oration in the Latine tongue, in the which he rehersed, first with what cruelte the Emperors souldiers had handeled the Pope, what tyranny they had shewed to the Cardinalles and Priests, what sacrilege and spoyle they had committed in saynt Peters Churche, how they had violated Uirgyns, rauished nens Wyues, and in conclusyon spoyled, robbed and tormented all the Romaines and inhabitaunts in the Citie of Rome: and farther he shewed what friendshipe the College of Rome found at the kings handes and the French kings in the time of that tribulation, that if they had not ioyned together, the Citie of Rome with all their gouernors had beene brought to vtter ruyne and decay, for the which he sayd that Pope Clement and all his College of Cardinalles and the Senators of the Citie with all the Citizens rendered to the kyng their hartie thankes, and promysed him their loue, fauor, and amytye perpetuall.

Cardinall Campeius commeth to London.

The Oratiõ.

This oration (as concerning the trouble of Rome) was set forth with such lamentacions, & such abhominable actes and tyrannies, that the most part of the herers thought it more eloquent then true. To the which oration Doctor Fox Prouost of Cãbridge made a discrete answere: And as to the first poynt he declared that the king muche lamented to heare his friendes yea or any other christen men to be ordered or handled with such tiranny & oppression: And as touching the second poynt he sayd, that the king did but the dutie of a Christian Prince to releue his friendes beyng in captiuitie, for the which he would that the whole Citie of Rome shoulde geue thankes to God and not to him. After which aunswere made, the two Legates commoned secreatly wyth the king a long space, and after departed to their lodging.

The answer.

Of the commyng of this Legate, the common people beyng ignorant of the truth, and especially women, and other that fauoured the Queene, talked largely, and sayde that the king would for his owne pleasure haue ano-

ther wyfe, and had sent for this Legate to be deuorced from his Queene, with many foolishe wordes, insomuch that whosoeuer spake agaynst the mariage was of the common people abhorred and reproued, which common rumor and foolishe communications were related to the king, wherefore he like a prudent Prince and circumspect doer in all his affayers, and willyng all men to knowe his intent and purpose, caused all his nobilitie, Iudges, and Counsaylors, with diuers other persons to come to his Palace of Bridewell on sunday the. viij. day of Nouember at after noone in his great chamber, and there to them sayde as nere as my witte coulde beare alwaye these wordes folowyng. Hall.

The kinges Oracion concerning hys first mariage.

Our trustie and welbeloued subiectes both you of the nobilitie, and you of the meaner sort, it is not vnknowne to you howe that we, both by Gods prouision, and true and lawfull inheritaunce haue reigned ouer this realme of England almost the terme of. xx. yeres, During which tyme we haue so ordered vs, thanked be God, that no outward enemie hath oppressed you nor taken any thing from vs, nor we haue inuaded no realme, but we haue had victorie and honour, so that we thinke that you, nor none of your predecessors neuer liued more quietly, more wealthie, nor in more estimation vnder anye of our noble progenitors: But when we remember our mortalitie, and that we must dye, then we thinke that all our doyngs in our lyfe tyme are clerely defaced, and worthie of no memorie, if we leaue you in trouble at the time of our death. For if our true heyre be not knowne at the tyme of our death, see what mischiefe and trouble shall succede to you and your children. The experience wherof some of you haue seene after the death of our noble Grandfather king Edward the fourth, and some haue heard what mischiefe and manslaughter continued in this realme betweene the houses of Yorke and Lancaster, by the which distention this realme was lyke to haue bene clerely destroyed. And although it hath pleased almightie God to sende vs a fayre daughter of a noble woman and me begotten to our great comfort and ioy, yet it hath beene tolde vs by diuers great Clerkes, that neyther she is oure lawfull daughter, nor her mother our lawfull wyfe, but that we liue together abhominably and detestably, in open adultery, insomuch that when our Imbassade was last in Fraunce, and motion was made that the Duke of Orleaunce should marry our sayde daughter, one of the chiefe Counsaylors to the French kinge sayd. It were well done to know whether she be the king of England his lawful daughter or not, for well knowen it is, that he begat her on his brothers wyfe, which is directly agaynst Gods law and his precept. Thinke you not my Lordes that these wordes touch not my bodie and soule, thinke you that these doyngs do not dayly and hourely trouble my conscience and vexe my spirites, yes we doubt not but and if it were your alone cause euery man would seeke remedie when the perill of your soule, and the losse of your inheritaunce is openly layde to you. For this onely cause I protest before God & in the word of a Prince, I haue asked counsaile of the greatest Clerkes in Christendome, and for this cause I haue sent for this Legate, as a man indifferent onely to knowe the truth, and to settle my conscience, and for none other cause as God can iudge. And as touchyng the Queene, if it be adiudged by the lawe of God that she is my lawfull wyfe, there was neuer thing more pleasaunt, nor more acceptable to me in my life, both for the discharge

charge and cleeryng of my conscience, and also for the good qualities and condicions the which I knowe to be in her. For I assure you all, that beside her noble parentage, of the which she is discended (as all you knowe) she is a woman of most gentlenesse, of most humilitie and buxumnesse, yea, and of all good qualities apperteinyng to nobilitie, she is without comparison, as I this. xx. yeres almost haue had the true experiment, so that if I were to marry againe, if the mariage might be good, I would surely choose her aboue all other women: But if it be determined by iudgement that our maryage was against Gods law & clerely voyd, then I shall not onely sorowe the departyng from so good a Ladie and louyng companion, but much more lament and bewaile my infortunate chaunce, that I haue so long liued in adultery to Gods great displeasure, and haue no true heyre of my bodie to enherit this realme. These be the sores that vexe my minde, these be the pangues that trouble my conscience, and for these griefes I seeke a remedie. Therefore I require of you all as our trust and confidence is in you, to declare to our subiectes our minde and entent, accordyng to our true meanyng, and desyre them to pray with vs, that the very truth maye be knowne for the discharge of our conscience, and sauyng of our soule, and for the declaration hereof, I haue assembled you together, and now you may depart.

The praise of the Queene.

To see what countenance was made amongst the heerers of this Oracion it was a straunge sight, for some sighthed and sayde nothing, other were sory to here the king so troubled in his conscience. Other that fauoured the Queene much sorowed that this matter was now opened, and so euery man spake as his heart serued him, but the king euer laboured to know the truth for discharge of his conscience.

The saiyng of the Legate

Shortly after this, the two Legates came to the Queene at the same place of Bridewell, and declared to her howe they were deputed Iudges indifferent betweene the king and her, to heere and determine whether the marryage betweene them stoode with Gods law or not. When she heard the cause of their commyng, no marualle though she were astonnied, for it touched her very nere. And when she had pausd a while she answered.

The queenes aunswere.

Alas my Lordes is it now a question whether I be the kinges lawfull wife or no? When I haue bene maried to him almost. xx. yeres, and in the meane season neuer question was made before? Diuers Prelates yet beyng aliue, and Lordes also, and prime Counsaylors with the king at that tyme, then adiudged our marryage lawfull and honest, and now to say it is detestable and abhominable, I thinke it great marualle: and in especiall when I consider what a wise Prince the kinges father was, and also the loue and naturall affection, that king Fardinando my father bare vnto me: I thinke in my selfe that neyther of our fathers, were so vncircumspect, so vnwyse, and of so small imagination, but they foresaw what might folow of our mariage, and in especiall the king my father, sent to the Court of Rome, and there after long suite, with great cost and charge, obteyned a licence and dispensation, that I being the one brothers wife, and peraduenture carnally knowne might without scrupull of conscience, marry with the other brother lawfully, which licence vnder lead I haue yet to shewe, which thinges made me to say and surely beleue, that our maryage was both lawfull, good and Godly: But of this trouble I onely may thanke you my Lorde Cardinall of Yorke, for

The Queene imputeth the cause of her diuorse vnto Cardinall Wolsey.

because I haue wondered at your highe pride and vaine glory, and abhorre your voluptuous life, and abhominable Lechery, and little regard your presumptious power and tiranny, therefore of malice you haue kindeled this fire and set this matter abroche, and in especiall for the great malice that you deare to my nephew the Emperor, whome I perfectly know you hate worse then a Scorpion, because he would not satisfie your ambicion and make you Pope by force, and therefore you haue sayde more then once, that you would trouble him and his frendes, and you haue kept him true promise, for of all his warres and vexations, he onely may thanke you, and as for me his poore aunt and kinswoman, what trouble you put me to, by this new found doubt, God knoweth to whome I commit my cause accordyng to the truth. The Cardinall of Yorke excused himselfe, saiyng, that he was not the beginner, nor the mouer of the doubt, and that it was sore agaynst his will, that euer the mariage should come in question, but he sayde that by his superior the bishop of Rome, he was deputed as a Judge to here the cause, which he sware on his profession to heere indifferently, but whatsoeuer was sayde, she beleued him not, and so the Legates tooke their leaue of her and departed. These wordes were spoken in French, and written by Cardinall Campeius Secretory, which was present, and by me (sayth Hall) translated as neere as I coulde.

The Cardinall excuseth himselfe.

The king notwithstanding that his minde was vnquiet, yet he kept a good countenaunce towarde the Queene, with as much loue, honor, and gentlenesse, as could be shewed to such a princesse, but he abstayned from her bed till the truth was tryed, accordyng as his ghostly counsayle had auised him, which was to him no little paine, for surely he loued her as well, as anye Prince might loue his wife, and shee him againe, and therfore it was great pytie, that their mariage was not good.

The more to quicken his spirites, and for recreation, the king kept his Christmas at Grenewiche, with much solempnitie and great plentie of Viands, whether came the two Legates, which were receiued by two Dukes and diuers Erles, Barons and gentlemen, to whom the king shewed great pleasures, both of Justes, Tornays, Bankets, Maskes, and disguisings, and on the Twelfe day he made the lawfull sonne of Cardinall Campeius borne in wedlock, knight, and gaue him a coller of. S.S. of Golde: but the Quene shewed to them no maner of countenance, and made no great ioy of nothing, her minde was so troubled.

Cardinall Campeius sonne made knight.

This doing in Englande was spred ouer all Christendome by letters, and in euery region except Spaine, and the Emperors dominions, they adiudged the king a wise, a verteous, and a prudent Prince, for tryng out of the truth, considering that the question was not onely doubtfull to learned men in diuinitie, but vpon the vncertainetie of the same, depended the ruine of his realme, and the succession of the same, which was a waightie thing to consider, and no wisedome to let so great a doubt lye vndiscussed.

After Christmas and all Lent till Easter, was none other thing commoned of, but onely of the kings mariage, the Archbishop of Cauntorburie sent for the famous Doctors of both the Vniuersities to Lambeth, & there were euery day disputations, and commonings of thys matter, and because the king perceyued and knewe well, that the Queene was wedded to her awne opinion, and that he would that she should doe nothing without counsayle, he bad her chose the best Clarkes of his realme, to be of her counsaile, and licensed them to doe the best on her part that they could, accordyng to the truth: then she elected Wylliam Warham Archebishop of Cauntorbury, and Nicholas West Bishop of Elie, Doctors of the lawes, and John Fysher Bishop of Rochester, and Henry Standishe Bishop of saint Asse, Doctors of Diuinitie, and manye other Doctors and well learned men, which for a suretie like men well learned: defended her cause as farre as learning might defend it.

The Quene is ipcenced to retayne counsayle against the king her husband.

In the beginning of thys yere, in a great Hall within the black Friers of London was ordeyned a solempne place, for the two Legates to sit in, with two Cheyres couered with cloth of Golde, and Cushions of the same, and a Dormant table tailed before, like a solempne Court, all couered with Carpets and Tapissery: on the right hand of the Court was hanged a cloth of estate, with a Chaper and Cushions of riche Tissue, for the king, and on the left hande of the Court, was set a riche Chayer for the Queene. When the place was readie, the king and the Queene were acited by Docter Sampson, to appere before the Legates, at the forenamed place, the twentie and eyght day of May, beyng then the morrowe after the feast of Corpus Christi, in proper person, or by their Proctors. At the day assigned, the Legates came to the forenamed place, with Crosses, Pillers, Ares, and all the ceremonies belonging to their degrees, and after that they were set (the Cardinall of Yorke sitting on the right hande) their commission was red, and the cause of their comming thether openly declared, the effect whereof was, that the Court of Rome was instructed, that great Clarkes and learned men had enformed the king, that his mariage with his brothers wyfe was vnlawfull, dampnable, and directly agaynst the lawe of God, wherefore they were directed and appointed by the sayde Court, to bee Judges in the cause, and to heare what on both parties could be alleged: after this was done, the king was called by name, for whome two Proctors appered, then the Quene was called, which within short space, beyng accompanied with the foure Byshops and other of her counsayle, and a great company of Ladies and gentlewomen folowyng her, came personally before the Legates, and after her obedience, sadly and with great grauitie done, shee appeled from them, as Judges not competent for that cause, to the Court of Rome, and after that done, shee departed agayne. Notwithstanding thys appeale, the Legates sat weekely, and euery day were arguments on both partes, and nothing else done.

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The Courte at the Blacke Friers.

The Quene appealed.

The king which onely desired to haue an ende in this matter, for discharge of his conscience, came to the Court the of June, and the Queene also, where he standing vnder his cloth of estate, sayde these wordes in effect folowyng: My Lordes, Legates of the sea Apostolique which be deputed Judges, in this great and waightie matter, I most hartely beseech you, to ponder my minde and intent, which onely is to haue a finall ende, for the discharge of my conscience: for euerye good christian man knoweth what paine and what vnquietnesse he suffereth, which hath his conscience grieued, for I assure you on mine honor, that thys matter hath so vexed my minde, and troubled my spirites, that I can scantly studie any thing, which should

The kinges Oration.

be profitable for my realme and people. And for to haue a quietnesse in body and soule is my desire and request, and not for anye grudge that I beare to her that I haue maried, for I dare say that for her womanhood, wisedome, nobilitie, and gentlenesse, neuer prince had such another, and therefore if I would willingly chaunge, I were not wise: wherefore my suite is to you my Lordes at this time, to haue a speedie ende, according to right, for the quyetnesse of my minde and conscience onely, and for no other cause as God knoweth.

When the king had sayde, the Queene departed without any thing saiyng, then she was called, to knowe whether she would bide by her appele, or aunswere there before the Legates, her Proctor aunswered, that shee would bide by her appele, that notwithstanding, the counsaylours on bothe sides euery day almost met, and debated this matter substancially, so that at the last the Diuines were all of opinion, that the mariage was against the lawe of God, if she were carnally knowne by the first brother, (which thing she clerely denied) but to that was aunswered, that Prince Arthur her husbande, confessed the act done, when he called for drinke earely in the morning, saiyng: that he had beene in Spaine that night, which was a hote countrie, meaning that he had carnally vsed her, farther at the time of the death of Prince Arthur, shee thought and iudged that she was with childe, and for that cause the king was deferred from the tytle and creation of the Prince of Wales, almost halfe a yere, which thing could not haue beene iudged, if she had not bene carnally knowne.

Also she her selfe caused a Bull to be purchased, in the which were these wordes, Vel forsan cognitam, which is asmuch to say, as peraduenture carnally knowne, which wordes were not in the first Bull graunted by July, at her second mariage to the king, which second Bull with that clause was onely purchased, to dispence with the second matrimony, although there were carnall copulation before, which Bull neded not to haue bene purchased, if there had bene no carnal copulation, for then ꝑ first Bull had bene sufficient.

When the Diuines on her side, were beaten from that ground, then they fell to perswasions of naturall reason, how this shoulde not be vndone, for three causes: one was because if it should be broken, the onely childe of the king, shoulde bee a Bastard, which were a great mischiefe to the realme: Secondly the seperation should be a cause of great vnkindnesse, betweene her kindred and this realme. And the third cause was, that the continuaunce of so long space, had made the mariage honest: These perswasions with many other, were set forth by the Queenes counsaile, and in especiall by the Bishop of Rochester, which stoode stiffe in her cause, but yet Godes precepte was not aunswered, wherefore they left that grounde and fell to pleading, that the Court of Rome had dispensed with that mariage: To thys some Lawyers sayde, that no earthly person is able to dispence with the positiue lawe of God.

When the Legates had heard the opinions of the Diuines, and sawe that their opinion for the most part was agaynst the Matrimony, and that nowe the question was brought to dispute, the authoritie of the Court of Rome, they began a little to quicken: For they considered that if they should say and determine, that the Court of Rome might not dispence in that case, that

that few men would thinke, that they might dispence in any other case, which should be to them a great losse and hurt. Wherefore they dissimuled the matter, and euer tolde the king, that he should haue an ende shortly, and tracted forth the time with Orations and Sophisticall arguments, till August began to approch: then Cardinall Campeius sayd, that they might not sit after July, till October, all which season was a vacation in the Court of Rome, and their Court beyng a member of the Court of Rome, they must needes doe the same: this saiyng was reported to the king, which by that saiyng knewe perfitely that he should then haue no ende, and then he complayned to the Dukes of Norfolke and Suffolke, and other nobles of his counsail, how he was delayed, and wylled them at the next Session, to require them, to make an ende of the cause, and what iudgement soeuer they gaue, he would gladly accept it, for the quietnesse of his conscience.

An oration made by Cardinall Campeius to delay the kings suite.

These noble men came to the place, where the Legates sat, the thirtie day of August, beyng Fryday, whereas Cardinall Campeius, declared in eloquent Latin, and sware on his honor and fayth that he bare to the church of Rome, that the course of the courtes there be, at the end of July, to suspend all causes, till the fourth day of October, and if any case be treated, and iudged in the meane season, that iudgment to be clerely voyde, and therefore he required the king to take pacience til that time, trusting that then they should proceede towarde sentence, so that he should be contented: the Noble men desired them to make an ende, whatsoeuer it were, that day or the next day, which was the last day of July: but they aunswered that they coulde sit no more till October, which aunswere sore displeased the noble men, which the king had sent thether, insomuch that Charles Duke of Suffolke, seyng the delay, gaue a great clap on the Table with hys hand and sayde: by the Masse, now I see that the olde sayde saw is true, that there was neuer Legate nor Cardinall, that did good in Englande, and with that saiyng all the Temporall Lordes departed to the king, leauing the Legates sitting one loking on the other sore astonied, because they saw the Temporall Lordes depart in anger.

The saiyng of Charles Duke of Suffolke.

You may be sure, that the king was not well content, when he heard of this delay, but yet like a wise Prince, he tooke it paciently, trusting to haue an ende in October ensuyng: But when he heard tell, that a letter was sent for the Cardinall Campeius, that he should with speede, returne into Italy, and that he prouided for his iorney: Then he openly perceiued, that the Legates dissimuled the time to haue the matter in the Courte of Rome, for the maynteinaunce of their authoritie, knowyng perfitely, that there he should be foded forth with argumentes so long that he should be in maner wery, and also all that time, he shoulde be vnquyet in his conscience, which was the greatest care, that he had, but the second care that he tooke, was to see the Cardinall of Yorke (whome he so highly fauored and trusted, and whome he had so highly promoted, both to the Archbishopricke of Yorke, and the Bishoprickes of Wynchester, Bureme, and the Abbey of saint Albons, with many other great dignities and promotions, beside the Chauncellorship of Englande) so vnfaithfully to dissimule with him, and not to open the very truth, which caused him clerely to cast him out of his fauor, in the which he had long bene.

The promotions giuen to the Cardinall of Yorke.

When

The king frowning vpō the Cardinall euery man was in his necke.

When the Nobles and Prelates perceiued, that the kinges fauor was from the Cardinall sore minished, euery man of the kinges Counsayle, began to lay to him such offences, as they knew by hym, and all their accusations were written in a Booke, and all their handes set to it, to the number of thirtie and foure, which Booke they presented to the kyng. When the king saw the Booke he marueiled not a little, for by the articles conteyned in the same, he euidently perceaued the high pride and coueteousnesse of the Cardinall, and saw openly with what dissimulation and clokyng, he had handled the kings causes: how he with fayre lying wordes, had blinded and defrauded the king, most vntruly, which accusations sore moued the king agaynst hym, but yet he kept it close for a time, and so the king rode on his progresse with the Quene to Woodstock. And at the feast of the natiuitie of our Lady, he came to Grafton, beside Stony Stratford, and thether came the two Legates, and were but meanly receyued, sauing that the king made to them good semblaunce, and in especiall to Cardinall Campeius, because he came into England at his request: and after dinner the saide Campeius toke his leaue of the king, and then the king him conueied to the Chamber dore, and there they departed, and the Cardinall of Yorke also went with his companyon to Tocester, and on the morrow he came to Grafton to speake with the king, which was then ryding out on huntyng, and he sent him worde by Henry Norreis, that he should accompany Campeius to London, and when the king came to London, he woulde more common with him: thus almost dismayed the Cardinall of Yorke, returned to his companyon to Tocester, and so they came together to London, where to the Cardinall Campeius, were deliuered great rewardes, and so he tooke his iorney toward the Sea side, where the kinges counsayle, caused his chestes and cariages to be opened to se what letters the Cardinall of Yorke had sent to the court of Rome, and there were but a fewe letters founde, for they were sent before in poste, but in many chestes were founde, olde hosen, olde coates, and such vile stuffe, as no honest man would cary to haue it, which search much displeased Campeius, and the more because his coffers were likewise opened in Cheape, by the rashnesse of a Moyle, as you haue heard in the tenth yere of the king.

Thus departed out of England in high displeasure, the craftie Cardinall Campeius, leauing behinde him his subtill felowe, which after their departing from the kyng at Grafton, neuer saw the king, nor came in hys presence. This great Session of the Legates, was communed of through Christendom, and in especially in Spayne, and other the Emperors dominions, which sore grudged that the Quene should be diuorsed from the king: and surely the most part of the lay people of Englande, which knew not the law of God, sore murmured at the matter, and much the more, because there was a Gentlewoman in the court, called Anne Bulleyne, daughter to Sir Thomas Bulleyne, Viscount Rochefort, whome the King much fauored in all honestie, and surely none otherwise, as all the world well knew after.

The last time the Cardinall came to the kinges presence.

The king now beginneth to fauor Lady Anne Bulleyn.

The king which all the .xx. yere past, had bene ruled by other, and in especiall by the Cardinall of Yorke, began now to be a ruler and a king, yea, a king of such witte, wisedome, and pollicie, that the like hath not reigned ouer this realme, as you shall plainely perceyue hereafter: as well for the setting forth of true doctrine, as also for the augmentation of his Crowne. For when

when he perceyued, how the Cardinalles had handeled him, and saw plainly that the law of God was clere, that he might not marry his brothers wyfe, thought to sende his Ambassadors to all the Vniuersities in Fraunce, and Italy, to know their determinatiōs, and for that cause he sent Doctor Stokesley, and Doctor Foxe, two great Clerkes into Fraunce, which sped as you shall heere hereafter declared, when the matter serueth.

The king beginneth to rule.

The king continually studying on this matter, called a counsaile of the chiefe of his Nobles, to begin at Westminster, the first day of October next ensuyng, and also commoned a Parliament, to begin the thirde day of Nouember, then immediatly folowyng, and declared that the same Counsaile, should deuise diuers actes, necessary and needefull to be passed at the sayde Parliament, for reformation of certain exactions, done by the Clergie to the lay people, to which Counsaile and Parliament, the Cardinall was warned and commoned, which much comforted him, that he outwardly little abashed: and so he and all the Counsaile, came to the counsaile Chamber at Westminster, and there dyuers dayes commoned of diuers thinges, but nothing was fully concluded, and there the Cardinall shewed himselfe, much more humbler then he was wont to be, & the Lordes shewed themselues more higher and straunger, then they were wont to be, but for all that he abashed not hys countenaunce, but came into Westminster Hall with all his traine, the first day of the Terme: but none of the kinges seruauntes would go before, as they were wont to do, and so he sate in the Chauncery, but not in the Starre Chamber, for all the Lordes and other the kinges Counsaile, were gone to Windsore to the king, where they enformed the king, that all thinges that he had done almost, by his power Legantine, were in the case of the Premunire and prouision: and that the Cardinall had forfeited all his landes, tenemēts, goodes, and cattayles to the king: Wherefore the king willing to order him, according to the order of his lawes, caused his attournay Christopher Hales to sue out a Writte of Premunire agaynst hym, in the which he licenced him to make an attourney.

The Cardinalles pride abated.

The Cardinall in the Premunire.

And farther, the .xviij. day of Nouember, he sent the two Dukes of Norfolk & Suffolk, to his place at Westminster, to fetch away the great Seale of England, which he was loth to deliuer, if there had bene any remedy, but in cōclusion he deliuered it to the two Dukes, which deliuered the same to Doctor Taylor maister of the Rolles, to carry it to the king, which so did the next day: and beside this ꝑ king sent sir William Fitzwilliam knight of the garter, and treasurer of his house, and doctor Stephin Gardiner, newly made secretary, to see that no goodes should be embesiled out of his house: and further ordeined that ꝑ Cardinal should remoue to Asher beside Kingston, there to tary the kings pleasure, and to haue all things deliuered to him, which were necessary for him, but not after his old pompeous & superfluous fashion: For all his goodes were seazed to the kinges vse. When the seale was thus taken from the Cardinall, the Dukes of Norffolke & Suffolke, with many Erles, bishops, and Barons, came into the Starre Chamber, the .xix. day of October, wher the Duke of Norffolke declared that the kinges highnesse, for diuers and sundrie offences, had taken from him the great Seale, and deposed him of all offices, & least that men might complaine for lacke of iustice, he had appoynted him and the Duke of Suffolke, with the assent of the other lords

to

to sit in the Starre Chamber, to heere and determine causes indifferently, and that of all things the kings pleasure and commaundement was, that they should keepe their handes close, from any rewardes taking, or maintenance, and so that weeke they sat in the Starre Chamber, and determined causes.

The Cardinall remoueth from Yorke place.

On the day of the same moneth, the Cardinall remoued out of his house called Yorke place, with one Crosse, saying, that he would he had neuer borne more, meaning that by his Crosse, that he bare as Legate, which degree taking was his confusion, as you see openly, and so he tooke his barge and went to Putney by water, and there tooke his horse, and rode to Asher, where he remayned till Lent after.

During which time, he beeing called on for an answere in the kinges Benche, to the Premunire, for geuing benefices by preuension, in disturbaunce of mennes enheritaunce, and diuers other open causes in the Premunire: he according to the kinges licence, constituted John Scute, and Edmond Jenny, apprentices of the Lawe, his attournayes, which by hys awne warrant signed with his hand, confessed all things concerning the said suite, for they were to open to be cloked or hidden, and so iudgement was geuen, that he should forfeyt all his landes, tenementes, goodes, and Catelles and should be out of the kinges protection, but for all that the king sent hym a sufficient protection: and of his gentlenesse left to him the Bishoprikes of Yorke and Winchester, and gaue to him plate and stuffe conuenient for hys degree, and the Bishoprike of Duresme, he gaue to Doctor Tunstall Bishop of London, and the Abbey of Saint Albones, he gaue to the Prior of Norwich, and to London he promoted Doctor John Stokesley, then Ambassador to the Vniuersities, for the kinges mariage, as you haue heard before. For all these kindnesse shewed to the Cardinall, yet he still maligned against the king, as you shall perceyue hereafter, by his vntrue doynges, whiche brought him to confusion.

Sir Thomas Moore made Chancelour.

The .xxiij. day of October, the king came to his manor of Grenewich, and there muche consulted with his Counsaile, for a meete man to be his Chauncelor, so that in no wyse he were no man of the spiritualtie, and so after long debate, the king resolued himselfe vpon sir Thomas Moore knight, Chauncelor of the Duchie of Lancaster, a man well learned in the tongues, and also in the common Lawe, whose witte was fine, and full of imaginations, by reason wherof, he was to much geuen to mocking, which was to his grauitie a great blemish. And then on the Sunday the .xxiiij. day of the same moneth, the king made him his Chauncelour, and delyuered him the great Seale, which Lorde Chancelour the nexte morrowe after, was ledde into the Chauncerye, by the two Dukes of Norffolk and Suffolk, and there swore, and then the Mace was borne before him

A Parliament.

Thys yere the king of Englande began his high Court of parliament, the thirde day of Nouember. On which day he came by water to his place of Bridewell, and there he and his nobles put on their robes of parliament, and so came to the blacke Friers Church, where a Masse of the holye ghost was solemply song by the kinges Chapell, & after the Masse, the king, with all the Lords of the parliament, and commons which were sommoned to appere at that day came into the parliament chamber, where the king sat in hys Throne or seat royall, and syr Thomas Moore his Chauncelour standing

ding on the right hande of the king behinde the barre made an eloquent oration, declaring that like as a good Shepheard, which not alonely keepeth and attendeth well his sheepe, but also foreseeth and prouideth for all thing, which eyther may be hurtfull or noysome to his flock, or maye preserue and defende the same agaynst all perilles that may chaunce to come, so the king which was the Shepheard, ruler, and gouernour of his realme, bigilantly foreseing things to come, cõsidered how diuers lawes before this time were made now by long continuaunce of time and mutation of thinges, verie insufficient, and vnperfite, and also by the frayle condition of man, diuers new enormities were sprong amongs the people, for the which no lawe was yet made to reforme the same, which was the very cause why at that time the king had sommoned his high Court of Parliament: and he resembled the king to a Shepheard, or Heardman for this cause, for if a prince be compared to his riches, he is but a riche man, if a prince be compared to hys honour, he is but an honorable man: but compare him to the multitude of hys people and the number of his flock, then he is a ruler, a gouernour of might and puyssaunce, for that his people maketh him a prince, as of the multitude of sheepe, commeth the name of a Shepherd: as you see that amongst a great flock of sheepe some be rotten and fautie, which the good Shepheard sendeth from the good sheepe, so the great weather which is of late fallen as you all know, so craftely, so scabbedly, ye & so vntruly iuggeled with the king, that all men must needes gesse and thinke that he thought in himselfe, that he had no wit to perceiue his crafty doing, or else that he presumed that the king would not see nor know his fraudulent iuggeling and attemptes: but he was deceiued, for his graces sight was so quick and penetrable, that he sawe him, yea and sawe through him, both within and without, so that all thing to him was open, and according to his desert he hath had a gentle correction, which small punishment the king will not to be an example to other offendors, but clerely declareth that whosoeuer hereafter shall make like attempt or cõmit like offence, shal not escape with like punishmẽt. And because you of the common house be a great multitude, and cannot speake all at one time: Therefore the kings pleasure is, that you shall resort to the nether house, and there amongst your selues according to the olde and auncient custome to chose an able person to be your common mouth and speaker, and after your election so made to aduertise his grace thereof, which will declare to you his pleasure what daye he will haue him presented in this place.

An oration made by syr Thomas Moore.

Thomas Audeley chosen speaker.

An Oration.

After this done, the commons resorted to the nether house, and they chose for their speaker Thomas Audeley Esquire and attorney of the Duchie of Lancaster, and the same day was the Parliament adiourned to Westminster. On the .vj. day of the same month the king came into the parliament chamber and all the Lordes in there robes, and there the commons of the nether house presented their speaker, which there made an eloquent oration whiche consisted in two poyntes, the first was, that he muche praysed the king for his equitie and Justice, mixed with mercy and pitty, so that none offence was forgotten and left vnpunished, nor in the punishment the extremitie nor the rigor of the lawe not cruelly extended, which should be a cause to bridle all men from doyng lyke offences, and also a comfort to offendors to confesse there crime and offence, and an occasion of amendment and reconciliation.

conciliation.

The ſecond poynt was, that he diſabled himſelfe, for lack of wyt, learnyng and diſcretion to ſo highe an office, beſeechyng the king to cauſe his commons to reſort eftſones to their common houſe, and there to chooſe an other ſpeaker for that parliament.

To this the king(by the mouth of the Lorde Chauncelour) aunſwered that where he had diſabled himſelfe in wyt and learning, his awne ornate oration there made,teſtified the contrarie,and as touching his diſcretion and other qualities, the king himſelfe had well knowne him and his doyngs,ſith he was in his ſeruice, to be both wiſe and diſcreete, and ſo for an hable man he accepted him, and for the ſpeaker he him admitted.

When the commons were aſſembled in the nether houſe, they began to common of their griefes, wherewith the ſpiritualtie had before time grieuouſly oppreſſed them, both contrarie to the lawe of the realme,and contrarie to all right, and in eſpeciall they were fore moued with fiue great cauſes.

The great charge of the probate of the Teſtament of William Compton.

1 The firſt for the exceſſe fynes, which the ordinaries tooke for probate of Teſtaments, inſomuch that ſyr Henry Guilforde knight of the Garter and Comptroller of the kings houſe, declared in the open Parliament on his fidelitie that he and other, being executors to Sir William Compton knight, payde for the probate of his will to the Cardinall and the Archebyſhop of Caunterburie a thouſand Marke ſterling: after this declaration were ſhewed ſo manye extortions done by ordinaries for probates of willes, that it were to much to rehearſe.

2 The ſecond cauſe was the great polling and extreme exactiõ, which the ſpirituall men vſed in taking of corps, preſentes, or mortuaries,for the children of the defunct ſhould all die for hunger and go a beggyng, rather then they would of charitie geue to them the fiely cow which the dead man ought if he had but onely one, ſuch was the charitie then.

3 The thirde cauſe was, that prieſtes beyng ſurueiors, ſtuardes and officers to Byſhoppes, Abbotes, and other ſpirituall heades, had and occupyed Fermes, Graunges, and graſing in euery countrey, ſo that the poore husbandmen could haue nothing but of them, and yet for that they ſhoulde paye derely.

4 The fourth cauſe was that Abbottes, Priors, and ſpirituall men kept Tanne houſes, and bought and ſolde Woll, clothe, and all maner of Marchaundiſe, as other temporall Marchaunts did.

5 The fift cauſe was becauſe that ſpirituall perſons promoted to great benefices, and hauing their lyuing of their flock, were lyyng in the Court in Lordes houſes, and tooke all of the pariſhoners, and nothing ſpent on them at all, ſo that for lack of reſidence both the pore of the pariſhe lacked refreſhyng, and vniuerſally all the pariſhoners lacked preaching, and true inſtruction of Gods worde, to the great perill of their ſoules.

6 The ſixt cauſe was to ſee one prieſt beyng little learned to haue ten or twelue benefices and to be reſident on none, and to knowe many well learned ſcholers in the Vniuerſitie, which were hable to preache and teache, to haue neyther benefice nor exhibition.

These things before this time might in no wiſe be touched nor yet talked of by no man except he would be made an heretike, or leſe al that he had for

for the Byſhoppes were Chauncelors, and had all the rule about the king, ſo that no man durſt once preſume to attempt anye thing contrarie to their proffite or commoditie.

But now when God had illumined the eyes of the king, and that their ſubtill doings was once eſpied: then men began charitably to deſire a reformation, and ſo at this parliament men began to ſhewe their grudges.

Whereupon the Burgeſſes of the parliament appointed ſuche as were learned in the law, beyng of the common houſe, to drawe one bill of the probates of Teſtaments, another for Mortuaries, and the thirde for none reſidence, pluralities, and taking of Fermes by ſpirituall men.

The learned men tooke much payne, and firſt ſet foorth the bill of Mortuaries, which paſſed the common houſe, and was ſent vp to the Lordes.

To thys bill, the ſpirituall Lordes made a fayre face, ſaiyng that ſurely Prieſtes and Curates tooke more then they ſhould, and therefore it were well done to take ſome reaſonable order, thus they ſpake becauſe it touched them little.

But within two dayes after was ſent by the Bill concerning probates of Teſtaments, at the which the Archebiſhop of Caunterburie in eſpeciall,and all other Byſhops in generall both frowned and gruntyd,for that touched there profite, inſomuch as Doctor John Fiſher Byſhop of Rocheſter, ſayde openly in the parliament chamber theſe wordes: my Lordes,you ſee daylie what billes come hether from the common houſe, and all is to the deſtruction of the Church, for Gods ſake ſee what a realme the kingdome of Boheme was,and when the Church went downe,then fell the glory of the kingdome, now with the commons is nothing but downe with the Church, and all this me ſeemeth is for lacke of fayth onely.

The fairyng of John Fiſher Biſhop of Rocheſter.

When theſe words were reported to the comunons of the nether houſe, that the Byſhop ſhould ſay that all their doyngs were for lack of fayth, they tooke the matter grieuouſlye, for they imagyned that the Byſhop eſteemed them as heretikes, and ſo by hys ſlaunderous wordes would haue perſwaded the temporall Lordes to haue reſtrayned their conſent from the ſayde two billes, which they before had paſſed, as you haue heard before.

Wherefore the commons after long debate, determined to ſende the ſpeaker of the parliament to the kings highneſſe,with a grieuous complaint agaynſt the Byſhop of Rocheſter, and ſo on a day when the king was at leyſure,Thomas Audeley the ſpeaker for the commons and thirtie of the chiefe of the common houſe, came to the kings preſence in his palace at Weſtminſter, which before was called Yorke place and there verie eloquently declared what a diſhonour to the king and the realme it was to ſaye that they which were elected for the wyſeſt men of all the Shires, Cities, and Boroughes within the realme of Englande ſhould be declared in ſo noble and open preſence to lack fayth, which was equiualent to ſay, that they were infidels and no chriſtians, as yll as Turkes or Sarasins, ſo that what payne or ſtudie ſoeuer they toke for the common wealth, or what actes or lawes ſo euer they made or ſtabliſhed, ſhould be taken as lawes made by Panyms and heathen people, and not worthy to be kept by chriſtian men: wherefore he moſt humbly beſought the kings highneſſe, to call the ſayde Byſhop before hym and to cauſe him to ſpeake more diſcretly of ſuch a number as was

A complaint made to the king.

in the common house.

The king was not well contented with the saiyng of the Bishop, yet he gently aunswered the speaker, that he would sende for the Bishop and send them worde what aunswere he made, and so they departed againe. After this the king sent for the Archbishop of Cauntorbury, and six other Bishops and for the Bishop of Rochester also, and there declared to him the grudge of the commons, to the which the Bishop aunswered that he ment the doings of the Bohemians was for lacke of fayth, and not the doyngs of them that were in the common house, which saiyng was confirmed by the Bishops being present, which had him in great reputation, and so by that onely saiyng the king accepted his excuse, and therefore sent worde to the commens by sir William Fitzwilliam knight Treasorer of his housholde, which blind excuse pleased the commons nothing at all.

The bishops excuse.

Probate of Testaments.

After this diuers assembles were kept betwene certain of the Lords and certayne of the commons, for the billes of probates of Testamentes, and the mortuaries: the temporaltie layd to the spiritualty there owne lawes and constitutions, and the Spiritualtie sore defended them by prescripyon and vsage, to whome an aunswere was made by a Gentleman of Greyes Inne: the vsage hath euer bene of theues to rob on Shooters hyll, ergo is it lawfull? with this aunswere the spirituall men were sore offended, because there doynges were called robberies, but the Temporall men stoode still by there saiynges, in so much the sayde Gentleman sayd to the Archebishop of Cantorbury, that both the exaction of probates of Testamentes, and the taking of Mortuaries, as they were vsed, were open robbery and theft: after long disputation, the Temporall Lords began to leane to the commons, but for all that, the bylles remayned vnconcluded a while.

The loane releaced.

In the meane season there was a byll assented by the Lordes, and sent downe to the commons, the effect whereof was, that the whole realme by the sayde acte, dyd release to the king, all such sommes of money as he had borrowed of them at the loane, in the fiftene yere of his reigne (as you haue heard before) this byll was sore argued in the common house, but the most parte of the Commons were the kinges seruauntes, and the other were so labored to by other, that the byll was assented to.

When this release of the loane was knowne to the Commons of the Realme, Lorde so they grudged, and spake yll of the whole Parlyament, for almost euery man counted it hys dette, and reconned suerly of the payment of the same, and therefore some made there wylles of the same, and some other did set it ouer to other for debte, and so manye men had losse by it, which caused them sore to murmur, but there was no remedy. The king like a good and discrete Prince, seyng that his commons in the parliament house had released the loane, entending somwhat to requite the same, graunted to them a generall Pardon, of all offences, certayne great offences and debtes onely except: also he ayded them for the redresse of their grieues against the Spiritualty, and caused two new bylles to be made indifferently both for the probate of Testaments & Mortuaries, which billes were so reasonable that the Spirituall Lords assented to them although they were sore against their minds, and in especiall the probate of Testaments sore displeased the Bishops, & the Mortuaryes sore displeased the Persones & Vicars.

After

After these actes thus agreed, the Commons, made another acte for pluralities, of benefices none residence, byyng and sellyng, and taking of fermes by Spirituall persons, which act so displeased the Spiritualty that the Priestes rayled on the Commons of the common house, and called them Heretikes and Scismatikes, for the which diuerse Priestes were punished.

This acte was sore debated aboue in the parliament chamber, and the Lordes spirituall would in no wise consent. Wherfore the king perceyuing the grudge of his Commons, caused eyght Lordes and eyght of his Commons to meete in the Starre Chamber at an after none, and there was sore debating of the cause, insomuche that the Temporall Lordes of the vpper house, which were there, tooke part with the Commons, against the Spirituall Lordes, and by force of reason caused them to assent to the byll with a litle qualifiyng, which byll the next day was wholy agreed to in the Lords house, to the great reioysing of the lay people, and to the great displeasure of the spirituall persons.

During this parliament was brought downe to the commons, the boke of articles which the Lordes had put to the king agaynst the Cardinall, the chiefe articles were these.

Articles proponed against Cardinal Wolsey.

First that he without the kings assent had procured to be a Legate, by reason whereof he toke away the right of all Bishops and spiritual persons.

Item, in all wryting which he wrote to Rome, or any other forreyne Prince, he wrote Ego & Rex meus, I and my king, as who would saye that the king were his seruaunt.

Item, that he hath slaundered the Church of Englande in the Court of Rome, for his suggestion to be a Legat, was to reforme the Church of Englande, which as he wrote was Facta in reprobum censum.

Item, he without the kinges assent, caried the kinges great Seale with him into Flaunders, when he was sent Ambassade to the Emperor.

Item, he without the kinges assent, sent a Commission to sir Gregory de Cassado, knight, to conclude a league betwene the king & the Duke of Farrare, without the kinges knowlege.

Item that he hauyng the Frenche Pockes, presumed to come and breth on the king.

Item, that he caused the Cardinals hat to be put on the kinges coyne.

Item, that he would not suffer the kinges Clarke of the Market, to sit at Saint Albones.

Item, that he had sent innumerable substaunce to Rome, for the obteynyng of his dignities to the great enpouerishment of the realme.

These Articles with many more, were read in the common house, & signed with the Cardinals hand, and was confessed by him: And also there was shewed a writyng sealed with his Seale, by the which he gaue to the king all his moueables and vnmoueables.

On the day of the conception of our Lady before Christmasse, the king at Yorke place at Westminster, in the Parliament tyme, created the Vicount Rochforth Erle of Wilchire, and the Vicount Fitzwater, was created Erle of Sussex, and the Lord Hastynges, was created Erle of Huntyngton.

When all things were concluded in the Parliament house, the king came to the Parliament Chamber the .xvij. daye of December, and there gaue his

royall assent, to all thinges done by the Lordes, and Commons, and so proroged his Court of Parliament, till the next yere.

After the Parliament was thus ended, the king remoued to Grenewich and there kept his Christmasse with the Queene in great triumph: with great plentie of Viandes, and diuers disguysyngs and Enterludes, to the great reioysing of his people.

The king of England beyng aduertised that the Emperor and the Bishop of Rome were together at Bononie, determined to sende thether a solempne Ambassade, both to declare to them the lawe of God, and the determination of the vniuersities, and also to require the Bishop of Rome to doe iustice accordyng to the truth, and also to shewe to the Emperor that the king did not moue thys matter for any displeasure that he bare to him or the Queene his Aunt, but onely for the discharge of his conscience, and for the quietnesse of his realme.

When this purpose was agreed by the kinges counsaile, the king appoynted sir Thomas Bulleyne late created Erle of Wilshire, and Doctor Stokesley elected Bishop of London, and Doctor Edward Lee, his Almoner, two great Clarkes, for his Ambassadors, and with them he sent diuers Doctors both of the law and diuinitie. These Ambassadors made great preparation, & about the beginnyng of Februarie they set forward, and so much they trauailed, that they came to Sauoy where the Duke in the fayre towne of Cambrey, caused them honourably to be receyued and feasted.

So they passed the Mountaynes, and so through the Duchye of Millain, and by long iourneyes they came to Bononie in Lent, where they were honourably receyued by the Maister of the Emperours house, and diuers Lordes and Gentlemen belongyng to the Pope, and within short space the sayd Ambassadors were first conueyed to the Pope, and there declared their message, and shewed the determination of the great Doctors, and famous Vniuersities. Pope Clement which was a man of no learning, but of a great wit, made to them a gentle answere, and sayde that he would heere the matter disputed when he came to Rome, and accordyng to right he would doe iustice. But his intent was all contrary, for he knewe well that if he should geue sentence, that Pope Iuly could not dispence with the breche of Goddes lawe, that then the authoritie of the Court of Rome would little be regarded, and also he feared the Emperors displeasure, if he should geue sentence agaynst his aunte, so that for feare of losyng authoritie, and of the Emperors displeasure, Bishop Clement durst not iudge accordyng to Gods lawe. After they had bene with the Pope, they came to the Emperor, which them gently receyued, and after they had done their message, he answered them, that he in no wise would be agaynst the law of God, and if the court of Rome would adiudge that the matrimonie were not good, he would be content, but he thought all otherwise, for he solicited the Pope and all the Cardinalles which were his friendes to stande by the dispensation, which he iudged to be as strong as Gods lawe. After this answere they tooke their leaue of the Emperor, which the next weeke after departed out of Bononie towarde Almaine in good order of battaile, he himselfe in gilt harnesse, and his Nobles in white harnesse, with rich coates and trappers very curiously beseene.

The Popes answere.

After that the Emperor was gone out of Bononie, the Ambassadors of

of England tooke their leaue of the Bishop of Rome, which went towarde Rome againe, and returned toward England, through the Duchye of Myllain, which were receyued by the Erle Lodouicke, great Counsaylor to the Duke of Millayn, which Erle conducted them through the whole Duchie of Millain, and payed all their charges by the Dukes commaundement. And when these Ambassadors were passed the Mountaynes, they receyued letters from the king, which appoynted the Erle of Wilshire to go Ambassade to the French king, which then lay at Burdeaux making prouision for money for the redemyng of his children: and the Bishop of London was appoynted to go to Padua, and other Vniuersities in Italy to knowe their opinions in the kings case, and the kings Almoner was appoynted to returne into England, and so he did, thus was the ende of this Ambassade.

You haue heard before, howe the Cardinall was attainted in the Premunire, and howe he was put out of the office of the Chauncelor, and lay at Asher: In this Lent season the king by the aduise of his Counsaile licenced him to go into his Diocesse of Yorke, and gaue him commaundement to kepe him in his Diocesse, and not to returne Southward without the kinges speciall licence in writyng.

So he made great prouision to go Northward, and apparailed his seruauntes newly, and bought many costly thinges for his housholde, and so he might well ynough, for he had of the kinges gentlenesse the Bishoprikes of Yorke, and Winchester, which were no small thinges, but at this tyme dyuers of his seruauntes departed from him to the Kinges seruice, and in especiall Thomas Cromwell one of hys chiefe Counsaile, and chiefe doer for hym in the suppression of Abbeys. After that all thinges necessary for his iournay were prepared, he tooke hys iournay northwarde till he came to Southwell, which is in his Diocesse, and there he continued this yere, euer grudging at his fall as you shall heere after: but the landes which he had geuen to his Colleges in Oxford, and Ipswich, were nowe come to the kinges handes, by his attainder in the Premunire, and yet the king of his gentlenesse, and for fauour that he bare to good learnyng, erected again the College in Oxford, and where it was named the Cardinalles College, he called it the kinges College, and endewed it with fayre possessions, and put in new statutes and ordinaunces, and for because the College of Ipswiche was thought to be nothing profitable, therfore he caused that to be dissolued.

Thomas Cromwell came into the kings seruice.

The last Sommer while the peace was treated at Cambray, as you haue heard before, Ferdinando brother to the Emperour, recouered certaine townes which the Turkes had taken from him in Hungry, and put to flight his enemy John de Vainoda, which falsly named himselfe king of Hungary. This Vainoda destitute of all succours fled to Sultan Solimon the great Turke, desiryng him of succour, to recouer Hungary agayne. The Turke beyng glad to haue an occasion to destroy Hungary, assembled a puyssaunt army, and entered into Hungary, and made proclamation, that what towne or Citie would not obey king John as their king, should be put to fyre and swoorde. This proclamation feared the Hungarians, that all in maner yelded themselues subiects to the Vainoda, the Citie of Bude onely except: which at the last was yelded by composition, that they should depart with bag and baggage, but for all their safeconduite signed with the great Turkes hande,

they were firſt robbed of the Janizers, and after that ſhamefully ſlaine.

Cruelty of the Turkes.

When the Turke had thus bene in poſſeſſion, he left there the Vainoda and Lewys great Baſtard ſonne to the Duke of Venice, with fiue thouſand footemen, and two thouſand horſemen, and he with all haſt entered into Auſtrice, where his people committed ſuch cruelty and tiranny, as neuer hath bene heard nor written, for of ſome they put out the eyes, of other they cut of the noſes and eares, of other they cut off the priuie members, of women they cut off the Pappes, and raviſhed Virgins, and of women great with childe, they cut their bellies and brent the children: Beſide this, as they paſſed they brent corne, trees, houſes, and all that would be brent, to make the Countrie deſolate, and at the laſt the. xxij. day of September, the Turkes armie came nie to Vienne, a riche and a famous Citie in Auſtrice. The fame was, that he had two hundred and fiftie thouſand men in his army, and. xxv. thouſand Tentes in the ſight of the Citie.

And foraſmuch as here is a good occaſion geuen ſomewhat to ſpeake of the vile tiranny of the Turkes, and namely for that I haue heard diuers ſay (but I truſt they did not ſo inwardly think, as they outwardly ſpake) that it were no great matter if the great Turke were prince of all Chriſtendome, for we ſhould liue vnder him in a better and quyeter ſtate of life then we do now, into the which error God forbid that any Chriſtian perſon ſhoulde be caried: Therfore the better to expreſſe the mõſterous tyranny of the Turke, I haue here thought meete to ſhew the wordes of Sebaſtian Munſter as he expreſſeth the ſame in his learned booke of Coſmography.

Sebaſtian Munſter deſcribeth the Turkes tirannie.

When (ſayth he) the Turke goeth to warre, he hath alwayes with him a great troupe of people called Marcquynyons, which are byars and ſellers of ſuch priſoners as ſhall fortune to be taken, whome they call Sclaues and bondemen: And alſo there goeth with them a great number of Swordplaiers and Maiſters of Fence. And in hope to haue ſome Sclaues, they do cary with them a great number of cheynes, ſhakles, boltes and couples of Iron, and amonge their cheynes ſome are of ſuch length that they may cary fiftie or three ſcore perſones in one cheyne, and one Villeyn ſhall haue the leading of ſo many.

Marquinion is a byar and ſeller of Chriſtian priſoners, whome they call Sclaues.

These pylferers, I meane the Marcquynions and Swordplayers ſo ſone as any number of priſoners be taken, they ſell and make marchandiſe of them, as they may lawfully do by their law, vpon this condicion that they ſhal pay vnto the Turke the tenth priſoner or Sclaue, and the reſt they may retayne to their vſe and commoditie. They haue no marchaundyſe among them that is of greater trade, nor of greater gayne, then the biyng and ſelling of Sclaues and bondmen. And ſuch priſoners as commeth into the Turkes handes, be they males or females he vſeth them after this ſorte, he ſelleth the aged and rude vnto houſbandmen, and the yong boyes he committeth vnto diuers ſchooles to be taught in ſome artes or craftes, and the yong wenches he ſendeth alſo into certayne places to be taught to ſow and knyt, and ſuch other exerciſes, to the entent that afterward they may ſerue in the common weale more commodiouſly. And firſt he cauſeth them all to deny their fayth and then to be circumciſed: and then are they trayned vp in their ceremonies vnto the which by nature they are ſone drawne, & after he cauſeth them to vnderſtand the lawes of ỹ land. And if there be in them any ſtrength

Biyng and ſellyng of priſoners and bondmen is a great merchandiſe in Turquy.

ſtrength of body and corage of minde, then he cauſeth them to be ſent to the warres and calleth them Janizaries that is deniers of the faith. And if they haue no quicke ſpirite and yet mightie of bodye, then they are brought vp and exerciſed in ſhooting, and haue ſkolemaiſters appoynted to make them excellent therein, and they are forced to render an accompt of their exerciſe with great extremitie, for thoſe which hit not the white, haue ſo many tymes as they miſſe, ſo many laſhes with a whip, and ſome they bring vp in ſwordplaying, and in the exerciſe of other weapons.

The cruell vſage of Mayden children.

The mayden children that are any thing bewtifull are taken to be their Concubynes and Harlots, or at the leaſt to waite and attend vpon them, to whome they commit moſt lothſome and filthie buſineſſe, ſuch as to heare the ſame named would abhorre any honeſt good eare.

The Turkes practiſe all meanes to wynne the Chriſtians to be circumciſed.

When they haue newe ſlaues, they begin with terrible puniſhmentes, and afterwardes with grieuous threatnings, and if that preuayle not, then they vſe gentle wordes and fayre promiſes to procure them to be circumciſed. And as ſoone as they bring that to paſſe, then they vſe them with much more gentleneſſe. And if any attempt to eſcape, the payne of fyre is ordeyned for him. They doe licence the ſlaues wyllingly to mary, but the children that they bring forth are ſolde at the diſcretion of the maiſter, wherefore the wife and ſage be well aduiſed before they marry.

Prieſtes and Gentlemen are cruill intreated of the Turkes.

They doe cruelly intreat thoſe that will not be circumciſed. The eſtate of them which haue no handie crafte is very euill, for they ſhall learne nothing there (except they be circumciſed) wherefore the prieſtes and ſuch as are ſtudentes, and the Gentlemen which haue bene brought vp without occupations, are in the worſt ſtate of all other when they happen into their handes: For the Marcquinion will lay out nothing for them, nor diſpend anye thing vpon them, becauſe when he ſhould ſell them, he knoweth not who wyll geue any thing for them. Theſe are caryed bareheaded, barefooted and almoſt all naked. They drawe them through the froſtes, ſnowes and other the rockes and Mountaynes, both in heate and colde, and they haue neuer reſt vntill they die, or elſe that they chaunce vpon an vnhappie maiſter. There is none ſo bleſſed nor fortunate of what eſtate, age, bewtie or arte ſoeuer he or they be of, that may be ſuffered to go into a lodging, if he chaunce to fall ſick by the high wayes ſide. And if any be ſick, they force him to go on foote, and if he can not, they ſet him vpon an euill fauoured Jade: And if he cannot ryde nor holde faſt, then they binde him ouerthwart the horſe lyke a Male behinde a Saddle. And if he die, then ſuch clothes as he hath vpon him, they pull off and throwe him into the next diche. But to go forward, they doe not onely lead them captiues and priſoners in cheynes (as is afore ſayde) but alſo they manacle their handes with ſuche long Boltes as kepeth the one of them from the other a whole yard ſpace, for feare that one of them ſhould fight with another, and alſo for feare leaſt they ſhould throwe ſtones at their keepers. And when night drayweth on, then alſo they fetter their legges and turne them vpſide downe, ſo that they lye openly in the fieldes gaping into the ayre, and there muſt reſt to abide what weather ſoeuer commeth.

O cruell and vncharitable Turkes.

Vnhngentle and moſte ſhamefull en-

The entertaynment of the women is ſomewhat more gentle: they that are ſtrong, marche afore on fote (but not vnmanacled) and ſuche as are but tender

tertaynment of women kinde.

tender and weake, they set them on horses: And if they be not able to abide the shaking of the horse, they put them into Baskets, and carie them as men carie quick wildfoule: But the night is most grieuous vnto them. For when they are shut vp in close places, they are compelled to suffer the filthie company of the Marcquinions, most beastly to abuse them, for all the night long is heard among them most pittifull cryes and lamentations made by the yong persons as well Males as Females, whome they most wickedly enforce and filthily order, yea they are so vylanous that they spare not their awne little children of fiue or seuen yere of age, so wicked, vyle and prone is that nation vnto that abhominable sinne agaynst nature.

The Turks are most filthy Sodomites.

Allone as daye light commeth, then must they marche forwarde lyke droues of beastes or sheepe, and to the Market they go. The Marchaunts come together and agree vpon a price: But before the Marchaunt paye his money: the slaue shall be striped starke naked that hys maister may see hym, and then he beholdeth all hys members, and gropeth and feeleth all hys ioynts, to see if there be any fault or maime in hym. If the Marchant doe not lyke hym, then is he returned agayne vnto the charge of the Marcquinion. And thus shall he be alwaies vsed vntil such time as a Marchaunt bieth him outright. And when the byer hath bought him, he maye at his pleasure put him to what slauery or grieuous labour he himselfe lust, be it neuer so vyle, and also to vse suche punishment of him, as putting on fetters or collers of yron, and whipping naked with roddes made of Wyers or any other cruell punishment that he can deuyse, not forceing though he die thereof. If any chaunce to be taken with their wiues and family, those the great Lordes doe willingly bie to put them into their deyries, & to haue the ouersight of their groundes, their Vynes and their Pastures, but the children that are borne of them are bond.

The poore Christians are led like beastes to be solde in the Market.

Shamefull Turkes.

And finally, when the Turke hath taken any Prouince of christendome as he hath done to many (if almightie God had bene pleased to the contrary) all the goods of the inhabitaunts, as well moueable as immoueable are his praye and share. And first of all he rooteth out and destroyeth all noble personages, and namely suche as are of the bloud royall. And if he kyll not the Ecclesiasticall ministers, he taketh from them both their goodes and honors and lyuinges, and leaueth them to the wonderment of the worlde, to goe a beggyng.

Tirannous Turkes.

The Turke is bloudy and vnmercifull.

Sermons and preachyng of the Gospell of Christ is vtterly forbidden through all Turky: neither shal it be lawfull for any christian man to beare any office in Turky: Neyther to carie any armes, nor to go appareled lyke a Turke. If any doe rayle or outrage at a christian man, or at Jesu Christ, he must be content and holde his peace. And if any chaunce to talke or common any thing agaynst their religion, the same shall be circumcised in spight of his heart. And if any open their mouth to speake agaynst Mahomet, the same shall be brent quick. The christians doe paye the fourth part of all their fruites, not onely for the rent of their landes, but also for the gayne and profite that they receiue of their handie craftes and occupations. Besides thys, they pay another imposition, which is set vpon them by the polle, for so many heades as euery christian hath in his house, so many Ducates he shall pay yere ly vnto the Turke. If the parents be not able to paye it, then will they take

The Gospell may not be preached in Turquy.

Mahomet is the Turkes Sauior.

Impositions that ye Turk setteth vpon the poore Christians.

take away the children, and sell them to pay that money, and so bring them into seruitude and bondage. The other number that are fast in Chaynes they go from house to house begging their almose, and if by that meanes they cannot get wherewithall to paye, then are they put in perpetuall prison, and neuer more suffered to come abroade. And thus much wryteth Munster of the tyranny of the Turkes.

At the beginning of the siege, the Turke sent certaine to the Lordes of the towne, and willed them to yelde the towne vnto him, and they should depart with bagge and baggage, and if they would kepe it by force, he woulde surely haue it and put them all to the sworde. Now in the Citie was Captaine Duke Philip of Bauier, Erle Palatine of the Rine, and nephew to the Palsegraue elector, a young man of noble courage, and wyth him were twelue thousand Almaynes, and two thousande horsemen, which nothing feared the Turkes threatnynges. The Turke perceiuyng their boldenesse, bent his great ordinaunce, which were three hundreth peeces agaynst the walles, and comaunded the towne to be assaulted: the Turkes gaue a great assault, but the Christen men valiauntly defended them, so that the Turkes were compelled to flie, and many of them were slaine.

The Turke assaulteth the Citie of Vienna.

The fourth day of October, the Turke bent all his ordinaunce agaynst the wall, which so shooke the wall, that all men within supposed that the walles would haue fallen downe, but they did little harme, which was soone amended. The sixt day of October. viij. thousand christen men issued out of the towne, and came where the Turkes Miners were worckyng, and slue a great number and destroyed the mynes. The same day the Turkes gaue a great assault to the Citie: the Christen men valiauntly them defended, and threw downe great loggs, and barres of yron, and slue many Turkes. Thus the Turkes assaulted the Citie a leuen tymes, and so many times they were beaten away, but the great and terrible assault was the. xij. day of October, at the which assault the christen men so valiauntly defended themselues, and slue and hurt so many of the Turkes, that after that day for no commaundement that the Turke could geue, they would no more geue assault.

The Turke perceyued well both the strength of the Citie, and the courage of the Capitaynes within, and also the Winter there was much more colder then in his countries, which sore troubled him & his people, wherefore he called his Counsaile, and concluded to breake vp his siege and to depart, and so the. xiiij. day of October he shot great stones into the Citie all day till night: and about ten of the clocke in the night he caused his tentes to be taken vp, and set fyre on the straw, and such other stuffe, and so remoued all his armie, towarde Bude, saueng fiftie thousand horsemen which taried all the next day behinde, carieng with him a great number of Christian prisoners, which he put to the Mynes, and such other vile seruice. At this siege the Turke lost by murder, sicknesse, and colde, aboue. lxxx. thousand men, as one of his Bassades did after warde confesse.

The number of the turkes that died.

Thus was the Citie of Vienne defended agaynst the great Turke, and al his power, which was to him a great displeasure, and in especially because he neuer besieged Citie before, but eyther it was yelded, or taken.

In this yere the Emperor gaue to the Lorde Mayster of saint Johns of Jerusalem, and his brethren, the Iland of Malta, lyeng betwene Scicile, and

The Ile of Malta first geuen to the

order of the Knightes.

and Barbarie, there to employ themselues on Christes enemies, which lord Maister had no place sure to enhabite there, sith he was put from the Rodes by this Turke that besieged Vienne, as you haue heard before.

1530 22

In this yere, the wilde Irishemen knowyng the Erle of Kildare to be in Englande, entered his lande, and spoyled and brent his Countrie, and diuers other Countries, and the Erle of Ossery beyng the kinges Deputie, made little resistaunce, for lacke of power, wherefore the king sent the Erle of Kildare into Ireland, and with him Sir William Skeuyngton knight, Maister of the kinges ordinaunce, and diuers Gunners with him, which so politikely ordred themselues, that their enemies were glad to offer amends and to treate for truce, & so sir William Skeuyngton the next yere returned into England leauyng there the Erle of Kildare for the kinges deputie.

The Emperour as you haue heard the last yere, passed out of Italy into Germany and was receyued with great honor and triumph into the City of Ausborough or Auguste, where in June were present all the electors and almost all the Princes of the Empire: there was kept a great counsaile, for the Princes of Germanie were of two seuerall opinyons, and of seuerall names, the part that fauored the Pope and all thinges done by his authority were called Catholicall, and the other part which folowed and preached onely the Gospell of Christ were called Euangelicall. Of these and other thinges concerning our fayth there were many counsayles: but Cardynall Campeius the Popes Legat woulde not suffer the Euangelicall persons (whom he called Lutherans) to argue against the Catholicall men (whome the Euangelicall persons called Papistes) least by opening of the scripture the auctority of the Court of Rome should haue bene damned, and therfore the Emperor put of the matter till another time: But this matter was not so let slippe, for of this mocion men so serched the law of God that within a few yeres after, many people refused the Pope for the head of the Churche and forsooke him and his pardons.

Proclamation.

On the. xix. day of September in the Citie of London was made this proclamation. The kings highnesse straightly chargeth and commaundeth that no manner of person of what estate, degre or condicion soeuer he or they be of, do purchase or attempt to purchase from the court of Rome or elsewhere, nor vse and put in execution, diuulge, or publish any thing heretofore within this yere passed, purchased, or to be purchased hereafter, containing matter preiudiciall to the high auctority, iurisdiction and prerogatiue royall, of this his sayd realme, or to the let, hynderaunce or impechment of his graces noble and vertuous entended purposes in the premisses, vppon paine of incurring his highnesse indignation and imprisonment and farther punishment of their bodies for their so doing at his graces pleasure, to the dredfull example of all other.

This proclamation was much mused at, and euery worde of the same well noted. Some sayd that it was because that the Queene had purchased a new Bull for the ratification of her mariage, other saide that it was made because the Cardinall had purchased a Bull to curse the king, if he woulde not restore him to his olde dignities, and that the king should suffer him to correct the spiritualtie and he not to meddle with the same. This inuencion sounded most to the truth as you shall here afterward.

In

In October the riuer of Tiber was of such an heigth that in Rome and other places about Rome almost twelue thousand persons were drowned, and in the next moneth Zelande, Hollande and Brabant were sore noyed with waters, and many people and much cattell were drowned.

The Citie of Rome, and Zeland, Holland & Brabant ouerflowen with great waters.

You haue heard in the last yere, howe the Cardinall of Yorke was attainted in the Premunire, and that notwithstandyng the king had geuen him the Bishoprikes of Yorke and Winchester, with great plentie of substaunce, and had licenced him to lie in his Dioces of Yorke. He being thus in his Dioces grudgyng at his fall, and not remembryng the kinges kindnesse shewed to him, wrote to the Court of Rome, and diuers other Princes letters in reproche of the king, and in asmuch as in him lay, he stirred them to reuenge his cause against the king and his realme, insomuch that diuers opprobrious wordes of the king, was spoken to Doctor Edward Kerne the kinges Orator at Rome, and it was sayde to him that for the Cardinalles sake, the king should haue the worse speede in the suite of his matrimonie. The Cardinall also would speake fayre to the people to winne their hearties, and declared euer that he was vniustly, and vntruely ordered, which fayre speakyng made many men beleue that he sayd true, and to Gentlemen he gaue great giftes to allure them vnto him. And to be had in the more reputacion among the people, he determined to be installed or inthronised at Yorke, with all the pompe that might be, & caused a trone to be erected in the Cathedrall Church in suche an heigth and fashion as was neuer sene, and sent to all the Lordes, Abbottes, Priors, Knightes, Esquiers, and Gentlemen of his Dioces, to be at his manor of Cawod the sixt day of Nouember, and so to bring him to Yorke with all maner of pompe and solemnitie.

The pride of the Cardinal.

The king which knewe his doynges and priuie conueyaunce, all this yere dissimuled the matter to see what he would do at length, till that he sawe his prowde heart so high exalted, that he would be so triumphantly installed, without making the king priuie, yea and in maner in disdaine of the king, thought it not meete nor conuenient to suffer him any lenger to continue in his malicious and prowde purposes and attemptes: wherefore he directed his letters to Henry the sixt Erle of Northumberland, willyng him wyth all diligence to arrest the Cardinall, and to deliuer him to the Erle of Shrewsbury great steward of the kinges housholde: When the Erle had seene the letter, he with a conuenient number came to the Manor of Cawod, the fourth day of Nouember, and when he was brought to the Cardinall in his Chamber, he sayd to him, my Lorde, I pray you take pacience, for here I arrest you. Arrest me sayde the Cardinall, yea sayd the Erle, I haue a commaundement so to do: you haue no such power sayde the Cardinall, for I am both a Cardinall and a Legate de Latere, and a Peere of the College of Rome, and ought not to be arrested by any temporall power, for I am not subiect to that power, wherefore if you arrest me, I will withstand it: well sayde the Erle, here is the kinges Commission (which he shewed him) and therefore I charge you to obey, the Cardinall somewhat remembred himselfe and sayde, well my Lorde, I am content to obey, but although that I by negligence fell into ỹ punishment of the premunire, and lost by the law all my landes and goodes, yet my person was in the kings protection, and I was pardoned that offence, wherefore I maruayle why I nowe should be

The Cardynall arrested.

arrested,

arrested, and specially consideryng I am a member of the sea Apostolike, on whom no temporall man ought to lay violent handes: well I see the king lacketh good Counsaile. Well sayde the Erle when I was sworne Warden of the Marches, you your selfe tolde me, that I might with my staffe arrest all men vnder the degree of a king, and nowe I am more stronger, for I haue a Commission so to do which you haue seene. The Cardinall at length obeyed, and was kept in his priuie Chamber, and his goodes sealed, and his officers discharged, and his Phisition called Doctor Augustine, was lykewise arrested, and brought to the Tower by sir Walter Welshe, one of the kinges Chamber. The sixt day of Nouember he was conueyed from Cawood to Sheffielde Castell, and there deliuered to the Erle of Shrewsburies keepyng, till the kinges pleasure were knowne: Of this attachement was much commonyng amongest the common people, wherefore many were glad, for surely he was not in the fauor of the commonaltie.

When the Cardinall was thus arrested, the king sent Syr Wylliam Kyngston knight, Captayne of the Garde, and Constable of the Tower of London with certaine of the yomen of the Garde to Sheffeld, to fetche the Cardinall to the Tower. When the Cardinall sawe the Captayne of the Garde, he was sore astonnyed and shortly became sick, for then he perceyued some great trouble towarde him, and for that cause men sayde that he wyllyngly tooke so much quantitie of strong purgation that his nature was not hable to beare it: But Syr Wylliam Kyngston comforted him, and by easie iorneys he brought him to the Abbay of Leicester the. xxbij. day of Nouember, where for very feeblenesse of nature caused by purgations and vomites he dyed the second night folowing, and in the same Abbay lyeth buryed. This Cardinall as you may perceyue in thys storie was of a great stomack, for he compted himselfe egall with Princes, and by craftie suggestion gat into his hands innumerable treasure: He forced litle on Symony and was not pittifull and stood affectionate in his owne opinion: In open presence he would lye and say vntruth, and was double both in speech and meaning: He would promise much and performe little: He was vicious of his body and gaue the clergie euill example: He hated sore the Citie of London and feared it: It was tolde him that he should die in the waye toward London, wherefore he feared least the commons of the Citie would arise in riotous maner and so slay him, yet for all that he dyed in the waye toward London. The authoritie of this Cardinall set the Clergie in such a pride that they disdayned all men, wherefore when he was fallen they folowed after as you shall heare.

The Cardinall dead and buried at Leycester

The discription of the Cardinall.

After the Cardinall was deade, the king remooued from Hampton Court to Grenewiche, where he wyth Queene Katheryn kept a solempne Christmas, and on the twelfe night he sat in the hall in his estate, whereas were diuers Enterludes, riche Maskes and disportes, and after that a great Banket. And after Christmasse he came to his Manor of Westmynster, which was called Yorke place, for after that the Cardinall was attaynted in the Premunire and was gone Northwarde, he made a feoffement of the same place to the king, and the Chapiter of the Cathedrall Church of Yorke by their writing confirmed the same feoffement, and then the king chaunged the name and called it the kings Manor of Westminster and no more Yorke place.

The

The whole Clergie of Englande euer supported and mayntayned the power Legantyne of the Cardinall, wherefore the kings counsayle learned sayde plainely that they were in the Premunire, the spirituall Lordes were called by processe into the kings Benche to aunswere, but before their daye of apperaunce they in their Conuocation concluded an humble submission in writyng, and offered the king a hundred thousande pounde to be their good Lorde, and also to geue them a pardon of all offences touchyng the Premunire by act of parliament, the which offer with much labour was accepted, and their pardon promised. In this submission the Clergie called the king supreme head of the Church of Englande, which thing they neuer confessed before, wherevpon many things folowed after as you shall here.

The king first named supreme hed.

When the parliament was begun the sixt day of January, the pardon of the spirituall persons was signed with the kinges hande and sent to the Lordes, which in time conuenient assented to the Bill and sent it to the commons in the lower house, and when it was red, diuers frowarde persons would in no wise assent to it, except all men were pardoned, saiyng that all men which had anye thing to doe with the Cardinall were in the same case: the wyser sort aunswered that they would not compell the king to geue them his pardon, and beside that it was vncharitably done of them to hurt the Clergie, and to doe themselues no good, wherfore they aduised them to consent to the Bill and after to sue to the king for their pardon, which counsaile was not folowed, but they determined first to sende the speaker to the king or they would assent to the Bill, wherevpon Thomas Audely speaker for the commons with a conuenient number of the common house came to the kings presence and there eloquently he declared to the king how the commons sore lamented and bewayled their chaunce to thinke or imagine themselues to be out of his gracious fauour, because that he had graciously geuen his pardon of the Premunire to his spirituall subiects and not to them, wherefore they most humbly besought his grace of his accustomed goodnesse and clemency to include them in the same pardon.

The king wisely answered that he was their prince and soueraigne Lord, and that they ought not to restraine him of his libertie, nor to compell hym to shew his mercy, for it was at his pleasure to vse the extremity of his lawes or mitigate and pardon the same, wherefore sithe they denyed to assent to the pardon of the spirituall persons, which pardon he sayde he might geue without their assent by his great seale, he would be well aduised or he pardoned them, because he would not be noted to be compelled to do it: with this aunswere the speaker and the commons departed very sorowfull & pensiue, and some light persons sayd that Thomas Crumwell which was newly come to the fauor of the king had disclosed the secrets of the commons, which thing caused the king to be so extreme.

The kyng like a good prince considered how sorowfull his Commons were of the aunswere that he had made them, & thought that they were not quyet, wherefore of his owne motion he caused a pardon of the Premunire to be drawne, and signed it with his hand and sent it to the common house by Christopher Hales his atturnay, which Byll was sone assented to. Then the Commons louingly thanked the king and much praysed his great wisedome that he had denied it to them when they vnworthely demaunded it, and

had boutifully graſted it when he perceyued that they ſorowed & lamented.

While the Parliament ſate, on the .xxx. day of Marche at after noone there came into the common houſe the Lord Chauncellor and diuers Lords of the Spiritualtie and Temporaltie to the number of twelue, and there the Lorde Chauncellor ſayde, you of this worſhipfull houſe I am ſure be not ſo ignorant but you know well that the kyng our ſouereigne Lorde hath maried his brothers wife, for ſhe was both wedded and bedded with his brother prince Arthure, and therefore you may ſuerly ſay that he hath maried his brothers wife, if this mariage be good or no many Clerkes do doubte. Wherefore the king like a verteous prince willing to be ſatiſfied in his conſcience and alſo for the ſuertie of his realme hath with great deliberation conſulted with great Clerkes, and hath ſent my Lorde of London here preſent to the chiefe Uniuerſities of all Chriſtendome to knowe their opinion and iudgment in that behalfe. And although the Unyuerſities of Cambrige and Oxford had bene ſufficient to diſcuſſe the cauſe, yet becauſe they be in his realme and to auoide al ſuſpition of partiality, he hath ſent into the realme of Fraunce, Italy the Popes dominions, and Veniſians to knowe their iudgment in that behalfe, which haue concluded, written and ſealed their determinations according as you ſhall here red. Then Sir Bryan Tuke tooke out of a bore twelue writinges ſealed, and read them worde by worde tranſlated out of latin into the Engliſh tongue.

After theſe determinations were read, there were ſhewed aboue an hundred bokes drawne by Doctors of ſtraunge Regions, which all agreed the kinges Maryage to be vnlawfull, which were not red, for the day was ſpent. Then the Chauncellor ſayd: Now you of thys common houſe, may reporte in your countries what you haue ſeene and heard and then all men ſhall openly perceyue that the king hath not attempted this matter of will or pleaſure, as ſome ſtraungers reporte, but onely for the diſcharge of hys conſcyence and ſuertie of the ſucceſſion of his realme: this is the cauſe of our repayre hether to you, and now we will depart.

When theſe determinations were publiſhed, al wiſe men in the realme much abhorred that mariage: but women and ſuch as were more wilfull then wiſe or learned, ſpake againſt the determination, and ſayde that the Unyuerſyties were corrupt and entyſed ſo to do, which is not to be thought. The king himſelfe ſore lamented his chaunce and made no manner of mirth nor paſtime as he was wont to do, and dined and reſorted to the Queene as he was accuſtomed, and miniſhed nothing of her eſtate, and much loued and cheriſhed their daughter the Lady Mary: but in no wiſe he would not come to her bed. When Eſter began to draw nere, the parliament for that time ended, and was proroged till the laſt day of Marche, in the next yere.

The Acte of Poyſoning.

In the Parliament aforeſayde was an act made, that whoſoeuer did poyſon any perſon ſhould be boyled in hote water to the death: which act was made becauſe one Richard Roofe, in the parliament time had poyſoned diuers perſons at the Biſhop of Rocheſters place, which Richard, according to the ſame acte, was boyled in Smythfield the Teneber Wedniſday following, to the terrible example of all other.

In Erthquake.

This wynter ſeaſon, on the .xxvj. day of January, in the Citie of Lurborne in Portingale, was a wonderous Earthquake, which deſtroyed many

my houſes and Towers, and ſlew manye people by the falling downe of the ſame, the kinges pallace ſhooke ſo, that he and the Queene and the Ladies fled out of their Pallace, without any ſeruauntes, and ſought ſuccor where they might get it, and ſodaynly the quaking ceaſſed: Then the Rockes opened, and out ſprang the water, then the ſhippes in the hauen were like to haue periſhed: Then the Earth quaked againe, and did more harme then before, and at night it ceaſſed: By which Earthquake, many men were murthered and deſtroyed.

When the vniuerſitie aforeſayde, and a great number of clerkes and well learned men had determined the kinges mariage to be vnlawfull, deteſtable, and againſt Godes law, as you haue heard, the king wylling the Queene to haue knowledge of the ſame, ſent to her diuers Lordes of the counſayle the laſt day of Maye being the Wedneſday in whitſon weke: the which Lordes, in her chamber at Greenewiche, declared to her all the determination as you haue heard, and aſked her whether ſhe woulde for the quyetneſſe of the kinges conſcience, put the matter to foure Prelates, and foure Temporall Lords of this realme, or abyde by her appele. The Quene aunſwered: the king my father which concluded my mariage, I am ſure, was not ſo ignorant but he aſked counſayle of clerkes and well learned men before he maried me the ſecond time: for if he had had any doubt in my mariage, he would not haue diſburſed ſo great a treaſure as he did, and then all Doctors in manner agreed my mariage to be good, inſomuch that the Pope himſelfe, which knew beſt what was to be done, did both diſpence and ratefie my ſeconde mariage againe whoſe doynges I meruayle that any man wyll ſpeake or write: And as to the determination of the Uniuerſitie, I am a woman and lack wyt and learnyng to aunſwere to them, but to God I commit the iudgement of that, whether they haue done iuſtly or partially: for this I am ſure, that neyther the kinges father, nor my father would haue condiſcended to our mariage, if it had beene declared to be vnlawfull: and where you ſaye that I ſhould put the cauſe to eyght perſons of this realme for quyetneſſe of the kings conſcience, I praye God ſende his grace a quyet conſcience: and thys ſhall be your aunſwere: That I ſay I am hys lawfull wyfe, and him lawfully maryed, and by the order of the holy Church I was to him eſpouſed as his true wyfe, although I was not ſo worthy, and in that point I will abide till the Court of Rome which was prime to the beginning haue made thereof a determination and finall ending. With thys aunſwere the Lordes departed to the king, which was ſorie to heare of her wilfull opinion, and in eſpeciall that ſhe more truſted to the Popes lawe, then in keeping the precepts of God.

Meſſage ſent to the Quene

The king like a politique prince, perceiued that the Marchant ſtraungers, and in eſpeciall Italyans, Spanyards & Portyngales daylie brought Wade, Oyle, Silke, Clothes of Golde, Veluet, and other Marchaundiſe into this realme, and therefore receyued readie money, which money they euer deliuered to other Marchaunts by exchaunge, and neuer employed the ſame money on the cõmodities of this realme, ſo that thereby the king was hyndered in his cuſtome outwarde, and alſo the commodities of his realme were not vttered, to the great hinderaunce of his ſubiectes: wherefore he cauſed a proclamation to be made in Midſommer Terme, according to an olde

A proclamation of Exchaunge.

olde Estatute made in the time of king Rychard the second: That no person should make any exchaunge contrarie to the true meaning of the same Act and Estatute, vpon payne to be taken the kings moztall enemie, and to forfept all that he might forfept. After thys proclamation, many clothes and other commodities of this realme were well solde, but shortly after Marchauntes fell to exchaunge agayne, and the Proclamation was shortlye forgotten.

The king and the Queene after Whytsontide remoued to Windsore, and there contynued tyll the. xiiij. day of July, on which day the king remoued to Woodstock and left her at Wyndsore, where she laye a whyle, and after remoued to the Moore, and afterward to Estamstede: and after this day the king and shee neuer sawe together. Wherefore the common people daylie murmured and spake their foolishe fantasies. But the affayres of princes be not ordered by the common people, nor it were not conuenient that al things were opened to them.

The king sendeth certayne Lords to the Queene to perswade her to consent to the dewozcement.

After this the king sent certayne Lozds to the Queene to Estamstede, to aduise her to be confirmable to the lawe of God, and to shewe vnto her, that all the Uniuersities had cleerely determined, that the Pope could in no wise dispence with her mariage, and therefore the dispensation to which the most trusted of all, was clerely voyde and of none effect. These, with many mo causes and aduisements were declared to her, which nothing moued her at all, but still she sayde: Truely I am the kings true wyfe, and to him maryed: and if all Doctors were dead, or law, or learning so farre out of mans minde at that time of our mariage, yet I can not thinke that the Courte of Rome, and the whole Churche of Englande would consent to a thing vnlawfull and detestable (as you call it) but still I say I am his wife, and for him will I pray. With this aunswere the Lordes departed, and came to the king and made report as you haue heard.

This mariage was not alonely talked of in Englande, but in Fraunce Spayne, Italy, yea, through all christendome in maner, and especially in the Emperours Court, in so much as a great Marques of Spaine sayde to Syr Nicholas Haruy knight being the kings Ambassador in the Emperors Court at Gaunt: My Lorde Ambassador of England, I marualye not a little why the king your maister dalyeth so with the Emperours Aunte, shee is discended I assure you of a noble bloud, and high parentage, the Emperours Maiestie maye not nor will not suffer such iniurie to be done to hys bloud and lynage, that she should whole.xxij. yeres and more serue him as his wyfe and bedfelow, and nowe to reiect her, what princely maner is that, therein is neyther loue nor loyaltie: For if a poore berlet had so long serued a Prince, what heart could he haue then reiected him or put him from him: it can not be sayd that your king is well counsayled: the matter is much marualed at amongest Christian Princes, and thinke her not to be honestly handeled nor honorably: And if it be so that she be not his wife (because shee was once his brothers wyfe) as your Doctors say and affirme, then no man can excuse your king nor say but that she hath beene euill handeled, and kept like a Concubine or Paramour for the bodily appetite, which is a great spot, shame and rebuke to her, and to her whole lynage, which spot no waies can be sponged out nor recompenced, for shame in a kyndred can by no treasure be

be redemed: If the king your maister remember well this matter, he shall fynde that it transcendeth farre aboue the losse of earthly possessions, I would he would be better aduised.

An Answere.

The Englishe Imbassadour aunswered: My Lorde, my commission extendeth not to aunswere this matter, but to enforme you of the truth, I will somewhat say beside my commission: First I say to you, that the king my maister neuer ment in this matter but honorably, truly, and vertuously, both for the pleasure of God and the profite and suretie of his realme, nor neuer was nor will be any Prince that euer was better contented and pleased with a woman then he hath bene with her, nor neuer prince more loued, cherished, nor honoured a woman then the king my maister hath done her, and would with heart, minde, and will her still keepe as hys wyfe, if Gods lawe would suffer it: My Lorde if you remember well all thyng, you shall finde that this doubt was first moued in the counsayle of Spayne, when the Emperour and the king of Englande were agreed, that the Emperour should marry the Ladie Marie the kings daughter: Upon that communication this doubt was put to the Emperours counsayle, whether shee were the kings lawfull daughter or not, because that it was well knowne that he had maryed his brothers wyfe.

This matter was not so secret but it spred into the counsayle both of Fraunce and Flaunders to the great defamation of the king of Englande, and to the great vncertainetie of the succession of his realme, whereof when he was aduertised, I thinke neuer prince tooke it more sorowfully nor more heauily, and for satisfying of his conscience, he called his Clergie and felt their opinions, and not trusting his awne subiectes only (which I ensure you be excellently learned) sent to all the Uniuersities of Fraunce, Italy, and dyuers other realmes to knowe their iudgements in this case, and surely the king my mayster sore lamenteth this chaunce, and bewayleth the tyme mispent if it so succeede, for then is his realme destitute of a lawfull heyre begotten of his bodie, which is the greatest displeasure that maye come to a prince: the mariage was well ment both of the kings father and the Queenes Father, and they maryed together by the aduise and counsayle of their friendes, and louingly continued together as man and wyfe without any scruple or doubt, tyll you of Spayne mooued first the question and put the mariage in ambiguitie, and therefore you cannot with honour thinke but that the king hath done lyke a wise prince to searche out the solution of your doubt, which so neere toucheth his soule and the suretie of his realme: And all thing that he hath done, he hath done by great aduisement, and with a great deliberation, wherefore no reasonable man can saye but he hath done lyke a wise and vertuous prince. The Marques hearing thys aunswere sayde, that the king did wisely to trie the truth, and was somewhat ashamed of that that hee had spoken, as I was enformed by them that were present.

The Clergie graunted to the king frankly of themselues one hundred thousande pounde, to be pardoned of the Premunire.

You haue heard before how the Clergy in their conuocation had graunted to the king the somme of one hundred thousand pounde to be pardoned of the Premunire: for leuying of the which somme, euery Bishop in hys Dioces called before hym all the Priestes as well Chauntrie and parysshe Priestes, as Persones and Vycars, amongst whome Doctor John Stokesley

ley Bishop of London, a man of great wyt and learning, but of litle discretion and humanytie (which caused hym to be out of the fauor of the common people) called before him all the Priestes within the Citie of London, whether they were Curates or Stipendaries, the first day of Septēber beyng Fryday, in the Chapiter house of saynt Paull, at which day the Priestes appered, and the Bishoppes policie was to haue onely six or eyght priestes together, and by perswation to haue caused them to graunt some portion toward the payment of the foresayde one hundreth thousand pounde, but the number of the priestes was so great, for they were six hundred at the leaste, and with them came many Temporall men to heare the matter, that the Bishop was disapointed of his purpose: for when the Bishops Officers called in certaine priests by name into the Chapiter house: with that a great number entred, for they put the Bishops Officers that kept the doore a side. After this the Officers got the doore shut agayne: then the priestes without sayde: We wyll not be kept without, and our fellowes be within: we knowe not what the bishop will doe with them. The Temporall men beyng present stomoked and comforted the priestes to enter, so that by force they opened the doore, and one strake the Bishoppes Officer ouer the face and entred the Chapiter house, and many Temporall men with them, and long it was or any silence coulde be made: at last when they were appeased, the Bishop stood vp and sayd: Brethren, I marualye not a litle why you be so heddy and know not what shal be said to you, therfore I pray you to kepe silence and to heere me paciently: My friendes all, you know well that we be men fraple of condicion and no Angelles, and by fraylty and lacke of wisedome we haue misdemeaned our selues toward the king our Souereigne Lorde and his lawes, so that all we of the Clergy were in the Premunire, by reason wherof, all our promotions, landes goodes, and Catelles, were to hym forfayte and our bodyes ready to be emprisoned, yet his grace moued with pitie and compassion, demaunded of vs what wee coulde say why he shoulde not extend hys lawes vpon vs, then the fathers of the Clergye humbly besought hys grace of mercye, to whome he aunswered that he was euer enclyned to mercy: then for all our great offences we had litle penaunce, for where he might by rigor of his law haue taken all our liuelod, goodes and Catelles, he was contented with one hundred. M. poundes to be payde in fiue yeres: and although that this somme be more then we may easly beare, yet by the rygor of his lawes we shoulde haue borne the whole burden: Wherfore my brethren, I charitably exhorte you to beare your partes of your liuelod and salary towarde the payment of this somme graunted. Then it was shortly sayde to the Bishop: My Lorde twentie nobles a yere is but a bare liuing for a priest, for now wittaile and euery thing in maner is so dere, that pouertie in maner inforceth vs to say nay: beside that, my Lorde we neuer offended in the Premunire, for we neuer medled with the Cardinalles faculties, let the Bishops and Abbottes which haue offended pay. Then the Bishops officers gaue to the priestes high wordes, which caused them to be the more obstinate. Also diuers temporall men which were present comforted the priestes, and bade them agree to no payment. In this rumor, diuers of the Bishops seruauntes were buffyted and striken so that the Bishop began to be afrayde, and with fayre wordes appeased the noyse, and for all thinges which

The bishops saying.

which were done or sayde, there he pardoned them and gaue to them hys blessyng, and prayed them to depart in charitie. And then they departed thinkyng to heare no more of the matter, but they were decepued, for the Bishop went to sir Thomas Moore then beyng Lorde Chauncelor (which greatly fauoured the Bishop, and the Clergie) and to him made a grieuous complaint and declared the fact very grieuously, wherevpon commaundement was sent to sir Thomas Pargitor Maior of the Citie, to attache certaine priestes and temporall men, and so. xv. priestes, and fiue temporall men were arrested, of the which, some were sent to the Tower, some to the Fleete, and other prisons, where they remayned long after.

In this season were diuers preachinges in the realme, one contrary to another concernyng the kings mariage, and in especiall one Thomas Abell Clerke, both preached and wrote a Booke, that the mariage was lawfull, which caused many simple men to beleue his opinion: This Abell was the Queenes Chaplaine, and wrote this booke to please her withall: Wherfore the king caused a determination of the Vniuersities, and all the iudgements of great Clerkes to be compyled into a Booke, and to be printed, whiche Bookes did satisfie the myndes of all indifferent and discrete persons: But some men were partiall, that neyther learnyng, nor reason could satisfie their wilfull myndes.

Thomas Abell.

This yere the king kept his Christmasse at Greenewich with great solemnitie, but all men sayde that there was no mirth in that Christmasse, because the Queene and the Ladies were absent.

After Christmasse, the. xv. day of January the Parliament began to sit and amongest diuers griefes which the Commons were grieued with, they sore complayned of the crueltie of the Ordinaryes, for callyng men before them Ex officio: that is, by reason of their office: For the Ordinaries would send for men, and lay accusations to them of Heresie, and saye they were accused, and lay Articles to them, but no Accuser shoulde be brought foorth, which to the Commons was very dreadefull and grieuous: for the party so sued must either abiure or be burned, for Purgation he might make none.

A Parliament.

When this matter and other Exactions done by the Clergie in theyr Courts were long debated in the common house, at the last it was concluded and agreed, that all the griefes which the temporall men were grieued with, should be put in writyng, and deliuered to the king, which by great aduice was done: Wherefore the. xviij. day of March the Common speaker accompanied with diuers Knightes and Burgesses of the Common house, came to the kinges presence, and there declared to him how the Temporall men of his realme were sore agrieued with the cruell demeanour of the prelates and Ordinaries, which touched both their bodies and goodes, al which griefes, the Speaker deliuered to the king in writyng, most humbly beseeching his grace to take such an order and direction in that case, as to his high wisdome might seeme most conuenient. Further he beseeched the king to consider what paine, charge and cost, his humble subiectes of the nether house had sustayned sith the begynnyng of this Parliament, and that it would please his grace of his Princely benignitie to dissolue his Court of Parliament, that his subiectes might repayre into their Countries.

The speaker of the parliament in the name of the commons beseecheth the king certaine articles against the Clergie.

When the king had receyued the supplication of the Commons, he pawsed

The kinges saying.

sed a while, and then sayde: it is not the office of a king which is a Judge to be to lyght of credence, nor I haue not, nor will not vse the same: for I will heare the partie that is accused speake or I giue any sentence: your Booke conteineth diuers articles of great and weightie matters, and as I perceiue it is agaynst the Spirituall persons and prelates of our Realme, of which thing you desyre a redresse and a reformation, which desire and request is meere contrariaunt to your last petition: For you require to haue the parliament dissolued and to depart into your countries, and yet you would haue a reformation of your griefes with all diligence. Although that your paines haue bene great in tarying, I assure you mine hath bene no lesse then yours, and yet all the payne that I take for your wealthes, is to me a pleasure: therfore if you will haue profite of your complaint, you must tary the tyme, or else to be without remedie: I much commend you that you will not contend nor stand in strife with the Spirituall men, which be your Christen brethren but much more me thinketh that you should not contend with mee, that am your souereigne Lorde and king, consideryng that I seeke peace and quietnesse of you: For I haue sent to you a Bill concernyng wardes and primer seasons, in the which thinges I am greatly wronged: Wherefore I haue offered you reason as I thinke, yea, and so thinketh all the Lordes, for they haue set their handes to the Booke: Therefore I assure you, if you will not take some reasonable ende nowe when it is offered, I will search out the extremitie of the law, and then will I not offer you so much againe: With this aunswere, the Speaker and his companie departed. The cause why the king spake these wordes was this: Dayly men made Feoffements of their landes to their vses, and declared their willes of there landes with such remainders, that not alonely the king, but all other Lordes lost their Wardes, Mariages, and reliefes, and the king also lost his primer seasons, & the profite of the lyuerey, which was to him very preiudiciall, & a great losse: wherfore he, like an indifferent Prince, not willyng to take all, nor to lose all, caused a Bill to be drawen by his learned counsaile, in the which was deuised, that euery man might make his will of the halfe of his land, so that he left the other halfe to the heyre by discent. When this Bill came first amongest the Commons, Lord how the ignorant persons were grieued, and how shamefully they spake of the Bill, and of the kinges learned Counsaile: But the wyse men which vnderstoode & saw the mischiefe to come, would gladly haue had the Bill to be assented to, or at the least to haue put the king in a suretie of the thirde or fourth part, which offer I was credibly informed the king would haue taken: But many frowarde and wilfull persons, not regarding what might ensue (as it did in deede) woulde neither consent to the Bill as the Lordes had agreed & set to their handes, nor yet agree to no reasonable qualification of the same, which afterward they sore repented: For after this, the king called the Judges, and best learned men of his realme, & they disputed this matter in the Chauncery, and agreed that lande could not be willed by the order of the Common lawe: Wherevpon an act was made, that no man might declare his will of no part of his lande: which Act sore grieued the Lordes and Gentlemen that had many children to set foorth. Therefore you may iudge what mischiefe commeth of wilfull blindnesse, and lacke of foresight in so great causes.

Note here what it is to stand with a Prince.

This

This Parliament was prorogued till the tenth day of Aprill, in the which Parliament was an Act made, that Bishoppes should pay no more Annates or money for their Bulles to the Pope: for it was openly proued, that there was paide for the Bulles of Bishops, since the fourth yere of king Henry the seuenth, the kinges father, till this yere, one hundreth. lx. thousande pounde sterlyng, beside all other Dispensations, and pardons, whereof the summe was incredible.

Bulles of Rome carryed great treasure out of England.

When the Parliament was begonne againe after Easter, there came downe to the Common house the Lorde Chauncelor, the Dukes of Norfolke and Suffolke, the Erles of Arundell, Oxford, Northumberland, Rutland, Wilshire, and Sussex, and after they were set, the Lorde Chauncelor declared, how the king was aduertised by his Counsaile, and in especiall by the Duke of Norffolke, how on the Marches betwene England and Scotland was very little habitation on the Englishe syde, but on the Scottish side was great habitation, and the Scottes dwelled euen iust on the Border, by reason whereof they inuaded Englande diuers tymes, and did to the kinges subiectes great hurt, and displeasure: Wherefore the king intended to make dwellyng houses there, and also to make newe diuers pyles and stoppes to let the Scottishe men from their inuasions, to the great commoditie of all his people there dwellyng, which things could not be done without great cost: Wherefore consideryng the kinges good entent, he sayde that the Lordes thought it conuenient to graunt to the king some reasonable aide toward his charges, and prayed the Commons to consult on the same, and then he and all the Lordes departed.

After their departure, the Commons consideryng the kinges good entent, louyngly graunted to him a fiftene toward his charges, but this graūt was not enacted at this Session, because that sodainly became a Pestilence in Westmynster, wherefore the Parliament was prorogued till the next yere.

In this yere was an olde Tolle demaunded in Flaunders of Englishe men, called the Tolle of the Hounde, which is a Riuer and a passage: The Tolle is. xij. pence of a Fardell. This Tolle had bene often tymes demaunded but neuer payed: insomuch that king Henry the seuenth, for the demaūd of that Tolle prohibited all his subiectes to kepe any Mart at Andwarpe or Barow, but caused the Martes to be kept at Calice: at which tyme it was agreed that the sayde Tolle should neuer be demaunded, so that the Englishe men would resort againe into the Dukes Countrie, and after that, it was not demaunded till nowe: Wherefore the king sent Doctor Knight, and other to Calice, and thether came the Emperours Commissioners, and the matter was put in suspence for a tyme.

Tolle of the Hounde.

Ye haue heard before how the king had purchased the Bishop of Yorkes place, which was a fayre Bishoppes house, but not meete for a king: Wherfore the king purchased all the Medowes about saint James, and all the whole house of saint James, and there made a fayre Mansion and a Parke, and buylded many costly and commodious houses for great pleasure, which now is called saint James house.

The buylding of the kynges house called Saint James.

In the beginning of this yeare, the Lady Anne Bulleyne was so much in the kings fauour, that the common people which knewe not the kinges true entent, sayde and thought that the absence of the Quene was onely for her

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Lady Anne Bulleine.

her sake, which was not true: for the king was openly rebuked of preachers for keping company with his brothers wife, which was the occasion that he eschued her companie, till the truth were tryed.

The king calleth the Speaker and certain other of the cõmon house vnto him and declareth them the aunswere that the clergy made to articles deliuered to the king the last yere.

The last day of Aprill the parliament sytting, the kyng sent for Thomas Audeley speaker of the common house, and certaine other, and declared to them, how they had exhibited a booke of their greeues, the last yere agaynst the spiritualtie, which at their requestes, he had deliuered to his spirituall subiectes, to make aunswere there to, but he could haue no aunswere, till within three dayes last past, which aunswere he deliuered to the speaker saiyng: we thinke their aunswere will finally please you, for it seemeth to vs very slender, you be a great sort of wisemen, I doubt not but you will looke circumspectly on the matter, and we will be indifferent betweene you. And for a truth their aunswere was verie Sophistical, and nothing auoyding the griefes of the laye people: and farther the king saide, that he marueyled not a little, why one of the parliament house spake openly of the absence of the Queene from him, which matter was not to be determined there, for he sayd it touched his soule, and wished the matrimony to be good, for then had he neuer bene vered in conscience, but the Doctors of the Vniuersities sayde he, haue determined the mariage to be voyde, and detestable before God, which grudge of conscience, caused mee to absteyne from her company, and no foolishe or wanton appetite: for I am sayde he. xlj. yere olde, at which age the lust of man is not so quick, as in lustie youth: and saiyng in Spaine and Portyngall it hath not bene sene, that one man hath maryed two sisters, the one being carnally knowne before, but the brother to mary the brothers wyfe was so abhorred amongst all nations, that I neuer heard it, that any christen man did it, but by my selfe: wherefore you see my conscience troubled and so I pray you report: so the speaker departed, and declared to the commons the kinges saiyng, both of the spirituall mens answere, and also concerning the kinges mariage, which slight aunswere displeased the commons.

The occasion why the king spake of this mariage, was because one Temse in the common house, moued the commons to sue to the king to take the Quene againe into his company, and declared certaine great mischiefs, as in Bastardyng the Ladie Marie the kings onely childe, and diuers other inconueniences, which wordes were reported to the king, which was the cause that he declared his conscience.

The king agreeth for the speaker and other and deliuereth them an othe for the Clergy.

The. xj. day of May, the king sent for the speaker againe, and twelue of the common house, hauing with him eight Lordes, and sayde to them, welbeloued subiectes, we thought that the Clergie of our realme had bene our subiectes wholy, but now we haue well perceyued that they be but halfe our subiectes, yea, and scace our subiectes: for all the Prelates at their consecration made an othe to the Pope, cleane contrarie to the othe that they make to vs, so that they seme to be his subiectes, & not ours, the copy of both the othes I deliuer here to you, requiring you to inuent some order, that we be not thus deluded of our spirituall subiectes. The speaker departed, and caused the othes to be red in the common house, the verye tenour whereof ensueth.

The othe to the Pope.

I John Bysshop or Abbot of A. from this houre forwarde, shall be fayth-

full and obedient to Saint Peter, and to the holy Church of Rome, and to my Lorde the Pope, and his successors Canonically enteryng, I shall not be of counsayle nor consent, that they shall leese eyther lyfe or meinber, or shall be taken or suffer any violence, or any wrong by any meanes, their counsaile to mee credited, by them their messengers or letters, I shall not willyngly discouer to any person: the papacie of Rome, the rules of the holy fathers, and the Regalie of saint Peter, I shall help and retaine, and defend against all men: the Legate of the Sea Apostolike, going and comming, I shall honourably entreate, the rightes, honours, priuileges, auctho{r}ities of the Church of Rome, and of the Pope and his successors, I shall cause to bee conserued, defended, augmented, and promoted, I shall not be in counsaile, treatie, or any act, in the which any thing shall be imagined agaynst him, or the Church of Rome, their rightes, states, honors, or powers. And if I knowe anye such to be mooued or compassed, I shall resist it to my power, and as sone as I can, I shall aduertise him, or such as may geue him knowlege. The rules of the holy fathers, the decrees, ordinaunces, Sentences, dispositions, reseruations, prouisions, and commaundementes Apostolike, to my power I shall keepe and cause to be kept of other: Heretickes, Sismatikes, and rebels to our holy father and his successors, I shall resist and persecute to my power, I shall come to the Synode, when I am called, except I be letted by a Canonicall impediment, the lightes of the Apostles I shall visite yerely personally, or by my deputie, I shall not alien nor sell my possessions without the Popes counsayle: so God me helpe and the holye Euangelistes.

Othe to the king.

I John Bysshop of A. vtterly renounce and clerely forsake all suche clauses, wordes, sentences, and graunts, which I haue or shall haue hereafter of the Popes holynesse, of and for the Bysshoprike of A. that in any wise hath bene, is or hereafter may be hurtfull, or preiudiciall to your highnesse, your heires, successors, dignitie, priuilege, or estate royall: and also I doe sweare that I shall be faithfull and true, and faith and truth I shall beare to you my souereigne Lorde, and to your heires kinges of the same, of life and limme, and yearthly worship aboue all creatures, for to liue and die with you and youres, agaynst all people, and diligently I shall be attendaunt to all your needes and businesse, after my wit and power, and your counsaile I shall keepe and holde, knowleging my selfe to holde my Bishoprycke of you onely, beseeching you of restitution of the temporalties of the same, promising as before, that I shall be faithfull, true, and obedient subiect to your sayde highnesse heires, and successors during my life, and the seruices and other things due to your highnesse, for the restitution of the temporalties of the same Bishoprike I shall truely doe and obediently performe, so God me helpe and all saintes.

Sir Thomas Moze discharged of the Chauncelorship.

The opening of these othes, was one of the occasions, why the Pope within two yere followyng, lost all his iurisdiction in England, as you shall heare afterward. The. xiiij. day the parliament was prorogued till the fourth day of Februarie next ensuyng. After which prorogation, Syr Thomas Moore Chauncellor of Englande, after long sutes made to the king to be discharged of that office the sixtene day of May, he deliuered to the king at Westminster, the great seale of Englande, and was with the kings fauor

discharged,

discharged, which seale the king kept till Whitsontyde followyng, and on the Monday in Whitson weeke, he dubbed Thomas Awdeley speaker of the parliament knight, and made him Lord keeper of the great Seale, and so was he called.

Thomas Awdeley Lorde keper of the seale.

The king beyng in progresse this Sommer was aduertised that the Pope and the Frenche king had appointed to meete at Marcelles in Prouince, in the beginning of the next spring, wherefore the king lyke a wyse and politike prince, thought it conuenient to speake with the Frenche king in his owne person, before the Pope and he should come together, and to declare to him both the determinatiō of the Uniuersities and Doctors, concerning his matrimonie, and also the generall counsayles, which ordeyned suche causes, to be tried in the prouinces and Countries, where the doubt should rise, trusting that the French king should cause the Pope to encline to Gods lawe, and to leaue his owne traditions, and lorde dispensations, whereupon both the princes concluded to meete in October folowyng, betweene Calice and Bulleyn: wherefore the king of Englande sent out hys letters to his nobilitie, prelates, and seruauntes, commaundyng them to be readie at Cauntorburie, the. xxbj. daye of September, to passe the Seas with him, for the accomplishyng of the enteruew betweene him and his brother the French king. Many men were sory to heare, that the king should passe the Sea in winter, and especially in October, when the seas be rough, but their sayings letted not his purpose: for he marched forward from Amphill to Wyndsore, where on Sunday beyng the first day of September, he created the Ladie Anne Bullern, Marchionesse of Penbroke, and gaue to her one thousand pounde lande by the yere, and that solemnitie finished, he rode to the College to Masse, and when the Masse was ended, a newe league was concluded and swoorne, betweene the king and the French king, Mesire Pomoray the French Ambassador then being present. After which othe taken. Doctor Fox the kings Almer made an eloquent oration in Latin, in praise of peace, loue, and amitie: which done the Trumpets blewe, and the king returned to the Castel, where was kept a solemne feast. From thence the king remoued to Grenewich, & so forward to Cauntorbury, where at the day appointed, he found redie furnished al such as were cōmaunded to passe the sea with him, wel & richely adourned, both they and their seruants.

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A meting appointed of the French king and the king of Englands betweene Calice and Bulleyne.

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Lady Anne Bullegne made Marchioness of Penbroke.

A newe league

The tenth day of October, the king came to Douer, and on the. xj. day in the morning beyng Fryday, at three of the clocke, he tooke shypping in Douer rode, and before ten of the clocke the same daye, he with the Ladye Marchiones of Penbroke landed at Calice, where he was honorably receyued with procession, and brought to Saint Nicholas Churche, where he heard Masse, and so to his place called the Exchequer, where he lodged, and on the Sundaye after came to Calice, the Lorde Roche Baron, and Monsire de Mountpesat, messengers from the Frenche king, aduertising the king of Englande, that the Frenche king would repayre to Abuile the same night marchyng towarde Bulleyne, of which tydings the king was verie glad: but sodainly came a messenger and reported that the great Maister of Fraunce, and the Archebishop of Roan, with diuers noble men of Fraunce were come to Sandifield, entending to come to Calice, to salute the king, from the king their maister. He beyng thereof aduertised, sent in

in great haste the. xv. day of October, the Duke of Norffolke, the Marques of Excester, the Erles of Oxford, Darby, and Rutlande, the Lorde Sandes, and the Lorde Fitzwater, with three hundred Gentlemen, which honorably receyued the French Lordes at the Englishe pale, and so brought them to the kings presence in Calice, which stood vnder a rich cloth of estate of such value that they muche mused of the ryches. The king (as he that knewe all honor and nurture) receyued the Frenche Lordes very louyngly and amiably, and with them tooke a day and place of meeting: these Lords were highly feasted, and after departed to Bulleyn.

While the king lay thus in Calice, he vewed the walles, towers, and Bulwarkes, and deuised certaine newe fortifications, for the maintenaunce and defence of the towne. The towne of Calice had at this season. xxiij. C. beddes, and stabling for two thousand horses, beside the villages adiacent.

The twentie day of this moneth, the king beyng aduertised, that the French king was come to a Village called Marguison nigh to the English pale, marched out of Calice the next day after, accompanied with the Dukes of Norffolke and Suffolke, and with the Marques of Dorset and Excester, the Erles of Arrondell, Oxforde, Surrey, Esser, Derby, Rutlande, Huntingdon, and Sussex, and diuerse Uiscountes, Barones, knights of the Garter, and Gentlemen, freshly appareled, and richly trymmed, and so passed toward the place, appointed for the enteruew, leuing behind them the greatest part of the yomen of Calice, because that Bulleyne was to litle for both the traynes. For the Frenchmen sayde their trayne was twentie thousande horse, which caused the Englishmen to cast many perilles, and especially because it was bruted abrode, that the French king shoulde saye the king of England was once his enemie, and mayntayned the Emperor and the Duke of Burbon against him, & now was become his most friende. The rehersing of these olde grudges, many Englishmen suspected, and very loth that the king shou'd go to Bulleyne, but the king continued still in his iourney, and came to Sandingfield, and a litle from that place in a valey, was the French king nobly accompanyed with three hundred horse, and not many more. The kinges trayne waued on the left hande, to geue the French king and his trayne the right hande: likewise did the French part, to geue the Englishmen the right hand: so the two kinges with all louing honor, met with bare heddes, and embraced other in such fashion, that all that beheld them reioyced. And at their meeting the French king sayd openly, to the king of England: Syr you be the same persone, that I am moste bounde to in the worlde, and sith it hath pleased you, in persone to visite me, I am bound in person to seke you, and for the very friendship, that I haue found in you, I am yours and will be, and so I requyre you to take me: the king of England soberly answered, if euer I did thing to your liking I am glad, and as touching the payne to come hether to se you, I assuer you it is my comfort, yea, and I had come farther to haue visited you. Then the kinges embraced the Lordes and estates, as the French king the Lordes of England, and the king of England the Lordes of Fraunce, and that done, they set forward toward Bulleine, and in ryding they cast of Haukes called Sakers, to the Kytes, which made to them great sporte. And in a valley beyond Sandingfielde, the king of Nauer met the kinges, and there they alighted

The meting of the french king and the king of Englande.

The kinges apparell.

The saiyng of the French king.

lighted and dranke, and after that they mounted on horsebacke, and with hauking and other princely pastime, they came nere to Bulleyne, where on a hyll stoode ranged in a fayre bande, the number of fiue hundred men on horsebacke, of whome the chiefe were, the French kinges three sonnes, the Dolphin, the Duke of Orleaunce, and the Duke of Angulesme, and on them gaue attendaunce, the Admyrall of Fraunce, and three Cardinalles, with diuerse other nobles of Fraunce, these three Princes marched forward, and welcomed the king of Englande: which them well beheelde and louingly them receyued, as he that coulde as much nurture, as any Prince that euer was. Then the French king sayd to his children openly: My children I am your father, but to this Prince here you are as much bounde, as to me your naturall father, for he redemed me and you from captiuitie: wherefore on my blessing I charge you, to be to him loving alwayes. The king of England ceassed the French kinges tale, and embraced the yong Princes, eche after other. Then all the noble company came to Bulleyne, where was a great shot of Artillery, for on the one side they shotte great pelletes, which made a great noyse: then these two Princes offered at our lady of Bulleyn and the French king brought the king of Englande to his lodging, in the Abbay directly against his owne lodging, where the king of England had diuerse chambers richly furnished. Euery man was appointed to his lodging (which there was very straught) according to his degree, and great chere was made to all the Englishmen: the Poultries, Larders, Spiceries, and sellers of wine were all open, and likewise Hay and Litter, and all other thinges, aske and haue, and no man durst take any money, for the French king payd for all.

The French kinges three sonnes.

The kinges comming to Bulleyne.

In the Church of Bulleyn was a trauers set vp by the French king, open on euery syde sauyng it was sieled with blew veluet, embraudered with flower Delices of gold, the pillers were hanged with the same worke: On the French kinges right hande, was another trauers sieled, and curtened all of white Satten, embraudered with Cables cast, of cut cloth of Golde, embraudered and gilted after the fashion that Mariners cast their ropes: this trauers was balenced of lyke worke, and fringed with fine golde. Dayly the kinges heard their Masses in these trauerses, and commonly they went together to Masse. Diuers tymes the kinges commoned together in counsail, and sometyme in the mornyng for the Princes were stirryng, their Counsayles met, and sat together a great whyle.

While the king of England lay thus at Bulleyn, the French king to shew himselfe louyng to the noble men of England, the. xxv. day of October, called a Chapiter of the Companions of his order, called Saint Michell, of whom the king of England was one, and so there elected Thomas Duke of Norfolke, and Charles Duke of Suffolk, to be companions of the sayde Order, which were brought into the sayd Chapiter, and had their Collers deliuered to them, and were sworne to the Statutes of the Order, their obeysaunce to their soueraigne Lorde, alwayes reserued: which Dukes thanked the French king, and gaue to the officers of Armes two hundred Crownes a peece. And these two kinges rested at Bulleyne, Monday, Tewesday, Wednesday, and Thursday, and on Friday the. xxvj. day of October, they departed out of Bulleyn to Calice: the French kinges traine was twelue hundred persons,

persons, and so many horse or more, and without Calice two myle, met with them the Duke of Richmonde, the kinges bastard sonne of England, a goodly yong Prince, and full of fauour and beautie, with a great companie of noble men, which were not at Bulleyn, so the Duke with his companie, embraced the French king, and so did other noble men, then the Lordes of England set forward, as the dukes of Richmond, Norffolke, and Suffolke the Marques of Exceter, the Erles of Arundell, Oxford, Surrey, Darby, Worcester, Rutlande, Sussex, and Huntingdon, the Viscountes of Lisle, and Rochforde, the Bishops of London, Winchester, Lincolne, and Bathe, the Lorde William Hayward, the Lorde Matreuerse, the Lord Montacute, the Lorde Cobham, the Lorde Sandes, the Lorde Bray, the Lorde Mordant, the Lord Leonard Gray, the Lord Clinton, and sir William Fitzwilliam knight, treasorer of the kings house, & sir William Paulet, Comptrollor of the same, with a great number of knightes, besyde the lustie Esquiers, and yong Gentlemen. These noble personages and Gentlemen of England accompanied the French Lordes to Newnam Bridge, where as Thomas Palmer Capitaine of the Fortresse, with a fayre companie of Souldiours saluted the kinges, and so they passed towarde Calice: where at their comming, that what out of the towne and Castell, and what out of Ricebancke, and the Shippes in the Hauen, the Frenchmen sayde they neuer heard such a shot: and when they were entered the Mill gate, all the Souldiors of the towne stoode on the one syde, appareled in red and blewe, and on the other syde of the stretes, stoode all the seruyng men of England in cotes of French Tawney, with their Lordes and Maisters deuises embraudered, and euery man a Scarlet Cap and a white feather, which made a goodly shewe: there were lodged in Calice that night, besyde the towne dwellers, eight thousand persons at the least. The king of England brought the French king to hys lodgyng, to the Staple Inne, where he was most honourably lodged, and all thinges furnished that belonges to the same. If the French king made good cheere to the king of England, and his trayne at Bulleyn, I assure you he and his traine, were requited at Calice, for the plentie of wilde foule, Venison, fishe, and all other thinges which were there, it was marualle to see, for the kinges Officers of England, had made preparation in euery place, so that the Frenchmen were serued, with such multitude of diuers fishes, this Friday and Saterday, that the Maisters of the French kinges housholde, much wondered at the prouision. In likewise on the Sonday, they had all maner of flesh, foule, spice, Venison, both of falow Dere, and red Dere, and as for wine they lacked none, so that well was the Englishe man that might well entertaine the French man: the Lordes of Fraunce neuer fetched their biandes, but they were sent to them, and often tyme their proporcion of victaile was so aboundant, that they refused a great part thereof.

This Syr Wylliam is he that nowe is Lord treasorer of Englande.

The receauing of the French king into Calice.

While the kings were thus in Calice, they road euery day to saint Marie Church, where were set two trauerses, the one for the french king: the other for the king of England. The Sunday at night, the French king supped with the king of England. The French king was serued with three courses, and his meate dressed after the French fashion, and the king of England had like courses after the English fashion, the first course of euery king was. xl. dyshes, the second. lx. the third. lxx. which were costly and pleasant. After supper,

The trauerses.

The supper made to the French king.

per, was a sumpteous and royall maske.

The Tewesday next folowyng, beyng the .xxr. day of October, the two kinges departed out of Calice, and came nere to Sandingfield, and there alighted in a fayre greene place, where was a Table set, and there the English men serued the French men of wine, Ipocras, fruite, and spice aboundauntly. When the two kinges had commoned a little, they mounted on their horses, and at the very entring of the French ground, they tooke handes, and with princely countenaunce, louyng behauiour, and hartie wordes, eche embraced other, and so there departed.

The kinges departure.

While the king of England was in the French kinges dominions, he had the vpper hande, and likewyse had the French king in his dominion, and as the French king payed all the Englishe mens charges at Bulleyn, so did the king of England at Calice, so that euery thing was recompensed: sauyng that the king of England gaue to the French king, diuers precious iewels, and great horses, and to his Nobles great plentie of Plate, for the which I could neuer heere, that he gaue the king of England any other thing, but the white Gowne, as you haue heard, but to the Lordes of the kings counsaile, he gaue certaine Plate and Chaynes.

When the king was returned to Calice, many Gentlemen tooke shippe to sayle into England, but the winde was so contrariant, that diuers of them were driuen backe againe into Calice, and diuers into Flaunders, and in Nouember rose suche a winde, out of the North and Northwest, that all the shippes in Calice hauen were in great ieopardie, and in especiall the Hoyes, at which season was such a spring tyde, that it brake the walles of Holland, and Zeland, and drowned diuers townes in Flaunders, insomuch that the water rose three foote aboue the Wharfe, where the key stood in Andwarp: This storme continued till the fourth day of Nouember, but for all that the winde chaunged not. The .viij. day rose such a winde, tempest, and thunder, that no man could conueniently stirre in the stretes of Calice: much lamentation was made for them that had taken shippe into Englande, for no man knew what was become of them. On Sunday the weather was fayre, the king caused his bed and other thinges to be shipped, and entended to depart, but sodainly rose such a mist, that no Maister could guyde a shippe, and so he taryed that day. On Tewesday at midnight he tooke ship, and landed at Doner the morow after, beyng the .xiij. day of Nouember, at fiue of the clocke in the morning, wherfore the Saterday after, was song Te Deum in the Cathedrall Church of Saint Paule in London: The Lord keper of the great seale, the Maior of London, (and diuers other noble and sad persons, which made their abode in London, for the gouernaunce of the realme in the kings absence) beyng present. The king after his returne, maried priuily the Lady Anne Bulleyn, on saint Erkenwaldes day beyng the last day of Aprill.

A great flood in Holland and Zeland.

The king maried to Lady Anne Bulleyn.

When the king should passe ouer the sea, he considered that the Scottes had robbed his subiects, both by sea and land, and that no redresse was made for the same, imagined that in his absence they would attempt some outragious enterprice against his people, wherfore like a prudent Prince, to be in a suretie, he sent sir Arthur Darcy knight, with three hundred tall men to Barwicke, to defend the inuasions of the Scottes. The Scottes heeryng of his comming, came into Northumberland, by the middle Marches, and came to a place

a place called Fowbery, and in their iourney fired certaine villages and returned. Sir Arthur Darcy heeryng of this aduenture, was nothing content. Now at this season their lay at Barwike, Archibalde Douglas Erle of Angus, which had maried the Queene of Scottes the kings sister, and was banished Scotland, and she was from him diuorced, and maryed to another. The Scotes bragged of their enterprise, & sayd that sir Arthur had brought them good lucke, and sayd, that he and the Erle of Angus, slept well in Barwicke: they heeryng of this brag, made a roade with foure hundred men into Scotland, and set a village on fire: then shortly assembled together .viij. hundred Scottes. When the Englishmen perceyued the Scottes, they caused their trumpet to blow a retreate, and the Erle and .xx. with him, shewed him selfe on a hill, euen in the face of the Scottes, and the trumpet blewe at their backes, so that the Scottes thought that there had beene two companies, which caused the Scottes to flie, and the Englishemen folowed, and slue a great number, and tooke many prisoners, and brought them to Barwicke the .xx. day of October.

Margaret Queene of Scots diuorced from the Erle of Angus, and maried to another.

The king this yere kept his Christmasse at Grenewich, and after Christmasse sir Thomas Awdeley, Lorde keper of the great Seale, was made Chauncelor of England, and when the Parliament began, because the office of the Speaker was voyde, Humfrey Wingfielde of Grayes Inne, was elected Speaker of the Parliament, which was presented accordyng as you haue heard of the other Speaker before. In the which Parliament was made an acte, that no person should appeale for any cause out of this realme, to the Court of Rome, but from Commissary to the Bishop, and from Bishop to Archbishop, and from Archbishop to the king, and all causes of the king, to be tryed in the vpper house of the Conuocation. And in the same Parliament was enacted, that Queene Katheryn should from thencefoth, be no more called Queene, but princes Dowagar of prince Arthur.

Sir Thomas Awdeley made chauncelor.

All appeales to the Court of Rome forbidden.

Queene Katheryn called Princes Dowager.

In this Sommer season last past, died William Warham Archbishop of Cauntorbury, and to that Bishopricke was named Doctor Thomas Cranmer, the kinges Chaplayn, a man of good learnyng, and of a vertuous life, which also not long before, was the kinges Ambassadour to the Bishop of Rome, which was consecrate in Lent.

Thomas Cranmer elected Archebishop of Cantorbury.

After the king perceyuyng his newe wife Queene Anne, to be great with childe, caused all officers necessary, to be appointed to her, and so on Easter eue, she went to her Closet openly as Queene, with all solemnitie, and then the king appointed the day of her coronation, to be kept on Whitsun Sunday next folowyng, and writynges were sent to all Shriues, to certifie the names of men of fortie pounde, to receyue the order of knighthod, or else to make a fine: the assessement of which fines, were appointed to Thomas Cromwell, maister of the kinges Iuell house, and Counsaylor to the king, and newly in his high fauor, which so politikely handeled the matter, that he raysed of that sessyng of fines, a great somme of money to the kinges vse: Also the king wrote letters to the Citie of London, to prepare pagiauntes agaynst the same coronation.

The Ladye Anne Bulleyne openly published to be Queene.

Thomas Cromwell maister of the kings Iewel house.

The king in the beginning of this .xxb. yere, kept the day of Saint George, at his Manor of Greenewich, with great solempnitie, and the Court was greatly replenished, with Lordes, Knightes, and with Ladies

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and Gentlewomen, to a great number, with all solace and pleasure. You haue heard the last yere, how the Parliament had enacted, that no person shoulde after a day, appele to Rome for any cause, whatsoeuer it were, and that the Quene, now called the princes Dowager, had appealed to the court of Rome, before the acte made, so that it was doubted, whether that appeale were good or not. This question was well handled in the parliament house but much better in the Conuocation house, but in both houses it was alleged yea, and by bookes shewed, that in the Counsayles of Calcedon, Affricke, Toletane, and diuers other famous Counsayles in the primatiue Churche yea, in the time of Saint Augustine, it was affirmed, declared, and determined, that a cause rising in one prouince, should be determined in the same, and that neyther the patriarcke of Constantinople, shoulde medle in causes moued in the iurisdiction of the patryarcke of Antioche, nor no Bishop shoulde entermit, with in an others prouince or countrye: which thinges were so clerkly opened and so conningly set forth to all intentes, that euery man that had witte, and was determined to follow the truth, and not affectionate nor wilfully wedded to his owne minde, might plainely se that all appeles made to Rome, were clerly voyde and of none effecte: which doctrines and counsayles, were shewed to the Lady Katerin Princes Dowager, but shee (as women loue to lose no dignitie) euer continued in her olde song, trusting more to the Popes partiality, then to the determination of Christes verytye. Wherevppon the Archebishop of Cauntorbury, accompanyed with the Bishops of London, Wynchester, Bathe, Lincolne, and diuerse other great Clerkes, in a greate number roade to Dunstable, which is syx myle from Ampthil, where the princes Dowager lay, and there by a Doctor called Doctor Lee, the was assited to appere before the said Archbishop, in cause of matrimony, in the sayde towne of Donstable, & at the day of apparaunce she woulde not appere, but made defaute, and so she was called peremtorye, euery day fiftene dayes together, and at the last for lack of apparaunce, and for contumacie, by the assent of all the learned men there beyng present, shee was diuorsed from the king, and there maryage declared to be voyde and of none effecte, which sentence geuen, the Archebishoppe and all the other returned whether it pleased them.

A question of Appeales.

Queene Katherine deuorced at Dunstable.

In the moneth of Maye Pope Clement sent an Orator to the kyng at Grene which certefiyng hym that he had appoynted a generall counsayle to be kept at Mantua the yere folowing, and therof had aduertised al princes Christen, requiring the king likewise as he did all other princes Christen for the vniuersall welth of all Christendome, and for the quieting of opinions newly growne, to appere there personally: to the which it was aunswered that it was bothe ieoperdous for the king, and for his whole realme to haue their Prince absent for feare of inuasions by outward enemies, but he sayde he would send thether a sufficient procuraty and conuenient Proctors, and desired to see the Orators commission.

The Pope sendeth to the kyng to aduertise him that he had commoned a generall counsail to be kept at Mantua.

The kinges aunswere.

When he with an euill wyll had shewed his commission, there appered neyther place nor time of the counsayle. For the king knewe well before hys comming that the Marques of Mantua had made a full deniall to the Pope that he would haue no such assemble to be kept in his Citie nor dominions, for dyuers great and vrgent causes, and so the Popes Orator departed with an

an vncertaine aunswere to an vncertaine demaunde, but not vnrewarded.

The king beyng aduertised by the Frenche king howe that he and the Pope should meete at Nice in June folowyng, thought it conuenient to send a solempne Ambassade to the French king both to accompany him to Nice, and also to common with the Bishop of Rome concernyng his vnlawfull stay in the kinges deuorse: wherevpon he appointed the Duke of Norffolke, the Lorde Rocheford brother to the newe Queene, Sir William Pawlet Comptroller of the kings household, syr Anthony Browne, and Syr Fraunces Bryan knightes to be his Ambassadors, which made great prouision for that purpose, and so with the number of. C.lx. horses came to Douer and so to Calice on Whitso euen (on which day the Quene made her entrie through the Citie of London towarde her coronation) where they made their abode a certayne space, and passed through all Fraunce till they came to Lyons, where they remayned a space as you shall heare after.

A solempne Ambassade sent to accompanye the French king to mete with the Pope at Nice.

This verie season was daylie skirmishing betweene the borderers of the Marches of Englande and Scotlande, and yet no warre proclaymed, and many robberies, murders and manslaughters done on both partes, and although the Cõmissioners of the realmes of England and of Scotland at Newcastel vpon Tine were entreating a truce & amitie, yet during the communication the Scottes ceassed not to robbe both by sea and lande, and toke dyuers little botes laden with corne and fishe, whereof hearing the king of Englande, he decked and bittayled diuers shippes of warre, and sent them to the North seas to defende his subiectes. The Scottes hearing that the Englishe Nauie was come on their coste, in all haste fledde home to their harbor, but yet the Englishe men folowed them, and fetched manye of their prayes out of their hauens mauger of their heades.

The Scottes robbe and spoyle vpon the borders of England.

In the beginning of Maye the king caused open proclamations to be made that all men that claymed to doe any seruice or execute any office at the solempne feast of the coronation, by the way of tenor, graunt or prescription should put their graunt three weekes after Easter in the Starre chamber before Charles Duke of Suffolke for that time high Stewarde of England and the Lorde Chauncelor and other commissioners.

Proclamations made for prouision of the Queenes coronation.

The Duke of Norffolke claymed to be Erle Marshall and to exercise his office at that feast. The Erle of Arrondell claymed to be high Butler and to exercise the same: the Erle of Oxford claymed to be Chamberlayne: the Vicount Lisle claymed to be Panter: the Lorde Burgaine to be chiefe Larderer, and the Lorde Braye claymed to be Almoner, and syr Henry Wiat knight claymed to be Ewrer: All these noble personages desired their offices with their fees. Beside these the Maior of London claymed to serue the with their fees. Beside these the Maior of London claymed to serue the Quene with a Cup of Golde and a Cup of assay of the same, and that twelue Citezens should attende on the Cupborde and the Maior to haue the Cup, and Cup of assay for his labor, which petition was allowed. The fiue Ports claymed to beare a Canapie ouer the Quenes head the day of the coronation with foure guilt Belles, and to haue the same for a rewarde, which also to them was allowed. Diuers other put in petie claymes which were not allowed, because they seemed onely to be done at the kings coronation. All this season great purueiaunce was made of all maner of Vitailes, and Lordes, knightes and Squiers were sent for out of all Countries, which came to London

London at their day with a great number of people.

After that the kings highnesse had addressed his gracious letters to the Maior and commonaltie of the Citie, signifying to them that his pleasure was to solempnise and celebrate the coronation of his most deare and welbeloued wyfe Quene Anne at Westminster the Whitsonday next ensuing, willing them to make preparation as well to fetch her grace from Grenewiche to the Tower by water as to see the Citie ordered and garnished with Pagiauntes in places accustomed, for the honor of her grace. When she should be conueyed from the Tower to Westminster, there was a common counsaile called, and commaundement was geuen to the Haberdashers (of which craft the Maior syr Stephen Pecock then was) that they should prepare a Barge for the Batchelers with a wafter and a Foyst garnished with Banners and streamers, likewise as they vse to doe when the Maior is presented at Westminster on the morowe after Symon and Jude. Also all other crafties were commaunded to prepare Barges and to garnishe them not alonely with their Banners accustomed, but also to deck them with Targets by the sides of the Barges, and to set vp all suche seemely Banners and Bannorets as they had in their halles or could get meete to furnishe their sayde Barges, and euerye Barge to haue mynstrelsie, according to which commaundements great preparation was made for all things necessarie for suche a noble tryumph.

The Maior and the companies resort to Grenewiche and attended vpon the Queene to the tower.

The. xix. day of May the Maior and his brethren all in Scarlet, and such as were knightes had collers of Esses and the remnaunt hauing good Chaynes, and the counsayle of the Citie with them assembled at saint Marie hyll, and at one of the clock dissended to the Newstayre to their Barge, which was garnished with many goodly Banners and streamers, & richely couered, in which Barge were Shalmes, Shagbushes and dyuers other instruments, which continually made goodly armony. After that the Maior and his brethren were in their Barge seing that al the companies to ỹ number of fiftie Barges were readie to wayte vpon them. They gaue commaundement to the companies that no Barge should rowe neerer to another then twise the length of the Barge vpon a great paine. And to see the order kept, there were three light Wherryes prepared, and in euery one of them two officers to call on them to keepe their order, after which commaundement geuen they set foorth in order as hereafter is discribed.

First before the Maiors Barge was a Foyst or Wafter full of ordynaunce, in which Foyst was a great Dragon continually mouyng, and casting wilde fyre: and round about the sayde Foyst stood terrible monsters and wilde men casting fire, and making hideous noyses: Next after the Foyst a good distaunce came the Maiors Barge, on whose right hand was the Batchelers Barge, in the which were Trumpets and diuers other melodious Instruments. The deckes of the sayde Barge and the sailyardes and the top Castels were hanged with riche cloth of Golde and silke. At the forechip and the sterne were two great banners riche beaten with the armes of the king and the Quene, and on the top Castell also was a long streamer newely beaten with the sayde armes.

At three of the clock the Queene appered in rich clothe of Gold & entered into her Barge accompanied with diuers Ladies and gentlewomē, and incontinent

incontinent the Citizens set forwardes in their order, their Musicians continually playing, and the Batchelers Barge going on the Queenes right hande, which the toke great pleasure to behold. About the Queenes Barge were many Noble men, as the Duke of Suffolke, the Marques Dorset, the Erle of Wiltshire her father, the Erles of Arrondell, Darby, Rutland, Worcester, Huntyngton, Sussex, Oxford, and many Bishoppes and noble men euery one in his Barge, which was a goodly sight to beholde. Shee thus being accompanied rowed toward the Tower, and in the meane waye the shippes which were commaunded to lye on the shore for lettyng of the Barges shot diuers peales of Gonnes, and or shee landed there was a marueilous shot out of the Tower as euer was harde there. And at her landing there met with her the Lorde Chamberlaine with the officers of armes and brought her to the king, which receyued her with louyng countenaunce at the posterne by the water side, and kyssed her, and then she turned back agayne and thanked the Maior and the citezens with many goodly wordes, and so entered into the Tower. After which entry the Citezens all this while houed before the Tower, makyng great melodie and went not a land, for none were assigned to lande but the Maior, the Recorder and two Aldermen. But for to speake of the people that stood on euery shore to behold the sight, he that sawe it not, will not beleue it.

The coronation of queene Anne.

On the next day being Whitson euen, the Quenes maiestie accompanied with a great number of Lordes and Ladies richly appointed, came through the Citie of London which was richely bewtified, and so passed to Westminster. And there in the middes of the hall she was taken out of her Charriote, and then she gaue her hartie thankes to the Lordes and Ladyes, and to the Maior and other that had geuen their attendaunce on her and so withdrew her selfe with a few Ladyes to the Whitehall to the king by water.

The next day beyng Sondaye, she was crowned with all the solempnity and honor, that euer Queene of this realme was, and was as royally serued. And so soone as dinner was done, which was almost six of the clock at night, the Quene priuely returned by water to the king beyng at ỹ White hall. Then two daies after were holden before the kings gate royal Justes. And on Wednesday, the king sent for the Maior & his brethren to Westminster, & there he himself gaue to them harty thanks, with many goodly wordes

On Midsommer day after, the Lady Mary the French Queene dyed in Suffolke, who was the late wyfe of Lewys the twelue, and after maryed to Charles Duke of Suffolke.

The seuenth day of September beyng Sunday, betwene three and foure of the clocke at after noone, the Queene was deliuered of a fayre Lady which day the Duke of Norffolke came home to the Christnyng, and for the Queenes good deliueraunce, Tedeum was song incontinently, and great preparation was made for the Christnyng: and the Maior and his brethren and. xl. of the chiefe of the Citizens, were commaunded to be at the Christning, the Wednesday folowing, vpon which day the Maior sir Stephen Pecocke, in a gowne of Crimosin Velues, with his coller of SS, and all the Aldermen in Scarlette with Collers and Cheynes, and all the Counsaile of the Citie with them, tooke their Barge after Dinner, at one of the clocke, and the Citizens had another Barge, and so rowed to Grenewich, where were many Lordes, Knightes, and Gentlemen assembled. All the

The christening of the Ladie Elyzabeth.

the walles betwene the kinges place and the Friers, were hanged with Arras, and all the way strawed with greene Rushes: the Friers Church was also hanged with Arras. The Funt was of siluer, and stoode in the middes of the Church, three steppes high, which was couered with a fine cloth, and diuers Gentlemen with Aperns, and Towels about their neckes, gaue attendance about it, that no filth should come in the Funt, ouer it hung a square Canapie of Crimosyn Satten, fringed with golde, about it was a rayle couered with red Say: betwene the Quier and the bodie of the Church, was a close place with a panne of fire, to make the childe readie in: when all these things were ordered, the childe was brought to the hall, and then euery man set forward: First the citezens two and two, then gentlemen, Esquires, & Chapelens, next after them the Aldermen, and the Maior, alone: next the Maior the kinges Counsaile, the kinges Chapell in Copes: then Barons, Bishops, Erles, then came the Erle of Esser, bearyng the couered Basons gilte, after him the Marques of Excester with the Taper of Virgin waxe, next him the Marques Dorset, bearyng the salt, behind him the Ladie Mary of Norffolke, bearyng the Cresom, which was verye riche of pearle and stone, the olde Duches of Norffolke bare the childe, in a Mantell of purple Ueluet, with a long traine furred with Armine. The Duke of Norffolke, with his Marshall rod, went on the right hand of the sayd Duches, and the Duke of Suffolke on the left hand, and before them went the officers of Armes: the Countesse of Kent bare the long traine of the childes Mantell, and betwene the Countesse of Kent, and the childe, went the Erle of Wilshire on the right hand, and the Erle of Darbie on the left hande, supportyng the sayd traine: in the middes ouer the sayd childe was borne a Canapie by the Lord Rochford, the Lorde Hussee, the Lorde William Haward, and by the Lord Thomas Hawarde the elder: After the childe folowed many Ladies, and gentlewomen. When the childe was come to the Church dore, the bishop of London met it with diuers Bishops, and Abbottes mitred, and began the obseruaunces of the Sacrament. The Godfather was the Lord Archbishop of Cauntorbury: the Godmothers were the olde Duches of Norffolke, and the olde Marchionesse of Dorset Widowes, and the childe was named Elizabeth. And after that all thing was done, at the Church dore the childe was brought to the Font, and christined, all this done, Garter chiefe king at armes cryed aloude, God of his infinite goodnesse, send prosperous life and long, to the high and mightie Princes of England Elizabeth: and then the Trumpets blew, then the childe was brought vp to the Aultare, and the Gospell sayd ouer it: and after that immediately the Archbishop of Cauntorbury confirmed it, the Marchionesse of Excester beyng Godmother, the Archbishop of Cauntorbury, gaue to the Princes a standyng Cup of golde, the Duches of Norffolke gaue to her a standyng Cup of golde, fretted with pearle: the Marchionesse of Dorset gaue three gilt Boules, pounced with a couer: and the Marchionesse of Excester, gaue three standyng Boulles grauen, all gilt with a couer. Then was brought in Wafers, Comfites, Ypocras, in such plentie, that euery man had asmuch as he would desire. Then they set forwards, the trumpets goyng before in the same order, toward the kings place, as they did when they came thetherwarde, sauyng that the giftes that the Godfather, and the Godmothers gaue, were borne before the childe by foure

The giftes that the Godfathers and Godmothers gaue to the Ladie Elizabeth now our gracious soueregne lady and Queene at the time of her christning

foure persons, that is to say: First sir John Dudley, bare the gift of the Ladie of Excester: the Lorde Thomas Hayward the yonger, bare the gift of the Ladie of Dorcet: the Lorde Fitzwater, bare the gift of the Ladie of Norffolke, and the Erle of Worcester, bare the gift of the Archebishop of Cauntorbury, and all the one syde as they went, was full of staffe Torches, to the number of fiue hundred, borne by the Garde, and other of the kinges seruaunts, and about the childe were borne, many other proper Torches borne by Gentlemen: and in this order they brought the Princes to the Queenes Chamber, and taryed there a while, and at the last the Dukes of Norffolke, and Suffolke, came out from the king, thankyng the Maior of London and his brethren, and commaunded them to geue all the other thankes in the kinges name: and from thence they were had to the Seller to drinke, and so went to there Barges.

Elizabeth Barton the holy Mayde of Kent.

About this season was espyed a newe found Saint, and holy Hipocrite, called the holy Mayde of Kent, which by the great labor, diligence, and paine taxyng of the Archbishop of Cauntorbury, and the Lord Cromwell, and one called mayster Hugh Latimer, a deuine (which shortly after was made Bishop of Worcester) the iugglyng and craftie deceipt of this Mayde, was manifested and brought to light: whereupon after diuers examinations, shee with al her adherentes, were in Nouember brought to the starre Chamber: whose names were these, Elizabeth Barton, which was shee that called herselfe the holy Mayde of Kent, Richard Maister, priest, person of Aldington in the Countie of Kent, Edward Bockyng, Doctor in Diuinitie, Monke of Cauntorbury, Richard Deryng, also Monke of Cauntorbury, Edward Thwaites Gentleman, Thomas Laurence, Register to the Archdeacon of Cauntorbury, Henry Golde, person of Aldermary, Bacheler of Diuinitie, Hugh Rich Frier Obseruaunt, Richard Risby, and Thomas Golde Gentleman. These all beeyng in the starre Chamber, before diuers of the kinges Counsaile, confessed their feyned hipocrisie, and dissimuled sanctitie, and trayterous purposes and intents, and they were there by the kings counsaile adiudged, to stand at Paules Crosse, where they with their awne hands, should seuerally deliuer eche of them to the preacher that should be appoynted, a bill declaryng their subtile, craftie, and superstitious doynges. Which then the next Sunday after, they all aboue rehersed, standyng on a stage at Paules Crosse, made for that purpose did accomplishe: but for their treasons committed, the matter thereof was respited to the Parliament next folowyng, where all they aboue sayd, with other as after ye shall heere, were attainted by act of Parliament, and suffered death as traytors, by hangyng, drawyng, and quarteryng at Tyborne.

A meting betwene the English Ambassadors and the Scottes.

In September the king of Scottes, sent hys Commissioners to the townes of Newe Castell, where were for the kyng of Englande Commissioners, syr Thomas Clifford, and Doctor Magnus, and sir Raufe Elderkare. And first the Scottes without any long communication, demaunded great amendes, saiyng, that the Englishmen had robbed and spoyled them to their losse, and that greatly, and sayde that the kyng of England of his honor, must needes make satisfaction, if he would be called honorable. Then it was aunswered, that notwithstanding the leagues, written, sealed and sworne, the Scottish nation woulde neuer kepe peace, insomuch, whyle we be here intreating,

treating, your people are robbing: wherefore the king demaundeth of you, the goodes and prisoners taken contrary to the peace, wherfore we here deliuer you a writing, which the Scottes receyued, and at their next meeting they sayde, that the shyppes to them were lawfull prises, by reason that the Erle of Anguishe, was mayntayned in England, which is rebell to our king, and the Erle and you haue done to vs much skathe, and we haue taken a few shippes, in recompence of somme part of our great losses, which we maye not deliuer, and therfore we pray you demaunde them not: but here we deliuer you our booke, which amounteth to a greater somme by ten thousande marke. The English Commissioners receyued the booke, and in the same the Scottes demaunded, recompence for burning their townes, and destroiyng many of their strong Piles, aboue .xxiiij. which were destroyed from the .xxiiij. day of Apill, in the last .xxiiij. yere of the king, to the .xxx. daye of Aprill. The Englishe Commissioners answered, that if the Scottes woulde sende to the king of Englande, they doubted not, but they should haue a good answere for the king of England bade them chose peace or warre: so they agreed to sende to both their kinges letters of their doyngs, which in hast was done. And after much suite of the Scots part, when they had much demaunded, & litle or nothing was graunted, they then beyng weery of warre desired peace, which was concluded during both the kinges liues, and the .xx. day of Maie, in the next yere of the king folowing, it was openly proclaymed, to the great commfort & reioysing of all louers of peace.

A peace concluded with the Scottes.

The .xviij. day of December, the Duke of Suffolke was sent by the kyng and his Counsayle, to Bugden beside Huntingdon, where the Lady Katherin Princes Dowager laye. For the king was aduertised, and had good proues of the same, that she of froward mind woulde consent neyther to the determination of the Universities, nor yet to the whole conuocation of the realme, but beyng counsayled by a fewe Spanyardes, which had litle learning, did all that shee coulde to infringe the determination of the sayde Universities and Clergy. Insomuch that she wrote to the Pope, and to other Potentates, to grieue the king and his realme, because he would not folow her minde, and breake the commaundement of God. Wherefore the kinges Counsayle mocioned the king, that such as were about her, and moued her therto, should be put from her, for they thought it no reason, that she should haue such libertie to worke that thing, by the which the king and his realme, might haue detriment or damage. Wherefore the sayde Duke was sent to her, which shewed to her openly, Articles of her suytes to the Pope, and how she sought meanes to grieue the king and his realme, which hereafter she should not be suffered to do. For the same time was a Curse sent from the Pope, which accursed both the king and the whole realme, which Curse the bearer thereof, beyng not belike the hardyest man that euer shewed himselfe in fronte of battayle, thought it a great deale more better for hym to bestow it without the kings dominons, and therefore set it vp in the towne of Dunkercke in Flaunders, where it was taken downe by William Locke Mercer of London. The Queene aunswered the Duke very highly and obstinately, with many high wordes, and sodainly in a fury she departed from him, into her priuie chamber and shut the doore. He seeyng that, brake all the order of the Queenes Court, and discharged a great sort of her household

The Pope accursed the king and his realme.

William Locum Mercer.

holde Seruauntes, and yet left there a conuenient number, to serue her like a Princes. There was great lamentation among them that departed, but there was no remedy. Then they that remayned to serue her, were sworne to serue her as a Princes Dowager, and not as Quene, some sayd that they were sworne to her as Queene, and otherwise they would not serue, and so they departed. Other that were sworne to her as Princes, and remayned there, she them vtterly refused for her Seruauntes, wherfore she remayned with the lesse number of Seruauntes.

The princes Dowager was verye heady and wilfull.

The king kept his Christmas at Greenewiche, with great solemnitie, and after Christmas began the parliament. In which parliament Elizabeth Barton called the holy Mayde of Kent, with all her ayders and abbetters, of whome ye haue heard before, was attaynted, and her great and greeuous offences appereth in the statute made in this present parliament and the one and twenty day of Aprill next following she with her adherents were drawne to Tiborne and there executed.

A parliament

And at the place of execution, and the present time that she suffered she sayde these wordes, hether am I come to die, and I haue not bene the onely cause of myne owne death, which most iustly I haue deserued, but also I am the cause of the death of all these persons which at this time here suffer: and yet to saye the truth I am not so much to be blamed, considering it was well knowne vnto these learned men, that I was a poore wenche without learnyng, and therefore they might haue easily perceyued that the thinges that were done by me could not proceede in no such sort, but their capacities and learning coulde right well iudge from whence they proceeded, and that they were altogether fayned: but because the things which I fayned was profitable vnto them, and therefore they much praised mee and bare me in hande that it was the holy ghost, and not I that did them, and then I being puft vp with their prayses, fell into a certaine pride and foolishe phantasie with my selfe, and thought I might fayne what I would, which thing hath brought me to this case, and for the which now I crye God and the kinges highnesse most hartely mercie, and desire all you good people to pray to God to haue mercie on me, and all them that here suffer with me.

In this parliament also was made the act of succession for the suretie of the crowne, to the which euerye person beyng of lawfull age shoulde be sworne vpon the payne expressed in that act, as in the same ye may most euidently see.

Monday the .xxiij. day of Marche in the parliament time were solemply receyued into London as Ambassadours from James the fift king of Scottes, the Bysshop of Aberdyne, the Abbot of Kynlos, and Adam Otterborne the kinges Atturney, with diuers Gentlemen on them attendaunt, which were brought to the Taylers hall and there lodged. And on the day of the Annunciation of our Lady they were brought to the kinges place at Westminster, where they shewed their Commission and Message, for the which the king appointed them dayes to counsayle. And shortly after commissioners were appointed as you shall heare.

The .xxx. daye of Marche the Parliament was proroged, and there euery Lorde and Burgesse and all other, were sworne to the act of succession and subscribed their handes to a Parchement fixed to the same othe. Thys

Parliament was prorogued till the thirde day of Nouember next. After this, commissions were sent ouer all Englande to take the othe of all men and women to the act of succession, at which fewe repyned, except Doctor Iohn Fysher, syr Thomas Moore knight late Lorde Chauncelor, and Doctor Nicholas Wylson Parson of saint Thomas Apostles in London: wherfore these three persons after long exhortation to them made by the Bysshop of Cauntorbury at Lambeth, and expresse dentall of them to be sworne, they were sent to the Tower where they remayned and were oftentimes motioned to be sworne: but the Bysshop and syr Thomas Moore sayde that they had in their writings written the princesse Dowager Quene, and therfore they might not go against that, and the Doctor sayde that he in preaching called her Queene, which he would not with say, howbeit at length he was very well contented, and dissembled the matter and so escaped: But the other twaine stood against all the realme in their opinion.

In this yere it chaunced that two Marchaunt straungers fell in loue with a Harlot which was called Wolfes wyfe, and this Harlot had often haunted the straungers chambers. And so on a time the sayde Harlot appointed these straungers to come to Westminster, and shee had prepared for them a boate, in the which boate was but one man to rowe, which was a strong theefe, and in the ende of the boate lay Wolfe her husbande couered with a leather that boatemen vse to couer their Cushins with, and so these straungers sat them downe mistrusting nothing, and when this boteman had brought them as farre as a place that is called the Turning tree, sodainely stepped vp the sayde Wolfe and with his dagger thrust the one of them thorowe, the other cryed out to saue his lyfe, and offered a great somme of money to the boateman and him to saue his life, but no profers would be heard, nor mercie would they extende, but as cruell murderers without pittie slue the other also and bounde them face to face, and so threw them into the Thames in the aforesayde place, where they were long after before they were found. But immediatly the Harlot Wolfes wyfe went to the straungers chambers, and tooke from thence so much as she could come by. And at the last she and her husbande as they deserued, were apprehended, arraigned and hanged at the foresayde turning tree, where she hanged stil & was not cut downe, vntill such time as it was knowne that beastly and filthy wretches had most shamefully abused her being dead.

1535 / 25 The Lorde Dacres of the North.

The ninth day of July was the Lorde Dacres of the North arreigned at Westminster of high treason, where the Duke of Norffolke sat as iudge and high Stewarde of England. The sayde Lorde Dacres beyng brought to the barre with the Ire of the Tower before him, after his inditement read, not onely improoued the sayd inditement as false and maliciously deuised against him and aunswered euery parte and matter therein contayned, but also so manly, wittily, and directly confuted his accusors which there were readie to auouche their accusations, that to their great shames, and to his great honour, he was founde that day by his peeres not guiltie, for the which vndoubtedly the commons exceedingly ioyed and reioysed at, insomuche as there was in the Hall at those wordes not guiltie, the greatest shoute and crye of ioye that the lyke no man lyuing can remember that euer he heard.

The

The .xiiij. day of August was a great fyer at Temple barre and diuerse houses brent. And the .xvi. day of the same moneth was burned the kinges stable at Charing crosse otherwise called the Mewse, wherein was brent many great Horses and great store of hay. The Mewse

In this yere the thirde day of Nouember the kynges highnesse helde his high courte of parliament, in the which was concluded and made many and sondrie good, wholsome, and godly statutes: but among all, one speciall estatute, which authorised the kinges highnesse to be supreme heade of the church of England, by the which the Pope with all his College of Cardinalles with all their Pardons and Indulgences was vtterly abholished out of this realme. In this parliament also was geuen to the kynges highnesse the first fruites and tenthes of all dignities and spirituall promotions. And in the ende of the same parliament the kinges maiestie most graciously graunted (and willed it by the same parliament to be established) his most gracious and generall free pardon. The Pope abholished. The first fruites and tenths geuen to the king.

This yere also came in the great Admyrall of Fraunce: which Admyrall was honorably receyued, and at his departing was liberally rewarded.

In this time died the Erle of Kildare prisoner in the Tower: And euen at the same time Thomas Fitzgarard hys sonne began to rebell agaynst the kyng and tooke all the kinges Ordinaunce, and sent Ambassadours to the Emperour to haue intreated him to take parte with him. Also he slewe the Bishop of Deuelin and brent and robbed all such as would not obey him: But at the last he was apprehended and had as he deserued as after shall appeare. Thomas Fitzgarard rebelleth.

In the beginning of this yere the Duke of Norffolke and the Bysshop of Ely went to Calice, and thether came the Admirall of Fraunce. 1534 / 26

And the .xix. day of June was three Monkes of the Charterhouse hanged, drawen, and quartered at Tyborne, and their quarters set vp aboute Londō for denying the king to be supreme head of the Church. Their names were Exmewe, Myddlemore and Rudigate. These men when they were arreigned at Westminster, behaued themselues very stiffely and stubbornly, for hearing their inditement red how trayterously they had spoken against the kings maiestie his crowne and dignitie, they neuer blushed nor abashed at it, but very foolishly and hipocritically knowleged their treason which maliciously they auouched, hauing no learning for their defence, but rather beyng asked dyuers questions, they vsed a malicious silence, thinking as by their examinations afterwarde in the Tower of London it did appere, for so they sayde, that they thought those men which was the Lorde Cromwell and other that there sat vpon them in iudgement to be heretiques and not of the Church of God, and therefore not worthy to be eyther aunswered or spoken vnto. And therefore as they deserued, they receyued as you haue heard before. Exmewe Middlemore Rudigate.

Also the .xxij. day of the same month Iohn Fysher Bysshop of Rochester was beheaded, and his head set vpon London bridge. This Bysshop was of very many men lamented, for he was reported to be a man of great learning and a man of very good lyfe, but yet wonderfully deceiued, for he maintayned the Pope to be supreme head of the Church, and denyed the kings title therein, who albeit he was learned, yea, and that very notably learned, yet John Fisher Bishop of Rochester beheaded.

haue you heard howe he was deceyued with Elizabeth Barton that called her selfe the holy Mayde of Kent, and no doubt so was he in the defence of that vsurped auctoritie, the more pitie.

Sir Thomas Moore beheaded.

Also the sixt day of July was syr Thomas Moze behedded foz the like treason before rehearsed, which as you haue heard was foz the denying of the kings Maiestie supremitie. This man being learned as you haue heard before, was Lorde Chauncelour of Englande, and beside his learning he had a great wit, and in talking verie pleasant and merie conceited, and that euen to his last hower: Insomuch as at hys comming to the Tower, one of the officers demaunded his vpper garment foz his fee (meaning hys Gowne) and he aunswered, he should haue it, and toke him his Cap, saying it was the vppermost garmẽt that he had. Likewise, euen going to his death at the Tower gate, a poze woman called to him and besought him to declare that he had certayn euidences of hers in the time that he was in office (which after he was apprehended she could not come by) and that he would intreat she might haue them agayne, oz else she was vndone. He aunswered good woman haue pacience a little while, foz the king is so good vnto me that euẽ within this halfe houre he will discharge me of all businesses, and help thee himselfe. Also when he went vp the stayres on the Scaffolde, he desired one of the Shzieues officers to geue him his hande to helpe him vp, and sayde, when I come downe agayne, let me shift foz my selfe as well as I can. Also the hangman kneeled downe to him asking him forgeuenesse of his death (as the maner is) to whome he sayde I forgeue thee, but I promise thee that thou shalt neuer haue honestie of the stryking of my head, my neck is so short. Also euen when he should lay downe his head on the block, he hauing a great gray beard, stroked out his beard and sayde to the hangman, I pray you let me laye my beard ouer the block least ye should cut it.

The king of Scots made knight of the Garter.

This yere in the time that the king went his progresse, which was to Glouceste, and so Westwarde, the king of Scotes was installed at Wyndsoze by the Lorde Erskyn his procurator. And in October folowyng Stephyn Gardiner Bysshop of Winchester was sent Ambassador into Fraunce, where he remayned three yeres after.

The death of the Princes Dowager.

In Nouember was a solempne Procession throughe the Citie of London of all the priestes and religious in and about the City, foz the recouering of the French king to his helth. And the. iiij. day of January folowyng, died the princes dowagar at Kimbalton, and was buryed at Peterborough.

Queene Anne brought a bed before her time.

And in February folowyng, was Queene Anne brought a bedde of a childe before her time, which was borne dead.

Abbeys of ꝧ value of three hundred Marks and vnder geuen to the king.

The fourth day of Februarye the king helde his highe Court of Parliament at Westminster, in the which was many good and whole some statutes and lawes made and concluded. And in this time was geuen vnto the king by the consent of the great and fatte Abbottes, all religious houses that were of the value of three hundred Marke and vnder, in hope that their great Monasteryes should haue continued still: But euen at that tyme one sayde in the Parliament house, that these were as thornes, but the great Abbottes were putrifyed olde Okes, and they must needes folowe: and so will other do in Christendome quod Doctor Stokesley Bishop of London oz manye yeres be passed.

About

About this tyme sayth Sleydan, the king of England sent certaine Ambassadors into Germany to the Protestants to conclude a league with them, among the which Ambassadors was chiefe Edward Foxe Bishop of Herford. And after great conference and long communication had, at the last it was agreed that the king and they were content to enter into league vpon these condicions: 1 First that the king should set forth the pure Doctrine of the Gospell which they professed at Aspurge, and maintaine the same with them in a lawfull Counsaile if any such shall be.

2 That neyther of them admyt the calling or place of a Counsaile, but by common assent: neuertheless if it may appere by certaine and manifest reasons that any such counsaile is like to be, as hath bene declared to Peter Paule, Uerger, the Bishops Legate, that it be not refused: But in case the Bishop continue his purpose, that then his enterprise be letted, and by open protestation to be refused.

3 And like as the king hath ioyned himselfe to their religion, so likewise to ioyne with them in league also, and to be called the Patrone and defender of the same.

4 That common opinion of the supremacie of the Bishop of Rome, to bee vtterly reiected for euer.

5 If any warre be attempted agaynst eyther part, for religion or other cause, that no ayde be geuen vnto him that inforceth the same.

6 That for the defence of the league, the king shall pay one hundred thousand Crownes, whereof the one halfe the Confederatours shall and maye employ when neede shall require, and the rest of their charges to be borne of their owne money which they shall contribute among them: But if the warre shall long endure, and the force of the enemy drive them to it: then the king to disburse two hundred thousand Crownes, forasmuch as they if the like chaunce should fortune, stand also bound, not onely to spend their goodes but their bloud and life also. And of this somme also, the lyke consideration to be had as before, and that it be not employed to any other vse, then to defend the league, and the remainder to be restored when the warre is finished.

7 That the Ambassadours shall write to the king hereof, and when they knowe his minde, to aduertise the Duke of Saxon, and Lantgraue Uan hesse thereof, that after a common Ambassade may be sent vnto him.

Now when the Ambassadors had sent these requests vnto the king they departed to Wyttenbergh. And shortly after came letters from the king of England to the Protestantes, purporting the kinges minde therein, and the Ambassadours do aduertise the Prince elector hereof. And the. xij. day of March at Wittenbergh, whether the Duke was at that tyme come, speaking first many thinges of the kinges great good will, the Ambassadors declare howe that the most part of the requestes do content him, if a fewe might be amended. And albeit that in England all thing is quiet, neyther is there any cause wherefore the king should feare any man, and if haply any cause hath beene, the same is now taken away by the death of his wyfe forsaken, neuertheless to recouer and maintayn the true Doctrine, he doth not refuse to defray the somme of money which they requyre, so that the league go forward, and hereof he will treate more at large with their Ambassadors. And where they offer vnto him this honour, that he should be defender and patrone of

the league, he geueth them great thankes, and acknowlegeth their good will. And although he vnderstand with how much enuy and displeasure, the same is annexed, yet for the common welthes sake, he could be content if they can agree vpon the first and second demaunde. For onlesse there be an vniformity in doctrine, he supposeth that this charge cannot be greatly to his honour: But he would chiefely wishe that the learned of his realme and theirs might be wholy of one opinion. And where he seeth well that the same will not be, onlesse certaine places of the confession and Apologie of their doctrine may before by priuate talke be something qualified: Therefore he desyreth them instantly to send their Ambassadors, and amongest them some one that is excellently learned, which may conferre with his Deuines of the whole doctrine and cerimonies, and determine the matter. And where he sheweth himselfe so liberall vnto them, he requireth againe, that in case any man attempt warre against him: First they will ayde him eyther with fiue hundred horsemen, or else with. x. ships wel manned and furnished for foure months. Furthermore, that vpon his awne charges they shall prouide for him two thousand horsemen, and fiue thousand footemen.

Nowe when the Duke had heard the Ambassadors, he answered them that in asmuch as these thinges concerne not him alone, but his confoetes also, he will make them priuie vnto it, and vse their counsaile in the same.

But shortly after as will appere in the yere folowyng, the king hauyng condemned his wife Queene Anne of Adultery & incest, But (sayth Sleydan) vniustly as it is supposed and proued since, caused her head to be striken off, after she had borne him a daughter that bewtifull Ladie Elizabeth now e Queene of England. And with her were executed certain Gentlemen of the kings priuie Chamber, Norreys, Weston, Brewton, and one Markes, which Markes cõtrary to his conscience, for hope of preferment, subscribed to a bil, whereby he condemned both himselfe, and all the rest. And he was prouoked therunto by the lord Admirall Fitzwilliams, that was after Erle of Southhampton, who sayd vnto him, subscribe Markes, & see what will come of it, & he subscribed, and receyued therefore a reward vnlooked for. And also the lord Rochefort the Queenes brother, through the false accusation of the strumpet his wyfe, which afterwards suffered therfore accordyng to her desertes, was in lyke maner put to death. Which dolefull tragidie tooke cleane away the former purposed Ambassade that should haue bene sent into England.

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On May day were a solempne Justes kept at Grenewich, and sodainly from the Justes the king departed hauyng not aboue. vj. persons with him, and came in the Euening from Grenewich to his place at Westminster. Of this sodain departyng many men mused, but most chiefely the Queene, who the next day was apprehended and brought from Grenewich to the Tower of London, where after she was arreigned of high treason, and condemned. Also at the same tyme was likewise apprehended, the Lord Rochefords brother to the said Queene, & Henry Norrys, Mark Smeton, William a Bruton, & sir Fraunces Weston, all of the kings priuie Chamber. All these were likewyse committed to the Tower, and after arreigned & condemned of high treason. And all the Gentlemen were beheaded on the scaffold at the Tower hill: But the Queene was with a Sworde behedded within the Tower. And these folowyng were the wordes that she spake the day of her death

Queene Anne sent to the Tower.

death which was the .xix. day of May. 1536.

The wordes of Queene Anne Bulleyn at her death.

Good Christen people, I am come hether to dye, for according to the lawe and by the lawe I am iudged to dye, and therefore I will speake nothing against it. I am come hither to accuse no man, nor to speake any thing of that wherof I am accused and condemned to die, but I pray God saue the king and send him long to reigne ouer you, for a gentler nor a more merciful prince was there neuer: and to me was euer a good, a gentle, and souereigne Lorde. And if any person will meddle of my cause, I require them to iudge the best. And thus I take my leaue of the world & of you all, and I hartely desire you al to pray for me. O Lord haue mercy on me, to God I cõmend my soule. And then she kneled downe saiyng: to christ I cõmend my soule, Jesu receiue my soule diuers times, till þ her head was striken of with the sword.

Ladie Jane Seymer maried to the king.

The weke before Whitsontyde the kyng maryed Lady Jane daughter to the right worshypfull syr John Seymer knight, which at Whitsontide was openly shewed as Queene.

Lorde Thomas Hayward committed to the tower.

In the parliament season Lorde Thomas hayward without the kinges assent affied the Lady Margaret Douglas daughter to the Quene of Scottes and Nece to the king: for which presumpteous acte he was attainted of treason, and an act made for the like offendors, and so he dyed in the Tower, and she was long there as prisoner.

In the time of this parliament, the Bishops and all the Clergy of the realme held a solempne conuocation at Paules Church in London, where after much disputacion & debating of matters they published a booke of religiõ intituled. Articles deuised by the kings highnesse &c. In this boke is specially mencioned but three Sacraments, with the which the Lincolnshiremẽ (I meane their ignorant priestes) were offended, & of that occasion depraued the kings doings. And this was their first beginning, as ye shal plainly here.

After this booke which passed by the kynges auctoritie with the consent of the Clergy, was published, certaine Iniunctions were that time geuen whereby a number of their holy dayes, was abrogated and specially such as fell in the Haruest time, the keping of which was much to the hinderaunce of the gathering in of corne, hay, fruite, and other such like necessarie and profitable commodities.

The insurrection in Lincolnshire.

These articles thus ordained and to the people deliuered. The inhabitauntes of the North partes beyng at that time very ignorant and rude, knowing not what true religion ment, but altogether noseled in superstition and popery, and also by the meanes of certayne Abbotes and ignorant Priestes not a litle stirred and prouoked for the suppression of certain Monasteries, and for the extirpation and abholishing of the Bishoppe of Rome now taking an occasion at this booke, saiyng see friendes now is taken from vs foure of the seuen Sacramentes, and shortly you shall lose the other three also, and thus the faith of holy Church shall vtterly be suppressed and abolished and therefore secretly they spred abroade and rayse great and shamefull slaunders onely to moue the people to sedicion and rebellion, and to kindle in the people hatefull and malicious mindes against the kinges maiestie and the maiestrates of the realme, saiyng, let vs fully bende our selues to the mayntenaunce of religion, and rather then to suffer it thus to decaye, euen to dye in the field. And amongest them also were to many, euen of the nobilitie that

that did not a litle prouoke and stirre vp the ignorant & rude people the more stifly to rebell and stande therein, faythfully promising them both ayde and succor against the king and their owne native countrye (like foolish and wicked men) thinking by their so doyng to haue done God high pleasure and seruice. There were also certayne other malicious and bulye persons who added Oyle (as the adage sayth) to the Fornace: These made open clamors in euery place where opportunitie serued, that Christen religion should be vterly violate, dispysed and set a side, and that rather then so, it behoued and was the partes of euerye true Christen man to defende it euen to the death, and not to admyt and suffer by any meanes the fayth (in the which their forefathers so long and so many thousand yeres haue liued and cõtinued) now to be subuerted and destroyed. Amongest these were many priestes which deceyued also the people with many false fables & venemous lyes and imaginations (which could neuer enter nor take place in the hart of any good man, nor faithfull subiect) saiyng that al maner of prayer and fasting and all Gods seruice should vtterly be destroyed & taken away, that no man should marry a wife or be partaker of the Sacraments, or at the length should eate a piece of rost meate, but he shoulde for the same first pay vnto the king a certaine somme of money, and that they should be brought in more bondage and in a more wicked maner of life, then the Sarazins be vnder the great Turke. With these and such other like errors and slaunderous tales, the people thus instructed (or as I may trulier speake) deceyued and mocked, beyng to light of credyt, incontinent to the helpe and mayntenaunce of religion once established and confirmed, they stifly and stoutely did conspire and agree: And in a part of Lincolneshyre, first they assembled and shortly after, ioyned into an army, beyng (as it was supposed) of men apt and fitte for the warre, in number aboue twentie thousand.

False and slaunderous rumors.

Agaynst these trayterous rebelles, with all the haste and speede that might be (after he heard thereof) the kinges royall maiestie, in his owne proper person, furnished with a goodly and warlike armie, lacking nothing that to such a companie should appertaine, marched toward them. But these rebels hearing that his maiesty was present with his power and army royall, feared what would follow of this matter, and suche as were noble men and Gentlemen, that before fauoured them began to withdraw themselues, so that they were destitute of Capitaines, & at the last they in writing made certayne petitions to the kings maiestie, professing that they neuer intended hurt toward hys royall person. The kings maiestie receiued their petitions and made answere vnto them as followeth.

The kings answere to the rebels of Lyncolnshire

First we begin and make answere to the foure and fyue articles, because vpon them dependeth much of the rest, concerning choosing of counsaylors, I neuer haue red, heard, nor knowne, that princes counsaylors, and prelates should be appointed by rude and ignorant common people, nor that they were persons meete nor of habilitie to discerne and choose mete and sufficient counsailors for a prince: how presumpteous then are ye the rude commons of one shire, and that one of the most brute and beastly of the whole realme, and of the least experience to finde fault with your prince for the electing of his counsaylors and prelates, and to take vpon you contrarie to Gods lawe and mans lawe to rule your prince, whome ye are bounde by all lawes

lawes to obey and serue with both your liues, landes and goodes: and for no worldly cause to withstand: the contrarie wherof you like Traytors and rebelles haue attempted and not like true subiects as ye name your selues.

As to the suppression of religious houses and Monasteries, we will that ye and all our subiectes should well knowe that this is graunted vs by all the nobles spirituall and temporall, of this our realme, and by al the commons in the same by act of Parliament, and not set forth by any counsaylor or counsaylors vpon there meere will and phantasie, as ye full falsely would perswade our realme to beleue.

And where ye allege that the seruice of God is muche diminished, the truth thereof is contrarie, for there be no houses suppressed where God was well serued, but where most vice, mischiefe and abhomination of lyuing was vsed, and that doth wel appere by there owne confessions subscribed with their awne handes in the time of their visitations, and yet we suffered a great many of them (more then we needed by the act) to stand wherein if they amende not their liuing, we feare, we haue more to answere for then for the suppression of all the rest. And as for the hospitalitie for the reliefe of the poore, we wonder ye be not ashamed to affirme that they haue bene a great reliefe of the poore people, when a great many of the most part hath not past foure or fiue religious persons in them, and dyuers, but one which spent the substaunce of the goods of their houses in norishyng of vice, and abhominable lyuing. Nowe what vnkindnesse and vnnaturalitie may we impute to you and all our subiectes that be of that minde, that had leuer suche an vnthriftie sort of vicious persons, should enioye suche possessions, profites and Emolumentes, as growe of the sayde houses, to the maintenaunce of their vnthriftie life, then we your naturall prince, souereigne Lord and king, which doth and hath spent more in your defences of our awne, then fyre times they be worth: As touchyng the act of vses, we maruayle what madnesse is in your brayne, or vpon what ground ye would take auctority vpon you to cause vs to breake these lawes and statutes, which by all the nobles, knightes, and Gentlemen of this realme (whome the same chiefely toucheth) hath bene graunted and assented to: seyng in no maner of thinges it toucheth you the base commons of our realme.

Also the groundes of all those vses were false, and neuer admitted by any lawe: but vsurped vpon the prince, contrarie to all equitie and iustice, as it hath bene openly both disputed and declared by all the wel learned men in the realme of England in Westminster hall: whereby ye maye well perceyue howe mad and vnreasonable your demaundes be, both in that and in the rest, and how vnmeete it is for vs and dishonorable, to graunt or assent vnto, and lesse meete and decent for you in such a rebellious sort to demaund the same of your prince.

As touchyng the fiftene which ye demaund of vs to be released, thinke ye that we be so faint harted, that perforce ye of one shire (were ye a great many mo) could compell vs with your insurrections and such rebellious demeanor to remit the same? or thinke ye that any man will or may take you to be true subiectes, that first make and shewe a louing graunt, and then perforce would compell your souereigne lorde and king to release the same? the time of payment whereof is not yet come, ye, and seing the same will not

counter-

counteruaile the tenth penie of the charges, which we doe and daily sustayne for your tuition and safegard: make you sure by your occasions of these your ingratitudes, vnnaturalnesse and vnkindnes to vs now administred, ye geue vs cause which hath alwayes beene as much dedicate to your welth as euer was king, not so much to set or studie for the setting forwarde of the same, seyng how vnkindly and vntruely ye deale now with vs, without any cause or occasion: and doubt ye not, though you haue no grace nor naturalnesse in you to consider your duetie of allegeaunce to your king and souereigne Lorde, the rest of our realme we doubt not hath: and we and they shall so looke on this cause, that we trust it shall be to your confusion, if according to your former letters you submit not your selues.

As touching the first fruites, we let you wit, it is a thing graunted vs by act of parliament also, for the supportation of parte of the great and excessiue charges, which we support and beare for the maintenaunce of your welthes and other our subiects: and we haue knowne also that ye our commons haue much complayned in times past, that the most part of our goods, landes and possessions of the realme, were in the spirituall mens handes: and yet bearing vs in hande that ye be as louing subiectes to vs as maye be, ye cannot finde in your hartes that your prince and souereigne Lord should haue any parte thereof (and yet it is nothing preiudiciall vnto you our commons) but to rebell and vnlawfully rise against your prince, contrarie to the duetie of allegeaunce and Gods commaundement. Sirs remember your folies and trayterous demeanors, and shame not your native Countrie of England, nor offende no more so grieuously your vndoubted king and naturall prince, which alwayes hath shewed himselfe most louing vnto you, and remember your duetie of allegeaunce, and that ye are bound to obey vs your king, both by Gods commaundement and law of nature.

Wherefore we charge you eftsones vpon the foresayde bonds and paynes, that ye withdraw your selues to your owne houses, euery man, and no more to assemble contrary to our lawes and your allegeaunces, and to cause the pronokers of you to this mischiefe, to be deliuered to our Lieftenaunts handes, or oures, and you your selues to submit you to such condigne punishment as we and our nobles shall thinke you worthy: for doubt you not else that we and our nobles can nor will suffer this iniurie at your handes vnreuenged, if ye geue not place to vs of souereigntie, and shewe your selues, as bounden and obedient subiects, and no more to entermeddle your selues from henceforth with the waighty affaires of the realme, the direction wherof onely appertaineth to vs your king, and such noble men and counsailors as we list to elect and choose to haue the ordering of the same, and thus we pray vnto almightie God, to geue you grace to doe your duties, to vse your selues towarde vs like true and faithfull subiectes, so as we may haue cause, to order you thereafter, and rather obediently to consent amongst you to deliuer into the handes of our Lieuetenaunt a hundred persons, to be ordered accordyng to their demerites, at our will and pleasure, then by your obstinacie and wilfulnesse, to put your selues, your wiues, children, landes, goodes, and cattels, besides the indignation of God, in the vtter aduenture of totall destruction, and vtter ruine, by force and violence of the sworde.

After the Lincolneshire men had receyued this the kinges aunswere aforesayde,

foresayde, made to their petitions, eche misdoubting other who should be noted to be the greatest medler, euen very sodainly they began to shrinke, and out of hand they were all deuided, and euery man at home in his owne house in peace: But the Capitaynes of these rebelles escaped not all clere, but were afterward apprehended, and had as they deserued: he that tooke vpon him as Capitaine of this rowte named himselfe Capitaine Cobler, but it was a Monke called Doctor Makerel, with diuers other, which afterward were taken and executed.

Doctor Makerell otherwise called Capitayne Cobler.

All these thinges thus ended, the Countrey appeased, and all thinges in quiet, the kinges maiestie retired, and brake vp his army.

A new insurrection in the North.

But see, euen within sixe dayes folowyng, was the king truly certified, that there was a newe insurrection made by the Northren men, which had assembled themselues into a houge and great armie of warlike men, & well appoynted both with Capitaynes, horse, harnesse, and artillary, to the number of fortie thousand men, which had encamped themselues in Yorkeshire: And these men had eche of them to other bounde themselues by their othe, to be faythfull and obedient to his Capitaine: they also declared by their Proclamations solemply made, that this their insurrection, shoulde extende no farther but onely to the maintenaunce and defence of the fayth of Christ, and deliuerance of holy Church sore decayed and oppressed, and also for the furtheraunce aswell of priuate as publike matters in the realme touchyng the welth of all the kings poore subiectes. They named this their seditious and trayterous voyage, an holy and blessed Pilgrimage: they had also certaine Banners in the field, whereupon was painted Christ hangyng on the crosse on the one syde, and a Chalice with a painted Cake in it on the other syde, with diuers other Banners of like hipocrisie, and feyned sanctitie: the souldiors also had a certaine cognisaunce or badge, embrodered or set vpon the sleeues of there coates which was the similitude of the fiue woundes of Christ, and in the middest thereof was written the name of our Lord, and thus the rebellious garryson of Sathan, with his false and counterfeated signes of holinesse, set forth and decked themselues, onely to delude and deceyue the simple and ignorant people.

The Rebels named their enterprise an holy and blessed pilgrymage.

After that the kinges highnesse was credibly certified of this newe insurged resurrection, he makyng no delay in so waightie a matter, caused with all speede the Dukes of Norffolke and Suffolke, the Marques of Exceter, the Erle of Shrewsbury with other, accompanied with his mightie and royall armie, which was of great power and strength, forthwith to set vpon the rebelles: But when these noble Capitaynes and Counsaylors approched the rebelles, and perceyued their number, and sawe how they were bent to battail, they practised with great pollicie to haue pacified al without bloud sheddyng, but the Northren men were so stiffe necked, that they would in no wise stoupe, but stoutely stoode & maintained their wicked enterprize, wherefore the Nobles aboue sayde perceyuyng and seeyng none other way to pacifie these wretched rebelles, agreed vpon a battaile, the battaile was appointed, and the day was assigned: but see, the same night which was the night before the daye of the battaile appoynted, fell a small rayne nothing to speake of: but yet as it were by a great miracle of God, the water which was but a very small foorde, and that men in maner the day before, might haue

A trew miracle of God.

gone

goue dyſhod ouer, ſodainly roſe of ſuch a heigth, deepeneſſe, and breedth, that the like no man that there did inhabite, could tell that euer they ſaw it ſo afore, ſo that the day euen when the houre of battaile ſhould come, it was impoſſible for the one army to come at the other.

After this appointment made betweene both the armies (diſappointed as it is to be thought onely by God, who extended his great mercy, and had compaſſion on the great number of innocent perſons, that in that deadly ſlaughter had like to haue bene murdered) could take no place: Then by the great wiſedome and politicie of the ſayd Capitaynes, a communication was had, and a pardon of the kinges Maieſtie obtayned, for all the Capitaynes and chiefe doers of this inſurrection, and they promiſed that ſuch thinges as they found themſelues agrieued withall they ſhould gently be heard, and their reaſonable petitions graunted, and that their articles ſhould be preſented to the kinges Maieſtie, that by his highneſſe authoritie, and wiſedome of hys Counſaile, all thinges ſhould be brought to good order and concluſion: and with this order euery man quietly departed, and thoſe which before were bent as hote as fire to fight, beyng letted thereof by God, went nowe peaceably to their houſes, and were as colde as water. A domino factum eſt iſtud.

In this tyme of inſurrection, and in the rage of hurly burly, euen when the kings army and the rebels were readie to ioyne, the kinges Banner beyng diſplayed, and the kinges Maieſtie then lying at Windſore, there was a Boocher dwellyng within fiue myle of Windſore, which cauſed a prieſt to preach, that all ſuch as tooke part with the Yorkeſhiremen, whom he named Gods people, did fight and defend Gods quarell, and farther the ſayd Boocher in ſellyng of his meate, one did bid him a leſſe price of a ſheepe then he made of it, he anſwered nay by Gods ſoule, I had rather ỹ good felowes of the North had it among them, & a ſcore more of the beſt I haue: This prieſt and Boocher were accuſed to the kings maieſtie Counſail of the treaſons aboueſaid on the Monday in the morning, & the ſame day they were both ſent for, which confeſſed their treaſons, and ſo according to the law marſhall, they were adiudged to die: and ſo the ſayde Monday, they were both examined, condemned, and hanged, the Boocher was hanged on a new payre of Gallowes ſet on the Bridge ende before the Caſtel gate: and the prieſt was hãged on a tree at the foote of Windſore bridge.

A Boocher and a Prieſt hanged at Windſore.

This yere in December was the Thamys of London all froſen ouer, wherefore the kinges Maieſtie with his beautifull ſpouſe Queene Jane, roade throughout the Citie of London to Grenewich: And this Chriſtmaſſe the king by his Meſſengers and Heraulds, ſent downe to the North his generall pardons to all capitall offenders: and ſhortly after came Aſke to London, and ſo to the Court to the king: this Aſke was the chiefe Capitaine of the laſt rebellion in the North, and now both pardoned of the king, and hys grace receiued him into his fauor, and gaue vnto him apparell and great rewardes, but as after ye ſhall perceyue, Aſke enioyed not the king his newe friendes kindneſſe a yere and a day, and pitie it was that he had any fauour at all, for there liued not a beryer wretch aſwell in perſon, as in condicions and dedes, ſpecially agaynſt his annoynted gouernor and ſouereigne Lord.

A great froſt.

Aſk a rebell of the North.

The thirde day of Febzuary, was Thomas Fitz Garrad late Erle of Kildare, and fiue of his Uncles, drawen, hanged, and quartered at Tiborne, for

for high treaſon.

Alſo in the ſayde Moneth, Nichol Muſgraue, Thomas Tilbie, wyth other began a new rebellion at Kirbie Staphan in Weſtmerland, with. viij. thouſand perſons, and beſieged the Citie of Carliſle, from whence they were beaten, with the onely power of the Citie, and in their returnyng the Duke of Norffolke who then was made Lieutenaunt of the North, encountered with them, and tooke the Capitaynes, and according to the law martiall, arreigned three ſcore and fourtene of them, and hanged them on Carliſle walles, but Muſgraue eſcaped. And in the ſame moneth of Febzuary began yet another inſurrection, by the entiſement of ſir Fraunces Bygod, a man no doubt that loued God, and feared his Prince, with a right obedient & louyng feare: but nowe beyng deceyued, and prouoked thereunto by falſe rebellious perſons, it was his fortune to taſte of the ende which appertayneth to rebelles: ſuch are men when God leaueth them to their ſelues, and when they will enterpriſe the doyng of that thing which Gods moſt holy worde bitterly forbiddeth: This Bygod was apprehended and brought to the Tower of London, & this laſt rebellion began in Setrington, and in Pikeryn Leigh, and Scarborough.

A new rebellion in Weſtmerland.

Sir Fraunces Bigod.

Alſo in the latter end of this yere, the Lorde Darcy, Aſke, Sir Robert Conſtable, Sir John Bulmer and his wife, ſir Thomas Percy brother to the Erle of Northumberland, ſir Stephen Hamelton, Nicholas Tempeſt, Eſquier, William Lomley, ſonne to the Lord Lomley, began againe to conſpire, although they before had euery one of them their pardons: and nowe they were all taken and brought to the Tower of London.

Robert Aſke taken.

In this yere one Robert Packyngton, Mercer of London, a man of good ſubſtaunce, and yet not ſo rich as honeſt and wiſe, this man dwelled in Chepeſide at the ſigne of the Legge, and vſed dayly at foure of the clocke Winter and Summer to riſe and go to Maſſe at a Church then called ſaynt Thomas of Acres (but now named the Mercers Chappell) and one morning among all other, beyng a great miſtie morning ſuch as hath ſeldome bene ſene, euen as he was croſſing the ſtreate from his houſe to the Church, he was ſodaynely murdered with a Gonne, which of the neighbors was playnely heard, and by a great number of Labarers at the ſame time ſtanding at Soper lane ende, he was ſene go forth of his houſe, and alſo the clap of the Gonne was hard, but the dede doer was neuer eſpied nor knowne, but many were ſuſpected, but none couldе be founde fawtie: howbeit it is trew, that foraſmuch as he was knowne to be a man of great corage and one that both could ſpeake and alſo would be heard: and that the ſame time he was one of the Burgeſſes of the Citie of London & had talked ſomewhat againſt the couetouſneſſe and crueltie of the Clergy, he was had in contempt with them, and therefore moſt like by one of them thus ſhamefully murdered, as you perceyue that Mayſter Honne was in the fyrſt yere of the reigne of this king.

Robert Packyngton.

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In June the Lorde Darcy and the Lorde Hoſſey were arreigned at Weſtminſter before the Marques of Exceſter, then high Stuard of Englande, and they were both found gylty and had their iudgement as in caſes of high treaſon.

The Lorde Darcy, & lord Hoſſey condempned of high treaſon.

Shortly after were alſo arreigned ſir Robert Conſtable, Sir Thomas

Percey, Sir Fraunces Bigod, Sir Stephen Hamelton, syr John Bulmer and his wife, which some reported was not his wife, but his paramour, also William Lomley, Nycholas Tempest, and the Abbotes of Jerney and Bruers, and Robert Aske, and all founde guilty of high treason, and all put to death at Tiborne, sauing sir Robert Constable, which was hanged in chaines on Beuerley Gate at Hull, and Aske was also hanged in chaynes at Yorke on a Tower, and sir John Bulmers Paramour was brent in Smithfield in London: And in the latter ende of June, was the Lorde Darcy behedded at Tower hill and shortly after was the Lord Hossey behedded at Lincolne.

Lord Cromwell made knight of the Garter.

This yere at the feast of saint George, was the Lorde Cromwell made knight of the Garter.

The birth of Prince Edward late our soueraigne Lord & king Edward the sixt.

In October on S. Edwards euen was borne at Hampton Court the noble Impe prince Edward, whose godfathers at the christening were ỳ Archbishop of Cantorburie, & the Duke of Norffolke & his Godmother the Lady Mary the kinges daughter, and at the bishopping was Godfather the Duke of Suffolke: At the birth of this noble prince was great fiers made through the whole realme, and great ioye made with thankes geuing to almightie God which had sent so noble a prince to succede in ỳ crowne of this realme. But Lorde what lamentation shortly after was made for the death of his

Quene Jane departed.

noble and gracious mother Quene Jane, which departed out of this life the xviij. day of October next following: and of none in the realme was it more heauilier taken then of the kings maiesty himself, whose death caused ỳ king immediatly to remoue vnto Westminster where he mourned and kept himselfe close and secret a great while: and the eyght day of Nouember ỳ corps of the Queene was caried to Windsore with great solempnitie, and there

Quene Jane buryed.

was buried in the middes of the Queere in the Castell Church: And at the same time was made in Paules a solempne Herce for her, where was a masse and dirigie, and in like maner was song a Masse and dirigie in euery parishe church in London.

The kings maiestie kept his Christmasse at Greenewiche in his mourning apparell, and so was all the Court till the morrowe after Candelmas day and then he and all other chaunged.

Also this yere the Viscount Beauchamp was created Erle of Hertford and sir William Fitzwilliam high Admirall created Erle of Southampton.

James king of Scottes married the french kings Daughter.

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Thys yere James king of Scottes maried the Lady Magdalene, the French kings eldest daughter.

Fryer Forest condempned and brent.

In Maye there was a Frier called Frier Forest, one of the obseruant Friers, but he might haue bene more truelier named as after shall appere, an obstinate Frier, this obstinate Frier had secretly in cõfessions declared to many of the kings subiects that ỳ king was not supreme head & being therof accused & apprehended, he was examined how he could say ỳ the king was not supreme head of ỳ Church, when he himself had sworne to the cõtrarie, he answered that he toke his oth with his outward man, but his inward man neuer cõsented therunto: at this answere the lords who examined him loked very straũgely at the dissimulation of the Frier, but being farther accused of diuers heretical and dampnable articles, that he helde contrarie to the scripture of God, he was after sundrie examinations conuinced and confuted, and gladly submitted himselfe to abide the punishment of the Church: But vpon this his submission, hauing more libertie then before he had, as well to talke

talke with whome he would, as also who that would to talke with him, certayne such outwarde men as he was so talked with him and so incensed him, that the outwarde Frier was so farre from his open submission as euer he was, and when his abiuration was sent him to read and looke vpon, he vtterly refused it, and obstinately stood in all his hereties, and treasons before conspired. All gentle meanes that was possible to be sought for his reconciliation was had, but the more gentler that the maiestrates were to hym, the more obstinate was the Frier, and would neyther argue nor aunswere: wherefore iustly he was condempned, and after for him was prepared in Smithfield in London a Gallowes on the which he was hanged in chaines by the middle and armeholes all quick, and vnder the Gallowes was made a fyre, and so he consumed and brent to death. At his comming to the place of execution, there was prepared a great Skaffolde, on which sate the nobles of the realme, and the kings maiesties most honorable counsayle, onely to haue graunted pardon to that wretched creature, if any sparke of repentaunce would haue happened in him: there was also prepared a Pulpit where a right reuerend father in God and a renowned and famous Clarke the Byshoppe of Worcester called Hugh Latimer, declared to hym his errors and openly and manifestly by the scripture of God confuted them, and with many good and godly exhortations moued him to repentaunce, but such was his frowardnesse that he neyther would heare nor speake: And a little before the execution, a houge and a great Image was brought to the Galowes, which Image was brought out of Wales, and of the Welshmen much sought and worshipped: This Image was called Darnell Gatheren, and the Welshemen had a prophesie that this Image should set a whole Forest a fyre, which prophesie now toke effect, for he set this Fryer Forest on fyre and consumed him to nothing. This Frier when he sawe the fyre come and that present death was at hande, caught holde vpon the ladder, which he would not let go, but so vnpaciently tooke his death, that no man that euer put his trust in God neuer so vnquietly nor so vngodly ended his lyfe: if men might iudge him by his outward man, he appered to haue little knowledge of God and his sincere truth, and lesse trust in him at his ending. Upon the Gallowes that he died on, was set vp in great letters these verses folowing,

Hugh Latymer Bishop of Worcester

Prophesye of Darnell Gatheren.

Dauid Darnell Gatheren,
As sayth the VVelshmen
Fetched outlawes out of hell.
Now is he come with speare and shielde,
In harnesse to burne in Smithfielde
For in VVales he may not dwell.
And Forest the Fryer
That obstinate lyer
That wilfully shall be dead.
In his contumacie,
The Gospell doth denie
The king to be supreme head.

In July was Edmond Coningsbye attaynted of treason, for counterfeating of the kinges Signe Manuell: And in August was Edward Clifford for the same cause attaynted and both put to execution as Traytors at Tiborne. And the Sonday after Bartelmewday, was one Cratwell Hangman of London, and two persones more hanged at the Wrestling place on the backeside of Clerkenwell beside London, for robbing of a Booth in Bartelmew fayre, at which execution was aboue twentie thousande people as I my selfe iudged sayth Hall.

Cratwell a Hangman hanged.

In this moneth of August, the king of Scottes maryed the Lady Mary

rye late Duches of Longuile. And in September by the speciall motion of the Lorde Cromwell all the notable Images vnto the which were made any speciall Pilgrimages and Offeringes, were vtterly taken away, as the Images of Walsingham, Ypswiche, Worceter, the Lady of Wilsdon, with many other. And likewise the Shrines of counterfeated Saintes, as the Shrine of Thomas Becket and diuerse other. And euen foorthwith by the meanes of the sayd Cromwell all the orders of superstitious and begging Fryers, as White, Gray, Blacke, Augustine, Croched Friers, and likewise all the puling Nonnes, with their Cloysters and Houses were suppressed and put downe.

Idolatrus Images suppressed.

All counterfeit religions suppressed.

In this season, suite was made by the Emperor to the kinges maiestie that he would take to wyfe the Duches of Myllayne, but in this matter the Emperors counsayle so dalied with the king that shortly he left of that suite: of the which breaking of with the Emperor, the Duke of Cleue heard, and therefore forthwith he made suyte to the kinges maiestie, for his fayre sister the Lady Anne: vndoubtedly the Emperors counsayle thought by a cautell to haue brought the King to sue to the Bishoppe of Rome for a licence which thing the kinges maiestie soone smelled and perceyued, whereabout they went.

The thirde day of Nouember were Henry Marques of Excester and Erle of Deuonshire, and sir Henry Poole knight and Lorde Mountagew and sir Edward Neuell brother to the Lorde Burgany sent to the Tower which three were accused by syr Gefferie Poole brother to the Lord Mountagew, of high treason, and the two Lordes were arreigned the last day of December, at Westminster before the Lorde Awdeley of Waldon, Lorde Chauncellor, and then high Stewarde of Englande, and there founde giltie, likewise on the thirde daye after was arreigned Sir Edward Neuell, Syr Gefferey Poole and two Priestes called Crofftes and Collyns, and one Holand a Mariner and all attainted, and the ninth day of January were the sayde two Lordes and Sir Edward Neuell behedded at the Tower hyll, and the two Priestes and Holand were drawne to Tiborne and there hanged and quartered, and Syr Gefferey Poole was pardoned.

The Lorde Marques of Excester and other accused and condemned of high treason.

On Ashewednesday were John Johnes, John Potter, and Wylliam Mauering, hanged in the Princes Liueries, because they were the princes Seruaunts, on the South side of Paules Churchyard for killing of Roger Cholmeley Esquyre in the same place of malice pretensed.

Also on the thirde daye of Marche, was sir Nicholas Carew of Beddington, in the County of Surrey knight of the Garter, and Maister of the kinges horse, before attainted of treason, behedded at the Tower hyll, wher he made a goodly confession, both of his follye and superstitious fayth, geuing God most harty thankes that euer he came in the prison of the Tower, where he first fauored the lyke and sweetenesse of Gods most holye worde, meaning the Bible in Englishe, which there he reade by ..e meane of one Thomas Philips then keeper of that prison, but before he was a Citezen and Poyntmaker of London, which Philips two yeres before had bene there prisoner himselfe, and sore troubled as well by syr Thomas More as also by Doctor Stokesley Bishop of London, who often times examined the sayd Philips, and layde many articles to his charge, but he so wisely and coldely

Sir Nicholas Carew behedded.

Thomas Philips.

coldely vsed him selfe, that he maugre their euill willes, escaped clerely their handes.

At this time the Pope sommoned a generall counsayle to be holden at Mantua. And herevnto king Henry in the name of him selfe & his Nobles publisheth a writing, saiyng that where there is a Counsayle called by the Bishop of Rome, the which he hath none authoritie to do, and called at such a time, when mortall warre is betweene the Emperor and the French kyng, and the place appoynted at Mantua, whether it is neyther safe nor commodious for all men to come. He in deede desyreth a Christian counsayle with all his heart, but vnto the Bishoppes counsayle, he will neyther come himselfe nor yet send his Ambassadors: for this is alwayes their fashion, that for their owne lucre sake, they will in such maner of assemblyes oppresse Chryst and his veritie: And for his part he wyll haue nothing to do with the Bishop of Rome, nor regardeth no more his decree, then the writing of any other Bishop: adding that counsailes were wont to be called by the authoritie of the Emperor and kinges, which maner ought to be restored especially at this tyme when the Bishoppe hath so many graue persons to accuse him. Yet neuertheless can he neyther be reprehended without the daunger of a mannes life, nor accused presently: but in a lawfull counsaile: neyther is their any prouision made for him or his by safeconduite, although there were yet manifest daungers that should let him that he coulde not come: For it is no newes to the Bishoppes to falsifie their fayth, and to sprinkle and defile themselues with innocent bloud. And albeit it shoulde be lawfull for others to repayre thether, yet were it no safety for him, whom the Bishop hath layde wayte for, whom he hateth deadly, whom he seketh to bring in hatred with other kings, for none other cause assuredly, then for that his Tiranny is exiled out of his realme, and his yerely reuenues taken away, which thing in very dede he taketh in most euill part, & so much the worse for that he feareth lest other kings warned through his example, will hereafter do the like.

The answere of king Henry the eyght for comming to the generall counsaile.

The ninth day of Marche, the king created at Westminster sir William Pawlet knight Treasorer of his houshold, Lorde Saint John, and sir John Russell Comptroller of his house, Lorde Russell.

Sir Wylliam Paulet Lord Saint John. Sir John Russell, Lord Russell.

The same time the king caused all the Hauens to be fortefied, and rode to Douer, and caused Bulwarkes to be made on the Sea coastes, and sent commissioners throughout all the realme, to haue his people muster: and at the same season on Easter daye, was there three score vnknowne shippes lying in the downes, wherefore all Kent arose, and mustered in harnesse the same daye.

Bulwarkes made by king Henry the eyght.

The eyght and twentie daye of Aprill, began a Parliament at Westminster, in the which Margaret Countesse of Salisburie, Gertrude wyfe to the Marques of Excester, Reignolde Poole Cardinall, brother to the Lorde Mountagew, syr Adrian Fortkew, Thomas Dingley knight of saint Johnes, and diuers other were attainted of highe treason, which Fortkew and Dingley were the tenth day of July behedded.

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Margaret Countesse of Salisburie.

The kinges highnesse which neuer ceased to studie and take payne both for the aduauncement of the common welth of this his realme of Englande, of the which he was the onely supreme gouernor and head, and also for the defence of the same, was lately enformed by his trustie and faythfull

Cardinall Poole.

frendes, that the rankard and cruell serpent the Bishop of Rome, by that Archetraytor Reignolde Poole, enemie to Gods worde, and his naturall Countrie, had moued and stirred diuers great Princes and Potentates of Christendome to inuade the realme of Englande, and vtterly to destroye the whole nation of the same: wherfore his Maiestie in his owne person, without any delay tooke very laborious and painfull iourneyes towardes the sea coastes. Also he sent diuers of his nobles and Counsaylors to viewe & search all the Portes and daungers on the coastes, where any meete or conuenient landyng place might be supposed, aswell on the Borders of England, as also of Wales. And in all such doubtfull places, his highnesse caused diuers and many Bulwarkes, and fortifications to be made. And further his highnesse caused the Lorde Admirall Erle of Southhampton to prepare in readinesse shippes for the sea, to his great cost and charges.

Bulwarkes made.

And beside this, to haue all his people in a readinesse, he directed hys Commissions thorowghout the realme to haue his people mustered, and the harnesse and weapons seene and viewed, to the entent that all things should be in a readinesse, if his enemies would make any attempt into this realme: And amongest other, one Commission was directed to the right worshipfull sir Thomas Forman knight, Maior of London, and his brethren, for to certifie all the names of all men betweene the ages of. lx. and. xvj. and the number of harnesses, weapons, with their kinds and diuersities: Wherupon the sayde Lorde Maior and his brethren, euery one hauyng with them one of the Counsaile or learned men of the Citie repayred to their wardes, and there by the othe of the common counsaile and Constables of the same warde tooke the number of the men, harnesses, and weapons, accordyng to theyr Commission. And after that they had well viewed their Bookes, and the number of the persons, they thought it not expedient to admitte the whole number of such as were certified for hable and apt persons for to muster: Wherefore then they assembled themselues againe, and chose out of the most hable persons, and put by the other, and specially all such as had no harnesse, nor for whom no harnesse could be prouided. But when they were credibly aduertised by the kinges Counsaylor Thomas Lord Cromwell knight of the noble order of the Garter Lorde priuie Seale (to whose prudence and goodnesse the Citie was much bounden) that the king himselfe would see the people of the Citie Muster in a conuenient number, and not to set forth all their power, but to leaue some at home to keepe the Citie. Then eftsones euery Alderman repayred to his ward, and there put aside all such as had Jackes, coates of Plate, coates of Mayle, and Briganders, and appoynted none but such as had white harnesse, except such as should beare Morishe pykes, which had no harnesse but sculles: and they appoynted none but such as had white harnesse, neyther did they admit any that was a straunger, although they were Denizens. When it was knowen that the king would see the muster, Lord how glad the people were to prepare, and what desyre they had to do their Prince seruice, it woulde haue made any faythfull subiectes heart to haue reioyced. Then euery man beyng of any substaunce prouided himselfe a coate of white Silke, and garnished their Basenets with turues lyke Cappes of Silke set with Ouches, furnished with Cheynes of Golde and feathers: other gylted their Harnesse, their Halbardes, and Pollaxes.

The great Muster in London.

Some,

Some, and especiall certaine Goldsmithes had their breast plates, pea and their whole harnesse of syluer bullion. The Constables were all in Iornets of white Silke, with Cheynes, and Battell Axes. The meaner sort of people were all in coates of white cloth curiously trymmed with the Armes of the Citie before and behinde. The Lorde Maior himselfe was in a tayre Armor the rreskes thereof were gylt, and ouer that a coat of black Velues with halfe sleeues, and so was sir Roger Cholmley knight Recorder of London, and al the other Aldermen and Shirifes, and suche as had bene Shirifes, all well mounted on stirryng horses richely trapped and couered, with Battelaxes in their handes, and Wales and Chaynes about theyr neckes. The Lorde Maior had foure footemen all in whyte Sylke, cut, ruffed, and pounced: he had also two Pages well mounted on stirryng Coursers, richely trapped and appareled in coates of Crimosyn Velues, and cloth of Golde paled, with Chaynes of Golde, the one bearyng his helme, and the other his Axe. He also had. xvj. tall men on foote with gylt Halbardes, whose Dublets were white sylke, and hosen, dublets, and shoes all white, cut after the Almaine fashion, puffed and pulled out with red sarcenet, euery one hauing a white leather Jerkin all to cut, and Chaynes about their neckes, with feathers and Brooches on their Cappes. The Recorder and euery Alderman had about him foure Halberdes trymmed warlyke.

The Chamberlayne of the Citie, and the Councellors of the same and the Aldermens Deputies, which were appoynted to be Wyffelers on horsebacke, were all in white Dammaske Coates on their harnesse, mounted on good horses well trapped, with great Chaynes about their neckes, and proper Jauelyns or Battelaxes in their handes, and Cappes of Velues richely decked.

The Wyffelers on foote, foure hundred proper and light persons all appareled in white Silke or Jerkyns of leather cutte, with white Hose and shoes, euery man hauyng a Jauelyn or Slaughsword to kepe the people in array and Chaynes about their neckes, and white feathers in their Cappes.

The Minstrels were all in white, with the armes of the Citie, and so was euery other person at this Muster without any diuersitie, sauyng the Lorde Maior, the Recorder and his brethren, who had Crosses of Velues or Satten pyzled with golde.

The Standard bearers were the tallest men of euery warde, for whom were made. xxx. new Standardes of the deuise of the Citie beside banners.

When euery thing was prepared, euery Alderman mustered his owne warde in the fieldes, viewyng euery man in his harnesse, and to cause such as could shote, to take Bowes in their handes, and the other Billes or Pykes.

The. viij. day of May, accordyng to the kinges pleasure, euery Alderman in order of battaile with his warde came into the common field at Myle ende, and then all the Gonnes seuered themselues into one place, the Pykes in another, and the Bowmen in another, and likewise the Bilmen, and there rynged and snapled, which was a goodly sight to beholde: for all the fieldes from white Chapell to Myle ende, and from Bednall Greene to Ratclyffe, and to Stepney were all couered with harnesse, men, and weapons, and in especiall the battaile of Pykes seemed to be a great Forrest. Then euerye part was deuided into three partes, the Pykes in three partes, and so the

other.

other. Then were appoynted three battayles, a forewarde, middlewarde, and rerewarde.

The order of the Muster in going.

About.viij. of the clocke in the morning marched forward the lyght peces of ordinaunce, with stone and powder, after them folowed the Drōmes, and Fyffes, and immediately after them a Guydon of the armes of the Citie. Then folowed maister Sadler Capitaine of the Gunners, vppon a good horse in harnesse, and a coate of Uelvet with a Chaine of Golde, and foure Halbardes about him appareled as before is rehersed. Then folowed the Gunners foure in a ranke, euery one going fiue foote a sunder, euery mans shoulder euen with another, which shot altogether in diuers places verye cherefully, and especially before the kinges Maiestie, which at that time sate in his new gate house at his Palace at Westminster, where he vewed all the whole company: In like maner passed the second and third battailes, all wel and richly appoynted. They passed as is sayd, the formost Capitaine at. ix. of the clocke in the morning by the little Conduit entring into Paules Church yarde, and so directly to Westminster, and so through the Sanctuary, and round about the Parke of Saint James, and so vp into the field, and came home through Holborne: and as the first Capitaine entered againe to the little Conduite, the last of the Muster entered Paules Churchyard, which then was foure of the clocke at after noone. The number was. xv. thousand, beside Wyffelers and other wayters.

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In August the great Onele and Odonele entered into the Englishe pale in Irelande, and brent almost twentie myle within the same: wherefore the Lorde Grey then Deputie there, assembled a great power and met with them the. xxx. day of August and put them to flight: And therefore the king sent ouer fiue hundred freshe souldiours to ayde his deputie.

The great Onele and Odonele.

Ambassadors sent out of Germanie for the conclusion of a marriage betweene the king and the Ladie Anne of Cleaue.

In the ende of September the. xvj. day of that moneth came to London Duke Frederyke of Bauyre Countie of Palantine or Palsgraue of the Ryne, and the. xviij. day came to London, the Marchall of Duke John Frederick prince Electour of Saxony, and the Chauncelor of William Duke of Cleue, Gulycke, Gelder and Berry: the Palsgraue was receyued and conducted to Wyndsore by the Duke of Suffolke: & the other were accompanied with other nobles, and the. xxiij. day of the same moneth they al came to Wyndsore, where eyght dayes they continually were feasted and hunted, with all pleasure that might be shewed vnto them: and the Palsgraue shortly departed and was honorably rewarded: and at that season was concluded the mariage betweene the king and the Lady Anne, sister to Duke William of Cleue, and great preparation was made for the receiuyng of her.

Hugh Ferongdon, Rugge, Onyon.

The. xiiij. day of Nouember Hugh Feringdon Abbot of Redyng and two Prieستes, the one called Rugge, and the other Onyon, were attaynted of high treason, for denying the king to be supreme head of the Church, and were drawne, hanged and quartered at Reding. This Abbot was a stubborne Monke and vtterly without learning. The same day was Rychard Whityng Abbot of Glascenbury likewise attaynted and hanged on Tower hill beside his monasterie, for the sayde case and other great treasons, which also was quartered; and the first daye of December was John Beche Abbot of Colchester put to execution for the same confederacie and treason.

Richard Whityng Abbot.

John Beche Abbot.

In December were appointed to wayte on the kinges highnesse person fiftie

fiftie Gentlemen called Pencioners or Speares, lyke as they were in the first yere of the king.

Pencioners.

The receyuing of the Ladye Anne of Cleue.

The. xj. daye of December at the Turnepike on this side Graueling was the Ladye Anne of Cleue receyued by the Lorde Lisle, Deputie of the towne of Calice, & with the speares and horsemen belonging to the retinue there, all beyng freshe and warlike appareled, and so marchyng toward Calice a mile and more from the towne met her Grace the Erle of Southampton great Admirall of Englande, and appareled in a Coate of purple Uelvet cut on cloth of Golde, and tyed with great Aglets and Trefoiles of gold, to the number of foure hundred, and baudrick wise he ware a chayne, at the which did hang a Whystell of Golde set with riche stones of a great value. And in his companie thirtie Gentlemen of the kings houshold verie richely appareled with great and massy chaynes, and in especiall syr Fraunces Bryan, and syr Thomas Seymers chaynes were of great valure and straunge fashion. Beside this the Lorde Admirall had a great number of Gentlemen in blewe Uelvet and crymosyn Sattyn, and hys yomen in Damnask of the same colours, and the Maryners of his ship in Sattyn of Bridges, both coates and sloppes of the same colours, which Lorde Admirall with lowe obeysaunce welcommed her, and so brought her into Calice by the Lanterne gate, where the ships lay in the hauen garnished with their banners, pencels and flagges, pleasauntly to beholde. And at her entrie was shot such a peale of Gonnes, that all the retinue much marvayled at it. And at her entrie into the towne, the Mayor of the towne presented her with an hundred Marke in golde. And before the Staple hall stood the Marchaunts of the Staple well appareled, which likewise presented her with an hundred souereynes of Golde in a riche Purse, which hartely thanked them, and so she roade to the kings place called the Checker, and there she laye fiftene dayes for lack of prosperous winde. During which time goodly iustes and costly bankets were made to her for her solace and recreation. And on saint Johns daye in Christmas, she with fiftie sayle toke passage about none and landed at Deele in the downes about fiue of the clock, where sir Thomas Cheiney lord Warden of the Portes receyued her, and there shee taryed a space in a Castell newely built, and thether came the Duke and Dutchesse of Suffolke, and the Bysshop of Chichester, with a great number of knightes and Esquires and Ladies of Kent and other which welcommed her grace, & so that night brought her to Douer Castell, where she rested till Monday: on which day for all the storme that then was she marched towarde Cauntorburie, and on Baram downe met her the Archebishop of Cauntorbury accompanied with the Bishop of Ely, saint Asse, saint Dauyes and Douer, and a great companie of Gentlemen well appareled, and so brought her to saint Austens without Caunterburie, where she lay that night: and on the next daye shee came to Syttyngburne and there lodged that night. And as shee passed towarde Rochester on Newe yeares euen on Reynam downe, met her the Duke of Norffolke and the Lorde Dacre of the South, and the Lorde Mountioye with a great company of knights and Esquires of Norffolke and Suffolke, and the Barons of the Exchequer, all in coates of Uelvet with chaynes of Golde, which brought her to Rochester, where shee laye in the Palace all Newe yeares day. On which day the king which sore desired to see her grace accom-

The landing of the Ladye Anne of Cleue.

accompanied with no more then eyght persons of his priuie chamber, and both he and they all apparelled in Marble coates priuily came to Rochester, and sodaynly came to her presence, which therwith was somewhat astonied: but after he had spoken and welcommed her, shee with most gracious and louing countenance and behauior him receyued and welcomed on her knees, whome he gently toke vp and kissed: and all that afternone commoned and deuised with her, and that night supped with her, and the next day he departed to Grenewiche, and she came to Dartford.

The king secretly meeteth and salueth the Lady Anne of Cleue.

On the morowe beyng the thirde day of January, and Saturday in a fayre playne on blackheth, more neerer the foote of shooters hill, then the ascendent of the hill called blackheth hill, was pitched a riche tent of cloth of Golde and dyuers other tentes and pauilions, in the which were made fyres and perfumes for her and suche Ladies as should receyue her grace: and from the tentes to the Parke gate of Grenewich were all bushes and kirres cut downe, and a large and ample waye made for the shewe of all persons. And first next to the parke pale on the East side, stoode the Marchaunts of the Stilyard: and the West side stood the Marchaunts of Jean, Florence and Uenice, and the Spaniardes in coates of Ueluet. Then on both sydes of the waye stood the Marchauntes of the Citie of London and Aldermen with the counsaylors of the sayde Citie to the number of a.C.lx. which were mixed with the Esquires: Nert vpward towarde the tentes stood knights: than the fiftie gentlemen Pencioners, and all this sort were apparelled in Ueluet and chaines of Golde, truely accompted to the number of twelue. C. and aboue, beside them that came with the king and her grace, which were sixt hundred in Ueluet coates and chaines of Golde. Behind the Gentlemen stood the seruyng men in good order, well horsed and apparelled, that whosoeuer had well viewed them might saye that they for tall and comely personages and clene of lymme and body, were able to geue the greatest prince in Christendome a mortall breakefastif he were the kings enimie: And of this sort the Gentlemen appertayning to the Lorde Chauncellor, the Lorde priuie Seale and the Lorde Admirall and diuers other Lordes, beside the costly iueries and comely horses, ware chaynes of golde.

The receyuing of the Lady Anne of Cleaue at Blackheth.

Pencioners.

Thus was the lane ordered in rankes, from the Parke gate towarde the crosse on the heth, which was betweene the rankes and the tentes, and in this order they continued till the king and shee were returned.

About twelue of the clock her grace with all the company which were of her awne nation to the number of a hundred horse, accompanied with the Dukes of Norffolke and Suffolke, the Archebishop of Caunterburie and other Bysshops, Lordes and knightes, which had receyued and conueyed her as you haue heard before, came downe shooters hill toward the tentes, and a good space from the tentes met her the Erle of Rutlande her Lorde Chamberleyn, syr Thomas Denyce her Chauncellor, and all her counsaylors and officers; amongst whom Doctor Day apoynted to be her Almoner made to her an eloquent oration in Latine, presenting to her on the kinges behalfe all the officers and seruaunts: which oration was aunswered vnto by the Duke her brothers secretorie there beyng present: which done, the Lady Margaret Douglas, daughter to the Queene of Scots, the Ladie Marques Dorcet, daughter to the Frenche Queene beyng Meetes to the king,

king, and the Duchesse of Richemond, and the Countesse of Rutlande and Hertford with diuers other Ladies and gentlewomen, to the number of.lxb. visited and welcomed her grace, which alighted out of her Chariot, in the which she had ridden all her long iourney, and with most goodly demeanor and louing countenaunce gaue to them hartie thanks and kissed them all, and after all her counsaylors and officers kissed her hande, which done, she with all the Ladies entered the tents, and there warmed them a space.

When the king knew that shee was arriued in her tent, he with all diligence set out through the parke. And first issued the kings Trompets, then the kings officers beyng sworne of his counsayle, next after them followed the gentlemen of the kinges priuie chamber, some apparelled in coates of Ueluet enbrodered: other had their coates garded with chaynes of Golde, verie riche to beholde, which were well horsed and trapped: after them ensued Barons, the yongest first, and so Sir Wyllam Hollys knight Lord Maior of London roade with the Lorde Par beyng yongest Baron. Then folowed Bishoppes apparelled in black Sattin. Then immediatly folowed the Erles, and then Duke Philip of Sauier and Countie Palantine of the Rhyne, richely apparelled with the liuerey of the Toyson or Golden Fleece about his necke. Then followed the Ambassadours of the Frenche king and the Emperour, next folowed the Lorde priuie Seale, Lorde Cromwell, and the Lord Chauncellor: then Garter king of Armes, and the other Officers of Armes and the Serieauntes at Armes gaue their attendaunce on euery side of the Lordes: which Lordes for the most part were apparelled in purple veluet, the Lorde Marques Dorcet in the same sute bare the kings sword of estate. After him a good distance folowed the kings highnesse mounted on a goodly Courser, trapped in rich cloth of Gold trauerced lattice wise square, all ouer embraudered with Golde of Dammaske, pyrled on euery syde of the embraudery, the buckles and pendentes were all of fine Gold. His person was apparelled in a coate of purple Veluet, somewhat made like a frocke, all ouer embraudered with flatte Golde of dammaske with small lace myxed betweene, of the same golde, and other laces of the same so goyng trauerse wise, that the ground litle appered: about which garment was a riche garde very curiously embraudered, the sleeues and brest were cutte, lined with cloth of golde, and tyed together with great buttons of Diamondes, Rubies, and Orient Perle, his sword and sworde gyrdle adorned with stones and especiall Emerodes, his night cappe garnished with stone, but his bonnet was so rich of Juels that few men could valew them. Beside all this he ware in baudricke wise a coller of such balistes and Perle that few men euer saw the like: and about hys person ranne ten footemen all richely apparelled in Goldesmithes worke. And notwithstanding that this riche apparell and precious Juels were pleasaunt to the nobles and all other beyng present to beholde, yet his Princely countenaunce, hys goodly personage and royall gesture so farre exceeded all other creatures beyng present, that in comparison of his person, all his ryche apparell was litle esteemed. After him followed his Lorde Chamberleyne, then came Syr Anthony Browne Maister of his Horse, a goodly Gentleman and a comly personage, well horsed, trapped, and richly apparelled, leading the kings horse of estate by a long reigne of Golde, which horse was trapped in maner lyke a barde

with

with crimosin veluet and satten, all ouer embrodered with golde after an anty-
tyke fashion, very curiously wrought. Then folowed the pages of honor in
coates of rich tinsell and crimosyn Uelvet paled, ryding on great Courselers
all trapped in crimosyn Uelvet, embrodered with new deuises and knots of
golde which were both pleasaunt and costly to behold. Then folowed syr An-
thony Wyngfield Capitayne of the Gard, and then the Gard well horsed and
in riche cotes. In this order the king rode to the last ende of the ranke, where
the speares or Pencyoners stood: and there euery person that came with the
king, placed himself on the one side or the other, the king riding in the mids.

When her grace was aduertised of the kinges comming, she issued out
of her tent beyng apparelled in a riche gowne of cloth of golde reysed, made
round without any trayne after the Dutch fashion, and on her head a kalle,
and ouer that a round Bonnet or cappe set full of Oryent Pearle of a very
proper fashion, and before that shee had a coznet of blacke Uelvet, and about
her necke shee had a partelet set full of rich stone which glystered at the field.
And at the dore of the Tent shee mounted on a fayre Horse richly trapped
with her footemen about her in Goldesmythes worke embrodered with the
blacke Lion, & on his shoulder a Carbuncle of golde, and so she marched to-
ward the king: which perceyuing her to approche came forewarde somwhat
beyond the Crosse on blacke Heth, and there paused a litle in a fayre plate tyll
shee came nerer: then he put of his Bonnet, and came forward to her, and
with most louely countenaunce and princely behauiour saluted, welcommed
and embraced her to the great reioysyng of the beholders: and she likewise
not forgetting her dutie, with most ampable aspect and womanly behauiour
receyued his grace with many swete words and great thanks and praisings
geuen to hym. And while they two were thus commoning, the fiftie Penci-
oners and the Garde departed to furnish the Courte and Hall of Greene-
wiche. And when the king had talked with her a litle while, he put her on
his right hande, & so wyth their footemen they rode as though they had bene
coupeled together. O what a sight was this to see so goodly a Prince and so
noble a king to ryde with so fayre a Lady of so goodly a stature and so wo-
manly a countenance, and in especiall of so good qualities, I thinke no crea-
ture could see them but his heart reioysed.

Now when the king and shee were met and both their companies ioy-
ned together, they returned through the rankes of the knightes and Esquy-
ers which stoode still all this while and remoued not, in this order: First her
Trompettes went forward, which were twelue in number beside two Ket-
tle Drommes on horsbacke, then followed the kinges Trompettes, then the
kinges Councellors, then the Gentlemen of the priuie chamber, then the
Gentlemen of her Graces countrey in coates of Uelvet, all on great horses:
after them the Maior of London in crimosin velvet with a riche coller, coup-
led with the yongest Baron, then all the Barons, next following Bishoppes
then Erles with whom rode the Erles of Ouersteyne and Waldocke of her
countrye, then Dukes and the Archbishop of Cauntorbury, and Duke Phi-
lipe of Bauire, next followed the Ambassadors, then the Lorde Priuiseale
and the Lorde Chauncellor, then the Lord Marques with the kings sword,
next followed the king himselfe equally with his fayre Ladye, and behinde
him rode syr Anthony Browne with the kinges horse of estate as you heard
before,

before, and behinde her rode Sir John Dudley Mayster of her horses, lea-
ding her spare palferay trapped in rich Tissue downe to the grounde: after
them followed the Henxemen or Pages of honor, then followed the Ladye
Margaret Douglas, the Ladye Marques Dorcette, the Dutchesse
of Richmounde and Suffolke, the Countesses of Rutlande and Hertforde,
and other Countesses: Then followed hir Graces Chariot in the which she
rode all her iourney, well carued and gilte with Armes of her countrey cu-
riously wrought and couered with cloth of golde, all the horses were trapped
with blacke velvet, and on them rode Pages of honor in coates of velvet, in
the which Chariot rode three auncient Ladies of her countrey: nexte after
the Chariot followed sixe Ladies and Gentlewomen of her Countrey all
richely apparaled with Cappes set with Perle, and great Chaynes of dy-
uers fashions, after the vsage of their Countrye, which were very fayre of
face, and with them rode six Ladyes of England well besene. Then folowed
another Chariot likewise gilt, and furnished as the other was: after that
Chariot folowed ten Englishe Ladies well appareled, next them another
Chariot all couered with black cloth, and in that foure Gentlewomen which
were her Graces Chamberers: then folowed all the remnant of the Ladies
Gentlewomen, and Maydens in a great number, which did weare that day
French whodes: last of all came another Chariot all blacke, with three Lad-
ders appertaynyng to her grace: next after folowed a Horslitter of cloth of
Golde and Crimosyn Uelvet vpon Uelvet paled, with horses trapped accor-
dyngly which the king sent her, then folowed the seruyng men of her traine,
all clothed in blacke and on great horses.

In this order they rode through the rankes, and so through the Parke,
and at the late Friers wall all men alighted sauyng the king, the two May-
sters of the horses and the Henxmen which rode to the hall dore, and the La-
dyes rode to the Court gate. And as they passed they beheld on the wharfe
how the Citizens of London were rowyng vp and downe on the Thames
euen before them, euery craft in his Barge garnished with Banners, Flag-
ges, Streamers, Pencelles, and Targettes, some paynted and beaten wyth
the kinges Armes, some with her Graces armes, and some with the Armes
of their Craft or Mistery: Beside the Barges of euery Craft, there was
a Barge made like a ship, called the Batchelers Barge, decked with clothe of
Golde, penons, pencelles, and Targets, in great number, on whom wayted
a Foyst that shot great peeces of Artillary. And in euery Barge was dy-
uers sortes of Instrumentes, and children and men singyng, which sang and
played altogether, as the king & the Lady passed on the Wharfe, which sight
and noyse they much praysed and alowed.

When the king and she were within the vtter Court, they alighted from
their horses, and the king louingly embraced her, and kissed her, biddyng her
welcome to her awne, and led her by her left arme through the hall which
was furnished beneath the harth with the kings Garde, and aboue the harth
with the fiftie Pencioners with their Battelaxes, and so brought her vp to
her priue Chamber, where he left her for that tyme.

And assone as the king and she was entered the Court, was shot out of
the Tower of Grenewich and thereabout, a great peale of Gunnes.

When the kinges company and hers was entered the Parke, as you

haue heard, then all the horsemen on Blackheth brake their array, and had licence to depart to London, or to their lodging. To see howe long it was or the horsemen could passe, and howe late it was in the night ere the footemen could get ouer London Bridge, I assure you it was wonderous to beholde, the number was so great.

Thus this noble Ladie remayned vnmaried vntill the Tewesday following beyng the daye of the Epiphanie: On which day about. viij. of the clocke in the mornyng, his Grace beyng appareled in a Gowne of clothe of golde, rayled with great flowers of siluer, furred with blacke Jennets, hys coate Crimosin Sattyn, all to cut and enbrodered, and tyed with great Diamondes, and a rich Coller about his necke, came solempnly with his nobilitie into the Gallary next the Closets, and there paused.

Then the Lordes went to fetch the Ladie Anne, which was appareled in a Gowne of riche clothe of golde, set full of large flowers of great and orient pearle, made after the Dutch fashion round, her heare hangyng downe, which was fayre, yelow, and long: On her head a Coronall of golde replenished with great stone, & set about full of braunches of Rosemary. And about her necke and middle, Jewels of great value and estimation: In this apparell she goyng betwene the Erle of Ouersteyn, and the Graunde Mayster Hostoden, which had the conduite and order of the perfourmaunce of her mariage, with most demure countenaunce and sad behauiour, passed through the kings Chamber, all the Lordes goyng before her, till they came to the Gallary where the king was, to whom she made three low obeysances and curtesies. Then the Archbishop of Cauntorbury receyued them, and maryed them together, and the Erle of Ouersteyn did geue her: and about her mariyng Ring was written: GOD SEND ME VVEL TO KEPE.

When the mariage was celebrate, they went hande in hande into the kinges Closet, and there heard Masse, and offered their Tapers, and after Masse had wine and spices, and that done the king departed to his Chamber, and all the Ladies wayted on her to her Chamber, the Duke of Norfolke goyng on the right hande, and the Duke of Suffolke on the left hande of her grace.

After. ix. of the clocke, the king with a gowne of riche Tissue lyned with Crimosyn Ueluet enbrodered, came to his Closet, and she in her heare in the same apparell that she was maryed in, came to her Closet with her Sergeaunt of Armes, and all her Officers, like a Queene, before her. And so the king and she went openly on Procession, and offered and dyned together. And after dinner she chaunged into a Gowne lyke a mannes Gowne, of Tissue with long sleeues gyrt to her, furred with rich Sables, her narrow sleeues were very costly, but on her head she had a Cap as she ware on the Saterday before with a Coronet of Laurne, which Cap was so riche of Perle and stone, that it was iudged to be of great value. And after her fashion, her ladies and gentlewomen were appareled very rich and costly with Chaines of diuers fashions, and in this apparell she went that night to Euensong, and after supped with the king: and after supper were Bankettes, Maskes, and diuers disportes, till the tyme came that it pleased the king and her to take their rest.

The Sunday after were kept solempne Justes, which much pleased the

the straungers. On which day she was appareled after the English fashion, with a French Whoode, which so set foorth her beautie and good visage, that euery creature reioyced to behold her.

When the Erle of Ouersteyn, and other Lordes and Ladyes which had geuen their attendaunce on her grace all that iournay, and had beene highly feasted of the king and other Nobles verye sumptuously, they tooke their leaue and had great giftes geuen to them, both in money and plate, and so returned toward their countrey, leauyng behind them the Erle of Waldock, and diuers other gentlemen and Damosels, which were retayned with her grace, till she were better acquainted in the realme.

The fourth day of Februrary next ensuyng, the king and she came to Westminster by water, accompanied with many Nobles and Prelates in Barges on whom the Maior and his brethren in scarlet, and. xij. of the chiefe companies of the Citie, all in Barges garnished with Banners, Pennons, & Targets, richly couered and replenished with musitians, gaue their attendance, and by the way all the shippes shot their ordinaunce, and out of the Tower was shot a great peale of Gunnes, in goodly order.

The. xxiij. day of Februrary, were foure readers sent for to the Starre Chamber, of euery house of the foure principall Innes of Court one, where sate the Lord Chauncelor, the Lorde Priuie seale, and. xiij. of the chiefe of the kinges Counsaile, and there the Lord Chauncelor declared, howe Sir John Shelton knight, had by the aduise of sir Humfrey Browne knight the kinges Serieaunt, sir Nicholas Hare knight, the kinges Counsaylor, and Speaker of the Parliament, and William Coigneshy Esquier, attournay of the Duchie of Lancaster, all beyng his seruauntes and of his fee, declared a fraudulent will of his landes, contrary to the statute made, Anno. xxbij. to the great hinderaunce of the kinges prerogatiue, and the true meanyng of the sayd statute, and also to the euill example of all other, that should defraude their Lords of their seigniories. Wherefore the sayd sir Hunfray Browne, and sir Nicholas Hare, were that day by the whole Counsaile of the king dismissed of their Offices and seruice to the king, and sent to the Tower: and within three dayes after was William Coigneshy sent thether, where they remayned ten dayes, and after were deliuered: but they three lost all theyr Offices, that they had of the king.

Sir John Shelton, Sir Hufrey Browne, Sir Nicholas Hare.

The. xij. day of Aprill began a Parliament, and sir Nicholas Hare was restored to the office of Speaker, in the which was freely graunted without contradictions, foure fiftenes and a subsedie, of two shillinges of landes, and xij. pence of goodes, toward the great charges of Bulwarkes.

The. xbiij. day of April, at Westminster was Thomas Lord Cromwel created Erle of Essex, and made great Chamberlein of England, which euer the Erles of Oxenford had, which promotions he enioyed short tyme, as in the next yere may appere.

Thomas Lord Cromwell created Erle of Essex.

In this Parliament also the religion of saint Johns in England, which of most men was named the knightes of the Rhodes, was dissolued, whereof heeryng sir William Weston knight, Prior of saint Johns, for thought dyed on the Ascention day, beyng the fift day of May.

In this moneth was sent to the Tower, Docter Wilson, and Doctor Sampson Bishop of Chichester, for relieuing of certaine Traiterous persons,

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Richard Farmer Grocer condemned in a Premunire.

sons, which denied the kings supremacie: and for the same offence was one **Richard Farmer Grocer of London**, a riche and welthy man, and of good estimation in the Citie, committed to the Marshall See, and after in Westminster hall was arraigned and attaynted in the Premunire, and loste all hys goodes.

Thomas lord Cromwell committed to the Tower.

The ninth day of July, Thomas Lorde Cromwell, late made Erle of Essex, as before you haue heard, beyng in the counsayle chamber, was sodainely apprehended and committed to the Tower of London, the which many lamented, but mo reioysed, and specially such, as eyther had beene religious men, or fauoured religious persons, for they banqueted, and triumphed together that night, many wyshing that that day, had bene seuen yere before, and some fearing least he should escape, although he were imprisoned, could not be merie. Other who knew nothing but truth by hym, both lamented him, and hartely prayed for him: But this is true, that of certayne of the Clergie, he was detestably hated, and specially suche as had borne swynge, and by hys meanes was put from it, for in deede he was a man, that in all his doings seemed not to fauor any kinde of Popery, nor coulde not abide the snuffing pride of some prelates, which vndoubtedly whatsoeuer else was the cause of his death, did shorten his life, and procured the ende that he was brought vnto: which was that the .xix. day of the sayde Month, he was attaynted by Parliament, and neuer came to his aunswere, which lawe many reported, he was causer of the makyng thereof, but that is false and vntrue: The articles for the which he dyed, appereth in the Recorde, where his attaynder is written, which are to long to be here rehersed, but to conclude he was there attaynted of heresie, and highe treason. And the xxviij. day of July was brought to the Scaffolde on the Tower hill, where he sayde these wordes folowyng.

The wordes of the Lorde Cromwell spoken at his death.

I am come hether to die, and not to purge my selfe, as maye happen, some thinke that I will, for if I should so doe, I were a verie wretche and miser: I am by the lawe condemned to die, and I thanke my Lorde God that hath appointed me this death, for mine offence: For sithence the time that I haue had yeres of discretion, I haue lyued a synner, and offended my Lorde God, for the which I aske him hartily forgeuenesse. And it is not vnknowne to many of you, that I haue bene a great trauayler in this worlde, and beyng but of a base degree, was called to highe estate, and sithence the time I came thereunto, I haue offended my prince, for the which I aske him hartily forgeuenesse, and beseech you all to pray to God with mee, that he wyll forgeue me. O father forgeue mee, O sonne forgeue mee, O holy ghost forgeue me: O thre persons in one God forgeue me. And now I pray you that be here, to beare mee recorde, I die in the Catholike fayth, not doubting in any article of my faith, no nor doubting in any Sacrament of the Church. Many haue slaundered me, and reported that I haue beene a bearer of such as hath maintayned euil opinions, which is vntrue, but I confesse that lyke as God by his holy spirite, doth instruct vs in the truth, so the Deuill is readie to seduce vs, and I haue bene seduced: but beare me witnesse that I die in the catholike faith of the holy Church. And I hartily desire you to pray for the kings grace, that he may long liue with you, in helth and prosperitie. And after him that his sonne prince Edwarde that goodly

ympe, may long raigne ouer you. And once agayne I desire you to pray for mee, that so long as lyfe remayneth in this flesh, I wauer nothing in my faith. And then made he his prayer, which was long, but not so long, as both Godly and learned, and after committed his soule into the handes of God, and so patiently suffered the stroke of the Axe, by a ragged and boocherly miser, which very vngoodly performed the office.

Sergeaunts Feaste.

On saint Peters euen, was kept the Serieants feast at saint Jhones with all plentie of vittayle. At which feast were made ten Serieauntes, three out of Greyes Inne, and three out of Lyncolnes Inne, and of euery of the Temples two. At which feast were present, all the Lordes and commons of the parliament, beside the Maior and the Aldermen, and a great number of the commons of the Citie of London.

The Lordes & Commons of the parliament bidden to the Sergeauntes feast.

The morrowe after Midsommer daye, the king caused the Queene to remoue to Richemond, purposing it to be more for her helth, open ayre and pleasure: but the first daye of July, certaine Lordes came downe into the nether house, which expressely declared causes, that the mariage betweene the king and her was not lawfull, and in conclusion, the matter was by the conuocation clerely determined, that the king might lawfully marry where he would, and so might she: and so were they cleerely deuorced and seperated, and by the parliament enacted and concluded, that shee should be taken no more as Queene, but called the Lady Anne of Cleue.

Quene Anne deuorced, and called Ladye Anne of Cleue.

In this yere the Lord Leonard Grey, brother to Thomas Lord Marques Dorset, beyng the kings Lieutenaunt in Irelande, practised sundrie feates for his profite, as in delyuering Traitors beyng hostages, and especially his Nephew Fitzgarard, brother to Thomas Fitzgarard before executed, and also caused such of the Irishe men, as he had intelligence with all, to inuade suche of the kings friendes, as he fauored not: wherefore the king sent for him, and he mistrusting and seing no refuge, wrote to the kings enemies to inuade the English pale after his departure. And also he kept the kings treasure to his owne vse, without retaining souldiors according to his commission, wherpon when he came to London, he was sent to the Tower.

Lorde Leonard Graye.

In Julye the Prince of Salerne, in the realme of Naples, and the Lorde Lois Deuola, came into Englande to see the king, which had highe chere and great rewards, and so departed. And after them came Done Frederick Marques of Padulla, brother to the Duke of Farrare, and the Prince of Macedonia, and the Marques of Terra Noua, and Mounsire de Flagy, and sixtene other Gentlemen, from the Emperors Court into England to see the king, which on the day of Mary Magdalene came to the Court to Westminster, and were highly feasted and well enterteyned, and with great rewardes departed.

The twentie and eight day of July as you haue heard before in this yeare, was the Lorde Cromwell behedded, and with him likewise was behedded the Lorde Hungerford of Heytesburie, which Lorde Hungerford at the time of his death, seemed to be verie vnquyet in his minde, and rather in a frensie then otherwise.

Lorde Hungerford behedded.

The thirtie daye of July, were drawne on herdels out of the Tower to Smithfielde, Robert Barnes Doctor in diuinitie, Thomas Garet and Wylliam Jherome Bachelers in Diuinitie: Powell, Fetherston, and

Barnes, Garard and Jerom.

Abell. The first three were drawne to the stake, there before set vp, and were burned: and the latter three drawne to the Gallowes, likewise there set vp, and were hanged, hedded, and quartered.

Powell, Fetherstons, and Abell.

The last three which were Powell, Fetherston, and Abell, were put to death for treason, and in their attaindor, is speciall mention made of their offences, which was for the denying of the kings supremacie, and affirming that his mariage with the Ladie Katheryn was good: These with other were the treasons, that they were attaynted of, and suffered death for.

Thomas Eplam an obstinate Monke.

The fourth daye of August Thomas Eplam, sometime Monke of Westminster, which had bene prisoner for treason, three yeres and more in Newgate, came before the Justices of Gaole deliuery at Newgate, & would not aske the kinges pardon, nor be sworne to be true to him, wherefore his Monkes garment was plucked from his back, and he reprid till the king knewe hys malicious obstinacie: and this was the laste Monke that was sene in his clothing in Englande.

In this Moneth were certayne Commissioners sent by the king into Irelande, to enquire of the Lorde Leonard Gray, which certefied diuers articles agaynst him, as ye shall heare in the next yere following.

Katherine Hayward shewed as Queene

The eyght day of August, was the Lady Katheryn Hayward, Nece to the Duke of Norffolke, and daughter to the Lorde Edmond Hayward, shewed openly as Queene at Hampton Court, which dignitie she enioyed not long, as after ye shall heare.

A great death and straunge sickenesse.

In the latter ende of this month was vniuersally through the realme great death, by reason of newe hote Agues and Flixes, and some pestilence, in which season was such a drought, that Welles & small riuers were cleane dryed, so that much Cattle dyed for lack of water: and the Thames was so shalowe, and the freshe water of so small strength, that the salt water flowed aboue London bridge, till the rayne had increased the freshe waters.

Raufe Egerton hanged

Thomas Harman.

On the. xvij. daye of December, was Raufe Egerton seruaunt to the Lorde Audeley Chauncelour, hanged, drawen, and quartered, for counterfeityng of the kinges great seale, & had sealed a great number of licenses for Denizens, & one Thomas Harman that wrote them, was also executed: for the statute made the last parliament was very extreme against straungers, and namely against those which were not Denizens, which caused them to offer to Egerton great sommes of money to helpe them to be Denyzens, the desire whereof caused hym to practise, that which brought him to the ende, that before is declared.

The buylding of the Castell of Arde.

In the end of thys yere the French king made a strong Castel at Arde, and also a bridge ouer into the Englishe pale, which bridge the Crewe of Calice did beat downe, and the French men reedified the same, and the Englishe men bet it downe agayne. And after the king of Englande sent fiftene hundred workemen, to wall and fortefie Guysnes, and sent with them fiue hundred men of warre, wyth Capitaynes to defend them. The noyes ranne in Fraunce, that there were fiftie thousand Englishe men landed at Calice with great ordinaunce: wherefore the Frenche king sent in all haste, the Duke of Vandosme, and diuers other Capitaynes, to the Frontiers of Picardy to defend the same. The king of Englande hearing thereof, sent the Erles of Surrey and Southampton and the Lorde Russell, his great Admirall

mirall into the marches of Calice, to set an order there: and after them sent two .C. light horsemen of the borderers of Scotlande: whome the frenchmen called stradiates, which Lordes when they had set all things in a good order shortly returned.

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A newe rebellion.

In the beginning of this yere, fiue Priestes in Yorkeshyre began a new rebellion, with the assent of one Leigh a Gentleman, and nine Temporall men, which were apprehended, and shortly after in diuerse places put in execution, insomuch that on the .xvij. day of Maye, the sayde Leigh and one Catersall, and Thornton, were drawne through London to Tiborne, and there were executed. And syr John Neuell knight, was executed for the same at Yorke.

Leigh Catersall Thornton Sir John Neuell

Margaret Countesse of Salisbury beheded.

On the same day was Margaret Countesse of Salisbury, which had beene long prisoner in the Tower, behedded in the Tower, and thee was the last of the right line and name of Plantagenet.

Damport. Chapman.

The ninth day of June, were Damport and Chapman, two of the kings Gard, hanged at Greenewiche by the Friers Wall, for robberies in example of all other.

The Lorde Leonard Gray condempned.

During this season, the commissioners that before were sent into Irelande, to inquire of the Lord Gray, certefied twentie articles of high treason against him, wherevpon he was arreigned and tryed by knyghtes, because he was a Lorde of name, but no Lorde of the parliament: howbeit he discharged the Jury, and confessed the inditement, and thereupon was iudged, and after behedded at the Tower hill, where he ended his life very quyetlye and godly.

Mantell, Roydon, Frowdes.

In this season was arreigned and condempned three Gentlemen, called Mantell, Roydon, and Frowdes, and were hanged at Saint Thomas of Wateringes. Likewise was Thomas Fines Lorde Dacres of the South arreigned before the Lorde Audeley of Walden, then Chauncellor of England, and that day Stuard of the same at Westminster, and there before the sayd Lorde Chauncellor and his Peres, he confessed the Indytement, and so had iudgement to be hanged. And the twentie and nine daye of June, being Saint Peters day at after noone, he was led on foote, betwene the two Shrifes of London, from the Tower through the Citie to Tiborne, where he was strangled, as common murderers are, and his bodye buried in the Church of Saint Sepulchers. The cause of the death of this noble man, and the other Gentlmen, was a murder of a simple man, and an vnlawfull assemblie made in Sussex. Great moane was made for them all, but most speciall for Mantell, who was as wittie, and as toward a Gentleman, as any was in the realme, and a man hable to haue done good seruice.

The Lorde Dacres of the South hanged

Submissions

This Sommer the king kept his progresse to Yorke and passed through Lincolneshire, where was made to him an humble submission by the Temporaltie, confessing their offence, and thanking the king for his pardon: and the towne of Staunforde gaue the king twentie pounde, and Lyncolne presented fortie pounde, and Boston fiftie pounde that part which is called Lincoln gaue three hundred pounde, and Kestren and the Church of Lincolne gaue fiftie pounde. And when he entred into Yorkeshire, he was met with two hundred Gentlemen of the same Shire, in coates of Veluet, and foure thousand tall yomen, and Seruing men, well horsed: which on their knees made

made a submission, by the mouth of sir Robert Bowes, and gaue to the king nine hundred pound. And on Barnesdale met the king, the Archebishoppe of Yorke, with three hundred Priestes and more, and made a like submission, and gaue the king six hundred pounde. Like submission was made by the Maior of Yorke, New Castell, and Hull, and eche of them gaue to the king an hundred pound. When the king had beene at Yorke twelue dayes, he came to Hull, and deuised there certaine fortifications, and passed ouer the water of Homber, and so through Lincolne Shyre, and at Allhalontide came to Hampton Court.

Queene Katherin beheaded.

At this time the Queene late before maried to the king called Queene Katheryn Hawarde was accused to the king of dissolute liuing before her maryage, with Fraunces Diram, and that was not secretely, but many knew of it. And sith her mariage shee was behemently suspected with Thomas Culpeper, which was brought to her chamber at Lincolne in August last in the progresse time, by the Lady Rocheford, and were together alone, from a xj. of the clocke at night, till foure of the clocke in the morning, and to him shee gaue a Chayne, and a rich Cap. Vppon this the king remoued to London, & she was sent to Sion, and there kept close, but yet serued as Queene. And for the offence confessed by Culpeper and Diram, they were put to death at Tiborne, the tenth day of December. And the two and twentie day of the same moneth, were arreyned at Westminster, the Lorde William Hawarde and his wife, which Lorde William was Uncle to the Queene, Katheryne Tilney which was of counsayle of her hauing to do with Diram, Elizabeth Tilney, Boulmer, Restwoulde, the Queenes women, and Walgraue and William Asby, and Damport Gentlemen, and seruaunts to the olde Duches of Norffolke, and Margaret Benet a Butter wife, all indited of misprision, for concealing the euill demeanor of the Queene, to the slaunder of the king, and his succession: all they confessed it, and had iudgement to perpetuall prison, and to lose their goodes and the profite of their landes, during their liues: howbeyt shortely after, diuerse of them were deliuered by the kinges pardon.

Culpeper, Diram, Lorde William Hayward Katherin Tilney, Elizabeth Tilney, Boulmer, Restwoold, Walgraue, William Asby Damport, Margaret Benet,

Petitions made to the king by the parliament house.

The. xvj. day of January the Parliament beganne, in the which the Lordes and Commons assented, to desire of the king certaine petitions.

1 First that he would not vexe himself with the Queenes offence, and that she and the Ladie Rocheford, might be attainted by parliament.

2 Also because protractyng of tyme, which the more should be to his vnquietnesse, that he would vnder his great seale, geue hys royall assent, without tariyng the ende of the parliament.

Agnes Duchesse of Norffolk, Katheryn Countesse of Brigwater.

3 Also, that Diram and Culpepper, before attaynted by the common law, might also be attainted by parliament.

4 Also, that Agnes Duchesse of Norffolke, and Katheryn Countesse of Bridgewater her daughter, which were for concealyng the said offence committed to the Tower, Indited of misprision, and the Lorde William and other, arreigned of the same, might be likewyse attainted.

5 Also, that whosoeuer had spoken or done any act, in the detestation of her abhominable liuyng, should be pardoned.

To the which petitions the king graunted, saiyng that he thanked the Commons, that they tooke his sorow to be theirs. Wherevpon the Queene and

and the Ladie Rocheford were attainted by both the houses. And on Saterday beyng the .xj. day of Febzuary, the king sent his roial assent, by his great Seale: and then all the Lordes were in their Robes, and the common house called vp, and there the acte read, and his assent declared. And so on the thirtene daye, these two Ladies were beheadded on the greene, within the Tower with an axe, and confessed their offences, and died repentaunt. And shortly after the king maryed the Lady Katheryn Parre that had bene wife to the Lorde Latimer, and she was sister to the Marques of Northampton.

Queene Katherin and the Ladie Rocheford beheaded.

At this Parliament the king was proclaymed king of Ireland, which name his predecessors neuer had, but were alwayes called Lordes of Ireland.

The king proclaymed king of Irelande.

In the beginnyng of Marche died sir Arthur Plantagenet Viscount Lisle bastard to king Edward the fourth, in the Tower of London vnattainted, when he should haue bene deliuered, and put at his libertie. And the .xij. day of the sayd moneth, sir John Dudeley sonne and heyre to the sayd Lorde Lisles wyfe, was at Westminster created Viscount Lisle.

George Ferrers.

The Parliament sittyng, in Lent one George Ferrers Bourgeoys for the towne of Plimmouth, was arested in London vpon a condemptation, at the suyte of one Whyte, Wherevpon the Serieaunt at Armes of the common house, was sent to the Counter in Bredstreete to fetch him: but the Clerkes would not deliuer him, wherefore the Serieaunt and his man, would haue brought him away perforce. Diuers of the Shirifes officers there present, withstood the Serieaunt, so that they fell to quarrelling: and the Serieants man was sore hurt. After the fray ended, the Shirifes of London, whose names were Rowland Hill, and Henry Suckly came to the counter, and first denyed the deliuery of the prisoner, howbeit afterward they deliuered him. But this matter was so taken in the common house, that the Shirifes and the Clerke, and fiue officers, and the partie plaintife, were sent to the Tower, and there lay two dayes, and were deliuered againe by the Speaker and common house.

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James Erle of Desmond in Ireland.

In this yere James Erle of Desmond came to the king, and was honourably enterteyned and well rewarded. And in September the great Onele came to Grenewich, where he and a Capitaine of the North parts of Ireland called Magannysse, and the Bishop of Cloar, made their submission in writyng, confessyng their offences, and promisyng to serue the king and his heyres truely: which submission by the king considered, he vpon the first day of October created at Grenewich the said sir Eustace Onele called great Onele (because he was the chiefe of his linage called Onele) Erle of Tereowen, commonly called Tyron, and gaue hym a great Chayne, and made Magannysse and his Colyn knightes, and gaue them both Chaynes, and he gaue to the Lord Mathias, sonne to the Erle, the Baronny of Duncan.

The great Onele.

Eustace Onele called great Onele made Erle of Tereowen.

At this season the kinges Maiestie prepared for warre into Scotland, the cause why this war was made is most manifestly declared by that which followeth, which the kinges Maiestie published by this title. A declaration conteinyng the iust causes and considerations of this present vvarre vvith the Scottes, vvherein also appereth the true and right tytle that the kinges most royall Maiestie hath to his soueraignetie of Scotland. And it beginneth thus.

¶ Being now enforced to the warre, which we haue alwayes hetherto so much

A declaratiō of the cause of warre with Scotland set forth by the king.

much abhorred and fled, by our neighbor and nephew the king of Scots, one who aboue all other, for our manifolde benefites towardes him, hath moste iust cause to loue vs, to honour vs, and to reioyce in our quietnesse: We haue thought good to notifie vnto the worlde his doynges and behauiour in the prouocation of this warre, and likewyse the meanes and wayes by vs to exchue and auoyde it, and the iust and true occasions, whereby we be nowe prouoked to prosecute the same, and by vtteraunce and diuulgyng of that matter, to disburden some part of our inward displeasure and griefe, and the circumstaunces knowen, to lament openly with the worlde, the infidelity of this tyme, in which thinges of such enormitie do best out and appere.

The king of Scottes our nephew and neighbor, whom we in his youth and tender age preserued and maintayned from the great daunger of other, and by our auctoritie and power conducted him safely to the reall possession of his estate, he now cōpelleth and forceth vs for preseruation of our honor and right, to vse our puyssaunce and power agaynst him. The lyke vnkindenesse hath beene heretofore shewed by other insemblable cases agaynst Gods lawe, mans law, and all humanitie: but the oftner it chaunceth, the more it is to be abhorred, and yet in the persons of Princes for the raritie of them can so happen but seldome, as it hath now come to passe.

It hath beene verye rarely and seldome seene before, that a king of Scottes hath had in mariage a daughter of England: We can not, ne wyll not reprehend the king our fathers act therein, but lament and be sory it toke no better effect. The king our father in that matter mynded loue, amitie, and perpetuall friendship betweene the posteritie of both, which how soone it failed, the death of the king of Scottes, as a due punishment of God for his vniust inuasion into this our realme, is and shall be a perpetuall testimonie to their reproche for euer, and yet in that present tyme could not the vnkindnesse of the father extinguishe in vs the naturall loue of our nephewe his sonne, beyng then in the miserable age of tender youth: but we then forgetting the displeasure that shoulde haue worthily prouoked vs to inuade that realme, nourished & brought vp our nephewe to achieue his fathers possession and gouernemēt, wherin he now so vnkindly vseth & behaueth him towards vs, as he compelleth vs to take armour and warre agaynst him.

It is specially to be noted, vpon what groundes, and by what meanes we be compelled to this warre, wherin among other is our chiefe griefe and displeasure, that vnder a colour of fayre speche and flatterynge wordes, we be in deedes so iniured, contemned and dispysed, as we ought not with sufferaunce to pretermit and passe ouer. Wordes, writynges, letters, messages, ambassades, excuses, allegations, could not more pleasauntly, more gently, ne more reuerently be deuised and sent, then hath beene made on the king of Scots behalfe vnto vs, and euer we trusted the tree would bring forth good fruite, that was of the one part of so good a stocke, and continually in apparaunce put foorth so fayre buddes: and therefore would hardily beleue or geue eare to other, that euer alleged the dedes of the contrary, beyng neuertheless the same dedes so manifest, as we must nedes haue regarded them, had we not bene so lothe to thinke euill of our nephew, whom we had so many wayes bound to be of the best sort toward vs. And therefore hauyng a message sent vnto vs the yere past from our sayd nephewe, and a promise made

made for the repayring of the sayd king of Scottes vnto vs to Yorke, and after great preparation on our part made therfore, the same meetyng was not onely disappoynted, but also at our beyng at Yorke, in the lieu thereof, an inuasion made by our sayde Nephew his subiectes into our realme, declaryng an euident contempt and dispyte of vs: We were yet glad to impute the default of the meetyng to the aduise of his Counsaile, and the inuasion of the lewdnesse of his subiectes: and accordyng therevnto gaue as benigne and gentle audience to such Ambassadors, as repayred hither at Chrystmasse afterwarde, as if no such causes of displeasure had occurred, specially considerynge the good wordes, sweete wordes, pleasaunt woordes, effsoones proponed by the sayde Ambassadors, not onely to excuse that was past, but also to perswade kindnesse and perfite amitie to ensue. And albeit the king of Scots hauyng contrary to the article of the league of amitie, receyued and entertayned such rebels, as were of the chiefe and principle, in stirryng the insurrection in the North agaynst vs with refusall before tyme, vpon request made to restore the same: yet neuertheless vpon offer made, the sayde Ambassadours, to sende commission to the Borderers, to determine the debates of the confines in the same, with so great a pretence of amitie, and so fayre wordes, as could be in speeche desired: we were content for the tyme to forbeare to presse them ouer extremely in the matter of rebelles. Albeit we neuer remitted the same, but desyrous to make tryall of our sayd Nephew in some correspondence of deedes, condiscended to the sendyng of Commissioners to the Borders, which to our great charge we did, & the king of Scots our sayd Nephew the semblable. Where after great trauaile made by our Commissioners, this fruite ensued, that beyng for our part chalenged a piece of our ground, plainely vsurped by the Scottes, and of no great value, being also for the same shewed such euidence, as more substāciall, more autentique, more plain and euident cannot be brought forth for any part of ground within our realme. The same was neuertheless by them denyed, refused, and the euidence onely for this cause reiected, that it was made (as they alleged) by Englishmen. And yet it was so auncient, as it could not be counterfeyt now, and the value of the ground so little, and of so smal waight, as no man would haue attempted to falsifie for such a matter. And yet this denyall beyng in this wyse made vnto our Commissioners, they neuertheless by our commaundement departed as friendes fro the Commissioners of Scotland, takyng order as hath beene accustomed for good rule vpon the Borders in the meane tyme.

After which their recesse, the Lord Maxwel, Warden of the West Marches of Scotland, made proclamation for good rule, but yet added therewith that the Borderers of Scotlande shoulde withdraw their goodes from the Borderers of England: And incōtinent after the Scottish men Borderers, the fourth of July, entered into our realme sodainely, and spoyled our subiectes, contrary to our leagues, euen after such extremitie, as it had bene in tyme of open warre. Whereat we much marueyled, and were cōpelled therfore to furnishe our Border with a garrison for defence of the same. Wherevpon the king of Scottes sent vnto vs James Leyrmouth, Maister of hys household, with letters deuised in the most pleasaunt maner, offeryng redresse and reformation of all attemptates. And yet neuertheless at the entry

James Leirmouth Ambassadour from the Scottishe king.

of

of the sayd Leyzmouth into England, a great number of the Scottes, then not looked foz, made a fozrey into our Bozders, to the great annoyaunce of our subiects, and to their extreeme detriment, wherewith, and with that vnsemely dissimulation, we were not a little moued, as reason would we should And yet did we not finally so extremely persecute and continue our sayd displeasure, but that we gaue benigne audience to the sayd Leyzmouth, and suffered oure selfe to be somewhat altered by his wozdes and fayze pzomisses, tending to the perswasion that we euer desired to find the king of Scots such a nephew vnto vs, as our pzoximitie of bloud with our gratuitie vnto hym did require. In the meane tyme of these fayze wozdes, the deedes of the Bozderers were as extreme as might be, and our Subiectes spoyled: and in a roade made by syz Robert Bowes foz a reuenge thereof, the same syz Robert Bowes with many other taken pzisoners, and yet detayned in Scotland, without putting them to fine and raunsome, as hath beene euer accustomed. And beyng at the same time a surseasaunce made on both sides, at the suite of the sayde Leyzmouth foz a season: the Scottes ceased not to make sundzy inuasions into our realme in such wise, as we were compelled to forget fayze wozdes, and onely to consider the king of Scots deedes which appered vnto vs of that sozte, as they ought not foz our dutie in defence of our subiectes, ne could not in respect of our honoz, be passed ouer vnreformed: and therfoze put in a redinesse our armye, as a due meane whereby we might attaine such a peace, as foz the safegarde of our Subiectes we be bounde to pzocure.

After which pzeparation made, and knowlege had thereof, the king of Scottes ceased not to vse his accustomed meane of fayze wozdes, which in our naturall inclynation wzought ettsones their accustomed effect, euermoze desirous to finde in the king of Scottes such regarde and respect to be declared in dedes as the cozrespondence of naturall loue in the nephew to such an Uncle, as we haue shewed our selfe towardes him, doth require. Wherefoze vpon new requeste and suite made vnto vs, we determined to stay our army at Yozke, appoynting the Duke of Nozffolke our Lieutenaunt, the Lozde Pziuieseale, the Bishop of Durham, and the Maister of our hozses, there to common, treat, and conclude with the Ambassadozs of Scotlande. foz an amytie and peace vpon such condicion, as by reason and equytie were indifferent, whereby the warre might be eschued, beyng by sundzy inuasion of the Scottes than opened and manifest.

In this communication betweene our and their Commissioners, after diuers degrees of commission, shewed by the Scottes, and finally one that was by our commissioners allowed, matters were pzoponed foz conclusion of amitie, nothing difficile oz hard of our part, but so agreeable to reason, as the Commissioners of Scotlande sayde, they doubted not, but if it might be bzought to passe, that the king of Scottes our Nephteu, might haue a meeting with vs, all matters should easely be componed and determined. Wherevpon they left speaking of anye articles of amitie, and the Ambassadours of Scotlande made much outward ioy in communication of meeting, they shewed themselfe in wozdes, fashion and behauoz much to delight in it, to reioice in it, & therewith thought it easie and facile to be concluded and accomplished and foz their part they tooke it then foz a thing passed, a thing concluded, and most

most certayne to take effect, and onely desyzed syx daies to obtaine aunswere from their Maister, and our army from that time to stay and go no further: Wherevnto our Commissioners then agreed.

Subtell and crafty Scots

After these six dayes was sent a Commission out of Scotlande, with power to conclude a meting pzecisely at such a place, as they knew well we would not, ne could not in Winter obserue and kepe, wherewith when our Commissioners were misconten, the Ambassadozs of Scotlande to releue that displeasure, and to temper the matter, wherby to win mozetime, shewed fozth their instructions, wherein liberne was geuen to the Ambassadozs to exceede their commission in the apoyntment of the place, and to consent to any other that by our Commissioners should be thought conuenient, which maner of pzoceeding, when our Commissioners refused, alleging that they would not conclude a meeting with men, hauing no commission therevnto. The Ambassadozs of Scotland vpon pzetence to send foz a mozе ample and larger commission agreeable to their instructions foz appoyntement of the place, obtzyned a delay of other syx dayes to send foz the sayde ample Commission without restraynt of place. And after those six dayes they bzought fozth a new commission, made in a good fozme, and without exception: But therewith they shewed also new instructions, conteyning such a restraynt as the fozmer commission did conteyn, so as the liberty geuen to the Commissioners in the commission was now at the last remoued and taken away by the instructions, with addition of a speciall charge to the Ambassadozs not to exceede the same.

And thus first the Ambassadozs of Scotlande seemed to haue will and desire to conclude a place semely and conuenient, which foz want of commission they might not do, and at the last might haue concluded a meting by vertue of their commission, and then foz feare of the commaundement in their second instructions they durst not. And so they shewed their first instructions partely to excuse their king, who should seme secretely to wyll moze, then in the commission he did openly pzofesse. And then with an ample commission from the king, they shewed their secret instructios foz defence of themselues why they pzoceded not accozding to their commission, not caring how much they charged therein their king, whose fault they disclosed to discharge themselues, trusting that by benefite of the winter appzoching, and the time lost in their communication their Maister should be defended against our power foz this yere, without doyng foz their part that by honoz, right, lawe, and leagues they be obliged and bound to do. And in this meane time our Subiectes beyng taken pzisoners in Scotland could not be deliuered vpon any raunsome, contrary to all custome and vsage of the bozderers in the time of peace and warre, and in this meane time stayed a great part of our armye already pzested, and in our wages to go fozward. In this time Ambassadozs (as ye haue heard) assembled to talke of an amytie but concluded none. The treating of amytie was put ouer by communication of a meeting.

The communication of meeting was so handled by alteration of commission and instructions on their behalfe, as it appereth a playne deuise onely inuented foz a delay, which hath geuen vs light, whervpon moze certainly to iudge the king of Scottes inward affection towards vs, whose deedes and wozdes well wayed and considered, doth vs playnely to vnderstande,

how he hath continually labored to abuse vs with swete and pleasaunt wordes and to satisfie the appetites of other at home and abroade with his vnkinde and displeasaunt deedes. In his wordes he professeth an indissoluble amitie, he allegeth kindred, he knowledgeth benefits, onely the fault is that he speaketh another language to all the worlde in deedes, and thereby so toucheth vs in honor and denegation of iustice, as we be inforced and compelled to vse the swordes, which God hath put in oure hande as an extreme remedie, whereby to obteyne both quyernesse for our subiectes, and also that is due vnto vs by right, pactes and leagues.

We haue patiently suffered many delusions, and notably the last yere when we made preparation at Yorke for his repaire to vs: But should we suffer our people and subiectes to be so oft spoyled without remedie? This is done by the Scottes whatsoeuer their woordes be. Should we suffer our rebels to be detayned contrarie to the leagues without remedy? This is also done by them whatsoeuer their wordes be. Should we suffer our lande to be vsurped contrarie to our most playne euidence, onely vpon a will, pride, and arrogancie of the other partie? This is done by them whatsoeuer their wordes be. And all these be ouer presumptuously done agaynst vs, and geue suche signification of their arrogancie, as it is nessarie for vs to oppresse it in the beginning, least they should gather further courage to the greater displeasure of vs and our posteritie hereafter. And yet in the intreating of this matter, if we had not euidently perceyued the lack of such affection as proximitie of bloud should require, we would much rather haue remitted these iniuries in respect of proximitie of bloud to our Nephew, than we did heretofore the inuasion of his father. But considering we be so surely assertayned of the lack thereof, and that our bloud is there frozne with the colde aire of Scotlande, there was neuer prince more violently compelled to warre then we be, by the vnkinde dealyng, vnmeet behauior, vnprincely demeanor of him that yet in nature is our Nephewe, and in his actes and deedes declareth himselfe not to be moued therewith, ne to haue suche earnest regard to the obseruation of his pactes and leagues, ne such respect to the interteinment of the administration of Justice, as naturall equitie byndeth, and conseruation of amity doth require: which we much lament and be sory for, and vse nowe our force and puyssaunce agaynst him, not for reuengement of our priuate displeasure (beyng so often deluded as we haue beene) but for recouery of our right, the preseruation of our subiectes from iniuries, and the obseruation of such leagues as haue passed betweene vs, firmely trustyng, that almightie God vnder whom we reigne, will assist and ayde our iust proceedings herein to the furtheraunce and aduauncement of the right, which we doubt not shall euer preuayle agaynst wrong, falshoode, decept, and dissimulation.

Hetherto it appereth howe this present warre hath not proceeded of any demaūd of our right of superiority, which the kinges of Scots haue alwaies knowleged by homage and fealtie to our progenitors euen from the beginning: But this warre hath bene prouoked and occasioned vpon present matter of displeasure, present iniurie, present wrong ministred by the Nephew to the Vncle most vnnaturally, and supported contrary to the desertes of our benefites most vnkindly. If we had minded the possession of Scotland, and by

by the motion of warre to attaine the same, there was neuer king of thys realme had more opportunitie in the minoritie of our Nephewe. Ne in anye other realme a prince that hath more iust title, more euident title, more certaine title, to any realme that he can claime, then we haue to Scotland, not deuised by pretence of mariage, not imagined by couenaunt, nor contriued by inuention of argument, but lineally descended from the beginning of that estate established by our progenitors, and recognised successiuely of the kings of Scotlande by deedes, woordes, actes and writyngs contynually almost without interruption, or at the least intermission, till the reigne of our progenitor king Henry the first, in whose time the Scottes abused the ciuill warre of thys realme, to their licence and boldnesse, in omittyng of their duetie: which for the proximitie of bloud betweene vs, we haue bene slacke to require of them, beyng also of our selfe inclined to peace, as we haue euer bene alwayes glad, rather without preiudice to omit to demaunde our right if it might conserue peace, then by demaunding thereof to be sene to moone warre, specially agaynst our neighbor, agaynst our Nephewe, against him whome we haue preserued from daunger, and in suche a time as it were expedient for all christendome to be vnite in peace, wherby to be the more able to resist the common enimie the Turke.

But for what considerations we haue omitted to speake hetherto of the matter, it is neuertheles true, that the kings of Scottes haue alwayes knowleged the kings of England superior Lordes of the realme of Scotlande, and haue done homage and fealtie for the same.

The king of Scots haue alwayes acknowleged the kinges of England to be their Superior Lords

This appereth first by historie, written by suche as for confirmation of the truth in memorie, haue truely noted and signified the same.

Secondly it appereth by instruments of homage made by the kinges of Scottes, and diuers notable personages of Scotlande, at diuers and sundrie times sealed with their Seales, and remayning in oure treasorie. Thirdly it appereth by Regesters & Records iudicially and autentiquely made, yet preserued for confirmation of the same. So as the matter of tytle beyng most playne, is furnished also with all maner of euidences for declaration thereof.

First as concerning histories, which be called wytnesses of times, the light of truth, and the life of memorie, and finally the conuenient waye and meane, whereby the things of antiquitie maye be brought to mens knowledge, they shew as playnely this matter as could be wyshed or required, with such a consent of writers, as could not so agree vpon an vntruth, conteyning a declaratiō of such matter as hath most euident probabilitie and apparaunce. For as it is probable and likely, that for the better administration of iustice amongst rude people, two or moe of one estate might be rulers in one Countrie vnite, as this Isle is: so is it probable & likely, that in the beginning it was so ordered for auoyding dissension, that there should be one superior in right, of whome the sayde estates should depende. Accordyng whereunto we read how Brute, of whome the realme then called Britayne tooke first that name (beyng before that time inhabited with Gyauntes, people without order or ciuilitie) had three sonnes, Locrine, Albanact, and Camber, and determinyng to haue the whole Isle within the Ocean sea to be after gouerned by them three, appointed Albanact to rule that now is called

Brute of whome this realme was first called Britaine.

Scotland, Camber the parties of Wales, and Locrine that nowe is called England: vnto whom as being the elder sone, the other two brethren should doe homage recognising and knowleging him as their superior. Now consider if Brutus conquered all this Iland, as the history sayth he did, and then in his owne time made this order of superiority as afore: how can there be a title deuised of a more playne beginning, a more iust beginning, a more conuenient beginning for the order of this Iland, at that time specially when the people were rude, which cannot without continuall strife and variaunce conteyne two or three rulers in all points equal without any maner of superiorite, the inwarde conscience and remorse of which superiorite should in some part dulle and diminish the peruerse courage of resistence and rebellio. The first diuision of this Ile we find it written after this sort without cause of suspicion why they should write amisse. And according herevnto we find also in histories set forth by dyuers, howe for transgression agaynst thys superiorite, our predecessors haue chastised the kings of Scottes, and some deposed, and put other in their places.

We will here omit to speake of the rudenesse of the antiquitie in particularitie, which they cared not distinctly to commit to writing, but some authors, as Anthonius Sabellicus amongst other diligently enserching, what he might truely write of al Europe, and the Ilandes adioyning, ouer and besides that which he writeth of the nature, maners, and conditions of the Scottes, which who so list to read, shall finde to haue bene the verie same in tunes past, that we finde them now at this present, he calleth Scotlande part of Englande, which is agreeable to the deuision aforesayde, beyng in deede as in the lande continuall without seperation of the sea, so also by homage and fealtie vnite vnto the same, as by particuler declarations shall most manifestly appere by the testimonie of suche as haue left writing for proofe and confirmation therof. In which matter passing ouer the death of king Humber, the actes of Dunwald king of this realme, the deuision of Belin and Brene, the victories of king Arthur, we shall beginne at the yere of our Lorde. 900. which is .642. yeres past, a time of sufficient auncientry from which we shal make speciall declaration and euidence of the execution, of oure right and title of superiorite, euermore continued and preserued hetherto.

The homages of the Scottes done to the kings of Englande from time to time.

Edwarde the first before the conquest, sonne to Alured kyng of Englande had vnder his dominion and obedience the king of Scots. And here is to be noted, that this matter was so notorious and manifest, as Maryan a Scot writing that storie in those dayes, graunteth, confesseth, and testifieth the same, & this dominion continued in that state .xxiij. yere: At which tyme Athelstaine succeeded in the crowne of Englande, and hauing by battayle conquered Scotlande, he made one Constantine king of that partie, to rule and gouerne the Countrie of Scotland vnder him, addyng this princely worde, that it was more honor to him to make a king, then to be a king.

To make a king is more honorable then to be a king.

Twentie and foure yeres after that, which was the yere of our Lorde 947. Eldred king our progenitor, Athelstaines brother, tooke homage of Irise then king of Scottes.

Kynald king of Scottes.

Thirtie yeres after that, whych was in the yere of oure Lorde. 977. king Edgar our predecessor tooke homage of Kinald king of Scots. Here was

was a little trouble in Englande by the death of Saint Edwarde king and martir, destroied by the deceit of his mother in law: but yet within memory.

Malcolme king of Scottes.

Forty yeres after the homage done by Kynald to king Edgare, that is to saye, in the yere of oure Lorde. 1017. Malcolme king of Scottes did homage to Knute our predecessor. After this homage done the Scottes vttered some piece of their naturall disposition, wherevpon by warre made by our progenitor saint Edward the Confessor. xxix. yere after that homage done, that is to saye, the yere of our Lord. 1056. Malcolme king of Scottes was vanquished, and the realme of Scotland geuen to Malcolme his sonne by our sayde progenitor saint Edward: vnto whome the sayd Malcolme made homage and fealtie.

William the Conqueror.

Within .xj. yeres after that William Conquerour entered this realme, whereof he accounpted no perfect conquest, vntill he had likewise subdued the Scottes, and therefore in the sayde yere, which was in the yere of our Lorde a thousand. lxviij. the sayd Malcolme king of Scottes did homage to the sayde William Conquerour, as his superiour by conquest kyng of Englande.

Edgar king of Scottes.

Xvj. yeres after that, which was the yere of our Lorde. M. xciij. the sayde Malcolme did homage and fealtie to William Rufus, sonne to the said William Conqueror: and yet after that was for his offences and demerites deposed, and his sonne substitute in his place, who likewyse fayled of his dutie, and therefore was ordeyned in that estate by the sayde William Rufus, Edgar brother to the last Malcolme, and sonne to the first, who did his homage and fealtie accordingly.

Dauid king of Scottes.

Seuen yeres after that, which was in the yere of our Lorde. M. C. the sayde Edgar king of Scottes, did homage to Henrye the first, our progenitour.

Xxvbij. yere after that Dauid king of Scottes did homage to Matilde the Emperatrice, as daughter and heyre to Henry the first. Wherefore being after required by Stephen, then obteynyng possession of the realme, to make his homage, he refused so to do, because he had before made it to the sayde Matylde, and therevpon forbare. After which Dauyds death, which ensued shortly after, the Sonne of the sayde Dauyd made homage to the sayde king Stephyn.

William king of Scottes.

Fourtene yeres after that, which was in the yere of our Lorde. M. Cl. William king of Scottes, and Dauid his brother, with all the Nobles of Scotland made homage to Henry the secondes sonne, with a reseruation of their duetie to Henry the second his father.

Xvb. yeres after that, which was in the yere of our Lorde. M. Clxxb. William king of Scotland, after much rebellion and resistence, according to their naturall inclination, king Henry the secoud, then beyng in Normandie, William then king of Scottes knowleged finally his error, and made hys peace and composition, confirmed with his great seale, and the seales of the Nobilitie of Scotland, making therewith his homage and fealtie.

Within .xb. yeres after that, which was the yere of our Lorde. M. C. lxxxx. the sayde William king of Scottes, came to our Citie of Caunterburye, and there did homage to our noble progenitour king Rycharde the first.

Fourtene yeres after that, the sayd William did homage to our progenitour king John, vpon a hill beyides Lyncolne, makyng his othe vpon the Crosse of Hubert then Archbishop of Cauntorbury, beyng there present a meruelous multitude assembled for that purpose.

Alexander king of Scottes.

Xxvj. yeres after that, which was in the yere of our Lord. M. CC. xvj. Alexander king of Scottes maryed Margaret, the daughter of our progenitor Henry the thirde, at our Citie of Yorke, in the feast of Christmasse: at which time the sayde Alexander king of Scottes repayred to the sayde feast of coronation, and there did his dutie as aforesayd.

John Bayll. king of Scottes.

Within. xxviij. yeres after that, which was the yere of our Lorde. M. CC. lxxxij. John Balioll king of Scottes, made his homage and fealtie to the sayd king Edward the first, our progenitor.

After this began Robert Bruse to vsurpe the crowne of Scotland, and to moue sedition therefore, agaynst them of the house of Baliol, which made for a season some interruption in the sayde homage: but yet no intermission without the termes of memorie. For within. xliiij. yere after, which was the yere of our Lorde. M. CCC. vj. Edwarde Balioll after a great victorie had in Scotland against the other faction, and enioyng the Crowne of Scotland made homage to our progenitor Edward the thirde.

David Bruse king of Scottes.

And. xx. yeres after that, which was in the yere of our Lord. M. CCC. xvj. Dauid Bruse, who was euer in the contrary faction, did neuertheles in the title of the Crowne of Scotland, wherof he was then in possession, make homage to our sayd progenitor Edward the thirde.

Edward Baylioll king of Scottes.

Within. ix. yeres after this, Edward the thirde, to chastice the infidelity of the Scottes, made warre against them: where after great victories, Edward Balioll hauyng the iust and right title to the realme of Scotland, surrendered clerely the same to our said progenitor at the towne of Roksborough in Scotland: where our sayd progenitor accepted the same, and then caused himselfe to be crowned king of Scotland, and for a tyme entertayned it, and enioyed it, as very proprietary and owner of the realme, as on the one party by confiscation acquited, & on the other part by free will surrendred vnto him.

And then after the death of our sayd progenitor Edward the thirde, began seditions and insurrections in this our realme, in the tyme of our progenitor Richard the second, which was augmented by the alteration of the state of the sayd Richard, and the deuolution of the same, to Henry the fourth, so as the Scottes had some leysure to play their pagues, and folow their accustomed maner. And yet Henry the fift for recouery of his right in Fraunce commaunded the king of Scots to attend vpon him in that iourney. And in this time the realme of Scotland beyng descended to the house of the Stewardes, of which our Nephew directly commeth, James Steward king of Scottes, in the yere of our Lorde. M. CCCC. xxiij. made homage to Henry the fift at Windsore. Which homage was distant from the tyme of the other homage made by Dauid Bruse. ix. yeres and more, but farre within the freshe memorie of man.

James Steward king of Scottes.

All which homages and fealties as they appere by story to haue beene made and done at times and season as aforesaid: so do there remaine instrumentes made therevpon and sealed with the seales of the kinges of Scotland testifyng the same. And yet doth it appere by story, howe the Scottes practised

practised to steale out of our treasury diuers of these instruments, which nertheless were after recouered againe. And to the intent ye may knowe of what fourme and tenour the sayd instrumentes be, here is inserted the effect in worde and sentence as they be made, which we do, to mete with the cauellation and contrined euasion of the Scottes, allegyng the homage to haue bene made for the Erledome of Huntyngdon, which is as true as the allegation of him that is burnt in the hande, to say he was cut with a Sicle. And therefore the tenour of the homage is this.

The oth that the king of Scots taketh when he doth his homage.

I John. N. king of Scottes shall be true and faythfull vnto you Lorde Edward by the grace of God king of England, the noble and superiour Lord of the kingdome of Scotland, and vnto you I make my fidelitie of the same kingdome of Scotland, the which I holde, and clayme to holde of you: and I shall beare to you my fayth and fidelitie of life and limme, and worldly honour agaynst all men, and faythfully I shall knowlege, and shall do to you seruice due vnto you of the kingdome of Scotland aforesayd, as God so help and these holy Euangelistes.

Of this ye may reade more in the xxiij. yere of king Edward the first.

Now for the thirde part touchyng recordes and registers, we haue them so formall, so autentiquall, so seriously handled, and with suche circumstances declaryng the matters, as they best ought to be a great corroboration of that hath bene in stories written and reported in this matter. For amonges other thinges, we haue the solempne act, and iudiciall processe of our progenitour Edward the first, in discussyon of the title of Scotland, when the same was chalenged by. xij. competitours: That is to say.

Florentinus comes Holandie,	Patricius Galightly.
Patricius de Dũbar comes de Merchia,	Rogerus de Mundeuille
VVillielmus de Vesty	Ioannes de Comyn.
VVillielmus de Ros	D. Ioannes de Hastinges
Robertus de Pinbeny	Ioannes de Balliolo
Nicholaus de Soules	Robertus de Bruse
	Ercius rex Norvvegie.

And finally after a great consultation and mature deliberation, wyth discussion of the allegations proponed on all parties, sentence was geuen for the tytle of Baliol, accordyng wherevnto he enioyed the realme. But for confirmation of the duetie of the homage before that tyme obserued by the king of Scottes, it appereth in those recordes howe when those competitours of the realme of Scotlande repaired to our sayde progenitor, as to the chiefe Lorde for discussion of the same, in as much as the authoritie of the iudgement to be geuen depended therevpon: It was then ordered that the whole parliament of Scotlande, spirituall, temporall and of all degrees assembled for that purpose, and considering vpon what grounde and foundation the kinges of Scotlande had in tymes past made the sayde homages and recognition of superiozitie, the sayde parliament finding the same good and true, should if they so denied it, yeelde and geue place, and by expresse consent recognise the same. At which parliament was alleged vnto them, as appereth in the same recordes, not onely these actes of the Princes before those dayes, and before rehersed: but also besides the testimonie of stories, the writings and letters of forreyn princes, at that time recityng and reherssyng the same: wherevpon the sayde parliament did there agree to this

our

our superiozitie, and ensuyng their determination did particularly and seue-rally make homage and fealtie with proclamation, that whosoeuer with-drewe himselfe from doyng his duetie therein, should be reputed as a rebel: And so all made homage and fealtie to our progenitor Edwarde the first. The realme of Scotland was in the time of the discussion of the title ruled by Gardians deputed by him and all Castels and holdes were surrendred to him as to the superior Lorde in the time of vacation, benefices, offices, fees, promotions passed in that time from the mere gift of our sayde progenitor, as in the right of this crowne of Englande, Shirifes named and appointed, writtes and preceptes made, obeyed, and executed: and finally all that we doe nowe in the Duchie of Lancaster, the same did our progenitor for the tyme of our contention for that tytle in the realme of Scotlande, by the con-sent of an agreement of all estates of the realme assembled and consulted with for that purpose. At which time the Bishops of saint Andrewes and Glascoo were not as they now be Archebyshops, but recognised the Arche-bishop of Yorke, which extended ouer all that Countrey.

Nowe if the Scottes will take exception to the homage of their prin-ces as made in warre and by force which is not true: what will they saye or can they for shame allege agaynst their awne parliament, not of some but of all confirmed and testefied by their writings and seales? wherevnto no-thing enforced them, but right and reason, beyng passed in peace and quyet without armour or compulsion. If they say they did it not, they speake lyke themselues, if they say they did it, then doe they now lyke themselfe, to with-drawe their duetie, not so much to be blamed, as to be amended.

Thus appereth vnto you the beginning of the right of superiority, with a perpetuall continuaunce, without intermission within memorie, certayne omission and forbearyng vpon the groundes and occasions before specified we denie not. Whereby they haue many times sought and taken their oppor-tunities to withdrawe the doing of their duetie in knowlege of our superiori-tie ouer them, which to auoyde, they haue not cared what they sayde or al-leged, though it were neuer so vntrue: lyng allwayes in a wayt when they might annoy this realme, not without their awne great daunger, perill, and extreme detriment. But as they detracted the doing of their duetie, so God euer graunted vnto this realme force to compell them therevnto with-in memorie, notwithstanding any their interruption by resistence, which vnto the time of our progenitor Henry the sixt neuer indured so long as it made intermission within time of minde, whereby the possession might seme to be empayred, from the time of Henry the sixt vnto the seuenth yere of our regne, our realme hath bene for a season lacerate and torne by diuersitie of tytles tyll oure time and sythence by warre outwardly vexed and troubled: The story is so lamentable for some part therof, as were tedyous to reherse.

Sythen the death of our progenitor, Henry the sixt our Graund-father Edward the fourth reigned, who after great traueyles to attain qui-etnesse in this realme, finallye in the time of preparation of warre against Scotlande, dyed.

Richard the third then vsurped for a small time in peres, whome the king our father by the strength of Gods hande ouerthrew in battayle, and most iustly attayned the possession this realme, who neuertheless after the great

great tempestious stormes, finding all matters not yet brought to a perfite quyet and rest, ceassed and forbare to require of the Scottes to do their duty thinking it policie rather for that time to assay to tame their nature by the pleasant coniunction and conuersation of affinitie, then to charge them with their faulte, and require dutie of them, when opportunitie serued not, by force and feare to constraine and compell them.

And thus passed ouer the reigne of our father, without demaund of this homage. And beyng our reigne nowe foure and thirty peres, we were .xxj. yere letted by our Nephew his minozite, beyng then more carefull how to bring him out of daunger, to the place of a king, then to receyue of him ho-mage when he had full possession of the same. Wherefore beyng now passed sithens the last homage made by the king of Scottes to our progenitor Henrye the sixt a hundred .xxij. yeere, at which tyme the homage was done at Windesore by James Steward, then king of Scottes, as afore. lvj. of these yeres the crowne of this realme was in contention, the trouble whereof engendered also some businesse in the tyme of the king our father, which was .xxiiij. yere: And in our time. xxj. yere hath passed in the minor-tye of our Nephew. So as finally the Scottes resorting to their onely de-fence of discontinuance of possession, can onely allege iustly but .xlij. yere of silence in the time of our reigne, being all the other times sithens the homage done by James Steward, such as the silence in them had they bene neuer so long, could not haue ingendered preiudice to the losse of any ryght, that may yet be declared and proued due. For what can be imputed to king Edwarde for not demaunding homage beyng in strife for that estate, wherevnto the ho-mage was due? What should Richard the third serche for homage in Scot-lande, that had neyther right ne leasure to haue homage done vnto him in England? Who can blame our father, knowyng the Scottes nature, neuer to do their dutie but for feare, if he demaunded not that of them, which they would exchue if they might, beyng his realme not clerely then purged from yll seede of sedicion, sparkled and scattered in the cruell ciuile warres before.

Law and reason serueth, that the passing ouer of time not commodious to the purpose, is not allegeable in prescription for the losse of any right. And the minoritie of the king of Scottes hath endured .xxj. peres of our reigne, which beyng an impediment on their parte, the whole prescription of the Scottes, if the matter were prescriptible, is thus deduced euidently to. xlij. peres, which .xlij. yere without excuse we haue ceassed and forborne to de-maunde our dutie, like as the Scottes haue likewise ceassed to offer and tender the same. For which cause neuertheleſſe we do not enter this warre, ne mind to demaund any such matter, now beyng rather desirous to re-ioyce and take comfort in the friendship of our Nephew, as our neighbour, then to moue matter vnto him of displeasure, whereby to alienate such na-turall inclination of loue, as he shoulde haue towarde vs. But such be the worke of God, superior ouer all, to suffer occasions to be ministred, where-by due superiozitie may be knowne, demaunded and required, to the entent that according therevnto all thinges gouerned in due order here, we maye to his pleasure passe ouer this life to his honor and glorye: which he graunt vs to do, in such rest, peace, and tranquilitie, as shall be meete and conueni-ent for vs.

When

The king sendeth a great armye into Scotlande.

When the king had set forth the declaration of the cause of his warre as is aboue mencioned. Then he sent forth the Duke of Northfolke Lieutenaunt generall, accompanyed with the Erles of Shrewisburie, Darby, Comberland, Surrey, Hertford, Angush, Rutland, and the Lordes of the North partes, and Syr Anthony Browne Maister of the kinges Horse, Syr John Gage Comptroller of the kinges house, and twentie thousande men well appointed, which entred Scotlande the. xxj. day of October, and taried there eyght dayes without battayle, and brent the townes of Parton, Ramrige, Styne, Gradyn, Shylles, Lang Ednem, Newton, Skitchell, Newthorne, Smellem Spittle, the two Merdens, Slederike, and the two Brorlawes, Florys and the Faire Crofte, Edeem Spittell, Rorborough, Kelsey and the Abbey, Lang Spronstow, Ryden, & Hadyngton. And while the Duke was at Farneton in Scotland, ỳ fourth day there came to speake with him halfe a myle from the hoste, from the king of Scottes, the Bishop of Orkeney and James Leiremouth Master of the houshold, to entreate peace, but they agreed not. And the armye lay so longe in Scotland as they might for hunger and colde without any countenaunce of harme, and so for necessitie returned to Barwicke. And all this iourney the Standard of the Erle of Hampton which died at new Castell was borne in the forward, because he was appointed Capitaine of the same.

The king of Scottes heerying that the armie was returned, rayled an armie of. xb. thousand chosen men of all partes of his realme vnder the guydyng of the Lord Maxwell Wardeyn of his west Marches, bosting to tarry as long in England, as the Duke did in Scotland. And so on Friday beyng Saint Katherins euen, they passed ouer the water of Elske, and brent certaine houses of the Greues on the very border. Thomas bastard Dacres with Jacke of Mulgraue sent worde to sir Thomas Wharton Wardeyn for the king on the west Marches, to come on to succor them: howbeit the sayde two valiant Captaines, although the Scots entred fiercely, yet they manfully and couragiously set on them, with an hundred light horse, and left a stale on the syde of a hill, where withall the Scottes were wonderfully dismayde, eyther thinkyng that the Duke of Northfolk had bene come to the West marches with his great armie, or else they thought that some greater armie came, namely when they espyed sir Thomas Wharton, commyng with three hundred men only. But at that time, so God ordeined it to be, that they at the first bront fled, and the Englishmen folowed, and there were taken prisoners the Erles of Casselles, and Glancarne, the Lorde Maxwell, Admirall and Wardein, the Lord Flemmyng, the Lorde Sommerwell, the Lorde Oliphant, the Lord Gray, sir Oliuer Senclere the kinges minion, John Rosse Lord Orgay, Robert Eskyn sonne to the Lorde Eskyn, Carre Lorde of Gredon, the Lorde Maxwelles two brethren, John Lesley Bastard to the Erle of Rothus, and two hundred Gentlemen more, and aboue. viij. hundred common people, insomuch that some one man, yea, and women had three or foure prisoners. They tooke also. xxiij. Gunnes, foure Cartes with speares, and ten paulions. This was onely the handstroke of God, for the Cardinall of Scotland promised them heauen for destruction of England.

The victory at the water of Elske.

A great number of the Nobilitie of Scotland taken prisoners

This was called the battaile of Solemne Halle.

The death of the Scottish king.

The king of Scottes tooke a great thought for this discomfiture, and also because that an English Herauld called Sommerset was slain at Dumbarre,

barre, which things together he tooke so vnpatiently, that he died in a frensie. Although many reported that the king himselfe was at this bickering, and there receyued his deathes wound, and fled therewith into Scotlande. But howsoeuer it was, true it is as is afore sayde he died, and the Queene his wyfe was deliuered of a daughter, on our Ladie euen before Christmas called Mary. Of the prisoners afore sayd. xxiij. of the chiefe of them, were brought vp to the Tower of London, and there were two dayes. And on saint Thomas day the Apostle before Christmalle, they were solemnly conueyed through London to Westminster, where the kinges Counsaile sate, and there the Lord Chaunceloz, declared to them their vntruth, vnkindnesse, and false dissimulation, declaryng farther how the king had cause of warre against them, both for the denying of their homages, and also for their trayterous inuasions without defiaunce, and also for kepyng his subiectes prisoners without redemption, contrary to the olde lawes of the Marches, for which doynges, God as they might perceyue had scourged them: Howbeit the king more regardyng his honour, then his Princely power, was content to shewe to them kindnesse, for vnkindnesse, and right for wrong. And although he might haue kept them in straight prison, by iust lawe of Armes, yet he was content that they should haue libertie to be with the nobles of his realme, in their houses. And so according to their estates, they were appointed to Dukes, Erles, Bishops, Knightes and other Gentlemen, which so enterteined them, that they confessed themselues neuer to be better enterteined nor to haue had greater chere. But after their new gladnes, tidyngs came to them, of the death of their king, which they sore lamented, and heerying that he had left an only daughter his heyre, they wished her in England, to be maried to the prince the kings sonne. The king and his Counsaile, perceiuyng the ouerture nowe to be made, which way without warre these two realmes might be brought into one, sent for all the prisoners few lacking, to his Manor of Hampton Court, on saint Stephens day, where they were so well enterteyned, both of the king and his nobles, that they sayd, they neuer saw king but him, and sayd that God was better serued here, then in their Countrey: howbeit their Kirkmen preached, that in England was neither Masse, nor any seruice of God. And they promised the king, to do al that in them lay with their friendes to performe asmuch as he required. Whereupon not without great rewardes, they departed toward Scotland on Newyeres day, and by the way they saw the Prince, and came to Newecastell to the Duke of Suffolke, who vpon hostages deliuered them, and so they entered Scotland and were well and gladly welcomed.

The birth of Mary daughter to the king of Scottes.

The first motion of the mariage of the heyre of Scotland with prince Edwards heire of England began of the Scottes.

Likewise the Erle of Angus, which was banished Scotland, and had of the kinges Fee, yerely a thousande marke, and Sir George Douglas hys Brother had fiue hundreth Marke. These were accepted into Scotland, and restored by the last kinges will, and the Erle of Angus and diuers of the Lordes that were prisoners, were made of the priuie Counsaile of the realme, by the Erle of Arrein, gouernor of the yong Queene, and the realme, as next heire apparaunt: notwithstandyng that the Archebishop of Saint Andrewes and Cardinal, enemie mortal to the king and realme of England, for the Bishop of Romes authoritie (and partly set on by the French king, for the same cause) had forged a will, that the king had made him Gouernour,

uernour, associate with two Erles of his affinitie, both of the realme and of the yong Queene, contrary to the lawes of Scotland. Wherevpon the sayd Erle of Arrain, accordyng to his right, with the helpe of his frendes, tooke vpon him the rule of Gouernor, and put the sayde false Cardinall in prison, and deliuered sir Robert Bowes and other prisoners, by their bandes, accordyng to the custome of the Marches. And so in March next folowyng, the Scottes began their Parliament.

All this yere there was neither perfite peace, nor open warre, betwene England and Fraunce, but ships were taken on both sydes, and Marchants robbed. And at the last the Marchauntes goodes on both parties were seazed, and likewise the Ambassadors of both realmes were stayed: howbeit shortly after, the Ambassadors were deliuered, but yet the Marchauntes were robbed, and no warre proclaymed.

In the end of this yere, came from the Gouernor of Scotlande as Ambassadors, sir William Hambleton, James Leyzmouth, and the Secretorie of Scotland, whose message was so meanely liked, that they were faine to sende an Herauld into Scotland, for other Ambassadors, and so hether came the Erle of Glancarne, and sir George Douglas, and whatsoeuer their aunswere was, sir George returned in post, and within .xx. dayes, came againe with an honest aunswere, but that honestie endured a small tyme.

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In the beginning of thys yere on Trinitie Sonday, was a new league swozne betwene the king and the Emperor at Hampton Court, to be friends to their friendes, and enemies to their enemies.

A peace concluded betweene the Emperour and the king of England.

The thirde daye of June came to the Court, from the realme of Irelande, the Lozde Obzyn, the Lozde Macke Wylliam Bzough, the Lozde Macke Gilpatrick. And in Julye the sayde Obzyn was created Erle of Tolmon, and Lozde Macke Wylliam was created Erle of Clanrikard, and syr Dunon Obzyn was made Baron of Ebzanky, and so with rewardes they toke their leaue, and returned. Also the same Moneth the Scottishe Ambassadours returned with great rewardes.

Certaine Irish Lozds come into England.

At this season the king and the Emperour sent Garter and Toyson kings at armes to demaund certayne things of the French king, which if he did denie, then to defie him, but he would not suffer them to come within his lande, and so they returned. Wherevpon the sayde demaunds were shewed to the Embassador at Westminster. And in July the king sent ouer sixe thousand tall men, whereof was Capitayne generall, syr John Wallop, and syr Thomas Seymour Marchall, and syr Richarde Cromwell Capitayne of the horsemen, which assaulted a towne called Launderley, vnto the which assault came the Emperour in proper person. And shortly after came downe the French king in proper person with a great armie, and offered the Emperour battayle, by reason whereof the siege was raysed, and streight the Frenchmen battayled the towne, which was the onely cause of their comming. For the next day the Emperor beyng redie at the houre appointed to geue battail, & the french men made great shew, as though they would haue come forward, but they dalyed of al that day, and in the night they ran away, and trusted some to their horses, and some to their legges lyke tall felowes.

warre with Fraunce.

Launderley.

And in thys time by reason of a statute that was lately made, commonly called the statute of sixe articles, there was many men in trouble namely at

at Wyndsore, but for this and suche other that concerne religion, I referre you to the boke of the monuments of the Church published by maister Fox.

The Lozds of Scotland who in the last yere (as you haue heard) were taken prisoners in England were at New yeres tyde released and sent home raunsome free into Scotland vpon their othes and promise to do that in them lay for the cõclusion of a mariage to be had betwene Mary the sole and only heyre of Scotland, and Edward the prince and heyre of England; who immediatly vpõ there returne did cause to be sommoned & conuocated a parliament in Scotland, and in the same concluded, agreed & determined the afore-said mariage, and confirming their act vnder their great seale, sent the same vnto king Henry the eyght. And for the better conclusion and solemnization thereof: there was time and place appointed: But herevnto the Cardinal of saint Andrewes would not agree: wherefore the Lozdes committed him to safe custodie, and shortly after by the meanes of the French king, the Lozds of Scotlande went from all that they had done, and namely the Lozde Hamelton the gouernour, who went both from his othe and promise, the which was the occasion that king Henry made agayne newe prouision for warre, and sent into Scotlande a great power to their no little losse and detriment, as in the yere next folowyng shall be shewed.

Thys yeare was in London a great death of the pestilence, and therefore Michelmas terme was adiourned to saint Albons, and there was it kept to the ende.

A pestilence.

Michelmasse terme kept at saint Albones.

In the weke of Christmasse came to the king to Hampton Court Ferdinando de Gonzaga Viceroy of Cicile prince of Malfeta Duke of Juano Capytaine generall of the chiualrie and armie of the Emperour Charles, which came to the king to appoint what time the armie and the Emperour should be readie to inuade Fraunce, and the appointment taken he departed, and had for his rewarde a. C. liij. ounces in golden plate, and foure thousand three ounces in guylt plate, which all was very curiously wrought. And all the time that he lay here, he lay at the kings cost.

The Sonday before Christmas was Lord Wylliam Parre, brother to the Queene, which had maried the daughter and heyre of Lozde Henrye Burchier Erle of Essex, at Hampton Court, created Erle of Essex. And sir Willyam Parre knight Uncle to them both, was made Lozde Parre of Hozton and Chaumberlayne to the Queene. And on Newyeares day was syr Thomas Wriothesley the kinges secretarie, made Lozde Wriothesley of Tychefield.

Lord William Parre created Erle of Essex.

Also this yeare was open warre proclaymed with Fraunce, and lycence geuen to the kinges subiectes to seaze vpon the French men and their goodes as in lyke cases before had bene accustomed.

This yere the king sent a great armie into Scotlande by sea, and he made the Erle of Hertford Lieutenaunt generall of the same. And the Vicount Lisle high Admyrall, which valyaunt Capitaynes so sped them, that the third day of May the Lozde Admirall arriued with all his Fleete, which was two. C. sayle in the Fryth, where he landed dyuers of his men, and there tooke dyuers vessels, which after did high seruice. And shortly they approched vnto the towne of Lyth where they landed their men, and marched forwarde in three great battayles, whereof the Lozde Admirall led the vawarde,

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A great armye sent into Scotland.

warde, the Erle of Shrewsbury the arrerewarde, and the Noble Erle of Hertford being Lieutenaunt, of the battail: Where they founde the Scottes assembled to the number of fire thousande horsemen beside footemen to stop the passage of the armie. And at the first the Scottes made toward the Englishe men as though they would haue set on the vawarde, but when they perceyued the Englishe men so wylling to encounter with them, namely the Cardinall who was there present, whiche perceyued the deuotion the Englishe men had to see his holynesse, after certayne shot on both sides, they made a sodayne retreate, and leanyng their artillary behinde them fled towarde Edenborough. The first man that fled was the Cardinall lyke a valyaunt Champion, and with him the Gouernour, the Erle of Huntley, Murrey and Bothwell, with many other great men of the realme. And shortly after the Englishe men mauger all the Scottes might doe, entered the towne of Lith where that night the army encamped them, and there they found such riches as they thought not to haue founde in any towne of Scotland.

Lith taken and spoyled.

The next day the Armye went towardes Edenborough towne, and when they approched nere, the Prouost of the towne accompanied with one or two Burgesses, and two or three Officers at armes desired to speake with the kings Lieutenant, and in the name of all the towne said, that the keyes of the towne shoulde be deliuered vnto his Lordeship conditionally that they might go with bag and baggage and the towne to be saued from fier: Whervnto aunswere was made by the sayd Lieutenaunt, that where as the Scots had so manifestly broken their promises confirmed by othes and Seales and certefied by the whole Parliament, as is euidently knowne to the whole worlde, he was sent thether by the kinges highnesse to take vengeaunce of their detestable falshoode, to declare and shewe the force of his highnesse swoorde to all such as should make any resistaunce vnto his graces power sent thether for that purpose: And therefore he tolde to them resolutely that vnlesse they would yelde vp the towne frankely without condicion, and cause man, woman and childe, to issue into the fieldes, submitting them to his will and pleasure, he woulde put them to the swoord and their towne to the fyer. The Prouost aunswered that it were better for them to stande to their defence. Wherevpon commaundement was geuen to the sayd Prouost and Officers at Armes vpon their perill to depart. And foorthwith the Lorde Lieutenaunt sent to the vaward that they should march towardes the towne which corragiously set forwarde, and the English Gonners manfully set on the gates, specially sir Christopher Morice, that they did beate the Scottes from their Ordinaunce, and so entred the gate called Cany gate by fine force and there slew a great number of the Scottes: And finally it was determined by the sayd Lorde Lieutenaunt vtterly to ruinate and destroy the sayde towne with fier, which thing immediatly was attempted, but because night was come, the army withdrew to their campe, & then a fresh the next day set fyer where none was before, which continued that day and two dayes after burning. And shortely after came vnto this armye by lande foure thousand light horsemen sent by the king, which after they were come, the army forsoke their shippes and sent them whome laden with spoyle and Gunshot which they found there, and dislodged their Campe out of the towne of Lith, and set fier in euery house, and brent it to the ground: and so returned home by

Edenborough brent and spoyled.

by lande, through all the mayne countrye of Scotland, burning and destroying euery pyle, fortresse and Village that was in their walke, and so with great honor to the great reioysyng aswell of the kinges maiestie as of all his faythfull and louing subiectes, they returned againe into England with the losse skant of fortie persons: and because their great exployt may be the better knowne, here shall follow the names of the chiefe Boroughes, Castels and townes brent and desolated by this royall army.

The Borough and towne of Edenborough with the Abbey called holy Roode house, and the kinges palace adioyning to the same.

The Abbey of New bottle: parte of Muskleborough towne, with the Chappell of our Lady Lawret.

Hadington towne with the Friers and Nonry. Lawreston with the Graunge, the towne of Lith brent, and the hauen and Pier destroyed, the Castell and village of Cragmiller, Preston towne and the Castell, a Castell of Oliuer Sancklers, the towne of Dumbarre.

Dzilaw,	Wester Crag,	Enderleigh the pile and towne,
Broughton,	Chester Felles,	Crawnend,
Dudiston,	Stanhouse,	The Ficket,
Beuerton,	Trauent,	Shenstone,
Warkle,	Crapzen,	Kirkland hyll,
Hatherwike,	Belton,	East Barnes,
Bowland,	Butterden,	Quickwood,
Blackbrne,	Raunto,	Bildy and the Tower,

Also townes and villages brent vpon the Sea by the English Fleete, which I cannot name the halfe.

Kinkone,	Saint Ninetes,	The Queenes Fery,

Parte of Petynwaynes, the Brent Iland, with many other whose names I could not come by.

A great camp at Muttrell

In this yere also the kinges Maiestie prepared two great armies to Fraunce, the one was conducted and led by the Duke of Norffolke, and the gentle Lorde Russell Lorde priuie seale, which encamped at Muttrell and besieged the towne, where they laye a long time, and left the towne as they founde it: The other armie was led by the valyaunt Duke of Suffolke which was the kings Luetenaunt of that armie, and beyng accompanied with the Lorde Chamberleyn, the Erle of Arondell Marshall of the field, and syr John Gage Comptroller of the kings house, & syr Anthony Browne maister of the kings horses, with dyuers & many other Capitaynes: the .xix. day of July encamped before Bulleyn on the East side of the same vpon the hill, where after many sharpe skirmiches they gayned first the olde man, and shortly after balle Boleyn.

Bulleyne besieged.

The fourtene day of July the kings maiestie in his royall person passed the seas from Douer to Calice, and the sixe and twentie day encamped him selfe before Bulleyn, on the North side within lesse then halfe a mile of the towne, where his grace remayned till the towne was surrendered vnto his maiesty: the which towne he so sore assauted and so besieged with such abundaunce of great ordinaunce, that neuer was there a more valyaunter assault made, for beside the vndermyning of the Castell, tower and walles, the towne was so beaten with ordinaunce, that there was not left one house

The king in his owne person encampeth him selfe before Bulleyne.

whole therein: and so sore was layde to the charge of the Frenchmen that after the king had assaulted them by the space of a Monthe, they sent forth of the towne to the king two of their chiefe Capitaynes, called Semblemound, and Mounsire de Hales, which declared that the chiefe Capitayne of the towne with his retinue was contented to delyuer the towne vnto his grace, so that they might passe with bagge and baggage, which request the kings maiestie, mercifully graunted them. And so on the next day, the Duke of Suffolke rode into Bulleyn, to whome in the kings name, they delyuered the keyes of the towne. And at after none departed out of Bulleyne all the Frenche men. The number of the men of warre, that were strong and galaunt, that came out of the towne were of horsemen. lxvij. of fotemen xb. C.lxiii. of Gonners eyght hundred, of hurtmen. lxxxvij. of women and children. xix. C. xxvij: So there was in al that came out of the towne, foure thousand, foure hundred, fiftie and foure, beside a great number of aged, sicke, and hurt persons, that was not able to go forth of the towne. The last person that came forth, was Monsire de Veruine, graund Capitaine of the towne, which when he approched neere the place where the king stoode, he alighted from his horse, and came to the king. And after he had talked with him a space, the king toke him by the hand, & he reuerently kneling vpon his knees, kissed his hand, & afterward mounted vpon hys horse, & so departed.

The kinges entrance into Bulleyn.

The.xviij. day, the kings highnesse hauing the Lorde Marques Dorset, like a noble and valyaunt Conquerour rode into Bulleyn, and all the Trompetters standing on the walles of the towne, sounded their Trumpets, at the time of his entering, to the great comfort of all the kings true subiectes, the same beholdyng. And in the enteryng, there met him the Duke of Suffolke, and delyuered vnto him the keyes of the towne, & so he roade toward his lodgyng, which was prepared for him on the South syde of the towne. And within two dayes after, the king rode about all the towne within the walles, and commaunded that our Lady Church of Bulleyn, should be defaced & plucked downe, where he appointed a Mount to be made, for the great force & strength of the towne.

When the king had set all thinges there in suche order, as to his wisedome was thought best, he returned, to the great reioyking of all his louing subiectes.

In the meane season, that the king lay before Bulleyn, and was like to haue conquered the same, as at the last he did, as before you haue heard, the Emperour tooke a peace with the Frenche king, to the no little griefe and displeasure of the Kinges Maiestie, and that was the cause that the king so sodainly brake vp his armie, aswell at Bulleyne, as also at Mutterell, and so he returned.

The Dolphin stealeth vpon Bulleyne and did much hurt.

Shortly after, diuers and many sharpe skirmishes were made by the Frenchmen at Bulleyn namely by the Dolphyn, who with a great power in the night season stale vpon Base Bulleyn, takyng there a great sort of sicke persons, and women in there beddes, whome without mercy they slue. Howbeit so manfully the Englishmen, which escaped out of Base Bulleyn behaued themselues, gettyng weapons out of the highe towne, that they beate the Frenche men againe out of the Base Towne, and after with the helpe of the high towne, they slue a great number of them, and so againe possessed

sessed quietly, the sayd Base towne: Beside I say this skirmishe and many mo, Mounsire de Bees came with. xb. thousand men, and encamped right against the towne on the other syde of the water, entendyng there to haue builded a fort. But the fourth day of Febuary, he was set vpon in his owne Campe, by the most valiant and fortunate Erle of Hertford, and Lord Lisle, the Lorde Gray and other: at whose comming the sayde Mounsire de Bees, with all his puyssaunce fled, leauyng behinde them all their Ordinaunce, Tentes, and Plate.

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The buildyng of the newe Forte at Bullayne.

The seuenth day of June, a great armie of Frenchmen, came nere to the hauen of Bulleyn, and skirmished with the Englishe men, to the no great gaine of the Frenchmen: but this armie which was accounpted to the number of. xx. thousande there encamped, began againe to builde a Fort, which before they departed accomplished the same.

In June the Lorde Lisle Admirall of England, with the Englishe flete entered the mouth of Sain, and came before new Hauen, where the great armie of Fraunce lay, which were two hundred shippes, and. xxvj. Gallyes of force, whereof the Bishop of Rome had sent. xx. well furnished with men and money, to ayde the French king. The Englishmen beyng but an hundred. lx. saile, and all great shippes, did not determine to set on the whole nauie, but shot certaine peeces of Ordinaunce at them, which caused the Gallies to come aboade, and shot at the Englishemen, which Galies had great aduauntage, by reason of the calme weather: twise eche part assaulted other with Ordinaunce, but sodainly the winde rose so great, that the Gallies coulde not endure the rage of the seas: and the Englishemen were compelled to enter the maine seas, for feare of flattes, and so sayled vnto Portesmouth, where the king then lay, for he had knowlege by his espials, that the French armie entended to land in the Isle of Wight, wherefore he repayred to that cost to see his realme defended.

After the departyng of the Englishe nauie from Newe hauen, the Admirall of Fraunce, called the Lorde Danibalt, a man of great experience, hailed vp his sayles, and with his whole nauie, came to the poynt of the Isle of Wight, called Saint Helenes poynt, and there in good order cast their Ankers, and sent. xvj. of his Galies daily to the very Hauen of Portesmouth. The English nauie lyyng in the hauen, made them prest and set out towards them, and stil the one shot at the other. But one day aboue al other, the whole nauie of the Englishemen made out, and purposed to set on the Frenchmen: but in their settyng forward, a goodly shippe of Englande called the Marye Rose, was by to much folly drowned in the middes of the Hauen, for she was laden with to much Ordinaunce, and the portes left open, which were verye low, and the great Ordinaunce vnbreeched, so that when the ship should turne the water entered, and sodainly she sanke. In her was Sir George Carewe knight, Capitaine of the sayde shippe, and foure hundred men, and much Ordinaunce.

The Marye Rose drowned.

Sir George Carew knight drowned.

At the same tyme certaine of the Frenchmen landed in the Isle of Wight, where there Capitaine was slaine and many other, and were both to their great losse and paine, driuen againe to their Gallyes.

The king perceiuyng the great nauy of the French men to approch, sent letters for men into Hampshire, Sommerset shire, Wilshire, and diuers other

ther places adioynyng: which repayred to his presence in great numbers, well furnished with armure and vitaile, and all thinges necessarie, so that the Ile was garnished, and all the Frontiers on the Sea coast, furnished with men in great number.

The French Capitaines hauyng knowlege, by certain fishermen which they tooke, that the king was present, and also of the great power that he had in redinesse, they disanered, and sayled alonges the coastes of Sussex, and a smal number of them landed in Sussex, which neuer returned to their ships, for they were taken vp by the way.

When they had searched all the coast, and saw men euer redie to receiue them, they turned the sterne, and returned home again, without any act worthie to be written, done, or enterprised: sauyng that in this meane time they're new Fort against Bulleyn, was strongly furnished and finished.

The number of the Frenchmen, as diuers prisoners that were taken in the Ile of Wight, and in Sussex did report, were. lx. M. And at this tyme the French king wrote to the Emperor, and declared to him that his armye had gotten the Ile of Wight, the Portes of Hampton, & Portesmouth, and diuers other places, which writyng was as true, as the French king hath in all his leagues and promises bene to the king of England.

The Erle of Hertford entereth with an armie into Scotland.

In August folowyng, the noble Erle of Hertford entered againe into Scotland, with. xij. thousand men, and destroyed all the townes in the middle Marches, and passed to the west Marches, to the great detriment and losse of Scotland, and destroied Coldingham Abbey: and yet the Frenchmen and Scottes which lay at Kelsey, durst not once encounter with him.

The death of Charles duke of Suffolke.

In this Moneth died Charles, the noble and valiaunt Duke of Suffolke, a hardie Gentleman, and yet not so hardie, as almost of all estates and degrees of men, high and low, rich and poore, hartily beloued, and his death of them much lamented, he was buryed at Windsore.

A Parliament.

The. xxiiij. day of Nouember, a Parliament began at Westminster, by authoritie whereof, was graunted to the king a subsidie of two shillinges viij. pence of the pound, of moueable goodes, and foure shillinges the pounde in lande, to be payed in two yere. And all Colleges, Chaunteries, and Hospitals, were committed to the kings order, duryng his lyfe, to alter and transpose: which his grace at the prorogation of the Parliament, promysed to do to the glorie of God, and the common profite of the realme.

Treyport burned.

A little before this tyme, the noble and valiaunt Lord Lisle, Lorde Admirall, landed in Normandie, and brent the suburbs of Treyport, and diuers billages along the Sea coast, and destroyed and tooke almost all the shippes in the hauen, which was a riche and a goodly praye, and so returned without any dammage.

The French king sore moued with these doynges, sent Monsire de Bees with. xij. M. men, which entered into the English pale, beside Graueleyn, and brent Marke and diuers small billages, and then returned.

Euer in maner were skirmiches and Alarmes betweene high Bulleyn, and the new buylded Fortresse, but the losse ranne euer on the Frenchmens side.

This yere was meanes made by the Emperor, that certaine Imbassadors of England and Fraunce might mete to common of a peace, whereupon the king of England sent to Guisnes, Cuthert Bishop of Durisme, sir William Paget his Secretory, and doctor Tregonell. And the French king sent to Arde a Bishop, the chiefe president of Roan, and a Notarie, but no conclusion came to effect. Wherefore the king hauyng perfite knowlege, howe the Frenchmen intended to builde a newe Fortresse on Saint Johns rode, betweene Bullein and Calice: which thing had not onely sore distrussed Calice, but dayly had put Bulleyn in trouble. Wherefore he meanyng to preuent so great a mischiefe, sent ouer the noble Erle of Hertford, and the valiant Lord Lisle Admirall, and many valiaunt Capitaynes, with seuen thousand good Souldiors, which gat the rode but two dayes before the Frenche men appoynted to haue bene there, and in that place encamped themselues. Mounsire de Bees leader and conducter of all the French affayres, encamped himselfe beside Hardilow, and durst not once come forth to set on our men, notwithstanding his former preparation and deuice.

The Erle of Hertford and the Lorde Lisle sent to Bulleyn.

These thinges thus hangyng, many great skirmiches were dayly betweene the Bullenois, and the French Bastilion: and one day the one part lost and the other gayned, and likewise the losers regayned: but in one skirmiche were lost. xvj. English Gentlemen, and. lxxx. other, although there were slain three tatall Frenchmen, and in this skirmiche was slaine, sir George Pollard. And in a like tournay was slain sir Rauke Elderkare, Capitaine of the light horsemen, with a few other Englishmen, but yet a great multitude of French men, at that tyme lay on the grounde.

Sir George Pollard slain Sir Rauke Elderkars slaine.

The. xxiiij. day of December, the kinges Maiestie came to the Parliament house, to geue his royall assent, to such actes as there had passed, where was made vnto him by the Speaker, an eloquent oration, to the which it hath euer bene accustomed, that the Lord Chauncelor made answer, but at this time it was the kinges pleasure, that it should be otherwise, for the king himselfe made him answere, as foloweth worde for worde, as nere as I was able to report it.

King Henry the eight his answeare to the speaker of the Parliament.

Although my Chauncelor for the tyme beyng, hath before this tyme vsed, very eloquently and substancially, to make answere to such orations, as hath beene set forth in this highe Court of Parliament, yet is he not so able to open and set forth my mynde and meanyng, and the secretes of my heart, in so plaine and ample maner, as I my selfe am and can do: wherefore I takyng vpon me to answer your eloquent oration Maister Speaker, say that where you in the name of our welbeloued Commons, hath both praysed and extolled me, for the notable qualities, that you haue put me in remembraunce of me, I most hartily thanke you all, that you haue put me in remembraunce of my dutie, which is to endeuor my selfe to obteine and get such excellent qualities, and necessarie vertues, as a Prince or Gouernour should or ought to haue, of which giftes I recognise my selfe, both bare and barrein: but of such small qualities, as God hath endued me withall, I render to his goodnesse my most humble thankes, entendyng with all my wit and diligence, to get and acquire to me such notable vertues, and princely qualities, as you haue alleged to be incorporate in my person: These thankes for your louyng admonition and good counsaile first remembred, I effsones thanke you againe, bicause that you considerying our great charges (not for our pleasure, but for your defence, not for our gaine, but to our great cost) which we haue lately sustayned, aswell in defence of our and your enemies, as for the conquest of that

that Foxtresse, which was to this realme most displeasant and noysome, and shall be by Gods grace hereafter, to our nation most profitable and pleasant, haue freely of your awne myndes, graunted to vs a certaine subsidie, here in an act specified, which verily we take in good part, regardyng more your kindnesse, then the profite thereof, as he that setteth more by your louyng hearttes, then by your substaunce. Besyde this hartie kindnesse, I cannot a litle reioyce when I consider, the perfite trust and sure confidence, which you haue put in me, as men hauyng vndoubted hope, and vnfeyned beliefe in my good doynges, and iust procedynges for you, without my desyre or requeste, haue committed to mine order and disposition all Chauntryes, Colleges, Hospitals, and other places specified in a certaine act, firmely trustyng that I will order them to the glory of God, and the profite of the common welth. Surely if I contrary to your expectation, should suffer the ministers of the Church to decay, or learnyng (which is so great a Juell) to be minished, or poore and miserable people, to be vnrelieued, you might say that I beyng put in so speciall a trust, as I am in this case, were no trustie friend to you, nor charitable man to mine euen Christian, neither a louer of the publike welth, nor yet one that feared God, to whome accompt must be rendered of all our doynges. Doubt not I pray you, but your expectation shall be serued, more Godly and goodly then you will wishe or desyre, as hereafter you shall plainly perceyue.

Now sithence I finde such kindnesse, on your part toward me, I cannot chose, but loue and fauor you, affirming that no prince in the world more fauoreth his Subiectes, then I do you, nor no subiectes or Commons more loue and obaye their souereigne Lord, then I perceyue you do me, for whose defence my treasure shall not be hidden, nor if necessitie require my persone shall not be vnaduentured: yet although I wyth you, and you with me, be in this perfite loue and concorde, this friendely amytie cannot continue, except both you my Lordes temporall, and you my Lordes spirituall, and you my louing subiectes, studie and take paine to amende one thing, which surely is amys, and far out of order, to the which I most hartely require you, which is, that charitie and concord is not amongest you, but discorde and dissencion, bereth rule in euery place, Saint Paule sayeth to the Corinthians, and in the .xiij. Chapiter, Charity is gentle Charitie is not enuious, Charitie is not proude, and so forth in the sayde Chapiter: Beholde then what loue and Charitie is amongst you, when the one calleth the other Heretike and Anabaptist, and he calleth him againe Papist, Ypocrite and Pharasey. Be these tokens of charitie amongst you? Are these signes of fraternall loue betweene you? No, no, I assure you, that this lacke of charitie amongst your selfes, will be the hinderaunce and assuaging, of the feruent loue betweene vs, as I sayde before, except this would be salued, and clerely made whole. I must nedes iudge the faulte and occasion of this discorde, to be partly by negligence, of you the fathers and Preachers of the spiritualtie. For if I know a mã which liueth in adultery, I must iudge him a lecherous and a carnall persone: If I se a man boast and brag himselfe, I cannot but deeme him a proud man. I se here dayly that you of the clergye preache one agaynst another, teach one contrary to another, inueigh one against another without charitie or discrecion. Some be to stiffe in their olde Mumpsimus, other

other be to busy and curyous, in their new Sumpsimus. Thus all men almost be in varietie and discorde, and few or none preach truly and sincerely the worde of God, according as they ought to do. Shall I iudge you charitable persones doyng this? No no, I cannot so do: alas how can the poore soules liue in concorde, when you preachers sow amongst them in your sermons, debate and discorde? Of you they looke for light, and you bring them to darkenesse. Amend these crimes I exhorte you, and set forth Gods worde both by true preaching and good example geuing, or else I whom God hath appointed his Vicare, and high minister here, will se these deuisions extinct, and these enormities corrected, according to my very dutie, or else I am an vnprofitable seruaunt, and an vntrue officer.

Although I say the spirituall men be in some faulte, that charitie is not kept amongest you, yet you of the temporaltie, be not cleane and vnspotted of malice and enuy, for you raple on Bishops, speake slaunderously of Priestes, and rebuke and taunt Preachers, both contrary to good order, and Christian fraternitie. If you know surely that a Bishop or Preacher, erreth or teacheth peruerse doctrine, come and declare it to some of our Counsayle or to vs, to whome is committed by God the high authoritie to reforme and order such causes and behauiours: and be not iudges your selues, of your owne phantasticall opinions, and vaine expositions, for in such high causes ye may lightly erre. And although you be permitted to reade holy Scripture and to haue the worde of God in your mother tongue, you must vnderstand that it is licensed you so to doe, onely to informe your owne conscience, and to instruct your children and family, and not to dispute and make Scripture a rayling and taunting flocke, against Priestes and Preachers (as many light persons do) I am very sory to knowe and here, how vnreuerently that most precious iewell the word of God is disputed, rymed, song, and iangeled in euery Alehouse and Tauerne, contrary to the true meaning and doctrine of the same. And yet I am euen as much sorye, that the readers of the same, folow it in doyng so faynyly and coldely: for of this I am sure, that charitie was neuer so faynt amongst you, and verteous and godly liuing was neuer lesse vsed, nor God himselfe amongst Christians was neuer lesse reuerenced honored, or serued. Therefore as I sayde before, be in charitie one with an other, like brother and brother, loue dred and serue God (to the which I as your supreme heade, and souereigne Lord, exhorte and require you) and then I doubt not, but that loue and league, that I spake of in the beginning shall neuer be dissolued or broken betweene vs. And to the making of lawes which be now made and concluded, I exhorte you the makers, to be as diligent in putting them in execution, as you were in making and furthering of the same, or else your labor shalbe in vaine, and your common welth nothing relieued. Now to your peticion, concerning our royall assent, to be geuen to such actes as hath passed both the houses. They shall be read openly, that ye may heere them. Then were they openly read, and to many his grace assented, and diuers he assented not vnto. This the kinges Oration was to his Subiectes there present such comfort, that the like ioye coulde not be vnto them in this world. And thus the actes reade, as the maner is, and his assent geuen, his grace rose and departed.

In this time there was by the Frenche men, a voyage made towarde the

Barcke Ager

the Ile of Bzasile, with a ship called the Barcke Ager, which they had taken from the Englishe men before. And in their way they fortuned to meete sodainely with a little Craer, of whome was mayster one Goldyng, which Goldyng was a feat and hardie man. The Barke perceyuing thys small Craer to be an Englishe man, shot at him and bouged him, wherefore the Craer drewe straight to the great ship, and sixe or seuen of the men lept into the Barcke. The Frenchmen looking ouer the boorde at the sinking of the Craer, nothing mistrusting any thing that might be done by ỹ Englishmen. And so it fortuned that those Englishmen, which clymed into the ship, found in the end therof a great nũber of time pots, which they with water quenched, or rather as the nature therof is, set them a fyre, & threw them at the French men that were aboorde, and so blynded them, that those fewe Englishmen that entered the ship, banquished all that were therin, and drawe them vnder hatches, and brought the Barke clerely away agayne into England.

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In the Month of Aprill, by meanes of dyuers princes, an assemble was had, betwene both the realmes of Englande and Fraunce at Guysnes and Arde. There were for the king of Englande, the Erle of Hertford, the Lorde Lisle Admirall, Sir Wylliam Paget Secretary, and Doctor Wotton Deane of Cauntorbury. And for the Frenche king, the Lorde Clado Doneball Admyrall and Marchall of Fraunce, the Bysshop of Eureux, a Presydent and a Secretary. After long debating and diuers breches, a peace was concluded, and proclaymed in the kinges Courte, and in the Citie of London on Whitsonday, with sound of Trompettes. And lykewise was it done at Parys and Roan. For the performaunce wherof, the Viscount Lisle Admyrall, wyth the Bishop of Bureſme, and dyuers Lordes, and aboue an hundred Gentlemen, all in Ueluet coates and cheynes of golde, went to Parys, and were there solemply receyued and feasted, and shortly returned.

A peace concluded betweene England and Fraunce.

Ambassadors of Fraunce.

After whose returne, the Admirall of Fraunce, accompanyed wyth the Bysshop of Eureux, the Erles of Naunteuile, and Villiers, and dyuers great Lordes, beside two hundred gentlemen well appoynted, tooke hys Galey at Deepe, and hauyng in his companie twelue fayre Galies, well trimmed and decked, sayled into Englande, and neuer tooke lande, tyll he came to Grenewiche, where he was receyued by the Erles of Essex, and Darby, the .xix. day of August. And the next daye, he with all his Galies, landed at the Tower Wharfe, and on all the bankes by the water syde, laye peeces of ordinaunce which shot of, but especially the Tower of London, where was shot a terrible peale of ordinaunce. And from thence he roade through London, in great triumph, the Mayor and the craftes standyng in the streetes in good order, to the Bysshops Palace of London, where he lodged till Bartholmew euen, on which day he was conueyed toward Hamptõ Court, where in the waye the prince hauing with him the Archebysshop of Yorke, the Erles of Hertforde, and Huntyngdon, and aboue two thousand horse, met him and enbraced him, in such lowly and honorable maner, that all the beholders greatly reioyced and much marueyled at hys wit and audacitie, and so he came to the Court, geuing the prince the vpper hande as he rode. And at the vtter gate of the Court, the Lorde Chaunceloz, and all the kinges counsayle receyued him, and brought him to his lodgyng.

On Bartholomew daye, the king richely appareled, welcomed him, and

and in great triumph went to the Chapel, where the league was swozne and signed. To tell you of the costly banquet houses that were buylt, and of the great banquets, the costly Maskes, the liberall huntyngs that were shewed to hym, you would much marualle, and scant beleue. But on Fryday folowyng, he beyng rewarded with a Cubborde of Plate, to the value of twelue hundred pounde, returned to London, and on Sonday tooke his Galies and departed. Beside this dyuers of his companie, had much plate, and manye horses and Greyhounds geuen them. Also the Admirall had geuen to hym, of the Citie of London, two Flagons guilt, & two parcell guilt, to the somme of an hundred and sixe and thirtie pounde, beside Wine, Waxe, and Torches: and thus with liberall rewardes and honorable entertainment they returned into Fraunce.

Although this peace pleased both the English & the French nations, yet surely both mistrusted the continuaunce of the same, considering the old prouerbe, that which the eye seeth, the hart rueth, for the French men stil longed for Bulleyn, and the Englishemen minded not to geue it ouer: in so much as during the Admyrals of Fraunce beyng in Englande, the Capitaine of the newe Fortresse beganne to make a Pile, euen at the verie hauen mouth of Bulleyne: called Chatylyons Cardeyne: but the Lorde Gray Capitayne there, put away the worckemen, and tooke away their tooles, and filled the Trenches, to the Frenchmens great displeasure. And after the French king caused vpon a great paine, that all the Trenches and new inuentions, should be cast downe and filled by his owne people, least he should seeme to be the breaker of the peace.

About Mighelmasse this present yere, Thomas Duke of Norffolk, and Henry Erle of Surrey his sonne and heyre, vpon certaine surmises of treason were committed to the Tower of London. And immediately after Christmasse folowyng, the king then lyng in extremities of death, the sayde Erle was arreigned in the Guylde hall before the Lorde Maior of London, the Lorde Chaunceloz of England, and diuers other Lordes and Judges, beyng there in commission. The speciall matter obiected agaynst him, was for bearyng certaine armes supposed to belong to the king, and to the prince. The bearing whereof he denyed not, but iustified the same, as of right appertaynyng vnto him, and all his auncestors Dukes of Norffolke, and by them borne tyme out of mynde, without chalenge or empechment. But yet to his inditement he pleaded not giltie. And for that he was no Lorde of the Parliament, he was enforced to be tryed by a common enquest of his countrie, which found him giltie, and thereupon he had iudgement of death, and shortly after was executed at the Tower hill.

The Duke his Father came neuer to any triall, but was attainted by Parliament without aunswere, whose attainder was after vpon great consideration reuersed, in the first yere of Queene Mary. This case was to be lamented aswell for the innocencie of the olde Duke, who had bene a most valiaunt and true seruaunt to the Crowne of England, as also for his sonne, who was a Gentleman endued with great learnyng, and many excellent vertues.

The king as afforesayde nowe languishyng and lyng in the extremes of death, made his last will and testament, wherein he not onely yelded himselfe

ſelfe vnto almightie God, but alſo tooke order, that duryng the minoritie of his ſonne Prince Edward, his Executors, who were to the number of. xbj. whoſe names ſhall after be ſhewed, that they, I ſay, ſhould alſo be the counſaylors and ayders of the ſayde Prince in all his affayres, aſwell priuate as publike, their names were theſe.

Thomas Cranmer, Archebiſhop of Cauntorburie.
Thomas Wriothesley, Lorde Chauncelor.
Sir William Pawlet knight of the order, Lorde Saint John, and Lorde great Mayſter.
Sir Edward Seymer knight of the order, Erle of Hertforde, highe Chamberleyn of England.
Sir John Ruſſell knight of the order, Lord Priuie ſeale.
Sir John Dudley knight of the order, and Viſcount Lille and highe Admirall of England.
Cutbert Tunſtall Biſhop of Durham.
Sir Anthonie Browne knight of the order, Mayſter of the horſe.
Sir Edmond Mountagew knight, chief Juſtice of the common place.
Thomas Bromley knight, one of the Juſtices of the kinges Benche.
Sir Edward North knight, Chauncelor of the Augmentations.
Sir William Paget knight of the order, chiefe Secretary.
Sir Anthonie Denny knight.
Sir William Herbert knight.
Sir Edward Wootton knight, treaſurer of Calice.
Nicholas Wootton, Dean of Cauntorbury, and Yorke.

So ſoone as the aforeſaid noble king had finiſhed his laſt will and teſtament, as aforeſaide, he then yelded his ſpirite to almightie God, and departed this worlde the. xxbiij. day of January in the. xxxbiij. yere of his reigne, and in the yere of our Lorde. 1546. Whoſe corps accordyng to his will was conueied to all funerall pompe to the College of Windſore there to be enterred.

The diſcription of king Henry the eight.

This Prince of all other that euer reigned ouer this realme, was moſt renowned and famous, and whatſoeuer he attemped, the ſame had moſt proſperous ſucceſſe, aſwell in warres, as in all other matters of great importaunce, wherein he delt farre aboue all other Princes, as may appere thorowout the whole diſcourſe of his hiſtorie. Of perſonage he was tall and mightie, not groſſe, but in a comely proportion, in witte and memory moſt excellent. Of ſuch maieſtie tempered with humanity and gentleneſſe, as was comely in ſo great and Noble a Prince. In knowlege of good letters, he farre paſſed all the kings of this realme that had bene before him, and for his magnificence and liberalitie, he was renowned throughout all the worlde.



So ſoone as God had called to his mercie king Henry the eight as aforeſayde, the executors of the ſayde king with other of the nobilitie, aſſembling themſelues together, did firſt by ſound of Trompet in the Citie of London the. xxbiij. day of Januarie. 1546. proclayme Prince Edward, who was then at Biſhops Hatfield, King of this Realme, by the name of Edward the ſixt king of England, Fraunce, and Ireland, defender of the fayth, and of the Churches of England and Ireland in earth the ſupreme heade, he beyng then but. ix. yeres of age, and yet endued with notable vertues and great learnyng. 1546 1

Shortly after the Erle of Hertford with other of the Lordes reſorted to Hatfield aforeſayd, and from thence conducted the king with a great and right honourable companie to the Tower of London. Duryng the tyme of whoſe abode there, for the honour of his maieſtie, and ſuretie of his royall perſon, Edward Erle of Hertforde one of his Uncles on the mothers ſyde, was by order of the Counſaylors aforenamed, or the more part of them, with the aſſent of the kinges Maieſtie, not onely created Duke of Sommerſet, but alſo openly named and publiſhed Gouernor of his royall perſon, & Protector of all his realmes, dominions, and ſubiectes, whoſe aduauncement was well allowed of al the noble men ſauyng of Thomas Wriothesley Erle of Southhampton, Chauncelor of England, who for his ouermuch repugnyng to the reſt in matters of Counſaile, was not onely depriued from hys office of Chauncelor, but alſo remoued from place and auctoritie in Counſaile, and the cuſtodie of the great Seale of England, which onely belongeth to the Lord Chauncelor, was by order aforeſaid cõmitted to William Lord Saint John, great mayſter of the kinges houſeholde, and one of the kinges Executors as aforeſayde.

Edward erle of Hertford created duke of Sommerſet and Protector.

Thomas Wriothesley Erle of Southampton.

Soone after great preparation was made for the kinges coronation, the which was perfourmed and done at Weſtminſter, the. xxv. day of Februarie next folowyng (beyng then Shroueſunday) with all the ſolemnitie and honour that might be, the perticulers whereof I ouerpaſſe becauſe the lyke hath bene before reherſed in this booke in other kinges tymes.

The coronation of king Edward.

The coronation beyng finiſhed, the kinges Maieſtie by the aduice of his Uncle the Protector, and other of his priuie Counſaile, myndyng firſt of all to ſeeke Gods high honour and glory, did therefore entend a reformation in religion, and did not onely ſet forth by certaine Commiſſioners or Viſitors ſundrie Iniunctions for the remouyng of Images out of all Churches to the ſuppreſſyng and abandoning of all Idolatrie and ſuperſtition within his realmes and dominions, but alſo certaine Homelies, or Sermons, to be vſually read in the Church vnto the people, which were by his ſayde Viſitors accompanyed with certaine Preachers, throughout the realme for the better

Iniunctions.

Homelies.

better perſwaſion of the people publiſhed and put in vre. At Eaſter next fo-
The communion in both kindes. lowyng, he ſet out alſo an order throughout all the realme, that the ſupper of the Lorde ſhould be miniſtred to the lay people in both kindes, that is to ſay, both in Bread and Wine.

Theſe thinges done, the ſayd Lord Protector, with the reſt of the counſayle, calling to minde the euill blage and daliaunce of the Scottes concerning the matter of mariage betweene the kinges maieſtie and the Ladye Mary heire of Scotlande, which as you haue before heard in the .xxxb. yere of king Henry the eyght, was concluded by parliament in Scotland, thought it not for the kinges honor to be in ſuch maner deluded by them. Conſidering therefore how honorable and profitable it ſhould be for the quyetneſſe and ſafetie of both the realmes, that theſe two princes might ioyne in matrimonie did deuiſe ſondry wayes and meanes to bringe the ſame to paſſe, and the rather for the charge which kinge Henry before his death (as it is ſayd) had geuen them. But the Lordes of Scotland were ſo corrupted by the French king and abuſed by the Scottiſh clergy, & namely by Cardinall Beton, that they ſtedde from all that they had before promiſed. Wherefore nowe was
warre with Scotland. prepared a great and puyſſaunt army to paſſe by land into Scotlande vnder the conduction of the Lord Protector as generall, and the Erle of Warwike Lieuetenaunt of the armye. And in like maner was appoynted a nauie to paſſe by Sea, whereof the great Galley and .xxiiij. tall ſhippes were well furniſhed with men and munitions for the warre, beſides many Merchants ſhippes and other ſmaller veſſelles which ſerued for the carryage of victayle. And of this fleete the Lord Clynton was Admirall, and ſir Thomas Woodhouſe Viceadmirall.

Now aſſone as the Army by lande was in a readineſſe and ſet forward to be by a daye appoynted at Berwicke, the Lord Clinton with his nauie ſet alſo forward by Sea, and by Goddes helpe had ſo good paſſage that they arriued in ſafetie at Barwicke in time conuenient, and there attended vpon the armie which went by lande and paſſed along the ſea coaſt in ſuch maner as the army paſſed by land. So that alwayes as the army by land lacked victayles, the ſhippes were at hand to victayle them.

The armie that trauayled by land marched out of Barwicke the fourth day of September, and in good array paſſed forwarde into Scotlande fiue daies iourney, before they could vnderſtand of any army aſſembled in Scotland. And in their paſſage they tooke and raſed downe to the ground certain Caſtles and holdes, as Douglaſſe, Anderwicke, Thonetone and the towne of Hadington, which towne of Hadington, was afterward fortefied and kept with a garriſon of ſouldiers as in the courſe of this hiſtory ſhal after appere.

The Scottiſhe armie. In thys meane ſeaſon the Scottes had aſſembled a puyſſaunt hoſt, eſtemed to the number of thirtie thouſand men, who to forſtalle our armie from further inuaſion into the countrie, encamped themſelues vpon a ſtreight nere to a litle riuer called Eſke, foure miles on this ſide the Citie of Edenborough, minding there to attende our comming, becauſe there was none other way conuenient for our armie to paſſe.

The .ix. day of September both the armies came within the ſight of eche other, not diſtaunt by eſtimation aboue two myles, the riuer of Fryth lying on the Eaſt, and a hill called Fauxcide Bray on the Weſt, whereon ſtandeth

ſtandeth a litle Caſtle, and the Scottyſh campe north from vs vpon the Riuer of Eſke aforeſayde within foure miles of Edenborough.

And at this time our men were in no readineſſe to fight, nor did not then think they ſhould haue battaile. Inſomuch that the Duke of Somerſet lord Protector, ſtanding and viewing the Scottes how they aduaunced themſelues towardes battayle, ſayde vnto the Erle of Warwicke who then was with him, that for his life the Scottes ment nothing leſſe then to fight at that time.

But here I thinke it not a myſſe before I go any further to the declaration of the fortune of this battayle beyng at hande, ſomething to degreſſe and ſhew what the Lorde Protector had done a litle before this vnprouided battayle, and I do the rather note it, for that I am perſwaded that by reaſon thereof, the ſucceſſe was the more proſperous.

Ye haue heard a litle before the ſetting forward of this warre, how to auoyde bloudſhed and to draw the inconſtant nation of the Scottes to conformitie and vnitie, & ſpecially in a matter to none more profitable and beneficiall then to themſelues, which was to haue aduaunced and ſet forth that mariage, that they themſelues had by the conſent of their whole parliament agreed vnto. And for the confirmation of the ſame had geuen forth to king Henry the eyght the great Seale of Scotland, as before ye haue heard. The kinges maieſtie by the aduice of the Lorde Protector and other of the priuy counſayle had had with them many and ſundry conferences, and had ſent vnto them many and ſundry Ambaſſadors, and vſed all the meanes that was poſſible to haue reduced them to the performaunce of their promiſe, rather then to haſard their countrie vpon a conqueſt. And now ſeyng no trauayle could preuaile, they were inforced to ſuffer the two deuouring ſerpentes of the earthe, that is the ſworde and fire to be let loſe and to vſe their accuſtomed rage and fury, with conſumption of richeſſe, libertie and life. The dyſcreete Protector thought yet as the laſt refuge and meane to attayne peace
A prayer publiſhed for the auoidyng of the effuſion of Chriſtian bloud. not onely himſelfe, but alſo to moue all other by prayer to call vpon the ayde and mercy of almightie God, that it might pleaſe his diuine maieſtie to mollifie the hard heartes of the Scottes for the better auoyding of the ſhedyng of innocent and Chriſtian bloud. And for this purpoſe he cauſed a ſpeciall prayer to be made, which beyng imprinted was publiſhed and commaunded wyth all reuerend deuotion to be ſayde in all the Churches of England.

But now to returne againe to the battaile, ye heard that the Armies on both ſydes approched ſo nere, that the one was in the others ſight: ye heard alſo that the Lorde Protector was of opinion, that it was not ment of the Scottes to fight at that tyme, but onely that they made a ſhewe of themſelues, which he termed to be but a Scottiſhe bragge, howbeit it proued farre otherwiſe. For ſodainly the Scottes beyng encamped in a valey by the riuer of Eſke, aroſe and made great haſt vp the hill, mindyng to haue obteyned the hill, the wind, and the ſonne, which if they had gotten, then our men had bene much hindred, the which thing the Engliſhmen perceyued, who as then were not in good array, neither could their armie of footemen come ſo ſoone to the recouerie of the hill as they would. Wherefore to ſtop the Scottes of their purpoſe, the Lorde Gray beyng Capitain of the horſemen, was forced (partly out of order) to ſet forward, and to geue the onſet vpon the Scottes, onely

to stay them from the hill. The which English horsemen nobly and valiauntly encountered with the Scottes footemen, but the Scottes stoode so close, and were so defended with their Pykes, that our men coulde not enter. By reason whereof diuers of the Englishe Gentlemen that gaue the onset were ouerthrowne and slaine, the which when they that folowed perceyued, they reculed, and in runnyng backe, ranne through a peece of the English armie of footemen (which by this tyme had recouered the hill, and were behinde the Englishe horsemen) and hurt many of them, howbeit the footemen brake not their array, but stood still in good order in the face of the Scottes. The Scottes perceiuing the English footemen to haue recouered the hill, and seyng the whole armie readie to geue them the onset, and the vawarde marchyng towardes them, sodainly (of what occasion no man certainly can tell) they forsakyng their weapons, and their former places fled, the which when our men perceyued, they with a great shoute cryed they flie, they flie, & therewithall they fled in dede spedily, and our men pursued after in chase as fast, namely our horsemen, and folowed so egerly and with such fiercenesse, that they ouertooke many and spared in dede but fewe. And the chase continued almost the length of fiue myles, and al the way was couered with dead men, Pikes, Jackes, Skulles, Swords, Bucklers, Daggers, & other weapons, and the riuer made red with bloud. And at this battail called Muskleborough field, nere vnto a place called Pinkerslough, there were slaine, as some of the Scottes themselues confessed. xiiij. thousand Scottes, among the which number as it was well knowne by credible report, there were slaine of noble men, Lordes, Lardes, and Gentlemen. xxvj. hundred and aboue, and there were taken prisoners of the Scottes. xv. hundred, whereof many were Gentlemen. And among other the Erle of Huntley was one, who was taken by sir Raufe Auane. And within lesse then two yeres folowyng, he made his escape, and gat again into Scotland. And of the Englishmen there were slaine not aboue one hundred persons.

Muskleborough field.

After this battaile finished, with victorie to the great honor of the Lord Protector, the Erle of Warwike, and other the noble & valiaunt Capitaynes there present, and to the high honor of the kings Maiestie, and the realme of England, the sayde Lorde Protector, considering of vertue and well doyng, the proper mede and due reward to be honour, aswell therefore for reward to them that had before done well, as also to encourage other hereafter to do the lyke, did adourne many Lordes, Knightes and Gentlemen, with dignities as followeth.

Sir Raufe Sadler
Sir Fraunces Vrian
Sir Raufe Auane
} Banerettes, or (as I thinke) rather Baronets.

¶ Knightes.

Knightes made.

The Lorde Gray of Wilton.
The Lorde Edward Seymer.
The Lorde Thomas Hayward
The Lorde Waldike
Sir Thomas Dacres
Sir Edward Hastinges
Sir Edmond Vruges
Sir Thomas Chaloner.
Sir Fraunces Fleming
Sir John Gresham
Sir William Skipwith
Sir John Buttes
Sir George Blagge
Sir William Fraunces
Sir Fraunces Knolles
Sir William Thorborow
Sir George Hayward
Sir James Wilford
Sir Raufe Copinger
Sir Thomas Wentworth
Sir John Mazuen
Sir Nicholas Straunge
Sir Charles Sturton
Sir Hugh Askew
Sir Fraunces Walmyn

¶ Knightes.

Sir Richard Townley
Sir Marmaduke Constable
Sir George Audeley
Sir John Holcroft
Sir John Wentworth
Sir Thomas Danby
Sir John Talbot
Sir Rowland Clerke
Sir John Hoxley
Sir John Foster
Sir Henry Holley
Sir Water Bonham
Sir Robert Wingfield
Sir James Granado
Sir Christopher Ayres
Sir Peter Negro
Sir Alonso de vile.

The noble men and other that were Officers, and had the conduction of the aforesayde armye were these.

The Duke of Somerset Lorde Protector, generall of the armie, Capitaine of the battaile, wherein were foure thousand footemen.

The valiaunt Lord Lisle, Erle of Warwicke, Lorde Lieutenant of the armie, and had the forewarde, wherein were three thousand footemen.

The Lorde Dacres had the rereward, wherin were three. M. footmen.

The Lorde Gray of Milton was high marshall of the armie, and Capitaine generall of all the horsemen, beyng in number foure thousand.

Sir Raufe Sadler knight, treasurer of the armie.

Sir Fraunces Vrian knight, Capitaine of the light horsemen, in number two thousand.

Sir Raufe Awane knight, Lieutenaunt of all the men of Armes, and Demilaunces.

Sir Thomas Darcy knight, Capitaine of all the kinges Maisties Pencioners and men of armes.

Sir Richard Lee knight, deuiser of the fortifications.

Sir Peter Mewtas knight, Capitaine of the Harkebusiers, whiche were in number fiue hundred.

Sir Peter Cambo knight, Capitaine of two hundred Harkebusiers on horseback.

Sir Fraunces Flemyng knight, Maister of the Ordinaunce.

Sir James Wilford knight, prouost Marshall.

Sir George Blagge, and sir Thomas Holcroft Commissioners of the Musters.

Edward Shelly the Lorde Grayes Lieutenaunt of the men of armes of Bulleyn, who was the first that gaue the onset, and dyed most honourably in the aforesayde battaile.

John Brenne Capitaine of the Pioners, beyng in number. xiiij. C.

Thomas Audeley and Edward Chamberleyn, Harbengers of the field.

The Officers that attended vpon the nauie that passed by Sea were these.

The Lorde Clynton Lorde Admyrall of the fleete.
Sir William Woodhouse knight his Viceadmirall.

There were in the armie of great ordinaunce. xv. peeces, and of cariages. ix. hundred Cartes, beside many Wagons, whereof the Commissarye generall was George Ferrers.

The next day after this battaile, the Lorde Protector with the armye marched forward to the towne of Lithe, where they remayned. x. or. xii. dayes, and there began to make Trenches and fortifications: But because Winter approched, & the season of the yere serued not, it was thought good in tyme to returne home to the Borders. And in their returnyng, first they tooke a Castell called Lowthair, and placed for Capitaine there of sir Hugh Willoughby. And from thence they marched to the Castell of Hunes, where was shewed some face of resistance, but when the Englishmen had planted their ordinaunce and artillary, they yelded, and there was placed Capitaine Edward Dudley esquier, sonne and heyre to the Baron Dudley. And from thence they passed to the Castell of Rokesborough, which beyng a place very meete to kepe frontire warre, the same beyng yelded, was forthwith by the Englishmen fortified, & there was made Capitain, sir Raufe Bulmer, and so he returned vnto Barwicke, and thether came vnto him, these Lordes and Gentlemen of Scotland, and submitted themselues vnto the king of Englandes obedience and tooke their othe, whose names folow.

The Lorde Cessford	The Lord of Warton	Warke Carre
The Lord of Fernyhurst	The Lord of Howe	George Carre
The lord of Grencehard	The Lord of Ryddell	Alexander Mackdowell
The Lord of Huntill	The Lord of Remerside	
The Lord of Huntley	¶ Gentlemen.	Charles Rothirford
The Lord of Warriston	George Trombill	Thomas Carre
The Lord of Bonniworth	John Holyburton	Water Holiburton
The Lord of Ormeston	Robert Carre	Richard Hangāside
The lord of Halesteines	Robert Carre of Greidon	Andrew Carre
The Lord of Warmdsey	Adam Kirton	James Douglas
The Lord of Linton	Andrew Meither	Iames Carre
The Lord of Egerston	Saundyr Spotsenose	John Carre.

A Lord in Scotland, is a degree next vnder a knight, which we call an Esquier, or such a one as is Lord of a towne.

After that the Lord Protector had done all the thinges before expressed, he then departed from Berwicke to Newcastell, and there calling to remembraunce the worthy seruice done by certayne other gentlemen who before at the makyng of knightes had withdrawen themselues from the preferment of honor, and yet were right worthy therof, did therefore direct his letters with authoritie to the Erle of Warwicke, then remaynyng at Barwicke for the comming of the Scottish Commissioners, to adorne and aduaunce to the order of knighthoode these persones following, which was done accordingly, whose names were these sir Andrew Corbet a right graue and valiaunt Gentleman, a carefull Capitaine ouer his souldiors, and verie skilfull in his peece, and also a strong and worthie Archer, sir Arthur Mainwaring

worthy a politique Capitayn, sir Thomas Nevell the Lord Nevels brother. Sir Anthony Strelly, and sir Richard Verney.

During the time that the Lord Protector was occupied with the Scots as afore sayd, the Lordes of the counsaile that remayned in Englande, with great helpe of Thomas Cranmer Archebishop of Cantorburye, and other of the Clergy of the realme, greatly furthered and aduaunced religion, and namely the bookes of Homelyes and Paraphrase of Erasmus, the which Stephyn Gardiner Bishop of Winchester and other were muche offended as ye may reade at large in the booke of the Monumentes of the Church.

But to returne, when the Lorde Protector had put all thinges in order in Scotland as afore sayd, and had fortefied the fortes and Castelles vpon the borders, he returned into Englande, and the Citizens of London hering of his comming determined to receyue him, and conueigh him thorough the Citie with much ioy and triumph. But he hauing knowlege thereof was offended therwith, and forbade any such tryumph to be made for him, for sayd he if any thing hath bene done to the honor of the realme, it was gods doing, and willed them to giue him the prayse.

A parliament at Westminster.

Soone after the comming home of the Lorde Protector, the kinges maiestie called his high court of parliament, and held the same at Westminster the foure and twentie day of Nouember in the first yere of his reigne, and there continued the same vntill the foure and twentie day of December then next following. And in this parliament among other things, there was geuen vnto the kinges maiestie all Colleges, Chauntryes and Free Chappels to be bestowed and vsed at his pleasure. And also in the same parliament was repealed the estatute of six articles made in the time of king Henry the eyght, and diuerse other tending to that effect.

Francis the French king dead.

And in the ende of this yere dyed Fraunces the French king, for whome a solempne obsequy was kept in Paules in London, and Henrye his sonne succeded him in that kingdome.

And here once againe to remember the affayres of Scotland, the king and hys counsayle consyderyng the surety of the same did not onely consist in makyng of good defence vpon the borders, did therefore deuise for the subiection of the inner part of that lande to haue some speciall forte or place for the better pacifying and keping quyet of that countrye. And in conclusion they thought it meete to fortefie the towne of Haddyngton, to the which wyth all speede was sent a garrison to defend the same.

A litle before Ester next following, the king by his Lieger in Fraunce was credibly certefied that the French king made great prouision to go into Scotland, for the remouing of the English garrison that kept the towne of Haddington as after ye shall heere.

1547
2

A newe armie to go into Scotland.

The king heering these newes, caused new musters to be made, and a new armye to be raysed, to be sent into Scotlande for the defence of Haddington. And for this prouision there were first certaine letters sent from the kings maiestie vnto certaine Citezens of London, who before had bene ceassed at a certaine value of goodes. And in the superscription of the sayde letters, the king named euery one to whome he wrote Esquier, requiring them to haue in a readynesse by a day appoynted certayne Demylaunces, and certaine light horsemen, with all the furniture that to them belonged.

Esquiers made in London.

Of

Of the which letters certaine of the sayd Citezens were very ioyous because of their new dignities, in that they were made Esquiers which is almuch to say as horsemen: But the grauer sorte could well haue forborne that preferment, and haue remayned footemen as they were before. And this yere the watch in London, which had not beene vsed nintene yeres before was againe kept by sir John Gresham then Maior of London, both on the euen of saint John Baptist, and also on the euen of saint Peter next following, as brauely and freshly as it had bene at any time set out before. And the same was much beutefied with the company of horsemen aboue mencioned.

Midsomer watche.

Soone after this, the king was certefied that Mounsire de Essy Lieutenaunt to the French king, and Peter Strozy and Mounsire Mandelot and a Dutch Capitaine called the Ringraue, with ten thousand men were arryued in Scotland, and had beseged the towne of Haddington: wherfore in all hast possible the king set forwarde his armye. But before the army could come, there went from Berwicke vnder the guyding of syr Robert Bowes and syr Thomas Palmer knightes. xiij. hundred horsemen, where of were seuen hundred men of armes, and Demilaunces. The Frenchmen hauing knowlege of their comming, layde a buschement for them, and the most part of them were eyther taken or slayne, namely syr Robert Bowes and syr Thomas Palmer were taken prisoners, howbeit for all this ouerthrowe, our Englishmen manfully and valiauntly defended the towne of Haddington and often skirmished with the Frenchmen, and put them to the worsse. The siege of this towne of Haddington by the Frenche men was long, fierce and terrible, and the batterie was so great that no parte of the walles of the towne were left vnbeaten downe. Notwithstanding by the manly and valiaunt courage of the Englishmen, and namely of syr James Wilford who was Capitaine of that towne, whatsoeuer was in the day beaten downe by the Frenchmen, thesame was again fortefied in the night by the Englishmen, although the slaughter of our men there was so great, that they filled vp their ditches, and made their rampiers with the dead English carcasses. And this siege continued from the .xxviij. day of June vnto the twentie day of August next following, and then came thether the Erle of Shrewesbury with the army afore mencioned, which were to the number of fiftene thousand, of the which there were fiue thousand Almaines, whose Capitaine was named Cortpennie.

Haddington in Scotland beseged by the French.

Sir Robert Bowes and sir Thomas Palmer taken

Sir James Wilford a valiaunt Capitaine.

The Erle of Shrewesbury victualeth Haddington.

The Frenchmen and Scottes knowyng of the comming of the Englishe armie, departed with speede from the siege of the sayd towne of Haddyngton, much commendyng and praysyng the English Capitaynes and soldiors, and specially one Capitaine of the Frenchmen, at his departure, came to the towne of Haddyngton, desiryng audience and sayde, God prosper you ye are good soldiors, the honour is yours, and the shame is ours, the which prayse of enemyes beyng voyde of all parcialitie and affection, is commonly most true. So that after the Erle had well victayled the towne, and furnished the same with fresh and lustie souldiors, he then departed into England. After whose departure, the Englishemen kept the sayde towne valiauntly, both agaynst the Scottes and Frenchmen, and helde the same vntill the. xx. day of September, in the thirde yere of the reigne of this king Edward. And then it so chaunced by reason of tumultes and rebellion among our selues in sundrie

The Frenchmen flye from the siege of Haddington.

sundrie places within the realme, that the king was forced to send the Erle of Rutland, accompanied with three thousand Almaynes, and three thousand Borderers to the saide towne of Haddington, who raced the same downe to the ground, and brought from thence all their ordinaunce, with all their bag and baggage to Barwicke in all peaceable and quiet maner.

Haddington raced and demolished by the Englishmen.

After the returne of the souldiors from Haddyngton, there happened in London a great mortalitie by pestilence, and diuers were buryed in the morning before day, and late in the euening, and that in very close maner. Wherfore a commaundement from the king was directed to the Churchwardens, and Curates of euery Parishe in London, prohibityng that no corps should be buryed before sixe of the clocke in the mornyng, nor after sixe at night. And that there should be at the buriyng of euery corps, one Bell rong by the space of three quarters of an houre at the least.

A pestilence.

The kinges Maiestie shortly after this, sommoned his high Court of Parliament to be holden at Westminster vpon prorogation the fourth daye of Nouember, in the second yere of his reigne, and there continued the same vnto the, xiiij. day of March next folowyng, which was in the thirde yere of his reigne. And in this Parliament the vse of the Masse was cleene forbidden, and a booke made for the vniformitie of diuine seruice, and the administration of the Sacramẽts in the English tongue, was published & set forth.

A parliament.

And in this Parliament also was attainted sir Thomas Seymer, called Baron Seymer of Sudley, brother to the Lorde Protector, high Admirall of England. The causes and articles obiected against him, are expressed in the booke of statutes. And the. xx. day of March next folowyng, which was in the thirde yere of the king, he was behedded at the Tower hill, and then it was commonly talked, that the fall of the one brother, would be the ouerthrow of the other, as soone after it came to passe.

Sir Thomas Seimour attainted and executed.

After the ende of this Parliament, and at the ende of the next terme, the Lorde Protectors grace, and the rest of the kinges priuie and learned counsaile being present in the starre Chamber, called before them all the Justices of peace, and knightes of the shire, where the Lorde Riche beyng then Lorde Chauncelor, made vnto them this Oration folowyng.

1548

An exhortacion or rather an admonition geuen to the Justices of Peace.

It hath bene vsed and accustomed before this tyme, to call at certaine tymes the Justices of peace before the kinges Maiesties counsaile, to geue vnto them admonition and warnyng, diligently as is their duetie, to looke to the obseruyng of such thinges as are committed to their charge, accordyng to the trust which the kinges Maiestie hath in them. Howbeit at this tyme we call you not before vs of custome, but rather of necessitie: for heryng dayly and perceiuyng as we do, the great negligence and little hede which is taken and geuen to the obseruation of the good and wholesome lawes and orders in this realme, wherupon much disorder doth daily ensue, and the kings Maiesties Proclamations, and orders taken by the Counsaile (as we are aduertised) not executed, the people brought to a disobedience, and in a maner all his Maiesties studie and ours in setting a good and most godly stay to the honour of God, and the quiet of the realme, spent in vaine, and come to nothing. The which as we haue great hope and trust not to be altogether so, yet so much as it is, and so much as it lacketh in kepyng the realme in a Godly order and stay, we must nedes impute and lay the fault therof in you which are

are the Justices of peace in euery shire. To whome we are wont to direct our writynges, and to whose trust and charge the kings Maiestie hath committed the execution of all his Proclamations, of his actes of Parliament, and of his lawes.

We are informed that many of you are so negligent, and so slack, in that that it doth appere that you do rather looke as it were through your fingers then diligently see to the execution of the sayd lawes and proclamations. For if you would according your dutyes, to your othe, to the trust which the kinges Maiestie hath in you, geue your diligence and care toward the execution of the same most Godly statutes, and Iniunctions, there should no disobedience, no disorder, nor euill rule be begon, or aryse in any part of the realme, but it should by and by be repressed, kept downe, and reformed. But it is feared that the thing it selfe geueth occasion therevnto, that diuers of you do not onely set forth, but rather hinder, so much as lyeth in you, the kinges Maiesties procedynges, and are content that there should aryse some disobedience, and that men should repine against Godly orders set forth by hys Maiestie, you do so slackly loke to the execution of the same: So that in some shires which be farther of, it may appere that the people haue neuer heard of diuers of his Maiesties Proclamations, or if they haue heard, that you are content to winke at it, and to neglect it, so that it is all one as though it were neuer commaunded. But if you do well consider and remember your duties, first to almightie God, and then to the kinges Maiestie, the welth of the whole realme, the safegarde and suretie of your awne selues: you must nedes see, that except such orders as the Kinges Maiestie hath set, and hereafter shall appoynt to be kept: Neyther the Realme can be defended, if the enemye shoulde inuade, nor in peace it can not stande, but vpon the contempt of good and wholesome lawes, all disorder and inconueniences should come: The people shoulde be wylde and sauage, and no man sure of hys awne. And if at anye tyme there was occasion, and cause to bee circumspect and diligent aboute the same, there was neuer more tyme then nowe. How we stand in Scotlande ye knowe, and that other forreine power maketh great preparation to ayde them, and in deede doth come to their ayde, whereof we are surely informed and certified. Wherfore if there should not be good order and obedience kept in the realme, the realme were like vtterly to be destroied. Neuer forreine power could yet hurt, or in any part preuaile in this realme, but by disobedience and misorder within our selues. That is the way in the which god will plague vs, if he mind to punish vs. And so long as we do agree among our selues, and be obedient vnto our Prince & to his godly orders & lawes, we may be sure ẏ god is with vs & that foreyn power shall not preuayle against vs nor hurt vs: wherfore once againe and still we must and do lay this charge vpon you that are the best of the shire and Justices of the peace, that with so conuenient speede as you can, that you do repayre downe into your coūtries, & you shal geue warning to the Gentlemen of the shire that haue no necessary businesse here, ẏ they repayre downe eche man to his country, and there both you and they, who be reconed the stay of euery shire, to see good order and good rule kept. Prouide that your Sessions of Gaole deliuery and quarter Sessions be well kept, and there in your meetinges to be such that Justice may be well and truly ministred, the offendors

dors and malefactors punished according to the lawes of the realme without any feare of any man, rather then for fauor ye shall suffer those to escape which with their euill example might bring other to the lyke mishap. And that all Vagabons, all lewde & light taletellers & seditious bearers of false newes of the kinges Maiestie or of his counsaile, or such as will preache without licence, be immediatly by you repressed and punished. And if there should chaunce any light or lewde felowes to make any rowtes or ryots or vnlawfull assemblies, any seditious meetinges, vprores or vprysynges in any place, by the seditious and diuelish motion of some priuie Traytors, that you and they appease them at the first, and apprehende the first authors and causers thereof, and certefie vs wyth speede. The lightnesse of the rude and ignorant people must be repressed and ordered by your grauitie and wisdome. And here you may not (if any such thing chaunce) dissemble with those such lewde men, and hyde your selues, for it shall be required of you if such misorder be, and surely without your ayde and helpe, or your dissemblyng, such mysorder cannot be. Nor we do not say that we feare any such thing likely to chaunce: But we geue you warning before, least it shoulde chaunce, we haue to much experience in this realme what inconuenience commeth of such matters. And though some light persones in their rage do not consyder it, yet we doubt not but you way it and know it well enough. And if it should chaunce our enimies (who is mayntayned by other forreine power and the Bishop of Rome) sodainly to arriue in some places of England, either driuen by tempest, or of purpose to do hurt, ye ought to se such orders kept by kiering of their Beacons, as hath alredy bene written vnto you by our letters, to repulse the same in so good array as you can, as we do not doubt but ye will for the safegard of your countrie, so that the enemie shall haue litle ioye of his comming. And for that purpose ye shall see diligently that men haue horse, harnesse, and other furniture of weapon ready, according to the statutes and good orders of the realme and the kinges maiesties commaundements, and so for this time ye may depart.

Here is to be noted, that according to the olde adage, Man purposeth but God disposeth. The cause that the former and earnest admonicion was made, specially at this tyme, was onely for feare of the landyng of forreyne powers within this realme. For true it is, that the kinges maiestie by the aduice of the Lorde Protector and other of his Counsaile minded this yere the conquest of Scotland, and for the same had made great prouision aswell beyond the sea in Germanie, from whence he had fiue thousande Launceknightes, whose Capitaine was Cortpeny, of whome mencion is made before at the rasyng and defasyng of the towne of Haddyngton in Scotland: Besyde these also were made other great prouisions within the realme. And the Scottes at this tyme beyng in great feare of England, made such suite to the Pope, and the French king, that they graunted them great ayde, and the French king was with his power in a great readinesse. But beholde the wonderfull worke of God: That which was feared and of vs purposed, came not to passe, and that which was least feared, & little or nothing thought vpon, sodainly happened, to the great daunger of the destruction of the whole realme of Englande (if almightie God had not holpen vs with the mightye arme of his defence) which chaunced by intestine and ciuil warre among our selues,

Man purposeth but God disposeth.

selues, as after ye shall here. By reason whereof those straungers which before were prepared at the kinges Maiesties great costes and charges for the conquest of Scotland, were employed as necessary men to suppresse the rebellion of our awne nation, and to saue England from destruction, such are the workes of the Lorde against mans policie.

The kinges Maiestie as aforesayd purposing the inuasion of Scotland, made nowe great prouision for the same. But in this as he did euer before, he vsed all gentle meanes and policies to winne them without sheddyng of bloud, if it were possible: wherefore he nowe wrote vnto them a solempne Epistle exhortatory, to moue them to the consideration of themselues, and the state of their Countrie. The Copie of which Exhortation foloweth word for word as is was written, and the title thereof was this.

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¶ Edward by the grace of God Duke of Sommerset, Erle of Hertford, Viscount Beauchampe, Lorde Seymer, Uncle to the kings highnesse of England, Gouernor of his most royall person, and Protector of all his realmes, dominions, and subiectes, Lieutenaunt generall of all his Maiesties Armies, both by lande and sea, Treasurer and Erle Marshall of England, gouernor of the Iles of Gerneseye, and Jersey, and knight of the most noble order of the Garter, with others of the counsaile of the sayd most high and noble Prince Edward, by the grace of God, of England, Fraunce, and Ireland king, defender of the fayth, and in earth vnder Christ, the supreme head of the Churches of England and Ireland. To the Nobilitie and Counsaylors, Gentlemen, and the Commons, and all other the inhabitauntes of the realme of Scotland, greetyng and peace.

An Epistle exhortatory sent to the Scottes.

CONsideryng with our selues the present state of things, and weyyng more deepely the maner and termes wherein you and we doe stand. It maketh vs to marualle what euill and fatall chaunce doth so disseuer your heartes, and maketh them so blinde and vnmindefull of your profite, and to still conciliate and heape to your selues most extreme mischiefes. The which we whom ye will nedes haue your enemyes, go about to take away from you, and perpetually to ease you therefore. And also by all reason and order of necessitie, it should be rather more conuenient for you to seeke and require moderate agrementes of vs, whome God hath hetherto accordyng to our most iust, true and Godly meanynges and ententes, prospered and set forwarde with your affliction and miserie: Then that we beyng superiors in the field, Maisters of a great part of your realme, should seeke vpon you. Yet to the entent that our charitable myndes and brotherly loue should not ceasse by all meanes possible to prouoke and call you to your awne commoditie and profite. Euen as the father to the sonne, or the elder brother to the ponger brother: And as the louyng Philistian would do to the mistrustfull and ignorant pacient: We are content to call and crie vpon you, to looke on your state, to auoyd the great calamitie that your countrie is in, to haue vs rather brothers then enemies, and rather Countrimen, then Conquerors. And if your Gouernor or Capitaynes shall reteyne and kepe from you this our exhortation as heretofore they haue done our Proclamation, tendyng to the lyke effect for their awne priuate welth and commoditie, not regardyng though you be still in miserye, so they haue profite and gouernaunce ouer you, and shall still abuse

abuse you with feyned and forged tales: Yet this shall bee a witnesse afore God and all Christen people, betwixt you and vs: that we professyng the Gospell of Jesus Christ, accordyng to the doctrine thereof, do not ceasse to call and prouoke you, from the effusion of your awne bloud, from the destruction of the realme of Scotlande, from perpetuall enmitie and hatred, from the finall destruction of your nation, and from seruitude to forreyn nations: to libertie, to amitie, to equalitie with vs, to that which your worthers hath alwayes wished might once come to passe. Who that hath read the storyes in tymes past, and doth marke and note the great Battayles fought betwene England and Scotland, the incursions, rodes, and spoyles, which hath bene done on both the parties. The realme of Scotland fiue times wonne by one king of England. The Scottishe kings sonnes taken prisoners, some slaine in battaile, some for very sorow and discomfort vpon losse, dying and departyng the worlde: and shall perceyue agayne that of all nations in the world, that nation onely beside England, speaketh the same language, and as you and we be annexed & ioyned in one Island: so no people are so like in maner, forme, Language, and all conditions as we are. Shall not he thinke it a thing very vnmete, vnnaturall, and vnchristian, that there should be betwixt vs so mortall warre, who in respect of all other nations be and should be like as two brethren of one Islande of great Briteyne? And though he were a straunger to both, what would he thinke more meete then if it were possible one kingdome to be made in rule, which is one in language, & to be deuided in rulers which is al one in Countrey. And forsomuch as two successors cannot concur and fall into one, by no other maner of meanes then by mariage, whereby one bloud, one lignage, and parentage is made of two, and an indesible right geuen of both to one, without the destruction and abholishing of eyther. If God should graunt that whatsoeuer you would wishe other then that which nowe not by fortune hath chaunced, but by his infinite mercy, and most inscrutable prouidence, as careful for you he hath geuen vnto you. The which thing that you should also thinke to come of his disposition, and not by blinde fortune, how vnlikely hath it bene, and howe sodainly hath it turned, that the power of God might be shewed.

Your last king beyng a prince of much excellency and yong, whom you know after a promise broken contrary to his honor, and misfortune by Gods iust iudgement following vpon it, God eyther by sorrow or by some meanes otherwise at his inscrutable pleasure, did take away from you, had three children: Did not almightie God as it were to shew his will and pleasure to be, that the long continued warre and enemitie of both the nations shoulde be taken away, and knit in perpetuall loue and amitie, take the two men children of those babies beyng distant the one from the other, & in diuerse places both as it were at one time, and within the space of foure and twenty houres leauing but one mayden chylde and prince.

A matter worthy to be noted.

When the most wise and victorious Prince late our king and Maister king Henry the eyght in other of his mariages not most fortunate, had by his most lawfull and most vertuous wife Quene Jane, his other two wifes before that mariage departed this worlde, and neuer surmise nor question made of that mariage sith that time to this daye, nor so much as all her life time, name or motion to or of any other wife, one Prince of so high expectation,

on, of so great gyftes of God, the right and vndoubted heyre of the realme of England and his maiestie onely of male issue left behinde him to succede the imperiall crowne. If nothing else had bene done, what can any wise or any Christian man that thinketh the worlde to be gouerned by Gods prouidence and not by fortune, thinke otherwise but that it was Gods pleasure it should be so that these two realmes should ioyne in mariage, and by a godly Sacrament make a godly, perpetuall, and most friendly vnitie, and concorde, whereby such benefites as of vnitie and concorde commeth, maye throughe his infinite grace come vnto these realmes. Or if any man of you or of any other nation doubteth hereof (except you looke for miracles) to be done herein, and yet if ye marke all the possibilities of the natures of the two Princes, the children alredy had, the doubtfull chaunce least eche of them should haue a sonne, or both daughters, or not of meete ages, with other circumstances both of the partie of this realme of Englande and that of Scotland, which hath not chaunced in eyght hundred yeres, it must nedes be reconed a great meruell and a miracle. But let it be no miracle seyng that God doth not now speake in Oracles, as a mongest the Iewes he did: And present prophecies now a dayes be but eyther not certayne or else not playne: what more certayntie can bee had of Gods will in this case then the before rehersed doth bringe: But if God himselfe should speake: what could he speake more, then he speaketh in these? Call you them prouidences or chaunces, yf you be still afflycted and punished, may he not say, I of mine infinite mercy and loue to your nation had prouided a right heyre and a prince to the one, and a right heyre and Princes to the other to be ioyned in my holy lawes, and by the law of nature and the worlde to haue made, and vnitie concorde and peace, in the which Isle of both the realmes, you refused it, you loued better dissention then vnitie, discorde then agrement, warre then peace, hatred then loue and charitie. If you do then therefore smart for it, whome can you blame, but your owne election? But because some of those who maketh herevnto impedimentes, cannot but confesse that there appereth Gods prouidence herein, and opportunitie and occasion geuen to vnitie of both the realmes: yet may hereafter say, and heretofore haue sayde, that the fault herein is, that we seeke not equalitie nor the mariage, but a conquest, we would not be friends but be Lordes. Although our proclamations at the last warres doth enough declare the contrary, yet here we protest and declare vnto you and al Christian people to be the kinges maiesties minde our Maisters by our aduise and counsayle not to conquere, but to haue in amitie, not to wyn by force but to conciliate by loue, not to spoyle and kill, but to saue and kepe, not to dissever and deuorce, but to ioyne in maryage from high to lowe both the realmes, to make of one Isle one realme in loue, amitie, concorde, peace and charitie. Which if you refuse and driue vs to conquere, who is giltie of the bloudshed? who is the occasion of the warre? who maketh the battayles, the brenning of houses, and the denastation which shall folow? Can it be denyed but that we haue the great seale of Scotland graunted by the parliament of Scotland for the mariage which should be made with assurauntes and pledges vntill the performances. And this in the time that the late king of most famous mamory our souereigne Lorde king Henry the eyght did reigne, and in the time of the same your Gouernor, who now is the Erle of Arreigne,

The Scots by the consent of a parliamēt graūted their great Seale for the confirmation of

Arreigne, who then beyng a chiefe doer and laborer therein for the high and inestimable benefite of that realme. So sone as he was by the late Cardinal of saint Andrewes and others, with certayne vaine feares and hopes and greedinesse of dignitie peruerted, reuolted from hys first agreement, and put all the realme to the losse of such holdes and fortresses as are now taken from you, and to the losse of a foughten fielde, for the which we are sory if otherwise peace might haue bene concluded, for his owne priuate lucre and recheleshesse of that noble realme. And what ende can you looke for of these maner of procedinges, but such successe as heretofore hath bene experimented and assayed? we offer loue, we offer equalitie and amitie, we ouercome in warre and offer peace, we winne holdes and offer no conquest, we get in your land, and offer England. What can be more offered and more prokered, then entrecourse of marchandises, and enterchaunge of mariages, the abholishing of al such our lawes as prohibiteth the same, or might be impediment to the mutuall amitie. We haue offered not onely to leaue the auctoritie, name, tytle, right, or chalenge, of Conquerour, but to receyue that which is the shame of men ouer comned, to leaue the name of the nation, and the glory of any victorie (if any we haue had, or should haue of you) and to take the indifferent olde name of Britaynes againe, because nothing should be left on our part vnoffered, nothing on your part vnrefused, whereby ye might be inexcusable. And all the worlde might testifie, all other meanes not beyng able to do any thing, after many other wayes and remedyes attempted, battaile of vs to be taken as an extreeme refuge, to attaine right and reason amongest Christian men. If any man may rightfully make battaile for his espouse and wife. The daughter of Scotland was by the great Seale of Scotland promised to the sonne and heyre of England? If it be lawfull by Gods lawe to fight in a good quarrell, and for to make peace: This is to make an ende of all warres, and to conclude an eternall and perpetuall peace, which to confirme we shall fight, and you to breake, is it not easie to discerne who hath the better part? God and the sword hath alreadie and shall hereafter if there be no remedie trie it. Who so willeth ꝑ mariage to go forward: Who so mindeth the peace and tranquilitie of both the realmes: who willeth no conquest to be had, but amitie and loue to go forwarde, we refuse no man: Let him bring his name, and his pledge of good seruice in this quarrell, he shall not onely be receyued to the amitie, but shall haue sufficient defence agaynst the aduersaries, and recompence of his liuyng if he sustain any losse. We neither do nor entend to put any man from his landes, tackes, or offices: Onlesse he will needes resist, and so compell vs therevnto. What face hath this of conquest? we entend not to disenherite your Queene, but to make her heires inheritors also to England. What greater honour can you seeke vnto your Queene then the mariage offered? what more meeter mariage then this with the kinges highnesse of England? What more sure defence in the nonage of your Queene for the realme of Scotland, then to haue England your patrone and Guarrison? we seeke not to take from you your lawes, nor customes: but we seeke to redresse your oppressions, which of diuers ye doe sustaine. In the realme of England diuers lawes and customes be according to the auncient vsage thereof. And likewise Fraunce, Normandie, and Gascoygne hath sundrie kinde of orders. Hath all the realmes and domini-

mariage to be had betweene Mary the heire of Scotland and Prince Edward heir of England.

Britain was the first name of England and Scotland.

ons that the Emperor now hath one custome, and one sort of lawes? These vaine feares and fantasies of expulsion of your nation, of chaungyng the lawes, of makyng a conquest, be driuen into your heades, of those who in dede had rather you were all conquered, spoyled, and slaine, then they would lose any poynt of their will, of their desyre of rule, of their estimation, which they knowe in quietnesse would be seene what it were, as it were in a calme water. Nowe in this tumult of discorde, when the realme is tossed vp and downe with waues and sourges of battaile, famine, and other mischiefes which the warre bringeth, they thinke they cannot be espyed. But looke on them you that haue witte and prudence, & consider the state of your Queene, and realme. You will not keepe her sole and vnmaryed, the which were to you great dishonour. If you marry her within the realme, that cannot extinguithe the title which we haue to the Crowne of Scotland. And what dissention, enuy, grudge, and malice that shall brede among you is easie to perceyue. You will marry her out of the realme, our title remayneth, you be subiectes to a forreyn Prince of another Countrie, and of another language: And vs ye haue your enemies euen at your elbowe, your succours farre of from you. And be we not in the bowelles nowe of the realme? haue we not a great part therof either in subiection or in amitie and loue? who shall come into your realme but he shall be met with, and fought with, if neede be euen of your awne nation, who be faythfull and true to the realme of England in the way of this most Godly vnion by mariage. And if any forreyn power, Prince, or Potentate, or whosoeuer be your ayder to nourishe still discorde, sende you an armie also: How shall they oppresse you, fill your houses, waste your groundes, spende and consume your victaile, holde you in subiection, and regarde you as slaues which without them coulde not liue, and will take your Queene to bestowe as they lust, and specially if their ruler or king (as perchaunce he may be) in other warres be otherwise occupyed, to be a pray to vs, and a true conquest. Then it shall be to late to say, we will haue a mariage, and no conquest: we wilshe peace and amitie: we are wery of battaile and miserie. The stubburne ouercommed must suffer the victors pleasure, and partinacite will make the victorie more insolent, whereof you your selfe haue geuen the cause. If they send money and Capitaynes, but no souldiers: First if they be Capitaines, who ruleth, and who doth obey? who shall haue the honour of the enterprice and if it be well atchieued: But whether it be well atchieued or no, which number is that which shall bee slaine? whose bloud shall be shed? their money peraduenture shall be consumed, and their commaundementes obeyed: But whose bodies shall smart for it? whose landes shall bee wasted? whose houses burned? what realme made desolate? Remember what it is to haue a forreyn power within you? a strong power of your enemyes vpon you, you as it were the Campe and plaine betwixt them to fight on, and to be troden vpon both of the victor and the ouercommed. And imagine you see before your eyes your wyues, and daughters in daunger of the wantonnesse and insolencie of the Souldiours: The prowde lookes of the Capitaynes, and Souldiors whome you call to helpe you: the contempt you shall bring your nation in: And then take heede least in deede that folowe which you feare, that is, that you shall be by them conquered: that ye shall be by them put from your holdes, landes, tackes, and offices:

offices: That your lawes by them shall be altered: that your nation shall by them be destroyed. Consider in this realme: did not the Britons call in the Saxons for helpe, & by them were put out? Where be ỳ Pictes, once a great nation betwixt you & vs? how did the nation of Fraunce put out the Galles out of all Fraunce? how got the Turke first all Grecia, & now a late all Hungary, but beyng called in for to ayd and helpe. And did not the Gothes by like meanes get all Italy, and the Lombards one part thereof now called Lombardie? what loke you for more? Medie souldiors, & hauyng their weapons in their handes, and knowyng that you cannot liue without them, what will they not commaund you to do? what will they not encroche vpon you? what will they not thinke they may do? and what will they thinke that you dare do? This forreyn helpe is your confusion, that succor is your detriment, the victorie so had is your seruitude. What is then to be thought of losse taken with them? the straungers & forrein souldiors shal oppresse you within: our power and strength without: and of your owne nation, so many as loue quietnesse, godlinesse, & the welth of your realme, shall help also to skourge & afflict you. Is it not better to compose and acquite all this calamitie & trouble by mariage: To end al forowes and battailes by such and so honorable a peace? Hath the Emperor Spain & Burgondie not by title of mariage? How holdeth the French king Britein now lately annexed to that crowne, but by title of mariage? How hath all the great princes of the world happily & with quiet made of two kingdomes one, of diuers Lordshippes one: Of nations alwayes at warre with themselues, or else in doubtfull peace, one well gouerned kingdome, rule, and dominion, but by that most Godly, most quiet, & most amiable composition of mariage? Two meanes there is of makyng one rule whereto title is pretended, and perfect agreement betwixt two nations: Eyther by force and superioritie, which is conquest, or by equality and loue, which is by parentage and mariage. Ye hate the one, that is conquest: and by refusing the other, you enforce vpon you hatred & malice. You wil not haue peace: you will not haue alliaunce: you wyll not haue concorde, and conquest commeth vpon you, whether ye will or no. And yet if all things were considered, we feare it wyll appeare, that it were better for you to bee conquered of vs, then succoured of straungers, lesse losse to your goodes, lesse hurt to your landes, lesse dishonour to your realme. This nation which is one in tongue, one in Countrey and birth, hauyng so little diuersitie to occupie the whole, then other powers to come into you, neyther like in language, ne yet like in behauiour, who should rule ouer you, and take you to bee but their slaues. But we eftsones and finally declare and protest vnto you, that although for the better furtheraunce of this Godly purpose of vnityng the realmes, and for the sure defence of them which fauoureth the mariage, we are compelled for the tyme to keepe holdes and to make fortifications in your realme: yet the kings Maiesties minde and determinate pleasure is with our aduise and counsaile to be as before is declared, that where fauor may be shewed, not to vse rigor, if by condicions you will receyue this amitie offered, not to folowe conquest, for we desyre loue, vnitie, concorde, peace, and equality. Let neither your Gouernor, nor your Kirkemen, nor those who so often haith falsifyed their fayth and promise: and by treachery and falshode be accustomed to proroge the tyme, feede you forth with fayre wordes and bring you

into the snare, from whence they cannot deliuer you. They wil peraduenture prouide for themselues with pencions in some other realme, & set souldiors straungers in your holdes to kepe you in subiection, vnder the pretence to defend them against vs. But who prouideth pencions for you? Howe are you defended when they bee fledde awaye? Who conquereth you when the straunge Capitaynes hath your Holdes? when your lande is wasted, and the Realme destroyed, and the more parte kept from you? Who will set by the maryage of the Queene to buye a tytle with the warre of Englande, to mary the name, another mightie king holding the land? If we two beyng made one by amitie, be most hable to defend vs against all nations, and hauing the sea for wall, the mutuall loue for garison, and God for defence should make so noble and well agreeing Monarchye, that neyther in peace we may be ashamed, nor in warre afrayed of any worldly or forreine power why should not you be as desirous of the same, and haue asmuch cause to reioyce at it as we? If this honor of so noble a Monarchy do not moue you to take and accept amitie? Let the griefe and the daunger of the aforenamed losses feare you to attempt that thing which shall displease God, encrease warre, daunger your realme, destroy your land, vndoe your children, waste your groundes, desolate your countreys, and bring all Scotland eyther to famine and misery, or to subiection and seruitude of another nation. We require but your promised Queene, your offered agreement of vnitie, the ioyning of both the nations, which God of his infinite clemency and tender loue that he hath declared to beare to both the nations hath offered vnto vs both, and in maner called vs both vnto it, whose calling and prouocation we haue and will follow to the best of our powers, and in his name and with his ayd, admonition, exhortation, requestes and Ambassades not beyng hable to do it and to finde stablenesse in promises, we shall not willing, but constrained pursue the battayle, chastice the wicked and malicious by the angry Angels of God, the fier and sworde. Wherefore we requyre and exhorte all you who hath loue to your countrie, pitie of that realme, a true hart to your Queene and maistres, regard of your honors and promises made by the great seale of Scotland, and who fauoreth the peace, loue, vnitie and concord, and that most profitable mariage to enter, and to come to vs, and declaring your true and godly heartes therevnto, to ayde vs in this most godly purpose and enterprise: Be witnesse of our doynges, we refuse no man, temporall, nor spyrituall, Lorde ne Lard, Gentleman ne other who will ayde this our purpose, and minish the occasion of slaughter and destruction: To whome we shall kepe the promises heretofore declared, & further se reward and recompence made according to the desert. And for a more sure proofe and playner token of the good mind and will which we beare vnto you. That which neuer yet before was graunted to Scotlande in any league, truce, or peace betwixt England and Scotland, because ye shall haue proofe of the beginning of loue and amitie of both the realmes. The kinges highnesse considering the multitude of them which is come to his maiesties deuotion, and of them that be well wilers and ayders of this godly enterprice, hath by our aduice and counsayle graunted and by these presentes do graunt, that from hence forth all maner of Marchauntes and other Scottishmen, who will enter their names with one of the Wardeines of the marches and there profesle to take part

part with vs in this before named godly purpose to his owne commoditie, and to serue all such as be of the same agreement: may lawfully and without any trouble and vexation enter into any porte, creeke, or hauen of England, and there vse their traffique of marchandise, bye and sell, bring in the commodities of Scotlande, and take and carye forth the commodities of England as liberally & as frely, and with the same and none other custome or paymentes therefore, than Englishmen and the kinges subiectes doth at these presentes: Mynding further vpon the successe hereof, to gratefie so the furtherers of this most godlye enterprise and vnion, that all the worlde may be witnesse of the great zeale and loue which his highnesse doth beare towardes you and your nation. And all this the kinges highnesse by our aduise & counsaile hath willed to be declared vnto you, and geuen in commaundement vnto vs and all his Lieutenauntes, Wardeines, Rulers, and other hedde Officers, Ministers and subiectes to se executed and done accordyng to the true purporte, effect and meaning thereof. Fare you well.

A proclamation for Enclosures.

Sone after this, the kinges Maiestie by the aduice of the Lorde Protector, and the rest of his counsayle, that is to saye, about the beginning of June, set forth a proclamation against Enclosures, for that a great number of poore men had complayned of Gentlemen and other, that they had taken from them, Common of Pasture and Common Fieldes, and had enclosed them into Parkes and pasture, and other such like for their owne commoditie and pleasure, to the vtter vndoyng of the poore men. This proclamation tending to the helpe and relefe of the poore, commaunded that such as had so enclosed the commons, should vpon a peine by a day assigned lay them out againe: But I thinke there were but few that obayed the proclamation, which thing the poore men perceyuing, and seyng none amendement follow vpon the proclamation, rashly without order tooke vpon themselues to redresse, and so gathering themselues together made them Capitaines and brake downe those inclosures, and cast downe ditches, and in the ende plaide the very part of Rebelles and Traytors.

Insurrection in Cornwall.

But because the first stirre and commotion was made in the West partes of this realme, namely in Cornewall hauing to their Capitaines, Humfrey Arondell, Mynflade, Holmes, and Bery, it shall be verye meete first to entreate of them. These Rebels I say demaunded not onely the enlarging of Commons and disparking of Parkes as is abouesayd: But they were chiefely offended with the alteration of religion, and desired agayne to haue the Masse, and to haue the statute of sixe articles restored vnto them. And although the kinges maiestie sent vnto them most gentle letters to cause them to be quyet, and also sent sondry Messenges vnto them, with very good admonitions, yet their rage was such, that nothing could stay them: But that they put themselues in array, and purposed to haue come thorow the realme to the king, but they were stayed at the Citie of Exceter, which Citye they beseiged almost by the space of syx weekes, and the Citezens therof manfully and politiquely to their great prayse withstoode them and gaue them the repulse.

Humfrey Arondell, Mynflade, Holmes, Bery.

And first for the pacefiyng of these rebelles the kinges maiestie sent by his commission the right honorable the Lorde Russell, Lorde Prynie Seale as his Lieutenaunt, and the Lorde Graye of Wilton, with a number of valiaunt

aunt souldiers, among whome was three thousande of the Launce knightes that came out of Germany. And first the sayde Lorde Russell when he came thether sent vnto them the kinges Maiesties proclamation, the effect whereof was.

That all such persons as were there vnlawfully assembled, and did not within three dayes next after the proclayming thereof, yelde and submitte themselues to the Lord Priuie Seale (the kinges Lieutenaunt) they should from thence forth be deemed accepted and taken for Rebels and Traitors against his most royall person, and his imperiall crowne and dignity, & farther the kings maiesty for a more terror to the rebels, and the encouragement of such of his good subiectes as shoulde helpe and ayde to apprehende and take any of the sayde Rebelles: he by his sayd proclamation did graunt and geue all the Offices, Fees, goodes and possessions, that the same Rebelles had at and before their apprehencion.

This proclamation notwithstanding, the sayd rebels, continued in their obstinacie and Trayterous purpose. Wherefore yet once againe the kinges maiesty for auoiding of the sheding of Christian bloud, sent vnto them a most gentle and louing message in writing, to haue reduced them againe to their obedience, but it would not be. The message was as followeth.

The kinges message to the Rebelles of Cornewall & Deuonshire

Although knowlege hath bene geuen to vs and our derest Uncle Edward Duke of Somerset, Gouernor of our person and Protector of all our realmes dominions and subiectes, and to the rest of our priuie Counsayle of diuerse assemblies made by you, which ought of dutie to be our louing Subiectes, against all order of lawe, and otherwise then euer any louing or kinde subiects hath attempted against their naturall and liege souereigne Lorde: Yet we haue thought it meete at this very first time, not to condempne and reiect you as we might iustly do, but to vse you as our subiects, thinking that the Deuil hath not that power in you, to make you of natural borne Englishmen, so sodainly to become enemies to our owne nattue countrie: Or of our subiectes to make you Traytors: or vnder pretence to releue your selues to destroy your selues, your wyfes, children, landes, possessions and all other commodities of this your life. This we say, that we trust that although you be ignorantly seduced, ye will not be vpon knowlege obstinate: And though some amongst you (as euer there is some Cockyll amongst good corne) forget God, neglect their Prince, esteme not the state of the realme, but as careles desperat men delight in sedicion, tumult & warres: yet neuertheles the great part of you will heere the voyce of vs your naturall Prince, and will by wisedome and counsayle be warned and ceasse your enuiles in the beginning, whose endes will be, euen by God almighties order, your owne destruction. Wherfore as to you our subiects by ignorance seduced we speake, and be content to vse our princely authoritie, like a father to his children, to admonish you of your faults not to punish them, to put you in remembrance of your duties, not to auenge your forgetfulnesse.

Disorder in Subiectes.

First your disorder to rise in multitudes, to assemble your selues agaynst other oure louing subiectes, to arraye your selues to the warre: who amongst you all can aunswere for the same to almightie God, charging you to obey vs in all things? Or howe can any good Englishe heart aunswere vs, our lawes, and the rest of our very good louing and faythfull subiectes, who

who in deede by their obedience make our honor, estate and degree?

Abusing of the kinges name.

Ye vse our name in your writinges, and abuse the same agaynst our selfe: what iniurie herein do you vs to call those which loue vs to your euill purposes, by the authoritie of our name? God hath made vs your king by his ordynaunce and prouydence, by our bloud and inheritaunce, by lawfull succession and our coronation. But not to this ende, as you vse our name, we are your most naturall souereigne Lord & king Edward the sixt, to rule you, to preserue you, to saue you from all your outward enemies, to see our lawes well ministred, euery man to haue his awne, to suppresse disordered people, to correct Traytors, Theeues, Pirates, Robbers and such lyke: yea to keepe our realmes from other Princes, from the malice of Scottes, of French, of the Bysshop of Rome. Thus good subiectes our name is written, thus it is honored and obeyed, this maiestie it hath by Gods ordinance, not by mannes: So that of this your offence we cannot write to much, and yet doubt not but thys is ynough from a prince to al reasonable people, from a royall king to all kind hearted and louing subiects, from the puyssaunt king of Englande to euery naturall Englishe man.

False causes.

Your pretence, which you saye moueth you to doe thus, and wherewith you seeke to excuse this disorder, we assure you is eyther all false, or so vaine that we doubt not, that after that ye shall hereby vnderstaude the truth therof, ye will all with one voyce knowledge your selues ignorauntly led, and by error seduced: And if there be any one that wil not, then assure you the same be ranke Traytors, enimies of our crowne, seditious people, heretikes, papistes, or such as care not what cause they haue to prouoke an insurrection so they may doe it, nor in deede can ware so riche with their awne labors and with peace, as they can doe with spoyles, with warres, with robberies, and such lyke, ye with the spoyle of your awne goodes, with the lyuing of your labors, the sweat of your bodyes, the foode of your awne housholdes wiues and children: Such they be, as for a time vse pleasant perswasions to you, and in the ende will cut your throates for your awne goodes.

Baptisme.

You be borne in hande that your children, though necessitie chaunce, shall not be christened but vpon the holye dayes, howe false this is learne you of vs. Our booke which we haue set forth by the free consent of oure whole parliament in the Englishe tongue teacheth you the contrary, euen in the first leafe, yea the first side of the first leafe of that part which entreateth of Baptisme. Good subiectes (for to other we speake not) looke and be not deceaued: They which haue put this false opinion into your eares, they meane not the christening of children, but the destruction of you our christened subiectes. Be this knowne vnto you, our honor is so much that we may not be founde faultie of one iot or worde: Proue it, if by our lawes ye maye not be founde faultie of one iot or worde: Proue it, if by our lawes ye maye not christen your children when ye be disposed vpon necessitie euery daye or houre in the weeke, then might you be offended, but seyng you maye doe it how can ye beleeue them that teach you the contrarie? What think you they meane in the rest, which moue you to breake your obedience against vs your king and souereigne, vpon these so false tales and perswasions in so euident a matter? Therefore you all which wyll knowledge vs your souereigne Lorde, and which will here the voyce of vs your king, may easily perceiue how you be decepued, and howe subtilly Traytors and Papistes, with their falshood

falchood seeke to atchieue and bring their purpose to passe with your helpe: Euery Traytor will bee glad to dissemble his treason and feede it secretly, euery Papist his popery and nourishe it inwardly, and in the ende make you our subiectes partakers of treason and poperie, which in the beginning was pretended to be a common weale and holynesse.

Sacrament of ỹ body. &c. And howe are you seduced by them, which put in your heads, the blessed Sacramente of Christes bodye, should not differ from other common bread? If our lawes, proclamations and statutes be all to the contrarie, why shall any priuate man perswade you against them? we doe oure selfe in our awne heart, our counsayle in all their profession, our lawes and statutes in all purposes, our good subiectes in all our doynges most highly esteeme that Sacrament, and vse the communion therof to our most comfort. We make so much difference therof from other commō bread, that we thinke no profite of other bread, but to maintayne our bodyes: But this blessed bread we take to be the very foode of our soules to euerlasting life. Howe thinke you good subiectes, shall not we beyng your Prince, your Lorde, your king by Gods appoyntment with truth more preuayle, then certayne euill persons with open falchood? Shall any seditious person perswade you that the sacrament is despised, which is by our lawes, by our selfe, by our counsayle and by all oure good subiectes, esteemed, vsed, participated and daylie receyued? If euer ye were seduced, if euer decepued, if euer Traytors were beleeued, if euer Papistes poysoned good subiectes it is now. It is not the christening of children, not the reuerence of the Sacrament, not the helth of your soules that they shoote at good subiectes: It is sedition: It is highe treason, it is your destruction they seeke. How craftely, how pitteously, how cunningly soeuer they doe it, with one rule, iudge yee the ende which of force must come of your purposes.

Disobedience to a king is disobedience to almightie God. Almightie God forbiddeth vpon paine of euerlastyng dampnation, disobedience to vs your king, and in his place we rule in earth. If we shoulde be slowe? would God erre? If youre offence be towardes God? thinke you it pardoned without repentaunce? Is Goddes iudgement mutable? Your paine is dampnation, your Iudge is incorruptyble, your fault is most cruell.

Likewyse are ye euill informed in diuers other articles, as for confyrmation of your children, for the Masse, for the maner of your seruice of Matyns and Euensong: Whatsoeuer is therein ordered hath bene long debated and consulted by many learned Bishops, Doctors, and other men of great learnyng in this realme concluded, in nothing so much labour and time spent of late tyme, nothing so fully ended.

Seruice in the English tongue. As for the seruice in the Englishe tongue hath manifest reasons for it, and yet perchaunce seemeth to you a new seruice, and in deede is none other but the olde. The selfesame wordes in Englishe which were in Latine, sauyng a fewe thinges taken out, so fonde that it had bene a shame to haue heard them in Englishe, as all they can iudge which lust to report the truth. The difference is that we ment Godly, that you our subiectes should vnderstand in Englishe, beyng your naturall Countrey tongue, that which was heretofore spoken in Latin, then seruyng onely them which vnderstood Latine, and nowe for all you which be borne Englishe. How can this with reason offend any reasonable man, that he shoulde vnderstand what any other sayth,

sayth, and so to consent with the speaker? If the seruice in the Church were good in Latine, it remayneth good in Englishe, for nothing is altered, but to speake with knowlege, that before was spoken with ignorance, and to let you vnderstand what is sayde for you, to the entent ye may further it wyth your awne deuotion an alteration to the better, except knowlege be worse then ignorance: So that whosoeuer hath mooued you to mislyke thys order, can geue you no reason nor answere yours if ye vnderstood it. Wherfore you our subiectes remember we speake to you beyng ordeyned your Prince and king by almightie God, if any wise we coulde aduaunce Goddes honour more then we do, we would do it, and see that ye become subiectes to Goddes ordinaunce. Obey vs your Prince, and learne of them which haue authoritie to teache you, which haue power to rule you, and will execute our Iustice if we be prouoked. Learne not of them whose fruites be nothing but wilfulnesse, disobedience, obstinacie, and destruction of the realme.

Knowlege is better then ignorance.

The Masse. For the Masse, we assure you, no small studie nor trauaile hath bene spent by all the learned Clergie therein, and to auoyde all contention therefof, it is brought euen to the very vse as Christ left it, as the Apostles vsed it, as holy fathers deliuered it: in dede somewhat altred from that ỹ Popes of Rome for their lucre brought to it. And although you may here the contrary of some Popishe and euill men, yet our Maiestie which for our honour may not be blemished nor stayned, assureth you that they decepue you, abuse you, and blowe these opinions into your heades, for to furnishe theyr awne purposes.

Confirmatiō of children. And so likewyse iudge you of confirmation of Children, and let them answere you this one question. Thinke they that a child christened is dampned because he dyeth before Bishopyng. Marke good subiectes what inconuenience hereof commeth? Our doctrine therefore is founded vpon true learnyng and theirs vpon shameles errors. To conclude, beside our gentle maner of information to you, whatsoeuer is conteyned in our booke, eyther for Baptisme, Sacrament, Masse, Confirmation, and seruice in the Church is by Parliament established, by the whole Clergie agreed, yea by the Bishops of the realme deuised, and further by Gods worde confirmed. And how dare you trust, yea how dare you geue eare without trembling to any singuler person to disalowe a Parliament? A subiect to perswade against our Maiestie, or any man of his single arrogancie agaynst the determination of the Bishoppes, and all the Clergie, any inuented argument, agaynst the worde of God.

But now you our subiectes, we resort to a greater matter of your vnkindenesse, a great vnnaturalnesse, and such an euill, that if we thought it had not beene begon of ignorance, and continued by perswasion of certain traitors amongest you, which we thinke fewe in number, but in their doynges busie, we could not be perswaded but to vse our sworde and do iustice. And as we be ordeyned of God for to redresse your errors by auengement: But loue and zeale yet ouercommeth our iust anger, but howe long that will be God knoweth, in whose hand our heart is, and rather for your awne causes beyng our christened subiectes, we would ye were perswaded then vanquished, taught, then ouerthrowen, quietly pacifyed, then rigorously persecuted.

Six articles. Ye require to haue the statute of six articles reuiued, and knowe you what

what ye require? Or knowe ye what ease you haue with the losse of them? They were lawes made, but quickly repented, to bloudie they were to bee borne of our people: and yet at the first in deede made of some necessitie. Oh subiectes how are ye trapped by euill persons. We of pitie because they were bloudie toke them away, and you nowe of ignorannce will aske them againe. You knowe full well that they helped vs to extende rygor, and gaue vs cause to drawe our swoorde very often. And since our mercy moued vs to write our lawes with mylde and equitie, howe be ye blinded to aske them in bloud? But leauyng this maner of reasonyng, and resorting to the truth of our auctoritie, we let you wit, the same hath bene adnulled by Parliament with great reioyse of our subiectes, and not now to be called in question. And dare thany of you with the name of a subiect stand agaynst an act of Parliament, a lawe of the realme? What is our power if lawes should be thus neglected, or what is your suretie if lawes be not kept? Assure you most surely, that we of no earthly thing vnder the heauen make such reputation as we doe of this one, to haue our lawes obeyed, and this cause of God to be throughly mayntayned, from the which we will neuer remoue a heares bredth, nor geue place to any creature liuyng: But therin will spende our awne royall person, oure Crowne, Treasure, Realme, and all oure state, whereof we assure you of our high honour: For herein resteth our honour: herein do all kinges knowlege vs a king: And shall any one of you dare, breath, or thinke agaynst our Kingdome and Crowne?

The auctoritie of a parliament.

In the ende of this your request (as we be geuen to vnderstande) ye would haue them stande in force vntill our full age. To this we thinke that if ye knew what you spake, ye would not haue uttered the motion, nor neuer geuen breath to such a thought. For what thinke you of our kingdome? Be we of lesse auctority for our age? Be we not your king now as we shal be? Shall ye be subiects hereafter, and now are ye not? Haue we not the right we shall haue? If ye would suspend and hang our doyngs in doubt vntil our full age: ye must first knowe, as a king we haue no difference of yeres, but as a naturall man and creature of God we haue youth, and by his sufferance shall haue age. We are your rightfull king, your liege Lord, the souereigne Prince of Englande, not by our age, but by Gods ordynaunce, not onely when we shall be. xxj. yeres of age, but when we were of ten yeres. We possesse our crowne not by yeres, but by the bloud and assent from our father king Henry the eyght. If it be considered, they which moue this matter, if they durst utter themselues would denie our kingdome. But our good subiectes knowe their prince, and will encrease, not diminiche his honor, enlarge his power, not abate it, knowledge his kingdome, not differ it to certaine yeres. All is one to speake against our crowne, and to denie our kingdome, as to requite that our lawes may be broken vnto. xxj. yeres. Be we not your crowned, annoynted and established king? wherein be we of lesse maiestie, of lesse auctorittie or lesse state then our progenitors kings of this realme? Except your vnkindnesse, your vnnaturalnesse will diminiche our estimation? We haue hetherto since the death of our father by the good aduise and counsayle of our dere & entirely beloued Uncle the Duke of Somerset, our Gouernour and Protector kept oure estate, maintayned oure realme, preserued our honor, defended our people from all enemies. We haue hetherto bene feared and dread of our enimies, yea of Princes, kings and nations. Yea, herein we be nothing inferiour to any our progenitors, which grace we knowlege to be geuen vs from God; and howe else; but by good obedience, good counsaile of our magistrates, by the auctorittie of our kingdome of Englande, hetherto hath gained honour during our reigne: It hath wonne of the enemy & not lost. It hath bene meruepled that we of so yong yeres haue reigned so nobly, so royally, so quietly. And how chaunceth that you our louyng subiectes of that our country of Cornewall, and Deuonshire, will geue first occasion to slaunder this our realme of England, to geue courage to the enemie to note our realme of the euill of rebellion, to make it a pray to our olde enemyes, to diminish our honour which God hath geuen, our father left, our good Uncle and Counsaile preserued vnto vs? What greater euill could ye commit, then euen nowe when our forreyn enemye in Scotland, and vpon the sea seeketh to inuade vs, to do our realme dishonour then to arise in this maner agaynst our lawe, to prouoke our wrath, to aske our vengeaunce, and to geue vs an occasion to spende that force vpon you, which we meant to bestowe vpon our enemyes, to begin to slay you with that swoorde that we drewe forth agaynst Scottes and other enemyes? To make a conquest of our awne people, which otherwise should haue beene of the whole realme of Scotlande? Thus farre we haue discended from our high maiestie for loue, to consider you in your simple ignorannce, and haue beene content to sende you an instruction lyke a father, who of iustice might haue sent you your destructions like a king to rebelles. And nowe we let you knowe, that as you see our mercie abundauntly, so if ye prouoke vs further, we sweare to you by the liuyng God, ye shall feele the power of the same God in our swoorde, which howe mightie it is, no subiect knoweth, how puissaunt it is, no priuate man can iudge, howe mortall it is, no Englishe man dare thinke. But surely, surely, as your Lorde and Prince, your onely king and maister, we say to you, repent your selues, and take our mercye without delay, or else we will forthwith extende our princely power, and execute our sharpe swoorde agaynst you, as agaynst Infidelles and Turkes, and rather aduenture our awne royall person, state, and power, then the same shall not be executed.

And if you will proue the example of our mercie, learne of certain which lately did aryse, pretending some griefes, & yet acknowleging their offences, haue not onely receyued most humbly their pardon: but feele also by our order, to whome all publique order onely appertayneth, present redresse of theyr griefes.

A godly and Princely admonition.

In the ende we admonische you of your duties to God, whome ye shall aunswere in the day of the Lorde, and of your duetyes towardes vs, whome ye shall aunswere by our order, and take our mercy whilest God so enclineth vs, least when ye shall be constrayned to aske, we shall be to much hardened in heart, to graunt it you. And where ye shall heere nowe of mercy, mercy, and life: ye shall then heere of iustice, iustice, and death. Written the. xiij. of July, in the thirde yere of our reigne.

Obstinacie in rebels.

Although they receyued from the kinges Maiestie this louyng Message, and most Princely and gentle admonition, yet was their froward and indurate heartes such, that they stoode still at the swoordes poynt. Wherfore the

the right valiant Lorde Russell, and the Lord Gray, with their whole power set vpon them, and they to their powers withstoode them very stoutlye, and at the first were many of the straungers slaine and hurt: But at the length the rebels were distressed, taken, and executed, and their foure chiefe Capitaynes first named in this discourse, that is to say, Homfrey Arondell, Wynslade, Holmes, and Bury, were taken and sent to London and there accordyng to their desertes had iudgement as traytors, and were drawen, hanged and quartered at Tiborne. And many of the people of that Countrey that were doers or mainteiners of this rebellion, were executed among them selues, and many put to great fynes, and losse of offices and liuyngs, as they had right well deserued.

Execution of rebelles.

The Maior of Bodmyn in Cornewall hanged.

Any among other the offendors in this rebellion I thought it well to note twaine for the maner of their execution semed straunge. The first was one Bowyer who was Maior of a towne in Cornewall called Bodmyn. This Maior had bene busie among the rebelles, but some that loued hym sayd that he was forced therevnto; and that if he had not consented to them, they would haue destroyed him and his house. But howsoeuer it was, this was his ende. On a certaine day Sir Anthony Kingstone beyng Prouostmarshall in the field wrote his letter vnto the sayde Maior declaring that he and certayne other with him would come and dine with him such a day. The Maior seemed to be very ioyous thereof and made for him very good preparation. And at the time appoynted, Sir Anthony Kingstone with his company came and were right hartely welcomed to the Maior. And before they sate downe to dinner, sir Anthony calling the Maior a syde shewed him that their must be execution done in that towne, and therefore willed him with speede to cause a payre of Gallowes to be made, that the same might be redy by the ende of dinner. The Maior went dilligently about it, and caused the same to be done. When dinner was ended Sir Anthony called the Maior vnto him and asked him if that were redy that he spake to him of, and he aunswered it was redy. Then he tooke the Maior by the hand and prayed him to bring him to the place where the same was, and he so did. And when sir Anthony saw them, he sayde vnto the Maior, thinke you they be strong enough? yea Sir sayd he, that they are. Well then sayd sir Anthony get you euen vp to them for they are prouided for you, the Maior cryed I trust you meane no such thing to me, Sir sayth he there is no remedy you haue bene a busie Rebell, and therefore this is appoynted for your rewarde, so that without longer respite or taryng, there was the Maior hanged.

At the same time also and nere vnto the place, there was a Myller who had bene a very busy Merlet in that rebellion, whome also Syr Anthonye Kingston sought for: But the Myller had warning, and he hauing a good tall felow to his seruaunt called him vnto him and sayd, I must go foorth, if their come any to aske for me, say that thou art the owner of the Myll, and that thou hast kept the same this foure yeres, and in no wise name not me. The seruannt promised his Maister so to do. Afterward came syr Anthony Kingston to the Myllers house and called for the Miller, the seruaunt aunswered that he was the Miller. Then sayd Maister Kinston how long hast thou kept this Mill, and he aunswered three yeres. Well then sayde he come on thou must go with me, and caused his seruauntes to lay handes on hym, and

and brought him to the next tree, saying you haue bene a rebellious knaue, and therfore here shall you hang. Then cryed he & sayd that he was not the Miller, but the Millers seruaunt, well then sayd he you are a false knaue to be in two tales, therefore hange him vp sayd he, and so he was hanged. After he was hanged, one beyng by, sayd to syr Anthony Kingstone, surely this was but the Millers man, what then sayd he? could he euer haue done his Maister better seruice than to hang for him.

Common rebellion.

In this meane tyme the whole realme in a maner in euery shire were gathered together in vnlawfull assemblies, as Oxfordshire, Barkeshire, Middlesex, Essex, Norfolke, Suffolke, whose Capitaynes were, Robert Kette a Tanner, and William Kette his brother, against whome was sent by the kinges maiestie the Lorde Marques of Northhampton, beyng slenderly prouided of all thinges necessary for such an enterprise. Which beyng perceyued of the Rebelles, they tooke corage thereby the more stoutely to withstand them. Neuertheless he entred the Citie of Norwich, and lying there one night, he was sore assaulted by the rebelles, which in number were three times as many as came wyth him. By reason whereof he was forced to retire, with the losse of diuerse of his company, namely of the gentle Lord Sheffelde, who by the sayd rebelles was cruelly murdered, to the great discomfort of the sayd Lorde Marques, and other Gentlemen that at that time attended vpon him. And after the said rebels beyng puffed vp with vain glorye, did vse towardes the Gentlemen of that countrye great crueltie, in fetching them out of their houses and brought them to their camp, and compelled some of them to be their counsaylors, whether they would or not, as Sergeauut Gaudy, Sergeauut Catlyn, and many other: But yet they trusted them not so well, but they clapped a payre of Fetters vpon their heeles, to keepe them safe when they had them from steppyng away. And the place where the common meetyng and counsaile was kept, was at a certaine tree, which they called the tree of Reformation.

Oxfordshire Barkshire, Middlesex, Essex, Norfolke, Suffolke,

Robert Kett William Kett

After that the Lorde Marques hauyng the repulse as afore sayde, was returned. Then the kinges Maiestie sent that valiaunt and warlike knight syr John Dudley Erle of Warwick against them wyth a greater number, & better furnished: Who also had with him two thousand of ỹ Launceknights that we spake of before, which were retayned to go into Scotlande: which Launceknightes at that iourney did great and good seruice, and fought valiauntly and manfully, although many of them were slaine. Nowe when the Erle of Warwicke, who was not onely a valiant and hardie Gentleman, but also wise and pollitique, was come nere to the rebelles, he marched forwarde in so good order, that the rebelles began to feare. But yet as men desperate they gathered themselues together, and stoutly set forth and aduentured the battaile with the sayde Erle, who beyng a very politique Capitaine, assaulted them first with the sayde straungers, beyng footemen on the front, whilest he and his horsemen gaue the charge on the flanke of their battaile, whereby the battaile of the sayde rebelles began to breake, and in conclusion was vtterly scattered, and a great number of them slaine, and Kette theyr chiefe Capitaine put to flight. Neuertheless the residue, as desperate men reinforced the battaile, meanyng to make triall of a newe field. But the Erle loth to procede to the destruction of the whole number, considering that they

Sir John Dudley Erle of Warwick.

were our awne Nation and people, did very mercifully send an Herault vnto them, saiyng, that if they woulde deliuer vnto him such as were their Capitaynes and chiefe heades, the rest should receyue the kinges most gracious pardon, and haue fre libertie to depart euery man to his house and Country. The which pardon they would not at the first seeme to receyue, vntill they sawe the sayde Erles maine battaile to approche, and the horsemen with the straungers readie to geue a newe onset, whereof they standyng in feare, yelded themselues vnto the kinges mercie and pardon, who accordyng to the Erles promise made by his Herault, were all pardoned, saiyng certaine to the number of. xxiij. chiefe sturrers in this rebellion, who were presently executed. And after Robert Kett, and William Kett his brother, which before were fled, were taken, and brought first to the Erle, and then sent vp to the king to Westminster, and from thence they were sent againe into Norffolke, and there executed accordyng to their merits. Thus was this rebellion of Norffolke by the singuler prouidence and manhoode of this noble Erle pacifyed by the punishment of a fewe, without any losse of life, landes, or goodes, to any other of the Countrie.

Robert Kett and William Kette taken and executed.

The French king practiseth the getting of Bulleyne.

Duryng the tyme of these commotions and sturres in Englande, the Frenche king vnderstandyng of the same, did not onely staye his power for goyng into Scotlande, but beyng in great desyre to haue agayne Bolleyne, he thought now was the time, or else neuer, wherefore with all speede possible he directed his letters to all his nobles, knightes and Capitaynes that they should vpon the sight of the sayd letters, put themselues in a redynesse, and attend vpon him with suche power and furniture as they were hable to make in the countie of Bollonoys, the first day of September next folowing. At which time the king came to Monstrell, where he founde the Constable of Fraunce and Mounsire de Aumale putting their armie in a readinesse. And the next day folowyng, the Frenche king beyng accompanyed with the sayde Lordes and their power, set forwarde towarde Bolleyn, and after came and besieged sundry pyles and fortes which the English men had there buylded and wonne them, and namely one Castell, which the English men called hable Neuse or newe Hauen, wherein as sayth the writer of the Annales of Fraunce, were foure Enfignes of Englishe men, which beyng sore beaton with the Canon, yelded to the French king. And likewise Bolleyne Barke and Blacknesse, the which fortes when the French king had recouered, and had furnished them with men and munition for defence, he then returned into Fraunce with great triumph.

In this meane time, while the Frenche king was thus occupied about Bolleyn in Fraunce, the kings maiestie was still occupied in quyeting and pacifyng of his rebellious people in Englande, and finally to pacifie them and to set them all at rest, the king published his graces most generall and free pardon to all rebels, so that they would forthwith vpon the publication of the sayde pardon, euerye man to returne to his house and countrey, which they gladly did, and so thys seditious and most daungerous rebellion ceased.

Mary Stuart Queene of Scotes conueyed into Fraunce.

Also in this busie time, Mary Stuart Queene of Scots was conueyed by Sea out of Scotland into Fraunce, and there the. xix. day of Aprill. 1548. was maryed in our Lady Church in Paris with great triumph and solempnitie,

nitie vnto Fraunces the Dolphyn, eldest sonne vnto king Henry the seconde of that name French king.

The counsail withdrawe themselues into priuate conferences.

After these hurly burlyes were pacified and quieted, many of the Lords of the realme, as well counsaylors as other mislyking the gouernement of the Protector, began to withdrawe themselues from the Courte, and resorting to London, fell to secret consultation for redresse of things, but namely for the displacing of the sayde Lorde Protector, and sodainely of what occasion many maruayled and fewe knewe, euery Lorde and Counsaylor went thorowe the Citie weaponed, and had their seruauntes likewise weaponed attendyng vpon them in newe lyuerings to the wondering of many. And at the last, a great assemble of the sayde Counsaylors was made at the Erle of Warwikes lodging which was then at Ely place in Holborne, whether all the Confederates in this matter came priuily armed, and finally concluded to possesse the Tower of London, which by the pollecie of Sir Wylliam Paulet Lorde Treasorer of Englande was peaceably obteyned for them, who by order of the sayde Confederates, immediatly remoued Sir John Markam then Lieutenant of the Tower, and placed in that rome syr Leonard Chamberleyne. And after that the sayde counsayle was broken vp at Ely place, the Erle of Warwike remoued forthwith into the Citie of London, and laye in the house of one John Yorke Citezen of London, who was then chiefe mayster of the Wynt in Southwarke in Suffolke place, which Yorke was shortly after by the ayde of the sayde Erle of Warwike made by the king knight, by the name of syr John Yorke.

The Protector remoueth in haste with the king to Windsore.

The Lorde Protector hearing of the maner of the assembly of this counsaile, & of the taking of the Tower which seemed to him verie straunge and doubtfull, did presently the saide night remoue from Hampton Court, taking the king with him vnto the Castell of Wyndsore, and there began to fortefie the same.

The Lordes of the Counsayle beyng then in London as aforesaide conferred with the Maior of London and his brethren, first wylling them to cause a good and substantiall watch by night, and a good warde by daye to be kept for the safegarde of the Citie, and the portes and gates thereof, which was consented vnto: and the Companyes of London in their turnes warned to watch and warde accordingly.

Then the sayd Lords and counsaylors demaunded of the Lord Maior and his brethren fiue hundred men to ayde them to fetch the Lorde Protector out of Wyndsore from the king. But therunto the Maior aunswered that he could graunt no ayde without the assent of the common counsayle of the Citie. Wherevpon the next daye, a common counsayle was sommoned to the Guyldhall in London.

A proclamation published against the Lord Protector.

But in this meane time, the sayde Lordes of the counsayle assembled themselues at the Lorde Maiors house of London, who then was syr John Amcotes Fishemonger, and William Locke Mercer, and syr John Aileph Shiriefes of the sayde Citie. And there the sayde Counsaile agreed and published a proclamation forthwith against the Lorde Protector, the effect of which proclamation was as folowth.

First, that the Lord Protector by his malicious and euill gouernement was the occasion of al the sedition that of late had happened w in the realme.

The losse of the kings peeces in Fraunce.

That he was Ambicious and sought his awne glory, as appered by his building of most sumpteous and costly houses, and specially in the time of the kings warres, and the kings souldiours vnpayde.

That he esteemed nothing the graue counsayle of the Counsaylors.

That he sowed sedicion betweene the nobles, the gentlemen & commons.

That the nobles assembled themselues together at London for none other purpose, but to haue caused the Protector to haue lined within lymits, and to haue put suche order for the kings maiestie as apperteyned, whatsoeuer the Protectors doings were, which (as they sayde) were vnnaturall, ingrate and Trayterous.

That the Protector slaundered the counsayle to the king, and did that in him laye to cause variaunce betweene the king and his nobles.

That he was a great Traytor, and therefore the Lordes desired the Citie and the commons to ayde them to take him from the king. And in witnesse and testimonie of the contentes of the sayde proclamation, the Lordes subscribed their names and tytles, beyng sixtene in number.

After the aforesayd proclamation was proclaymed, the Lordes or the most part of them continuing and lyng in London, came the next day to the Guyldhall during the time that the Lord Maior & his brethren, sate in their court or inner chamber, and entred and commoned a long whyle with them, and at the last, the Maior and his brethren came forth vnto the cõmon counsayle, where was read the kinges letter sent vnto the Maior and Citezens, commaunding them to ayd him with fiue hundred men, and to send the same to his Castell at Windsore: and to the same letter was adioyned the kinges hand and the Lorde Protectors. On the otherside by the mouth of the Recorder, it was requested that the Citezens would graunt their ayde rather vnto the Lordes, for that the Protector had abused both the kinges maiestie and the whole Realme, and without that he were taken from the king, and made to vnderstand his folly, this realme was in great hasard, and therfore required ỹ the Citezens would willingly assent to ayd the Lordes with fiue hundred men, herevnto was none other answere made but silence. But the Recorder (who at that time was a worthy Gentleman called Maister Brooke) still cryed vppon them for aunswer. At the last stepped vp a wise and good Citezen and sayd, in this case it is good for vs to thinke of thinges past to auoide the daunger of thinges to come. I remember, sayth he, in a story written in Fabians Chronicle, of the warre betweene the king and his Barons, which was in the time of king Henry the third, and the same time the Barons as our Lordes do now demaunded ayde of the Maior and Citie of London, & that in a rightfull cause for the common weale, which was for the execution of diuers good lawes, whervnto the king before had geuen his cõsent, and after would not suffer them to take place, and the Citie did ayde the Lords, & it came to an open battayl, wherin the Lordes preuayled and toke the king and his sonne prisoners, and vpon certaine condycions, the Lordes restored againe the king and his sonne to their liberties. And among all other condicions, this was one that the king should not only graunt his pardon to the Lords, but also to the Citezens of London, which was graunted, yea and the same was ratefied by act of parliament. But what followed of it?

The kinges letter read to the Citizens.

A Citizens tale tolde in the common counsaile in London.

it? was it forgotten? no surely, nor forgeuen during the kinges life, the lyberties of the Citie were taken away, Straungers appoynted to be our Heades and Gouernors, the Citezens geuen away bodye and goodes, and from one persecution to another, were most miserably afflicted, suche it is to enter into the wrath of a prince, as Salomon sayth, the wrath & indignation of a Prince is death. Wherefore forasmuch as this ayde is requyred of the kinges maiestie, whose voyce we ought to hearken vnto, for he is our high shepherd, rather then vnto ỹ Lords: and yet I would not wish the Lords to be clerely shakē of, but that they with vs and we with them may ioyne in suite and make our most humble petition to the kinges maiestie, that it would please his highnesse to heere such complaynt against the gouernement of the Lorde Protector as maye be iustly alleged and proued. And I doubt not, but this matter will be so pacefied, that neither shall the king, nor yet the Lordes haue cause to seeke for further ayde, neyther we to offend any of them both. After this tale, the commons staied, and the lord Maior and his brethren for that time brake vp, and afterwarde commoned with the Lordes.

Sir Phillip Hobby sent to the king by the Lordes.

The Lordes sate the next daye in counsayle in the Starre Chamber and from thence they sent Sir Phillipe Hobby, with their letter of credence to the kinges maiestie, beseching his highnesse to geue credite to that which the sayd Sir Phillip should declare vnto his maiestie in their names: and the king gaue him libertie to speake, and most gently heard all that he had to saye. And truely he did so wisely declare his message, and so grauely tolde his tale in the name of the Lordes, but therewithall so vehemently and so grieuously against the Protector, who was also there present by ỹ king, that in the ende, the Lord Protector was commaunded from the kinges presence and shortly was committed to ward in a Tower within the Castel of Windsore called Beauchampes Tower. And sone after were staied Sir Thomas Smith, Maister Whalley, Maister Fisher, and many other Gentlemen that attended vpon the Lorde Protector. And the same daye, the Lordes of the Counsayle came to Wyndsore to the king, and the next day they brought from thence the Lorde Protector and the other that were there stayed, and conueied them through the Citie of London with as much wonderment as might be vnto the Tower, where they remayned prisoners.

The Lorde Protector committed to prison in windsore Castell.

The Lorde Protector committed to the Tower.

Shortly after the Lordes resorted vnto the Tower, and there charged the Protector with sundry articles, which for tediousnesse I omyt.

A parliamẽt.

Shortly after this, the kings maiestie called his high Court of parliament, and helde the same at Westminster, the .xviij. day of November, in the thirde yere of his reigne, and there contynued the same vntyll the first daye of February next folowyng, which was in the fourth yere of his graces reigne. And among other thinges there enacted and concluded, one statute was made for the punishment of rebelles and vnlawfull assemblies, the which lawe was made by occasion of the late rebellion that had happened in maner throwout the realme the yere passed, and was not thought nor ment to haue touched anye Noble man, and specially none such as the Duke of Sommerset was, which after as it shall appere it did, and by that statute he was condempned within two yeres next after.

An acte for vnlawfull assemblies.

After the ende of this parliament, the Erle of Warwick hauing then 1549
highest authoritie, and the rest of the Lordes of the counsayle, calling to 4
remem-

remembraunce howe the last yere in the time of rebellion, the French king had entred into Bullonoys, and wonne dyuers of the Englishe forts there, beyng of great importaunce for the defence of the towne and Countrey, the default whereof was imputed to the negligent gouernement of the Lorde Protector. And forsomuch as they well vnderstood that the Frenche king vpon further practise, had placed a Capitayne called the Rhynegraue with dyuers regiments of Almayne, Launceknightes and certayne ensignes of Frenchmen, to the number of foure or fiue thousande at the towne of Margupson, beyng the midway betwene Bolleyn and Calice, to the great perill and daunger as well of the Countie of Bullonoys as also of Calice, Guysnes and all the lowe countrey. The king therfore for the defence of the sayde Frontiers, caused all the straungers, which had serued that yere against the rebels, beyng to the number of two thousande, to be transported ouer the Sea to the Marches of Calice. And at Christmas next folowyng by order of the sayde Erle and of the Counsaylors aforesayde, Fraunces Erle of Huntyngdon with syr Edwarde Hastynges his brother, Sir James Croft, Sir Leonard Chamberleyn, and dyuers other Captaines and souldyours to the number of three thousand were sent ouer to the Marches of Calice to ioyne with the sayde straungers, minding with as conuenient speede as they might to remoue the Campe, and otherwise to annoy the French. And about the seauenth day of Februarie certayne commissioners appoynted for this treatie, that is to wyt, the Erle of Bedford, the Lorde Paget, Sir William Peter the kinges chiefe Secretary, and syr John Mason arryued at Calice: By reason of whose comming, the Erle of Huntyngdon and the armie sent ouer before for the defence of the Frontires were countermaunded from anye further attempt, so that little or nothing was done in that voyage, sauing certaine skirmishes at dyuers times, not much materiall to be written of.

A power sent ouer to resist the French.

Commissioners sent to treat of peace

These commissioners beyng thus arryued, passed from Calice to Bolleyne, there to meete with the commissioners appointed by the French king where as a certayne house was newly erected for the sayd treatie to be had, which was vpon the side of Boleyn hauen next to Fraunce, where after dyuers meetings and conferences of the commissioners of eyther partie, a finall peace was at the last concluded betwene both the realmes. But chiefly among other thinges, for the restitution of Bolleyn and Bollonoys vnto the French, which was vpon certayne conditions folowyng.

A peace concluded with Fraunce.

First that the French king should yeelde and paye to the king of Englande a certayne somme of money, and the same to be payde at two payments, as it was then agreed, and for the same somme, the king of Englande should render the towne of Bolleyne, and all the Fortes thereto adioyning, which he then enioyed, with all suche artillarie and munition as was there founde at the taking of the same vnto the french king. And for the sure payment of the sayde sommes, the french king sent into Englande for hostages and pledges, the Countie of Angwyn, Lewys the Lorde of Vendosme hys brother, the Vidame of Charters, and Duke de Aumale and other. And on saint Markes daye next folowyng, beyng the .xxv. daye of Aprill about eyght of the clock in the morning, the Englishe men did delyuer to the french men the possession of Bolleyn, and the Castels and Fortes in

Boleyn geuen vp to the french king.

the Countie of Bollonoys according to the agrements and articles of the peace afore mencioned. And the fiftene day next folowyng, the French king entred into the sayde towne of Bolleyn, with Trumpets blowen, and with all the royall tryumph that might be, where he offered one great Image of Siluer of our Ladye in the Church there, which was called oure Ladye Church. The which Image he had caused specially to be made in the honor of the sayde Ladie, and caused the same to be set vp in the place where the lyke Image before did stande, the which before was taken awaye by the Englishe men at the wynning of the towne.

The enterāce of the frenche king into Bulleyne.

Soone after this agreement, the Duke of Sommerset late Protector, was deliuered out of the Tower, and because of suspition of displeasure and hatred that was thought to be betwene the Erle of Warwike, and the Duke of Sommerset, a meane was found that their friendship shoulde be renued thorough alliaunce, and a mariage was concluded betwene the Erle of Warwickes eldest sonne, and the Duke of Sommersets eldest daughter, the which maryage was solempnised at Shene, the king beyng then present.

The Duke of Sōmerset deliuered out of ỹ Tower.

A mariage made betwen the Duke of Somersets daughter and the Duke of Northumberlandes sonne.

After the solemnitie of this mariage, there appered outwardly to the worlde great loue and friendship betwene the Duke and the Erle, but by reason of Caitales and flatterers, the loue continued not long, howbeit many did very earnestly wishe loue and amitie to continue betwene them.

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About this tyme there was at Feuersham in Kent a Gentleman named Arden most cruelly murdered and slaine by the procurement of his awne wyfe. And she for the same fact was burned at Cauntorbury, and certaine other that were the doers therof were hanged in diuers places of the realme.

Arden murthered.

At this tyme also the kinges Maiestie called his highe Court of Parliament, and helde the same at Westminster the .xxiij. day of January, in the fift yere of his reigne, and there continued the same vntil the .xv. day of Aprill in the sixt yere of his reigne.

A parliament

In this Parliament the booke of common prayer, which in some part had bene corrected and amended, was newly confirmed and established. And in the ende of this Parliament there chaunced a great and contagious sickenesse to happen in ỹ realme, which was called the sweatyng sickenesse, wherof a great number of people dyed in a small tyme, namely in the Citie of Lōdon. And it seemed that God had appoynted the sayde sickenesse onely for the plague of Englishmen, for the most that died thereof were men and not women nor children. And it so folowed the Englishmen, that such Marchants of England as were in Flaunders and Spaine, and other Countries beyond the sea were visited therewithall, and none other nation infected therewith. And it began first in Aprill in the North partes, and so came thorough the realme, and continued vntill September next folowyng. The disease was sodaine and grieuous, so that some beyng in perfite health in one houre, were gone and dead within foure houres next folowyng. And the same being whote and terrible inforced the people greatly to call vpon God, and to doe many deedes of Charitie: But as the disease ceassed, so the deuotion quickly decayed.

The sweting sickenesse.

At this tyme also, the kinges Maiestie with the aduice of his priuye Counsaile, and hauyng also great conference with Marchauntes and other, perceiuyng that by such coynes and copper moneys as had bene coyned in

The embasing of the Coyne

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the tyme of the king his father, and nowe were commonly currant in the realme, and in dede a great number of them not worth halfe the value that they were curraunt at, to the great dishonor of the kinges Maiestie and the realme, and to the decepte and no little hinderaunce of all the kinges Maiesties good subiectes, did now purpose not onely the abacyng of the sayd copper moneys, but also ment wholy to reduce them into Bollion, to the entent to deliuer fine & good moneis for them. And therfore in the Moneth of July by his graces Proclamation, he abaced the peece of.xij. pence cõmonly called a Teston vnto. ix. pence, & the peece of foure pence vnto three pence. And in August next folowyng, the peece of.ix. pence was abaced to six pence, and the peece of three pence vnto two pence, and the penny to an halfepenny.

The Duke of Somerset againe apprehended and committed to the Tower.

The. xj. day of October, there was a great creation of Dukes & Erles, as the Lord Marques Dorset was created Duke of Suffolke, the Erle of Warwicke made Duke of Northumberland, & the Erle of Wiltshire made Marques of Winchester, & sir Wylliam Herbert maister of the horse, was made Erle of Pembrooke, and diuers Gentlemen were made knightes.

The. xvj. day of the said month being Fryday, the Duke of Sommerset was againe apprehended, and his wife also, and committed to the Tower, and with him also were cõmitted sir Highell Stanhop, sir Thomas Arondell, sir Rause Auane, sir Miles Partridge, and other, for suspition of treason and felony, whereof, they all were shortly after indicted, and so standyng indicted, the seconde day of December next folowyng, the sayde Duke was brought out of the Tower of London with the Axe of the Tower borne before him, with a great number of Billes, Gleues, Holbardes, and Polaxes, attendyng vpon him, and so came into Westminster Hall, where was made in the middle of the Hall a new Scaffold, where all the Lordes of the kings Counsaile sate as his Judges, and there was he arreigned and charged with many articles both of treason and felony. And when after much milde speche he had aunswered not giltie, he in all humble maner put himselfe to be tryed by his Peeres, who after long consultation among themselues, gaue their verdict that he was not giltie of the treason, but of the felony. The people there present which was a great number, heeryng the Lordes say not giltie, which was to the treason, thinkyng most certainly that he was clerely acquited, and chiefly for that, immediately vpon the pronouncyng of those wordes, he that caryed the Axe of the Tower, departed with the Axe, they made such an outcrie and ioy, as the lyke hath not bene heard, which was an euident declaration of their good willes borne towardes him: But neuertheles, he was condempned to the death, whereof shortly after he tasted. The felonie that he was condempned of, was vpon the statute made the last yere agaynst rebelles and vnlawfull assemblyes, wherein among other thinges is one braunch, that whosoeuer shall procure the death of any Counsaylor, that euery such attempt or procurement shall be felonye. And by force of that statute the Duke of Sommerset beyng accompanyed with certaine other, was charged that he purposed and attempted the death of the Duke of Northumberlande, the Lorde Marques, the Lorde of Pembroke, and others of the priuie Counsaile, the which by statute was felony.

The Duke of Somerset condempned returneth to the Tower.

After the Duke was thus condempned, he was againe returned to the Tower, and landed at the Crane of the Vintrye, and so passed through London,

don, where were both exclamations, the one cryed for ioye, that he was acquipted, the other cryed out that he was condempned. But howsoeuer they cryed, he was conueied to the Tower of London, where he remayned vntill the .xxij. daye of January next following.

The Duke beyng condempned as is aforesayd, the people spake diuersly and murmured against the Duke of Northumberlande, and against some other of the Lordes for the condempnation of the sayd Duke, and also as the common fame went, the kinges maiestie tooke it not in good part: wherfore aswell to remoue fond talke out of mennes mouthes; as also to recreate and refreshe the troubled spirites of the yong king, it was deuised that the feast of Christes Natiuitie, commonly called Christmas then at hand, should be solemply kept at Greenewiche with open houshold, and franke resorte to the Court, (which is called keping of the Hall,) what time of olde ordinarye course, there is alwayes one appoynted to make sporte in the Courte, called commonly Lorde of Misrule, whose office is not vnknowne to such as haue bene brought vp in Noblemens houses, and among great house keepers, which vse liberall feasting in that season. There was therefore by order of the counsaile a Gentleman both wise and learned, whose name was George Ferrers appoynted to that office for this yere: who beyng of better calling then commonly his predecessors had bene before, receyued all his commissions and warrauntes by the name of the Maister of the kinges pastimes. Which Gentleman so well supplyed his office, both in shew of sundry sightes and deuises of rare inuention, and in act of diuers enterludes and matters of pastime, played by persons, as not onely satisfied the common sorte, but also were very well liked and allowed by the counsayle and other of skill in the like pastimes: But best of al by the yong king himselfe, as appered by his princely liberalitie in rewarding that seruice.

George Ferrers maister of the kings pastymes.

This Christmas being thus passed and spent with much mirth and pastime, wherewith the mindes and cares of murmorers were meetely well appeased, according to a former determination as the sequele shewed, it was thought now good to proceede to the execution of the iudgement geuen against the Duke of Somerset touching his conuiction and attaynder of the felony afore mencioned. Wherevpon the .xxij. daye of January then next following beyng Fryday, he was brought out of the Tower, and according to the maner deliuered to the Shrifes of London, and so with a great company of the Gard and other wyth weapones, was brought vnto the Skaffolde, where he shoulde suffer. And there nothing changyng voyce nor countenaunce, but in a maner with the same gesture that he partely vsed at home kneling downe vpon both his knees, and lifting vp his handes erected himselfe vnto God. And after that he had ended a few shorte prayers, standing vp againe and turning him selfe towardes the East syde of the Skaffolde, he vttered to the people these wordes in effect.

The execution of the Duke of Sommerset.

Derely beloued Maisters and friendes, I am brought hether to suffer, albeit that I neuer offended against the king, neyther by worde nor deede, and haue bene alwayes as faythfull and as true vnto the realme as any man hath beene. But forsomuch as I am by a lawe condempned to dye, I do acknowlege my selfe as well as other to be subiect therevnto. Wherefore to exercise and testefie my obedience, which I owe vnto the lawes, I am come

The Duke of Sommerset's saying to the people.

come hether to suffer death, wher vnto I willingly offer my selfe, geuing most harty thanks vnto the deuine goodnesse, as if I had receyued a most ample and great reward: For this it is thought good in the sight of the most mercifull father now to graunt me this time of repentance, & to acknowlege my self, who might thrugh sodaine death haue stopped my breath, that I should neyther acknowlege him nor my selfe, in which behalfe I worthely with my whole hart render thankes vnto him. And moreouer gentle friends, there is yet some what that I must put you in mynde of, verely as touching religion, which so long as I was in authority I did allwayes diligently set forth vnto you, neither do I repent me of my doings, but rather therof take most abundaunt and true occasion of reioysing, now that the state of Christian religion seemeth to drawe most nere vnto the forme of an order of the Primatiue Church. Of which thing I do not onely reioyce, but also interpret it as a great benefite geuen of God both vnto you and me, most hartely exhorting you all that this which is most purely set forth vnto you, you will with like thankfulnesse accept & embrace and set out the same in your liuinges, which thing if you do not, great mischiefe and perill will follow.

A sodaine feare amongst the people.

And when he had spoken the aforesayd wordes, sodaynely a terror and feare possessed all mennes hartes, and surely the people present were so dismayde, that they ranne together vpon heapes, and fled as though they had seene some armed men to make resistaunce and cryed out, Iesus saue vs, Iesus saue vs. Those which taried still in their places knew not where they were. The diuerse and sundrye noyses of those which cryed oute, made the sodaine tumulte muche more confused then it woulde haue beene, albeit of it selfe it was troublesome enough, for as euery man thought himselfe to be in daunger, so he cryed out, so many and sundrye noyses were hearde, this waye and that way they come.

In the meane time whilst these things were thus in doyng, the people by chaunce espyed one Syr Anthony Browne knight, ridyng toward the Scaffolde, which was the occasion of a new noyse: For when they saw him comming, euen at that time, they suspected that which was not true, & yet notwithstanding, it was that which they all wished for, that the king by that messenger, had sent his Uncle pardon, and therefore with great reioysing they cryed out pardon, pardon is come, God saue the king.

The truth of this hurly burlye grewe hereof, as it was after well knowne. The maner and custome is that when such executions are done out of the Tower, the inhabitaunts of certayne Hamlets round about London, as Hoggsdon, Newington, Shordiche and other are commaunded to geue their attendaunce with weapons vpon the Lieutenannt. And at this tyme, the Duke being vpon the Scaffolde by eyght of the clocke in the morning, the people of one of the Hamlets came late, and comming thorough the posterne gate espiyng the Duke on the Scaffolde, made haste and begamne to runne, and cryed to their felowes that were behind come away, come away. The people sodainely beholding them to come running with weapons, and knewe not the cause cried away, away, by reason whereof the people ranne euery way, not knowing whether nor wherfore.

The Duke in the meane time standing still both in the same place and minde where he was before with his Cap which he shooke with his hande made

made a signe vnto the people, that they should kepe themselues quiet, which thing being done and silence obteyned, he spake to them the seconde time in this maner.

The second speech of the Duke of Sommerset to the people.

Dearely beloued friendes, there is no suche matter here in hande as you vainely hope or beleue, it seemeth thus good vnto almightie God, whose ordinaunce it is meete and necessary that we all be obedient vnto, wherfore I pray you all to be quyet and without tumult, for I am euen nowe quyet, and let vs ioyne in prayer vnto the Lorde for the preseruation of our noble king, vnto whose maiestie I wishe contynuall health with all felicitie and abundaunce and all maner of prosperous successe, wherevnto the people cryed out Amen. Moreouer sayth the Duke, I wishe vnto all his counsaylors the grace and fauour of God, whereby they maye rule all thinges vprightly with iustice, vnto whome I exhort you all in the Lorde to shewe your selues obedient, the which is also verye necessarie for you vnder the paine of condempnation, and also most profitable for the preseruation and sauegarde of the kings maiestie. And forsomuch as heretofore, I haue had often times affaires with diuers men, and that it is heard to please euerye man, therefore if there be any man that hath bene offended or iniured by me, I most humbly require and aske him forgeuenesse. But especially almightie God, whome thorowout all my life I haue most greeuously offended. And vnto all other whatsoeuer they be that haue offended mee, I doe with my whole heart forgeue them. And once agayne derely beloued in the Lord I require you that you will keepe your selues quiet and still, least thorowe your tumult you might cause mee to haue some trouble, which in this case would nothing at all profite me, neyther be any pleasure vnto you. For albeit the spirite be wylling and readie, the flesshe is fraile and wauering, and thorough your quietnesse, I shall be much more the quieter: But if that you fall to tumult it will be great trouble and no gayne at all vnto you. Moreouer I desire you to beare me witnesse that I die here in the fayth of Iesu Christ, desiring you to helpe me with your prayers, that I maye persseuer constant in the same vnto my liues ende. Then he turning himselfe about kneeled downe vpon hys knees, vnto whome Doctor Coxe which was there present to counsayle and aduertise him, delyuered a certaine scroll into his hande, wherein was conteyned a briefe confession vnto God, which beyng read he stood vp agayne on his feete, without any trouble of minde as it appered, and first bade the Shrieues farewell, then the Lieutenant of the Tower, and certayne other that were on the Scaffolde, taking them all by the handes. Then he gaue the executioner certayne money, which done, he put of his Gowne, and kneeling downe agayne in the strawe, vntyed hys shyrt strings, and then the executioner comming to him, turned downe hys coller rounde about his necke, and all other things which did let and hinder him. Then he couering his face with his owne handkerchefe, lifting vp hys eyes vnto heauen, where his onely hope remayned, layde himselfe downe along and there suffered the heauie stroke of the axe, which disseuered the head from his bodye, to the lamentable sight and griefe of thousands that heartily prayed God for him, and entirely loued him.

The death of the Duke of Somerset.

This Duke was in high fauour and estimation with king Henry the eyght, of whome he receyued sundry high and great preferments, by reason

that the sayde king had maryed the Lady Jane his sister, by whome he had issue king Edward the sixt. He was not onely curteous, wise and gentle, beyng daylie attendaunt at the Court, but forwarde and fortunate in seruice abroade, as maye well appere in his sundry voyages both in Fraunce and Scotlande, he was of nature verie gentle and pitifull, not blemished by any thing so much as by the death of the Admiral his natural brother, which could not haue bene without his consent.

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The .xxvj. day of Febzuary next folowyng, for the lyke felony that the Duke of Sommerset was condempned, were also executed and hanged on a gallowes nere vnto the scaffolde on Tower hill, sir Rause Ruane, and sir Miles Partridge knightes. And the same day was for the same cause and matter sir Mighell Stanhop, and sir Thomas Arondell beheded on the Scaffolde.

Sir Rause Ruane, Sir Miles Partridge, Sir Mighel Stanhop, Sir Thomas Arondel

Not long after the death of the sayd Duke and his complices, it chaunced the reuerend father in God Maister Doctor Ridley then Bishop of London to preach before the kinges Maiestie at Westminster. In the which sermon he made a fruitfull and godly exhortation to the riche, to be merciful vnto the poore, and also moued such as were in authoritie to trauaile by some charitable waye and meane to comfort and relieue them. Wherevpon the kinges Maiestie beyng a Prince of such towardnesse and vertue for hys yeres, as Englande before neuer brought forth, and the same also beyng so well treyned and brought vp in al godly knowlege, aswell by his dere Uncle the late Protector, as also by his verteous and learned Scholemaisters, was so carefull of the good gouernment of the realme, and chiefly to do and preferre such thinges as most specially touched the honor of almightie God. And vnderstandyng that a great number of poore people did swarme in this realme, and chiefly in the Citie of London, and that no good order was taken for them, did sodainly and of himselfe send to the sayd Bishop assoone as his Sermon was ended, willyng him not to depart vntill that he had spoken with him (and this that I nowe write was the verye report of the sayde Bishop Ridley) and accordyng to the kinges commaundement, he gaue hys attendaunce. And so soone as the kinges Maiestie was at leysure, he called for him, and made him to come vnto him into a great Galery at Westminster wherein to his knowlege, and the king also tolde him so, there was present no mo persons then they two, and therfore made him sit downe in one chaire, and he himselfe in another, which as it seemed were before the cõming of the Bishop there purposely set, and caused the Bishop mauger his teeth to be couered, and then entred communication with him in this sort, first geuing him most heartie thankes for his Sermon and good exhortation, and therein rehersed such speciall thinges as he had noted, and that so many that the Bishop sayde, truly, truly, for that was commonly his othe, I could neuer haue thought ꝑ excellency to haue bene in his grace, that I behelde & saw in him. At the last the kings Maiestie much commended him for his exhortation for the relefe of the poore, but my Lorde sayth he, ye willed such as are in authoritie to be carefull thereof, and to deuise some good order for theyr relefe, wherein I thinke you meant me, for I am in highest place, and therefore am the first that must make aunswere vnto God for my negligence if I shoulde not be carefull therein, knowyng it to be the expresse commaundement of almightie

A most noble and vertcous saiyng of a Prince.

mightie god, to haue compassion of his poore and nedie members for whom we must make an accompt vnto him. And truely my Lorde I am before all things most willyng to trauayle that way, and I doubt nothyng of your long and approued wisedome and learnyng, who hauyng such good zeale as wisheth helpe vnto them, but that also that you haue had some conference with others what wayes are best to be taken therein, the which I am desirous to vnderstand, and therefore I pray you say your minde.

The Bishop thinkyng least of that matter, and beyng amased to here the wisedome and earnest zeale of the king, was, as he sayd himselfe so astonied, that he could not well tell what to say. But after some pawse, sayd, that as he thought at this presence for some entraunce to be had, it were good to practise with the Citie of London, because a nũber of the poore there are very great, and the Citizens are many and also wise. And he doubted not but they were also both pitifull and mercifull, as the Maior and his brethren, and other the worshipfull of the sayd Citie, and that if it would please the kinges Maiestie to direct his gracious letter vnto the Maior of London, willyng hym to call vnto him such assistaunce as he should thinke meete to consult of thys matter, for some order to be taken therein, he doubted not but good should folow therof. And he himselfe promised the king to be one that would earnestly trauaile therein. The king forthwith not onely graunted his letter, but made the Bishop tary vntill the same was written, and his hand and signet set therevnto, and commaunded the Bishop not onely to deliuer the same letter himselfe, but also to signifie vnto the Maior that it was the kings speciall request and expresse commaundement, that the Maior should therein trauaile, and assoone as he might conueniently geue knowlege vnto him how farre he had proceded therein. The Bishop was so ioyous of the hauing of this letter, and that he had nowe an occasion to trauaile in that good matter, wherein he was meruaylous zelous, that nothing could more haue pleased and delighted him: Wherefore the same night he came to the Maior of London, who then was sir Richard Dobbes knight, & deliuered the kinges letter, and shewed his message with effect. The Maior not only ioyously receyued this letter, but with all speede agreed to set forward this matter, for he also fauoured it very much. And the next day beyng Monday, he desired the Bishop of London to dine with him, and agaynst that tyme the Maior promised that he would sende for such men, as he thought meetest to talke of this matter, and so he did. And sent first for two Aldermen, and six Commoners, and afterward were appointed more to the number of. xviij. And in the ende after sundrie metynges, (for by the meane of the good diligence of the Bishop, it was well folowed) they agreed vpon a booke that they had deuised, wherein first they considered of. iy. speciall kindes or sortes of poore people, and those they brought into these three degrees.

Degrees of poore.

The poore by impotencie.
Poore by casualtie.
Thriftlesse poore.
} Three degrees of poore.

1 The poore by impotencie are also deuided into thre kyndes, that is to say.
1 The fatherlesse or poore mans childe.
2 The aged, blinde, and lame.
3 The diseased person, by leprey, dropsy, &c

2 The poore by casualtie are also three kyndes, that is to say.
4 The wounded Souldior.
5 The decayed householder.
6 The visited with grieuous disease.

3 The thriftlesse poore are three kyndes, that is to say.
7 The rioter that consumeth all.
8 The vagabond that will abide in no place.
9 The ydle person, as the Strumpet & other.

Christes Hospitall.

For these sortes of poore were prouided three seuerall houses, first for the innocent and fatherlesse, which is the Beggers childe, and is in deede the seede & breeder of beggery, they prouided the house that was the late Graie Fryers in London, and nowe is called Christes Hospitall, where the poore children are trayned in the knowlege of God and some vertuous exercise to the ouerthrow of beggery.

Saint Thomas hospital.

For the seconde degree, is prouided the Hospitall of Saint Thomas in Southwarke, and Saint Bartholomewe in West Smithfielde, where are continually at the least two hundred diseased persones which are not only there lodged and cured, but also fed and nourished.

Bridewell.

For the thirde degree, they prouided Bridewell, where the Vagabond and ydle strumpet is chastised and compelled to labour, to the ouerthrowe of the vicious life of ydlenesse.

They prouided also for the honest decayed houshoulder, that he should be releeued at home at hys house, and in the parishe where he dwelled by a weekely reliefe and pencion. And in like maner they prouided for the Lazer to keepe him out of the Citie from clapping of dishes, and ringing of belles, to the great trouble of the Citezens, and also to the daungerous infection of many, that they also should bee releeued at home at their houses wyth seuerall pencions.

Nowe after this good order taken, and the Citezens by suche meanes as was deuised, willing to further the same. Then report thereof was made vnto the kings Maiestie: And his grace for the aduauncement therof, was not onely willing to graunt such as should be the ouerseers and gouernors of the sayde houses a corporation and auctoritie for the gouernement thereof: But also required that he might be accompted as the chiefe Founder and Patrone thereof: And for the furtheraunce of the sayde worke and contynual maintenance of the same, he of his meere mercie and goodnesse graunted, that where before certaine landes were geuen to the maintenance of the house of the Sauoy, founded by king Henry the seuenth, for the lodging of pilgrimes and straungers, and that the same was nowe made but a lodging of loyterers, vagabondes and strumpets that lay all day in the fieldes, and at night were harbored there, the which was rather the maintenaunce of beggery, then the relieue of the poore, gaue the same landes beyng first surrendered into his handes by the maister and felowes there, which landes were of the yerely value of fiue hundred pounde, vnto the Citie of London, for the maintenaunce of the foundation afore sayde. And for a further relieue, a petition beyng made to the kinges Maiestie for a licence to take in mortmayne, or otherwise without licence landes to a certayne yerely value, and a space left in the patent for his grace to put in what somme it should please him: he looking on the boyde place called for pen and ynke, and with hys

King Edward the first founder of the hospitals in London.

awne

awne hand wrote this summe, in these maner of wordes (foure thousand markes by yere) and then sayd in the heeryng of his counsaile, Lord God I yeelde thee moste harty thanks that thou hast geuen me like thus long, to finish this worke to ỳ glorie of thy name. After which foundation established, he liued not aboue two daies.

I blessed king.

By example of which act of this vertuous yong king, sir William Chester knight and Alderman of London, & John Calthrop Citizen and Draper of the sayd City, at their awne proper costes and charges made the brickwalles & way on the backside, that leadeth from the sayd new Hospitall vnto the Hospital of S. Bartholomewes: and also couered and bawked the towne ditch from Aldersgate to Newgate, which before was very noisome & contagious vnto ỳ said Hospital.

Sir William Chester knight.

John Calthrop Draper.

This Hospitall, beyng thus erected and put in good order, there was one Richard Castell Alias Casteller Shoomaker dwellyng in Westminster, a man of great trauaile and labour in his facultie with his awne handes, and such a one as was named the Cocke of Westminster, for that Winter and Sommer he was at his worke before foure of the clocke in the morning. This man thus truely and painfully labouryng for his liuyng, God blessed and encreased his labors so abundantly, that he purchased landes and tenements in Westminster to the yerely value of. xliiij. pound. And hauing no childe, with the consent of his wife (who also yet liueth and is a vertuous and good woman) gaue the same landes wholy to Christes Hospital afore sayd to the relieue of the innocent and fatherlesse children, and for the succour of the miserable sore and sicke harbored in the other Hospitalles about London, whose example God graunt many to follow.

Richard Castell Shomaker.

1552
7

About this time there were three noble ships set forth and furnished for the great aduenture of the vnknowne voyage into the East, by the North seas. The great doer & encourager of which voiage was Sebastian Gaboto an English man, borne at Bristow, but was the sonne of a Genoway. These ships at the last arriued in the country of Muscouia, not without great losse & daūger, and namely of their capitain, who was a worthy & aduenterous gentleman called sir Hugh Willoughby knight, who beyng tossed & driuen by tempest, was at the last found in his ship frosen to the death and all his people. But nowe the sayd voyage and trade is greatly aduaunced, & the Marchants aduenturing that way are newly by act of parliament encorporated & endued with sundry priuileges and liberties.

Sebastian Gaboro.

Three notable mariages.

About the beginning of the Moneth of May next folowing there were three notable mariages concluded, & shortly after solempnized at Durham place. The first was betwene the Lorde Guilford Dudley, the fourth sonne of the Duke of Northumberland, & the Ladie Jane eldest daughter of Henry Duke of Suffolk and the Ladie Fraunces his wife, who was the daughter of Mary second sister to king Henry the eight, first maried to Lewys ỳ French king, & after to Charles Brandon Duke of Suffolke. The second mariage, was betwene the Lorde Harbert sonne and heyre of William Erle of Pembroke, and the Ladie Katherin second daughter of the said Lady Fraunces by the sayd Henry Duke of Suffolk. And the third was betwene Henry Lord Hastings, sonne and heyre of Fraunces Erle of Huntingdon, and Katheryn yongest daughter of the Duke of Northumberland, which three mariages were compassed and concluded chiefly vpon purpose to chaunge and alter the order of succession to the crowne, made in the time of king Henry the eight, from the said kings daughters, Mary, & Elizabeth, and to conuey the same immediately after the death of king Edward to the house of Suffolk in ỳ right of the said Lady Fraunces: wherin the said yong king was an earnest trauailer in the time of his sickneſſe, and al for feare that if his sister Mary being next heyre to the crowne, should succede, that she would subuert all hys

The first mariage,

The second mariage.

The third mariage.

lawes and statutes made concerning religion, wherof he was most carefull: For the continuance whereof he sought to establish a meete order of succession by the allyaunce of great houses by way of maryage, which neuertheleſſe were of no force to serue his purpose. For tending to the disherison of the rightful heires they proued nothing prosperous to the parties, for two of them were sone after made frustrate, the one by death, the other by deuorce.

In this meane while the king became euery day sicker then other of a cõsumption in his lunges, so as there was no hope of his recouery, wher vpon those that then bare chiefe auctority in counsail, w other Prelates & nobles of the realme, calling to them diuers notable persons learned, aswel in diuinitie as in the lawes of the land, namely, Bishops, Judges, & other, fel to cõsultation vpon this weighty case, and lastly, concluded according to the deuice of king Edwards will, to declare the said Lady Jane eldest neece of king Henry the eight, and wife to the said Lord Guilford to be rightfull heyre in succession to the crowne of England without respect had to the statute made in the. xxxb. yere of king Henry the eight: The true meaning of which statute, they did impugne & ouerthrow by diuers subtile and sinister cõstructions of the same, to disenherite the said kings sisters to whom the succession of the crowne of England of right appertayned, aswell by the common lawes of this realme, as also by the said statute made in the said. xxxb. yere of the king, as afore saide. To which newe order of succession all the sayd kinges counsail, with many Bishops, Lords, Doctors & Judges of ỹ realme, subscribed their names w out refusal of any, except sir James Hales knight one of the Justices of the cõmon place, who being called to this counsail would in no wise geue his assent either by word or writing, as ye shal here more in the history of Quene Mary. Now when these matters were thus cõcluded, & after confirmed by a nũber of hands as afore said, then the noble prince king Edward ỹ sixt by long lingring sickneſſe and a cõsumption of his lungs as afore said approched to his death, and departed out of this life the sixt day of July in the. vij. yere of his reigne, after he had reigned & nobly gouerned this realme. vj. yeres. v. moneths, & viij. dayes.

The death of king Edward the sixt.

And a litle before his departing, lifting vp his eies to god, he prated as followeth

The praier of king Edward the sixt at his death.

Lord God deliuer me out of this miserable and wretched life, and take me among thy chosen: howbeit not my will, but thy will be done. Lord I commit my spirit to thee. Oh Lord thou knowest how happie it were for me to be with thee: yet for thy chosens sake, if it be thy will send me life & health that I may truly serue thee. Oh my Lord blesse thy people and saue thine inheritance. O Lord God, saue thy chosen people of England. O my Lord God defend this realme from Papistrie and maintaine thy true religion, that I and my people may prayse thy holy name. And therewithall he sayde I am faint, Lorde haue mercy vpon me and take my spirite, and so he yeelded vp to God his ghost the sixt day of July.

The Lady Jane proclaymed Quene.

Immediatly after the death of king Edward, the afore sayd Lady Jane was proclaymed Queene of this realme by the sound of trumpet, that is to say, the. ix. day of July, at which Proclamation were present the Lordes of the Counsail, the Maior of London with other.

The Ladie Mary a little before lying at Honesdon in Hartfordshire hauyng intelligence of the state of the king her brother, and of the secrete practise against her, by the aduice of her friendes with all speede tooke her iourney towarde her house of Keninghall in Norffolke, entendyng there to remaine vntill she coulde make her selfe more strong of her friendes and allies: neuertheleſſe vnderstanding by them that she could not lie there in surety, being a place open and easie to be approched, remoued from thence vnto her Castell of Fremingham standing in a wood Countrie, and not so easie to be inuaded by her enemies.

The Lady Mary flieth into Suffolke.

So soone as the Counsaile heard of her sodaine departure, and considering that all came not to passe as they supposed. They caused spedily a power of men to

to be gathered together. And first they agreed that the Duke of Suffolke, father to the newe made Queene, should haue the conduction and leading of that army. But afterwards vpon further considerations it was deuised, that the Duke of Northumberland should haue the charge of this great enterprize, which Duke hauing commission from the whole counsaile, without mistrust of that which after fortuned, toke in hand that vnhappy voyage to his owne destruction as in the history of Queene Mary shall appere. So that setting apart the feare of all perils (which in other lesse cases he neuer vsed) when all things were in a redinesse he beyng accompanied with no small number of Lordes and Gentlemen, set forward on his iourney, passing to Cambridge, & from thence to S. Edmondsbury.

The Lady Mary beyng then at Frempyngham, heeryng of this preparation against her, gathered together such power of the noble men & other her friendes in that coũtry as she could get. And first of al the noble men ỹ came vnto her ayd, were the Erles of Sussex, Bath, and Oxford, the lord Wentworth, sir Thomas Cornewallis, sir Henry Jerningham, sir William Walgraue, with diuers other gentlemen & cõmons of the Coũties of Norffolk, & Suffolk. In this meane season the Lord Windsore, sir Edmond Peckham, sir Robert Drury, & sir Edward Hastings, rayſed the commons of the shire of Buckingham, to whom resorted sir John Williams, which afterward was Lord Williams of Thame, & sir Leonard Chamberleyn with the chiefe power of Oxfordshire. And out of Northamptonshire came sir Thomas Tressham & a great number of gentlemen out of diuers parts whose names were to long to reherse. These capitaines w their cõpanies beyng thus assembled in warlike maner marched forward towards Norffolk to the aid of ỹ Lady Mary, & the further they went, ỹ more their power encreased.

The Lords of the counsaile being in this meane while at London, after they vnderstood how the better part of the realme were enclined, & heryng euery day newes of great assemblies, began to suspect the sequele of this enterprize: so that prouiding for their owne suretie without respect of the Duke (who was now at Bury) they fell to a new counsaile, and lastly, by assent made proclamation at Lõdon in the name of the Lady Mary, by the name of Mary Queene of England, Fraunce, and Ireland defender of the faith, and of the Churches of England and Ireland supreme head. Of which proclamation after the Duke of Northumberland beyng then at Bury was aduertised by letters from the counsaile, he incontinent according to a new order receyued from them, returned with his power again to Cambridge, & forthwith vpon his comming thether proclaymed the sayd Lady Mary Queene: which proclamation made a sodaine chaunge of mindes in his army, for they that late before seemed most forward in that quarel, began first to flie from him, and so euery man shifting for himselfe, he that late before was furnished of such multitude of Souldiours, was sodeinly forsaken of all sauyng of a fewe whose perilles were ioyned with his.

Queene Mary.

MAry eldest daughter of king Henry the eight by the Lady Katheryn of Spain, his first wife, and sister vnto king Edward the sixt by the father ſde, began her reigne the sixt day of July, which day the king her brother dyed, and she was proclaymed at London (as is before remembred in the ende of the history of king Edward the sixt) the. xx. day of July. 1553. And the. xxviij. day of ỹ said month next following, was also proclamed in Cambridge by John Duke of Northumberlande, as is afore mencioned, which proclamation 1553. 1

to

The duke of Northūberland apprehended at Cambridge.

tion made by the sayd Duke at Cambridge notwithstanding, for that he was appointed generall of the army in the quarel of the Lady Jane of Suffolk, he was by the Maior of Cambridge, & one sergeant at armes arrested of treason. And the .xxviij. day of the sayd Moneth he with John Erle of Warwike his eldest son and two other of his sonnes, & diuers other lords & gentlemen, namely William Marques of Northampton, Fraunces Erle of Huntingdon, sir John Gates capitaine of the gard to king Edward the sixt, Sir Thomas Palmer & other mo brought prisoners from Cambridge afore sayd by the Erle of Arondel, & so conueyed to the tower of Lōdon. And the .xvj. day of August next folowyng, the said

The Duke of Northūberland arreigned.

Duke, & the other before named (the Erle of Huntingdon except) were brought into Westminster hall, & there arreigned of high treason before Thomas Duke of Norffolk high steward of England. And being brought to ꝑ bar, he vsed great reuerence to his Judges, & protesting his faith and allegeance to the Queenes Maiesty, whom he confessed to haue grieuously offended, he sayde that he meant not to speake any thing in defence of his fact, but would vnderstand first the opinion of the Court in two poyntes.

1 The first, whether a man doyng any act or thing by aucthority of the princes counsaile, & by warrant of the great Seale of England, and nothing doing without the same, may be charged with treason for doyng any thing by such warrant?

2 The second, whether any such persons as were equally culpable in that crime & those by whose letters & cōmaundements he was directed in all his doings, might be his iudges or passe vpon his trial as his peres?

Whereunto was aunswered: as to the first, that the great seale (which he laid for his warrant) was not the seale of ꝑ lawfull Queene of the realme, nor passed by her auctority, but ꝑ seale of an vsurper, & therfore could be no warrāt to him.

And to the second, that if any were as depely to be touched in the case as himselfe, yet so long as no attendor were of record against them, they were neuertheless persons able in law to passe vpō any trial, & not to be chalenged therfore, but at the princes pleasure. After which answere the duke vsing a few words, declaring his earnest repentance in the case, and mouing the duke of Norffolk to be his meane to the Quene for mercy, without further answere confessed the inditement, by whose example the other lords arreyned with him did in the like maner, & therevpon had iudgement: so that the .xxij. day of the sayd moneth of August, the sayd duke, sir John Gates, & sir Thomas Palmer, at the tower hill were executed, and all the rest shortly after were pardoned by the Queene who (as it was reported) could also haue bene content to haue spared the sayd dukes life as well as the rest, for the special fauor that before time she did alwayes beare vnto him.

After that Queene Marye was thus with full consent of the Nobles, and Commons of the realme proclaymed Queene she being then in Norffolke at her Castell of Framingham, repayred with all speede toward the Citie of London, & the third day of the said moneth of August she came to the said Citie, and so to the Tower. Where the Lady Jane of Suffolk late afore proclaymed Queene, with her husband the Lord Guilford a little before her comming, were committed to

The Lady Jane and the Lorde Guilforde imprisoned.

warde, and there remayned after almost fiue Monethes. And by the way as the Queene thus passed, she was ioyfully saluted of all the people without any misliking, sauyng that it was much feared of many, that she would alter the religion set forth in the time of king Edward her brother, wherof then were geuen iust occasions, because (notwithstandyng diuers lawes made to the contrary) shee had daylye Masse and Latine seruice sayde before her in the Tower.

At her entrye into the Tower there were presented to her certaine prisoners, namely Thomas Duke of Norffolke attainted of treason by Parlyament in the last yeare of King Henry the eight, whose attaindor in the first Parliament of thys newe Queene for great causes was reuersed and made

Prisoners pardoned & releasid.

voyde. Also Edward Courtney sonne and heire of Henrie Marques of Exceter Cosyn Germaine to king Henry the eyght, and Cutbert Tonstall Bysshop of Durham with other persons of great calling: But specially Stephen Gardyner Bysshop of Wynchester, whome shee not onely released of imprisonment, but also immediatly aduaunced and preferred to be Lorde Chauncelor of Englande, restoring him also to his former estate and Bysshoprick, and remoued from the same one Doctor Poynet, who a little before was placed therein by the gift of king Edwarde the sixt. And touching Edwarde Courtney, she not onely aduaunced him to the Erledome of Deuonshire, but also to so much of his fathers possession as there remayned in her handes, whereby it was then thought of many, that she bare affection to him by way of mariage, but it came not so to passe (for what cause I cannot geue any reason) but surely the subiectes of Englande were most desirous thereof.

Stephyn Gardyner made Chaūcelour of England.

Edwarde Courtney made Erle of Deuonshire.

Upon the receauing of this newe Queene, all the Bysshops which had bene deprsiued in the time of king Edwarde the sixt her brother for the cause of religion, were nowe againe restored to their Bishoprickes. And such other as were placed in king Edwards time remoued from their Seas, and other of contrarie religion placed. Amongst whom Edmond Bonner Doctor of the lawes, late afore deprsiued from the Sea of London and committed prisoner to the Marshalsea by order of king Edwardes counsayle, was with all fauour restored to his libertie and Bishoprick, and Nicholas Ridley Doctor in Diuinitie late before aduaunced to the saide Sea by the sayd king was hastily displaced and committed prisoner to the Tower of London. The cause why such extremitie was vsed towarde the sayde Bishop Ridley more then to the rest, was for that in the time of the Ladie Jane he preached a Sermon at Paules crosse by the commaundement of king Edwardes Counsayle, wherein he dissuaded the people for sundrye causes from receyning the Lady Marie as Queene.

Bishops deposed and Bysshops restored.

Edmonde Boner Bysshop of London.

Nicholas Ridley Bysshop of London.

Some after the restitution of Doctor Bonner to hys Bishoprick he appoynted one late a Chaplein of his called Doctor Bozne to preach at Paules Crosse, who was then promoted to the Queenes seruice, and not long afterward made Bishop of Bathe. The sayde Doctor taking occasion of the Gospell of that day, spake somewhat largely in the iustefying of Bishop Bonner beyng present at the Sermond, which Bishop (as the sayde Preacher then openly sayde) for a Sermon made vpon the same text and in the sayd place the same daye foure yeres afore passed, was most vniustly cast into the vile Dongeon of the Marshalsea among Theeues, and there kept during the time of king Edwardes reigne. This matter beyng set forth with great vehemency, so much offended ꝑ eares of part of the audience, that they brake silence, and began to murmoure and thronge together, in such sorte as the Maior and Aldermen with other of the wiser sorte then present, feared much an vproze. During which muttering one more feruent then his fellowes, threwe a Dagger at the Preacher, but who it was, came not to knowlege. By reason of which outrage the Preacher withdrew himselfe from the Pulpet, and one Maister Bradford at the request of the Preachers brother and others, standing there, toke the place and spake so mildely to the people, that with few wordes he appeased their fury. And after the sayd Maister Bradforde

Bozne Bishop of Bath

A Dagger thrown at the preacher.

forde and Maister Rogers although men of a contrarie religion conueied the sayde Preacher into Poules Schoole, and there left him in safetie.

The Garde appointed for the defence of the Preacher.

The next Sondaye following for feare of a like tumult or worse, order was taken that the Queenes Garde should be present in the place to defend the Preacher with weapon, wherevpon the wiser men perceyuing such a number of weapons, and that great peryll was not vnlike to ensue by such apparaunce of late not accustomed, woulde not be present at the Sermon: By reason whereof, there was lett a small auditory. Wherefore afterward there was a commaundement geuen by the Lord Maior, that the auncients of the companyes should be present at the next Sermon in theire liueries, and so they did, wherby all became quyet.

Thomas Cranmer Archebishop committed to the Tower.

Sone after this, Thomas Cranmer Archebishop of Cantorburye, and late before of king Edwardes priuie counsayle, was committed to the Tower of London, beyng charged wyth Treason, not onely for geuing aduice to the disinheriting of Queene Marye, but also for ayding the Duke of Northumberland with certayne horsse and men against the Queene in the quarell of the Lady Jane of Suffolke.

The coronation of Queene Marie.

The last day of September next following, the Queene passed from the Tower thorough the Citie of London vnto Westminster. And the next day beyng the first of October, shee was crowned at Westminster by Stephyn Gardiner Bishop of Winchester (for the Archebishops of Cauntorbury and Yorke were then prisoners in the Tower) as before ye haue heard.

A lewde generall pardon.

At the time of whose coronation, there was published a generall pardon in her name beyng enterlaced with so many exceptions, as they that neded the same most, tooke smallest benefite thereby. In which pardon were excepted by name no small number, not onely of Bishoppes and other of the clergie, namely the Archebishops of Cauntorbury and Yorke, the Bishop of London, but also many Lordes, Knightes and Gentlemen of the layetie, beside the two chiefe Justices of England, called Sir Roger Cholmeley, and Sir Edward Mountagew, and some other learned men in the law, for counsayling, or at the least consenting to the depriuation of Queene Mary, and ayding of the aforesayde Duke of Northumberlande in the pretensed right of the aforenamed Lady Jane, the names of which persons so beyng excepted I haue omytted for shortnesse sake.

Commissioners at the Deane of Paules house.

Assone as this pardon was published, and the solempnitie of the feast of the coronation ended, there were certaine commissioners assigned to take order with all such persons as were excepted out of the pardon & others to cõpound with the Queene for their seuerall offences, which commissioners sate at the Deane of Paules house at the west ende of Paules Church, and there called before them the sayde persons apart, and from some they tooke their Fees and offices graunted before by king Edward the first, and yet neuertheless putting them to their fines, and some they committed to warde, depriuing them of their states and lyuings, so that for the time to those that tasted therof, it seemed verie grieuous, God delyuer vs from incurring any suche daunger of law againe.

A parliament.

The fift day of October next folowing the Queene held her high court of parliament at Westminster which continued vntill the .xxj. day of the sayd Moneth. In the first Session of which parliament there passed no mo acts but

but one, and that was to declare Queene Marie lawfull heyre in discent to the crowne of Englande by the common lawes next after her brother king Edwarde, and to repeale certayne causes of treason, felonye and Premunire conteyned in diuers former statutes, the which act of repeale was for that Cardinall Poole was specially looked for (as after yee shall heare) for the reducing of the Churche of Englande to the Popes obedience, and to the ende that the sayde Cardinall, nowe called into Englande from Rome might holde his Courtes Legantine without the daunger of the statute of the premunire made in that case, whereinto Cardinall Wolsey (when he was Legate) had incurred to his no small losse, and to the charge of all the Clergie of Englande for exercising the lyke power. The which act beyng once passed, foorthwith the Queene repayred to the parliament house, & gaue therevnto her royall assent, and then prorogued the parliament vnto the .xxiij. daye of the sayde Moneth, in which second Session were confirmed and made dyuers and sundry estatutes concerning religion, whereof some were restored and other repealed.

Treason, Felonye, Premunire.

Sir James Hales troubled for religion.

At this tyme many were in trouble for religion, and among other sir James Hales knight one of the Justices of the common place, which Justice beyng called among other by the Counsaile of king Edwarde to subscribe to a deuice made for the disenherityng of Queene Mary, and the Lady Elizabeth her sister, would in no wise assent to ỹ same, though most of the other did. Yet that notwithstandyng, for that he at a quarter Sessions holden in Kent gaue charge vpon the statutes of king Henry the .viij. and king Edward the first in derogation of the primacie of the Church of Rome abholished by king Henry the eight, was first committed prisoner to the kinges Bench, then to the Counter, and last to the Fleete, where, whether it were thorough extreeme feare, or else by reason of such talke as the Wardeyn of the Fleete vsed vnto him of more trouble like to ensue, if he persisted in hys opinion (or for what other cause God knoweth) he was so inwardly troubled and vexed, that he sought to rid himselfe out of this life, which thing he first attempted in the Fleete, by woundyng himselfe with a Penknife, wel nere to the death. Neuertheless afterward beyng recouered of that hurt, he semed to be very conformable to all the Queenes procedynges, & was thervpon deliuered of his imprisonment, and brought to the Queenes presence, who gaue him wordes of great comfort. Neuertheless his minde was not quiet (as after well appered) for in the ende he drowned himselfe in a riuer, not halfe a myle from his dwellyng house in Kent, the riuer beyng so shalow that he was faine to lye grouelyng before he could dispatch himselfe, whose death was much lamented. For beside that he was a man wise, vertuous, and learned in the lawes of the Realme, he was also a good and true minister of iustice, whereby he gate him great fauour and estimation among all degrees.

Sir James Hales drowned himselfe.

A disputatiõ in Paules Church.

Duryng the aforesayde Parliament, about the .xviij. day of October, there was kept at Paules Church in London a publike disputation appointed by the Queenes commaundement, about the presence of Christ in the Sacrament of the Aulter, which disputation continued fiue dayes, Doctor Weston then beyng Prolocutor of the conuocation, who vsed many vnsemely checkes

ly checkes and tauntes agaynſt the one part, to the preiudice of their cauſe. By reaſon whereof the diſputers neuer reſolued vpon the artitles propoſed, but grew daily more and more into contention, without any fruit of their long conference, and ſo ended this diſputation with theſe wordes ſpoken by Doctor Weſton Prolocutor, it is not the Queenes pleaſure that we ſhould ſpend herein any longer time, and ye are wel ynough, for you haue the word, and we haue the ſworde. But of this matter ye may read more in the booke of the Monumentes of the Church.

Cardinall Poole ſent for to Rome.

At this time was Cardinall Poole ſent for to Rome by the Queene who was very deſirous of his comming, aſwel for the cauſes before declared as alſo for the great affection that ſhe had to him being her nere kinſman and conſentyng with her in religion. This meſſage was moſt thankefully receyued at Rome, and order taken to ſende the ſayd Cardinall hether with great expedicion. But before his commyng, Queene Mary had maryed Philip Prince of Spaine, as after ſhall appere.

The Counſayle deuiſed for the reccauing of the Cardinall.

But here to touche ſomewhat of the commyng of the ſayde Cardinall, when he was arriued at Calice, there was a conference had amongeſt the Counſaylors of the Queene for ỹ maner of his receiuing. Some would haue had him very honorably met and enterteyned, as he was in all places where he had before paſſed, not only for that he was a Cardinall and a Legate from the Pope, but alſo for that he was the Queenes nere kinſman of the houſe of Clarence. Neuertheleſſe, after much debatyng, it was thought meeteſt, firſt for that by the lawes of the realme (which yet were not repealed) he ſtoode attainted by Parliament: And alſo for that it was doubtfull howe he beyng ſent from Rome ſhould be accepted of the people, who in.xxb. yeres before had not bene much acquainted with the Pope or his Cardinalles: that therfore vntill all thinges might be put in order for that purpoſe, he ſhould come without any great ſolempnitie vnto Lambith, where in the Archebiſhoppes houſe his lodgyng was prepared.

Thomas Cranmer. The Lady Jane of Suffolke. The Lorde Guylford.

In Nouember next folowyng, Thomas Cranmer Archbiſhop of Cantorbury, notwithſtandyng that he had once plainly refuſed to ſubſcribe to king Edwardes will in the diſinherityng of hys ſiſter Mary (allegyng many reaſons and argumentes for the legittimation of both the kinges ſiſters) was in the Guyldhall in London arreigned and attainted of treaſon, namely for aidyng the Duke of Northumberlande with horſe and men agaynſt the Queene as afore ſayde. And the ſame tyme alſo the Ladie Jane of Suffolke (who for a while was called Quene Jane) and the Lord Guyldford her huſband were in like maner arreigned and attainted, and then againe returned to the Tower, from whence they neuer came but to the Scaffold.

An Ambaſſade ſent from the Emperour.

In the beginnyng of January next folowing, Charles the fift Emperor, ſent into England an honorable Ambaſſade, among whom was Countye Aygnemont, and many other noble men, with full commiſſion to conclude a marryage betweene Philip the prince of Spaine his ſonne and heyre, and Queene Mary as you haue heard: which Ambaſſade tooke ſuch place that ſhortly after all thinges were finiſhed accordyngly. But this mariage was not well thought of by the Commons, nor much better liked of many of the Nobilitie, who for this, and for the cauſe of religion, conſpired to rayſe war rather then to ſee ſuch chaunge of the ſtate. Of the which conſpiracie though there

there were many confederats, yet the firſt that ſhewed forth therin, was one ſir Thomas Wyat a knight in Kent, who by open Proclamations publiſhed there that the Queene and her Counſaile woulde by this forreyne marryage bring this realme into moſt miſerable ſeruitude and bondage of ſtraungers.

Rebellion in Kent.

The.xxb. day of January next folowyng newes were brought to the Court of this ſturre begon by the ſayde Sir Thomas Wyat. And forthwith after this it was knowne that Henry Duke of Suffolke father to the Ladie Jane (which Ladie Jane was yet aliue) was ſodainely departed from the Court with his two brethren into Warwikeſhire, and Leyceſterſhire, there to rayſe and gather a power of thoſe Countries to ioyne with Sir Thomas Wyat. The Queene hearing of theſe tumults did firſt by her proclamation declare the ſaide Duke of Suffolke, and ſyr Thomas Wyat with other Traitors. And forthwith ſhee ſent into the Citie of London for ſixe hundred men, which becauſe they ware whyte Coates, on their armors were called the white Coates of London. Theſe white Coates with certaine vntruſtie Capitaines were ſent into Kent vnder the conduction of Thomas Duke of Norffolke, for whoſe better ſuretie the Queene had aſſigned certaine of her Garde to attende, which in great haſte ſet forward, and hauing marched almoſt to Rocheſter, Wyat with all his companye beyng in the towne, the ſayde Capitaines with the white Coates, ſodaynlye reuolted from the ſaide Duke, and went ſtraight to the aide of Wyat, whereby the ſaide noble Duke beyng thus forſaken by his vnfaithfull felowſhip, was forced to retourne againe to London, and ſo to the Courte wythout any effect of his iourney: which repulſe vnto him being then an aged man, and fortunate before in all warres, impreſſed ſuch dolour of minde, that he lyued but ſhort while after.

Sir Thomas Wyat knight.

The Duke of Suffolke and ſir Thomas Wyat proclaymed traytors.

Thomas Duke of Norffolke ſent agaynſt ſir Thomas Wyat.

In this meane time as before you haue heard, the Duke of Suffolke beyng come from London into Leyceſterſhire, and Warwikeſhire with a very ſmall company (as the ſaiyng was) tooke vpon him there to publiſhe a Proclamation in his daughters name, purpoſing therby to haue perſwaded the ſubiectes, that Queene Marie entended to tourne the ſucceſſion, of the Crowne of Englande vnto ſtraungers, namely vnto Spanyardes, which Proclamation notwithſtanding, the people kept themſelues quiet. Queene Mary vnderſtanding of this, ſent Fraunces Erle of Huntyngdon to rayſe power in thoſe partes to withſtande the ſayde Duke, the which Erle ſped his time ſo well that he preuented the ſayde Duke from entring the Citie of Couentrie, where he had great hope of ayde among the common ſort: By reaſon whereof, hee being nowe diſappointed of his enterpriſe, with his two brethren, the Lorde Thomas and the Lorde John Graye fledde from thence to a Manor of his called Aſtley ſixe miles from Couentry, and committed himſelfe to a man of his being keeper of his parke, called Nicholas Laurence, the which keeper beſtowed the Duke his Maiſter in a hollow Oke within the ſaide parke, where he remained two or three dayes vndiſcouered, vntill the ſayde keeper (as it is ſaide) diſcloſed his caſe to the ſayde Erle, who immediatly apprehended the ſaide Duke, and brought him priſoner to the Tower of London.

Henry Duke of Suffolke apprehended.

After that ſyr Thomas Wyat had preuailed againſt the Duke of Norffolke, as is afore ſaide, and had encreaſed his number with the ſixe hundred

white coates with their Capitaines and other of the Queenes Gard, being well encouraged, aduaunced forward with his people the first of Februarie towards the Citie of London, where he trusted to haue founde great aide and succour, which came not so to passe.

The Imbassadors flie for feare of Wyat

The Emperors Imbassadors, of whome ye haue heard before, heering of Wyattes hasty approching to London sped themselues away by water, and that with all hast. The Queene then lying at her Palace of white Hall beside Westminster, and heering of her enemies so nere, was counsayled for her safegarde to take the Tower of London, whereunto she would by no meanes be perswaded: Neuertheless to make her selfe more stronger of friendes in the Citie, so sone as the sayd Imbassadors were departed (which was the first day of Februarye) shee came to Guyldhall in London, against which time, order was taken by the Lorde Maior that the cheefe Citezens in their Liueries should be there present. After the Queene had taken her place in the sayde Hall and silence made, she with very good countenaunce vttered in effect vnto them this Oration following.

Queene Maries oration.

I am (quod she) come vnto you in mine owne persone to tell you that which already you do see and knowe, that is how trayterously and seditiously a number of Kentishe rebelles haue assembled themselues against both vs and you: Their pretence (as they sayed at the first) was onely to resist a marryage determined betweene vs and the Prince of Spaine. To the which pretensed quarell and to all the rest of their euill contryued articles ye haue bene made priuie. Sithence which time, we haue caused dyuers of our priuy counsayle to resorte ertsones to the sayde rebelles, and to demaunde the cause of this their continuaunce in their seditious enterprise: By whose answeres made again to our said counsail, it appered that the mariage is founden to be the least of their quarell, for they now swaruing from their former Articles, haue bewrayed the inward treason of their heartes, as most arrogantly demaunding the possession of our person: the keping of our Tower: And not onely the plasing and displasing of our coynsaylors, but also to vse them and vs at their pleasures. Now louing Subiectes, what I am ye right well know, I am your Queene, to whome at my coronation when I was wedded to the realme and to the lawes of the same (the spousall ring whereof I haue on my finger, which neuer hetherto was, nor hereafter shall be left of) ye promised your allegeaunce and obedience vnto mee, and that I am the right and true inheritor to the crowne of this realme of Englande, I not onely take all Christendome to witnesse, but also your actes of parliament confirming the same. My father (as ye all knowe) possessed the regall estate by right of inheritance, which now by the same right dissended vnto me. And to him alwayes ye shewed your selues most faythfull and louing subiectes, and him obeyed and serued as your liege Lorde and king, and therefore I doubt not but you will shew your selues likewise to me his daughter, which if ye do, then may you not suffer any Rebell to vsurpe the gouernaunce of our person, or to occupie our estate, especially beyng so presumpteous a Traytor as this Wyat hath shewed himselfe to be, who most certainly as he hath abused mine ignorant Subietes to be adherentes to his trayterous quarell, so doth he intende by colour of the same to subdue the lawes to his will, and to geue skope to all raskall and forlorne persones to make generall hauock and spoyle

spoyle of your goodes. And this farther I saye vnto you in the worde of a Prince, I cannot tell how naturally the mother loueth her childe, for I was neuer the mother of any: But certainely if a Prince and gouernor maye as naturally and as ernestly loue subiectes as the mother doth the childe, then assure your selues, that I being your souerigne Lady and Queene do as ernestly and as tenderly loue & fauor you. And I thus louing you cannot but thinke that ye as heartily and faithfully loue me againe: And so ioyning together in this knot of loue and concorde, I doubt not but we together shall be well hable to geue these rebellions a short and speedy ouerthrow. And as concerning the case of my entended mariage, against which they pretende their quarell, ye shall vnderstand that I entred not into the treatie thereof without aduice, of all our Priuie Counsayle, yea and by assent of those, to whome the king my father committed his trust, who so considered and weyed the great cõmodities that might ensue therof, that they not onely thought it very honorable, but also expedient both for the wealth of our realme, and also of all you our louing subiects. And as touching my selfe (I assure you) I am not so desirous of wedding, neyther so precise or wedded to my wyll, that either for mine owne pleasure I will chose where I lust, or else so amorous as needes I must haue one, for God I thanke him (to whome be the prayse thereof) I haue hetherto liued a Virgin, and doubt nothing but with Godes grace shall as well be hable so to liue styll. But if as my progenitors haue done before, it might please God that I might leaue some fruite of my bodie behinde me to be your Gouernor, I trust you would not onely reioyce therat, but also I know it would be to your great comforte. And certainly, if I eyther did know or thinke that this mariage should either turne to the daunger or losse of any of you my louing subiectes, or to the detriment or empayring of any parte or parcell of the royall state of this realme of Englande, I would neuer consent therevnto, neyther would I euer marry while I lyued. And in the worde of a Queene I promise and assure you, that if it shal not probably appere before the nobilitie and commons in the high court of parliament that this mariage shalbe for the singuler benifite and commodity of all the whole realme, that then I will abstaine not onely from this mariage, but also from any other whereof perill may ensue to this noble realme. Wherfore now as good and faythfull subiectes plucke vp your heartes, and like true men stande fast with your lawfull prince against these rebelles, both our enemies and youres, and feare them not, for I assure you, that I feare them nothing at all, and I will leaue with you my Lorde Hawarde and my Lorde Treasorer to be assistentes with my Lorde Maior for the defence and safegarde of the Citie from spoyle and sacage, which is the onely skope of this rebellious company.

After this oration ended, and the Citezens seeming well satisfied therewith, the Queene with the Lordes of the counsaile returned to Whitehall from whence she came. And foorthwith the Lorde William Hawarde was associate with the Lord Maior of London, whose name was Sir Thomas White, for the protection and defence of the Citie. And for more suretie, as well of her awne person, as also of her Counsaylors and good subiects, the sayde Queene prepared a great armie to meete with the sayde rebels in the fielde, of which armie William Erle of Pembrooke was made generall:

William Erle of Pembrooke.

which Erle with all speede requisite in suche a case, prepared all thinges necessarie to such a seruice belonging.

A generall pardon.

At thys time also the Queene published a proclamation which conteyned a generall pardon to all them that would forsake Wyat and his adherentes and returne to her. And also in the same was promised an hundred pound lande a yere to him or them and to their heyres that could take Wyat prisoner and bring his body quick or dead to the Queene or her counsayle.

Wyat with his people placed them selues in Southwark

During this great preparation of defence, as well within the Citie of London by the Maior and hys brethren, as also without by the Erle of Pembrooke appointed Capitayne generall for the Queene, Wyat with his rebels drewe nere to the Citie and entred into Southwarke the thirde day of Februarye, what time the Lorde Maior in great haste and no lesse good policey (whose soeuer the deuise was) caused the drawe bridge of London to be hewen downe and throwne into the Thames, for feare that some light hedded Citezens and other raskall people euer apt to rebellion should haue issued and ioyned in ayde of the sayde rebels.

Wyat taketh his iourney to Kingston.

After that Wyat with his complices had lyen two dayes in Southwarke, and sawe no possibility of entring into the Citye, he then altred his iournay, on the Tuesday next being Shrouetuesday, earely in the morning, he tooke his way to Kyngston vpon Thames, where he found a great part of the bridge broken, which neuertheleſſe he caused to be made againe with such expedition as was maruaylous, so that he and all his companye with cariages and artillarie were passed ouer in safetie or any newes thereof came to the Court. And with no lesse celeritie and speede marched forwardes the same night towardes London, which with such ayde as he hoped for there, he thought to haue surprysed vpon the sodayne. Neuertheleſſe before he came within sixe myles of the Citie, staying vpon a peece of his great artillary which was dismounted by the way: his comming was discouered before daye, whereby the Erle of Pembrooke beyng generall of the Queenes armie (as is aforesayde) was with hys men in good order of battayle in saint Iames field beside Westminster two or three houres before Wyat could reache thether: The Erle hauing vnderstanding by hys espialles what way Wyat would march, placed his armie in this order. First in a field on the West side of Saint Iames were all his men of armes and Demy Launces: ouer against whome in the Lane next to the Parke were placed all the light horsemen. All which bandes of horsemen were vnder the charge of the Lorde Clynton beyng Marshall of the fielde. The great Artillarye was planted in the middest and highest place of the Cawsey, leadyng from the Parke Corner towarde Charyng Crosse. The maine battaile where the Erle was with the Queenes standard in the field on the Northside of the sayde Cawsey. And the vauntgarde on the Southside of the Cawsey, next to the house of Saint Iames with certaine fielde peeces, lying on the flankes of eche battaile. After that both the armyes were in sight, and that the great artillary began to thunder from either syde, without harme (as it happened to any of both) Wiat perceiuing that he could not come the fore right way without great disaduauntage, when he was come to the Parke corner, he leauyng the Cawsey, swarued and tooke the nether way toward Saint Iames, which beyng perceyued by the Queenes horsemen

William erle of Pembroke Generall of the Fielde.

horsemen who lay on either syde of him, they gaue a sodaine charge, and deuided his battaile asunder hard behinde Wyats ensignes, whereby so many as were not passed before with Wyat, were forced to flye backe towardes Brainford, and certaine of his companie which escaped the charge passed by the backeside of Saint Iames towardes Westminster, and from thence to the Court, and findyng the Gates shut againſt them stayed there a whyle, and shot of many Arrowes into the Windowes, and ouer into the Gardeyn, neuertheleſſe without any hurt there that was knowne: Wherevpon the sayd Rebelles ouer whome one Knyuet was Capitaine perceiuyng themselues to be to fewe to do any great feate there, departed from thence to followe Wyat who was gone before towardes London. And beyng on theyr way at Charyng Crosse, were there encountered by sir Henry Jerningham Capitaine of the Queenes Gard, Sir Edward Bray Maister of the ordinance, and Sir Philip Parys knightes, which were sent by the order of the Erle of Pembroke with a bande of Archers, and certaine fielde peeces for the reskue of the Court, who encountered the sayde rebelles at Charyng Crosse aforesayde. After they had discharged the fielde peeces vpon them, ioyned with those rebelles halfe armed, and halfe vnarmed at the push of the Pyke, and very soone disperſed their power, whereof some fled into the Lane towarde Saint Giles, and some on the other syde by a Brewhouse towardes the Thamys. In this conflict which was the chiefe tryall of that day, there was not found slaine to the number of .xx. of those rebelles, which happened by reason that vpon their ioynyng with the Queenes Souldiors, the one part could not be discerned from the other, but onely by the myze & durt taken by the way, which stack vpon their garments cõmyng in the night, wherfore the cry on the Queenes part that day was, downe with the Waggle tayles.

Sir Thomas Wyatte eskapeth the fielde.

A skirmish at Charing Crosse.

But nowe to returne to Wyat, of whome ye heard before, howe beyng come to the Parke corner, and perceiuyng the perill apparaunt if he should haue marched streight vpon the Erles battayles which were raunged on eyther side of the Cawsey, did therfore politiquely turne from the great Cawsey, marching along the wall of the house of saint Iames towards London, which could not haue bene without his no little losse of many of his traine, if those that had the charge on that side the field had bene as forward in seruice as the Erle with his battaile and the horsemen afore shewed themselues to be. Neuertheles Wyat folowing his purposed enterprice, which was to haue entred into Londõ, where he hoped of great aide, marched forwarde with the small company that was left him as farre as a common Inne called the Bell Sauage, nereto Ludgate, beleuing to haue found some readie there to haue receyued him, wherein his hope was much deceyued, findyng the sayd gate fast shut, and strongly garded with a number aswell of most honest Citizens, as also of other bandes of the Queenes assured friendes: Wherevpon Wyat who comming towards the Citie made himselfe sure of his enterprice, nowe desperate of the same, was faine to turne hys face, retyring backe againe to Temple barre, where he with the rest of his retinue determined (as it seemed) to trie their last fortune.

The Erle of Pembroke who all this while kept his force together in the field, heryng of Wyats approch to Londõ, sent to him an Herault called Clarenseaux, with great commination to desyst from hys rebellious enterprice:

which Herault did his Meſſage accordyngly. Albeit that ſome ſayde he promiſed the ſayde Wyat his pardon, which ſhould not ſeeme to be true, aſwell for that the Herault had no ſuch commiſſion, as alſo that it was not lyke that the ſayde Wyat beyng then diſarmed of all his forces woulde haue refuſed mercy in ſuch a caſe. For true it is, that he with a very few of his forlorne fellowſhip, not many aboue the number of one hundred perſons, ſtoode ſtill as men amaſed in ỹ gate of Temple barre, till ſuch tyme as ſir Maurice Barkley knight, by chaunce ridyng towardes London vpon his horſe with footecloth, without any armour, findyng the ſayd Wyat there, perſwaded him to repayre to the Court, and to yelde himſelfe vnto the Queene, whoſe aduice he followed, and incontinent mounted vp on the ſayde ſir Maurice horſe behinde him, and ſo roade to the Court voluntarily, and not forced by any to yelde himſelfe priſoner. This commyng of Wyat to the Court beyng ſo little looked for, was great cauſe of reioyce to ſuch as late before ſtood in great feare of him.

Sir Thomas Wyat ſubmitteth himſelfe to the Queene.

But more then marualle it was to ſee that day the inuincible heart and conſtancie of the Queene her ſelfe, who beyng by nature a woman, and therfore commonly more fearefull then men be, ſhewed her ſelfe in that caſe more ſtoute then is credible. For ſhe notwithſtandyng all the fearefull newes that were brought to her that day, neuer abaſhed, inſomuch that when one or two noble men beyng her Capitaynes, came with all haſt to tell her (though vntruely) that her battayles were yelded to Wyat: ſhe nothing moued therewith ſayde, it was your fond opinion that durſt not come nere to ſee the tryal: ſaiyng farther, that ſhe her ſelfe would enter the field to trye the truth of her quarell, and to die with them that would ſerue her, rather then to yelde one foote vnto ſuch a traytor as Wyat, and prepared her ſelfe accordingly. But by the apprehenſion of Wyat, that voyage tooke none effect, for after his commyng to the Court, he was immediately committed to the Tower.

The great ſtomack and courage of Queene Mary.

Aſſone as the taking of Wyat was knowne, the armie whereof mencion is made before that lay in ſaint James field were diſcharged, and euerie man lycenced to depart to his home. And foorthwith proclamation was made, as wel in the Citie of London as in the ſuburbs of the ſame, that none vpon paine of death ſhould keepe in his or their houſes any of Wyats faction, but ſhould bring them foorth immediatly before the Lord Maior and other the Queenes Juſtices. By reaſon of which proclamation, a great multitude of the ſayde poore Captifes were brought foorth, beyng ſo many in number, that all the priſons in Lõdon ſuffiſed not to receiue them, ſo that for lacke of place they were faine to beſtowe them in diuers Churches of the ſayde Citie. And ſhortly after were ſet vp in London for a terror to the common ſort, becauſe the white coates beyng ſent out of the Citie (as before ye haue heard) reuoked from the Queenes part to the ayde of Wyat, twentie payre of gallowes, on the which were executed in ſeuerall places to the number of fiftie perſons, which Galowelles remayned ſtanding there a great part of the Sommer next folowyng, to the great griefe of good citezens, and for example to the commocioners.

The armie that lay in ſaint James fields diſcharged.

The. xij. day of Februarie next folowyng the Lady Jane of Suffolke and the Lorde Guilforde her huſband who before (as you haue heard) were attaynted of Treaſon, the one for the vſurpation of the eſtate royall as Queene,

The execution of the Ladie Jane of Suffolke,

Queene, the other as a principall adherent to her in that caſe, according to the iudgement geuen againſt them ſuffered execution of death, that is to wyt, he at the Tower hill vpon the Scaffolde, and ſhee within the Tower, whoſe deaths were ỹ rather haſtened, for that the Duke (of Suffolk father to this Ladie, had of late (as ye haue heard) reyſed a newe ſturre and commotion in his Countrie, making proclamation in the name of his daughter as Queene, which was the ſhortening of her life, who elſe was lyke ynough to haue bene pardoned. This gentle yong Ladie endued with ſinguler gifts both of learning and knowledge as patyent and mylde as any Lambe came to the place of her execution. And a little before her death beyng vpon the Scaffolde vttered theſe wordes.

and the Lord Guilford her huſband.

Good people I am come hether to die, and by a law I am condempned to the ſame. My offence againſt the Queenes highneſſe was onely in conſent to the deuiſe of other, which now is deemed Treaſon, but it was neuer of my ſeeking, but by counſayle of thoſe who ſhould ſeeme to haue further vnderſtanding of thinges then I, which knewe little of the lawe, and muche leſſe of titles to the crowne: But touching the procurement and deſire therof by me or on my behalfe, I doe waſhe my handes in innocency thereof before God, and the face of all you (good chriſtian people) this day, and therewith ſhe wrong her handes, wherein ſhe had her booke. Then ſayde ſhee I pray you all good chriſtian people, to beare me wytneſſe, that I die a true chriſtian woman, & that I looke to be ſaued by none other meanes, but only by the mercie of God in the bloud of his onely ſonne Jeſus Chriſt. And I confeſſe that when I did knowe the worde of God, I neglected the ſame, and loued my ſelfe and the worlde, and therfore this plague and punithment is iuſtly and worthily happened vnto mee for my ſinnes. And yet I thanke God of his goodneſſe that he hath geuen mee a tyme and reſpite to repent. And nowe good people while I am a liue, I praye you aſſiſt me with your prayers. And then kneeling downe ſhe ſaid the Pſalme of (Miſerere mei deus) in Engliſh, and then ſtood vp and gaue her mayden (called myſtreſſe Eleyn) her Gloues and Hankerchefe, and her booke ſhee gaue to mayſter Bruges then Lieutenaunt of the Tower, and ſo vntyed her Gowne, and the executioner preſſed to helpe her of with it, but ſhe deſired him to let her alone, and turned her towardes her two Gentlewomen, who helped her of therwith, & with her other attyres, and they gaue her a fayre Handkercheſe to put about her eyes. Then the executioner kneeled downe and aſked her forgeueneſſe: whome ſhe forgaue moſt wyllingly. Then he wylled her to ſtande vpon the ſtrawe, which done ſhee ſawe the block, and then ſhe ſayde I praye you diſpatche me quickly. Then ſhe kneeled downe ſaiyng, will you take it of before I laye me downe? whervnto the executioner aunſwered, no Madame, then tyed ſhe the Handkercheſe about her eyes, and feeling for the block ſhe ſayd, where is it, where is it? One of the ſtanders by guyded her therevnto, and ſhee layde downe her head vpon the block, and then ſtretched forth her bodie, and ſayde. Lorde into thy hands I commend my ſpirite, and ſo finiſhed her life in the yere of our Lorde. 1553. the. xij. day of Februarie.

The wordes of the Ladie Jane at her death.

The ſame daye a litle before this young Ladyes execution, the Lorde Guilforde her houſeande who was a very comely tall Gentleman, was executed on the Skaffolde at the Tower hill, as afore ſayd, whoſe dead Carkas

liyng

liyng in a Carre in ſtrawe, was againe brought into the Tower, at the ſame inſtant that the Ladie Jane his wife went to her death within the Tower, which miſerable ſight was to her a double ſorow & griefe. Thus theſe two ſimple yong ſoules ſuffered ignorantly for that, which their parentes & other had vnhappily brought about to the vtter ſubuerſiō of them & their families.

Henry Duke of Suffolke arreigned and executed.

The. xviij. day of Februarie next folowyng, Henry Duke of Suffolke father to the aforeſayde Lady Jane was arreigned at Weſtminſter and condempned of high treaſon, and the. xxj. day of the ſame Moneth, was behedded at the Tower hill. At the tyme of whoſe condempnation, were alſo for the ſame conſpiracie condempned many Gentlemen and Yomen, whereof ſome were executed at London, & ſome in diuers other places of the realme.

The Lorde Thomas Grey executed.

And among other, the Lorde Thomas Gray brother to the Duke beyng taken in Northwales was brought to London and there executed.

The Kentiſh Rebelles pardoned.

The. xxiij. day of the ſame Moneth, there were brought out of the Tower, Marchalſea, kinges Benche, and other priſones of the Kentiſhe rebels, and ſuch as were of Wyats faction to the number of foure hundred priſoners, with halters about their neckes to Weſtminſter, where the Queenes pardon was declared vnto them, which they ioyfully receiued, & yelded moſt humble thankes to God and the Queene, and ſo were diſcharged.

Lady Elizabeth.

The. xv. day of March next folowing, the Lady Elizabeth the Queenes ſiſter, and next heire to the Crowne, was apprehended at her Manor of Aſhridge for ſuſpicion of Wyattes conſpiracie, and from thence being that tyme very ſicke, was with great rygor brought priſoner to London, & ſhortly after committed to the Tower, where alſo the Lord Courtnay Erle of Deuonſhire (of whome before is made mention) was for the like ſuſpicion committed priſoner.

A parliament ſommoned to be kept at Oxford.

And not long after Queene Marye partly offended with the Londoners, as fauourers of Wyattes conſpiracie, and partly perceiuyng the more part of them nothing well inclyned towardes her proceedynges in religion, which turned many of them to loſſe, ſommoned a Parliament to bee holden at Oxford, as it were to gratifie that Citie, which with the Vniuerſitie, towne, and Countrie, had ſhewed themſelues very forward in her ſeruice, but ſpecially in reſtoryng of the religion called Catholique. For which appoynted Parliament there to be holden, great prouiſion was made, aſwell by the Queenes Officers, as by the townes men, & inhabitaunts of the countrey round about. But the Queenes mynde in ſhort ſpace chaunged, and the ſame Parliament was holden at Weſtminſter in Aprill next folowyng,

A parliamēt holden at weſtminſter.

wherein the Queene propoſed two ſpeciall matters: the one for the maryage to be had betweene her & prince Philip of Spaine: the other for the reſtoryng againe of the Popes power and iuriſdiction in England. As touchyng her maryage, it was with no great difficultie agreed vpon, but the other requeſt could not be ſo eaſily obteyned.

Thomas Cranmer, Hugh Latimer, and Nicholas Ridley, ſent as priſoners to Oxford.

The. x. day of Aprill folowyng, Thomas Cranmer Archebiſhop of Cauntorbury, Nicholas Ridley late Biſhop of London, and Hugh Latimer once Biſhop of Worceſter, who had bene long priſoners in the Tower, were nowe conueyed from thence, and caryed to Windſore, and afterward to the Vniuerſitie of Oxforde, there to diſpute with the Deuines and learned men of the contrary opinion. Two dayes after their commyng vnto Oxford, which

which was the. xij. day of the ſayde Moneth, diuers learned men of both the Vniuerſities were ſent in commiſſion from the conuocation (which duryng this Parliament was kept in Paules Churche in London) to diſpute with thoſe priſoners in certaine articles of religion. The names of them that were in Commiſſion were theſe folowyng.

A conuocatiō

Commiſſioners.

Doctor Weſton Prolocutor,			Young,
Cole,			Seton,
Chedſey,			Watſon,
Oxford Pye,		Cambridge	Atkynſon,
Harpesfield,			Thecknam,
Smith,			Sedgeſwike,

The. xiij. day of Aprill, theſe diſputers aſſembled themſelues in ſaint Maryes Church to coment the three perſons aboue named, vpon certaine articles of religion, who being brought out of priſon before them, were ſeuerally one after another examined of their opinions, vpon the articles proponed vnto them, whereof ye may reade in the booke of Monumentes of the Church more at large, and there finde the whole proceedyng in that matter.

Sir Thomas Wyat arreigned.

Sir Thomas Wyatte of whome mencion is made before, was aboute this time brought from the Tower vnto Weſtminſter, and there arreigned of high treaſon: The Erle of Suſſex, Sir Edwarde Haſtinges and Sir Thomas Cornewallys with other beyng his Judges. The effect of whoſe Indictment among other thinges ſpecially was, that he the. xiiij. day of Februarie laſt before, with force of armed multitude and Enſignes diſplayed, had at Brainford raiſed open war againſt our ſouereigne Lady the Queene traiterouſly pretending and practiſing to depriue her of her crowne and dignitie. And the queſtion was demaunded of him, whether he was guiltie or no? whereat he ſtayed, and beſought the Judges that he might firſt aſke a queſtion before he aunſwered directly to the poynte. And he was licenſed ſo to do. The queſtion was, that if he ſhould confeſſe himſelfe guilty whether the ſame ſhould not be preiudiciall vnto him, ſo as he by that confeſſion ſhoulde be barred from vttering of ſuch thinges as he had more to ſay. Wherevnto it was aunſwered by the Courte, Maiſter Wyatte (ſayde they) ye ſhall haue both leaue and leyſure to ſay what you can. Then my Lordes (quoth he) I muſt confeſſe my ſelfe guiltie, as in the end the truth of my caſe muſt enforce me, I muſt acknowlege this to be a iuſt plague for my ſynnes, which moſt grieuouſly I therfore haue committed againſt God, who ſuffred me thus brutely & beaſtly to fall into this horrible offence of the law. Wherfore all you Lords & Gentlemen with other here preſent, note well my wordes. Lo here & ſe in me the ſame end which all other comonly had, which haue attempted like enterprice from the begynning. For peruſe the Cronicles through, and you ſhall ſee that neuer rebellion attempted by ſubiectes againſt their prince and countrye from the begynning did euer proſper or had better ſucceſſe, except the caſe of king Henry the fourth, who although he became a Prynce: yet in his act was but a Rebell, for ſo muſt I call him. And though he preuayled for a time, yet was it not long, but that his heires were depriued and thoſe that had right againe reſtored to the kingdome and crowne, and the vſurpation ſo sharpely reuenged afterward in his bloud, as it well appered that the long delaye of Gods vengeaunce was ſupplyed with more grieuous plague in the

the third and fourth generation. For the loue of God all you Gentlemen that be here present, remember and be taught as well by examples past as also by this my present infelicity and most wretched case. Oh most miserable misby this my present infelicity and most wretched case. Oh most miserable mischeuous, brutishe and beastly furyous imaginations of mine. I was perswaded that by the mariage of the Prince of Spaine, the seconde person of this realme, and next heyre to the crowne shoulde haue bene in daunger, and that I beyng a free borne man, should with my Country haue bene brought into the bondage and seruitude of Aliens and Straungers: which brutishe beastly opinion then seemed to me reason, & wrought in me such effectes, that it led me hedlong into the practise of this detestable crime of treason. But now beyng better perswaded, and understanding the great commoditie and honor which the realme should receaue by this mariage, I stand firme and fast in this opinion, that if it shoulde please the Queene to be mercifull vnto me, there is no subiecte in this lande that shoulde more truely and faythfully serue her highnesse then I shall, nor no sooner dye at her graces feete in defence of her quarell. I serued her highnesse against the Duke of Northumberlande, as my Lorde of Arondell can witnesse. My Graundfather most truely serued her Maiesties Graundfather, and for his sake was vpon the racke in the Tower. My father likewise serued king Henry the eyght, to his good contentation, and I also serued him, and king Edward his sonne. And in witnesse of my blood spent in his seruice I carry a mayme, I allege not all this to set forth my seruice by way of meryte, which I confesse but dutie: But to declare to the whole worlde, that by abusing my wyttes in pursuyng my misaduised opinion, I haue not onely ouerthrowne my house, and defaced all the well doyngs of me and my auncestors (if euer there were any) but also haue bene the cause of mine owne death & destruction. Neither do I allege this to iustefie my selfe in any poynt, neither for an excuse of my offence, but most humbly submit my selfe vnto the Queenes maiesties mercy & pitie, desyring you my Lorde of Sussex and you Maister Hastinges, with all the rest of this honorable benche to be meanes to the Queenes highnesse for her mercye, which is the greatest treasure that maye be geuen to anye Prince from God, such a vertue as God hath appropriate to hym selfe, which if her highnesse vouchesafe to extend vntome, she shall bestow it on him, who shall be most glad to serue truely, and not refuse to dye in her quarell: For I protest before the Judge of all Judges I neuer ment hurt against her highnes person.

The quenes Attorney which was Maister Griffin.

Then sayde the Queenes attorney, maister Wyat ye haue great cause to be sory and repentaunt for your fault, whereby you haue not onely vndone your selfe and your house, but also a number of other Gentlemen, who beyng true men might haue serued their prince and Countrie: yet if you had gone no farther, it might haue bene borne withall the better. But beyng not so contented to staye your selfe, you haue so procured the Duke of Suffolke (a man soone trayned to your purpose) and his two brethren also, by meane whereof without the Queenes greater mercie, you haue ouerthrowne that Noble house. And yet not so stayed, your attempt hath reached as much as in you laye to the second person of the realme, in whome next to the Queenes highnesse resteth all our hope and comfort, whereby her honor is brought in question, and what daunger will folow, and to what ende it will come, God knoweth: Of all this you are the author.

Wyattes aunswere.

Wyat aunswered as I will not in any thing iustify my selfe, so I beseech you I being in this wretched estate, not to ouercharge me, or to make mee seeme to be that I am not. I am loth to touche any person by name, but that I haue written, I haue written.

The Judge.

Then sayde the Judge, maister Wyat, maister Attorney hath well moued you to repent your offences, and we for our partes with you the same.

Sir Edwarde Hastynges.

Then sayde syr Edward Hastings maister of the Queenes horse, maister Wyat, doe ye remember, when I and mayster Cornewallys were sent vnto you from the Queenes highnesse to demaunde the cause of your enterprise, and what you required? were not these your demaundes, that the Queenes grace should go to the Tower and there remaine, and you to haue the rule of the Tower, & her person with the treasure in keeping. And such of her counsayle as you would require to be delyuered into your hands, saying that you would be trusted, and not trust? which wordes when Wyat had confessed. Then sayde the Queenes Solliciter, maister Wyat your presumption was ouer great, and your attempt in this case hath purchased you perpetuall infamy, and shall be called Wyats rebellion, as Watte Tylers was called Watte Tylers rebellion. Then sayd the Attorney maister Wyat, were you not priuie to a deuise wherby the Queene should haue bene murdered in a place, where she should walcke, I doe not burthen you to confesse this, for thus much I must saye on your behalfe, that you misliked that deuise? That (sayde Wyat) was the deuise of Wylliam Thomas, whom euer after I abhorred for that cause. Then was a letter shewed, which Wyat being in Southwarke had written to the Duke of Suffolke, that he should meete him at Kingston bridge, and from thence to accompanie him to London, although he came with the fewer number. Wyat at the first did not seeme to remember any such letter, but when it was shewed him, he confessed his hande. Then was it demaunded of him among other things why he refused the Queenes pardon when it was offered him. My Lordes quoth he: I confesse my fault and offence to be most vile & heynous, for the which, first I aske God mercie, and next vnto him my souereigne liege Ladie and Queene, whome I haue most greeuously offended, appealing wholy to her mercie, without the which I cannot chalenge any thing, such is my offence alreadie committed. And therefore I beseech you to trouble me with no mo questions, for I haue deliuered all things vnto her grace in writing. And finally here I must confesse, that of all the voyages wherein I haue serued, this was the most desperate and painfull iournay euer I made. And where you asked why I did not receaue the Queenes pardon when it was offered vnto me, Oh vnhappie man what shall I saye? when I was once entered into this Deuilishe desperate aduenture, there was no waye, but to wade throughout with that I had taken in hande, for I had thought that other had bene as farre forward as my selfe, which I found farre otherwise: So that being bent to keye promise with al my confederates, none kept promise with me: For I lyke a Moyle went through thick and thinne with this determination, that if I should come to any treaty, I should seeme to bewray all my friendes. But whereto should I spende anye moe wordes? I yeelde my selfe wholy vnto the Queenes mercie, knowing well that it is onely in her power

This was maister Cordall nowe maister of the Rolles.

William Thomas.

The confession of Wyat.

power to make me(as I haue deserued)an open example to the worlde with Watte Tyler, or else to make me perticipant of that pittie which thee hath extended in as great crymes as mine, most humbly beseeching you all to be meanes for me to her highnesse for mercie, which is my last and only refuge. The will of God be done on mee. Upon this confession without further triall he receiued the iudgement accustomed in cases of Treason,which was to be hanged drawen and quartered.And the.xj.day of Aprill next folowing he was brought to the Tower hill,and there was pardoned of his drawing and hanging,but had his head striken of,& his body cut in foure quarters & set vp in diuers places about the City,& his hed was set vpon the Galowes at Hay hill beside Hide parke.But here by the way is to be noted, that hee being on the Scaffold redie to suffer,he declared that the Ladie Elizabeth and syr Edward Courtney Erle of Deuonshire whome he had accused before (as it seemed) were neuer priuie to his doings so farre as he knewe, or was able to charge them. And when Doctor Weston beyng then his confessor tolde him that he had confessed the contrarie vnto the counsayle : he answered thus, that I sayd then I sayd : But that which I say now, is true. This was the ende of Wyat and his conspiracie.

The execution of Sir Thomas Wyat.

Sir Nicholas Throkmorton.

The.xviij.daye of Aprill next folowing, Sir Nicholas Throkmorton knight was brought from the Tower to the Guildhall in London,and there arreigned of high treason as adherent and principall counsaylor to the sayd Wyat and the Duke of Suffolke and the rest, in the afore remembred conspiracie agaynst the Queene. But he so stoutly, and therwithall so cunningly answered for himselfe, as well in cleering of his cause, as also in defending & auoyding such poyntes of the lawes of the realme as were then alleged agaynst him,that the quest which passed vpon his life and death found him not guiltie, with which verdite the Iudges and counsayle there present were so much offended, that they bounde the Iury to appere at a daye in the starre Chamber before the Lordes : By whose awarde, some of them were committed to the Tower, and some other to the Fleete, where they lay vnto the.xviij. day of Nouember next folowing, and could not be set at libertie vntill they had paide such fines as were taxed vpon them, which you may be sure were not small.

William Thomas arreigned and condempned.

William Thomas of whome mention is made before in the history of Sir Thomas Wyatte with certain other,were arreigned and condempned for the conspiring of the murder and killing of the Queene vpon the sodaine. And for that offence the sayd William was the.xviij. day of Maye drawne hanged and quartered at Tiborne.

The Ladie Elizabeth deliuered out of the Tower and sent as prisoner to Woodstocke.

The.xix. day of Maye next following the Ladye Elizabeth Sister to Queene Mary was deliuered out of the Tower and committed to the custodie of Sir John Williams knight, afterward Lorde Williams of Tame, by whome her grace was more curteously entreated,then some woulde: wherefore shortely after she was committed to the Maner of Woodstocke vnder the custodye of sir Henry Benyngfielde of Oxenborough in the countie of Norffolke knight,at whose hands she found not the like curtesy: who (as it was well knowne)vsed his office more like a Gayler, then a Gentleman and with such rigor as was not meete to be shewed to such an estate. But here is to be noted not so much the vnciuile nature of the man, as the singuler

singuler lenitie and gracious clemency of that gentle and verteous Prince, who afterward(as shall appere)comming to the possession of the crowne as her rightfull inheritaunce, was at that time so farre from reuenge of iniuries receyued, that where as diuerse princes haue requyted much lesse offences with losse of life, she neuer touched him, eyther with the daunger of life, eyther losse of landes or goodes, nor neuer proceeded further then to discharge him of the Courte, which many thought, was the thing that pleased him best. At whose departing from her presence, shee vsed onely these wordes or the like in sence, God forgeue you that is past and we doe,and if we haue any prisoner, whome we would haue hardly handled and straightly kept,then we will send for you.

Sir Henrye Wenthfield knight

The.xix.day of Julye next followyng, Phillipe Prince of Spaine, sonne and heire vnto Charles the fift of that name Emperour of Rome, passing out of Spayne arriued at Southhampton.And the fourth daye after he tooke his iourney to Winchester,and came thether in the euening,where going to the church he was honorablye receaued of the Bishoppe and a great number of the Nobles of the Realme. The next day he came to the sight of Queene Mary, with whome he had long and familier talke,and the .xxv. of the sayde Moneth being the day of saint James (whome the Spaniards call their patrone) the mariage betwene them was in the sayd Citie of Winchester in most honorable maner solempnised. At which time the Emperors Ambassadour beyng present, openly pronounced that in consideration of that mariage the Emperour had graunted and geuen to the sayd Prince his sonne the kingdome of Naples.&c. Hierusalem with diuers other states and seigniories. The solempnitie of that mariage ended, the king of Heraults called Garter openly in the Church in the presence of the king,the Queene, the Lordes as well of Englande as Spaine, and all the people beyng present,solempnly proclaimed the tytle & style of these two princes as followeth.

1554. 2

The arriuall of Philippe Prince of Spayn at Southhaton

Philippe Prince of Spaine and Queene Mary be married.

The tytle of king Philip and Queene Mary.

Philyp and Mary by the grace of God king and Queene of England Fraunce,Naples,Ierusalem and Ireland,defendours of the fayth,Princes of Spaine and Sicile,Archedukes of Austriche, Dukes of Milleyn, Burgondy and Brabant,Counties of Hasburge, Flaundyrs and Tiroll.

The proclamation beyng ended, the Trumpets blew,and the king and the Queene came forth of the Church hande in hande, and two swordes borne before them, and so returned to their Palace. And assone as the feasting and solempnitie of the sayd mariage was ended, the king and Queene departed from Winchester,and taking Hampton Court in their waye, came from thence by water into Southwarke,and so ouer London bridge through the Citie of London vnto Westminster. At which time the Citie was bewtified with sumpteous pagiaunts and hanged with riche and costly Silkes and cloth of golde and siluer.

A parliament.

The.xij. day of Nouember next folowyng began a Parliament at Westminster, to the which the king and the Queene rode in their Parliament robes. During the tyme of this Parliament, Cardinall Poole (of whome mention is made before) arryued in England about the.xxiiij. day of the said Moneth, who beyng receyued with much honour in all other Countries that he had passed, was here in England receyued with no great shewe, for the causes afore declared. And shortly after he was restored by a spectall act of

Cardinall Poole.

Parliament to his former estate and dignitie (whereof he was depriued by king Henry the eyght.) After which acte passed, this Cardinall came into the Parliament house, beyng at that present kept in the great Chamber of the Court of Whitehall, for that the Queene by reason of sickenesse was not able to go abroade (where the king and Queene sittyng vnder the cloth of estate, and the Cardinall sittyng on the right hande, with all the other estates of the realme being present) and the knightes and Burgesses of the common house beyng also called thether, the Bishop of Winchester beyng Lorde Chauncelor spake in this maner.

The wordes of the Bishop of Winchester Lord Chancelor.

My Lordes of the vpper house, and you my Maysters of the nether house, here is present the right reuerend father in God, my Lorde Cardinall Poole Legate à latery, come from the Apostolique sea of Rome, as Ambassadour to the King and Queenes Maiesties, vpon one of the waightiest causes that euer happened in this realme, and which perteyneth to the glory of God and your vniuersall benefite. The which Ambassade their Maiesties pleasure is to be signifyed vnto you all by his alone mouth, trustyng that you will receyue and accept it in as beneuolent and thankfull wise, as their highnesses haue done, and that you will geue attentiue and inclinable eares vnto his grace, who is nowe readie to declare the same.

So soone as the Lorde Chauncelor had ended his tale, the Cardinall began and made a long and solempne oration, the which for shortnesse sake I haue collected into these fewe articles.

The effect of the Cardinals Oration.

First, he yelded most heartie thankes to the King and Queene, and next vnto the whole Parliament, that of a man exiled and banished from this common weale, they had restored him againe to bee a member of the same, and to the honor of his house and family. And of a man hauyng no place, neyther here nor elsewhere within the realme, to haue admitted him into place where to speake, and to be heard.

Secondly, that his speciall commyng was for the restitution of thys Realme to the auncient estate, and to declare that the Sea Apostolique hath a speciall care of this realme aboue all other, and chiefly for that this Iland first of all other prouinces of Europe, receyued the light of Christes religion from the Sea of Rome.

Thirdly, he exhorted that though the realme had swarued from the Catholike vnitie, that yet beyng better informed we ought to returne into the bosome of the Church most openly to receiue all penitentes. For the perswasion whereof, he brought a number of olde examples, what perill and hurte hath happened vnto them that haue swarued and gone from the Church of Rome, namely Greece and Germany, &c.

Fourthly, how much we are bounde to God for the King and Queenes Maiesties, and how miraculously God had saued and defended our Queene from her enemyes in most dangerous tymes: And also that he hath prouided to ioyne with her in marriage, such a noble prince as king Philip was, and one of her owne religion.

Fiftly, he exhorted them all to the obedience of these two princes, and to call vpon God for issue to be had betwene them, addyng that king Philips father the Emperour had among other princes trauyled most, for the restitution of the peace and vnitie of the Church. But as almighty God sayd vnto Dauid,

Dauid, though he had a minde and will to builde his Temple, yet because he had shed bloud, he should not build it, but his sonne Salomon should build it. And so because the Emperour hath had so many warres, and shed so much bloud, therefore he could not attaine to bring perfect peace to the Church. But truely (sayde he) this gracious prince king Philip his sonne (as I conceyue) is appoynted of God to it, considering now the calling of him to bee ioyned with so Catholique a princes, as is the Queene of this realme, one without all doubt sent likewise of God for the restoryng of the sayde realme to the vnitie of the Church, from whence it hath erred and gone astray, as it doth and may manifestly appere.

Sixtly he protested that his Commission was not to preiudice any person, for he came not to destroy, but to buylde: he came to reconcile, and not to condempne: he came not to compell, but to call againe: he came not to call any thing in question all readie done: But his commission was of grace and clemencie to all such as would receyue it. For touchyng all matters past and done, they should be cast into the Sea of forgetfulnesse, and neuer more to be thought vpon.

Finally (sayde he) the meane whereby to receyue this high benefite, is first to reuoke and repeale all such lawes as are impediментes, blockes, and barres to this most gracious reconciliation. For lyke as he himselfe had no place to speake there, before such lawes were abrogated and remoued as stoode in his way, euen so they could not receyue the grace offered from the Sea Apostolike, vntill those like impediментes of lawes made agaynst the Sea of Rome were clerely abolished and repealed. And so in conclusion aduertised them, first for the glory of God, and next for the conseruation and suretie of the welth and quietnesse of the whole realme, that they should earnestly trauaile therein, and that then he would make them participant of the benefite of his commission.

A supplication exhibited to Cardinall Poole by the Parliament house.

The next day, the whole Court of Parliament drewe out the forme of a supplication, and the next day folowyng that, the King and Queene, and the Cardinall with al the Nobles and Commons beyng assembled againe in the great Chamber of the white Hall afore sayd. The Bishop of Winchester there declared what the Parliament had determined concernyng the Cardinalles request, and then offered to the king and Queene the sayde supplication, the copie whereof foloweth.

WE the Lordes Spirituall and Temporal, and the Commons in this present Parliament assembled, representyng the whole bodie of the realme of England, and dominions of the same, in the name of our selues particularly, and also of the sayd bodie vniuersally, offer this our most humble supplication to your Maiesties, to this ende and effect, that the same by your graces intercession and meane, may be exhibited to the most reuerend father in God, the Lord Cardinall Poole Legate, sent specially hether from our most holy father Pope Julio the third, and the sea Apostolique of Rome, wherein we do declare our selues very sory and repentant of the long Schisme and disobedience happening in this realme and the dominions of the same, against the sayd Sea Apostolique, eyther by making, agreeing, or executing of any lawes, ordinaunces or commaundements agaynst the primacy of the same Sea, or otherwise doyng or speaking that might impugne

or preiudice the same. Offering our selues and promising by this our supplication, that for a token & knowlege of our sayd repentance, we be and shall be euer readie vnder and with the aucthorities of your Maiesties, to the vttermost of our power, to do that shall lye in vs for the abrogation and repealyng of all the sayd lawes and ordinaunces made or enacted to the preiudice of the Sea Apostolique, aswell for our selues, as for the whole bodie whom we represent. Wherevpon most humbly we beseech your Maiesties, as personages vndefiled in offence of his bodie towardes the sayd See, which neuertheless God by his prouidence hath made subiect to you, so to set foorth this our humble suyte, as we the rather by your intercession maye obteyne from the See Apostolique by the sayde most reuerende father, aswell particularly as generally, Absolution, Release, and Discharge from all daungers of such Censures and sentences, as by the lawes of the Church we be fallen into. And that we may as children repentaunt, be receyued into the bosome and vnitie of Christes Church, so as this noble Realme, with all the members thereof, may in this vnitie and perfect obedience to the See Apostolique, and Popes for the tyme beyng, serue God and your Maiesties to the furtheraunce and aduauncement of his honour and glorie. Amen.

This supplication being first openly read, the same was by the Chauncelour delyuered to the king and Queene with petition to them to exhibite the same to the Lorde Cardinall. And the king and Queene rysing out of their seates and doyng reuerence to the Cardinall did delyuer the same vnto him. The Cardinall perceyuing the effect thereof to aunswere to his expectation, did receiue it most gladly at their maiesties handes. And then after that he had in fewe wordes geuen thankes vnto God, & declared what great cause he had to reioyce aboue all others, that his comming from Rome into Englande had taken suche most happie successe, then he caused his commission to be read (whereby it might appere that he had aucthoritie of the Pope to absolue them) which commission was verie long and large. And that beyng done and all the parliament on their knees, this Cardinall by the Popes aucthoritie gaue them Absolution in maner folowyng.

An absolution pronounced by Cardinall Poole to the parliament house.

Our Lord Jesus Christ which with his most precious bloud hath redeemed and washed vs from all our sinnes & iniquities that he might purchase vnto himselfe a glorious spouse without spot or wrinkle, and whome the father hath appointed head ouer all his Church. He by his mercy absolue you: And we by the Apostolique aucthoritie geuen vnto vs by the most holy Lord Pope Julius the thirde (his Vicegerent in earth) doe absolue and delyuer you and euery of you with the whole realme and the dominions therof, from all heresie and Schisme, and from all and euery iudgements, censures and paynes for that cause incurred. And also we doe restore you agayne to the vnitie of our mother the holy Church, as in our letters of commission more plainely shall appere. In the name of the father, the sonne, and holye ghost. Amen.

After this generall absolution receyued, the king and the Queene and all the Lordes with the rest went into the kings Chapell, and there sang Te deum with great ioy and gladnesse for this newe reconciliation.

The report of this with great speede flewe to Rome, as well by the French kinges letters, as also by the Cardinalles, wherevpon the Pope caused

caused solempne Processions to be made in Rome, namely one, wherein he himselfe with all his Cardinalles were present, passyng with as great solempnitie & pompe as might be, geuyng thankes to God with great ioy, for the conuersion of England to his Church. At what time also he not a little commended the diligence of Cardinall Poole, and the deuotion of the king and Queene. And on Christmasse euen next folowyng, he set forth by his Bulles, a generall pardon to all such as did reioyce in the same reconciliation.

The. xxviij. of Nouember next folowyng, it was commonly reported, that the Queene was quickewith childe, and therefore commaundement was geuen by Edmond Bonner Bishop of London (and as it was sayd) not without the commaundement of the Counsaile, that there should be made in most solempne maner one generall Procession in London, wherin the Maior and all the companyes of the Citie were in their Lyueries. At whose returne to the Churche of Paules, there was song verye solempnly Te Deum for ioy thereof.

The second day of December beyng Sonday, Cardinall Poole came to Paules Church in London with great pompe, hauyng borne before him a Crosse, two Pillers, and two Pollaxes of siluer, and was there solempnlye receiued by the Bishop of Wynchester Chauncelor of England, who met him with Procession. And shortly after, king Philip came from Westminster by land, beyng accompanyed with a great number of his Nobles. And the same day the Bishop of Winchester preached at Paules Crosse, in the which Sermon he declared that the King & Queene had restored the Pope to his right of Primacie, and that the three estates assembled in Parliament, representyng the whole bodie of the realme, had submitted themselues to his holinesse, and to his successors for euer. And in the same also he greatly praysed the Cardinall, and set foorth the passyng high aucthoritie that he had from the Sea of Rome, with much other glorious matter in the commendation of the Church of Rome which he called the Sea Apostolique. The Sermon beyng ended, the king and the Cardinall ridyng together, returned to the Court at Whitehall: And the king had his sworde borne before him, and the Cardinall had onely his Crosse, and no more.

The. xxvij. of the sayde Moneth the Duke of Sauoye called prince of Pyamount came into Englande, accompanied with diuers other Lordes and gentlemen straungers, who were receaued at Grauesende by the Erle of Bedford Lorde priuie Seale, and conueyed by water through London bridge to whyte hall where the king and Queene then lay, and the. ix. of January next followyng the prince of Orenge was in lyke maner receyued at Grauesend, and from thence conueyed to the Court, being at whyte hall.

The. xxij. of the same Moneth, the parliament (which began the. xxij. of Nouember before) was dissolued, wherein among other actes passed there, the statute ex officio and other lawes made for punishment of heretiques were repyned. But chiefly the Popes most liberall Bull of dispensation of Abbey lande was there confirmed much to the contentation of many, who not without cause suspected by this newe vnion to leese some peece of their late purchase.

In Februarye next folowyng, Doctor Thirlby Bishop of Ely, and Anthony Lorde Mountagew with a very honorable traine of Gentlemen and

other roade foorth of the Citie of London towardes Rome, as Ambassadours sent from the king and Queene to confirme thys newe reconciliation to the Pope.

William Fetherston a boy nameth himselfe king Edward the sixt.

About thys time a yong strypling, whose name was Wylliam Fetherstone a Mylliers sonne, about the age of. xviij. yeres, named and bruted himselfe to be king Edwarde the sixt, whereof when the Queene and the Counsaile heard, they caused with all diligence, inquirie to be made for him, so that he was apprehended in Southwarke, and brought before the counsayle at Hampton Court, and there examined. And it was demaunded of hym, why he so named himselfe, to the which, he counterfeytyng a maner of simplicitie or rather frensie would make no direct aunswere, but prayed pardon, for he wist not what he sayde, affirming farther that he was counsayled so to saye and to take vpon him the name, whereof he accused certayne persons, but his talke was not founde true, wherefore he was committed to the Marchalsea as a Lunatike foole. And the. xxviij. daye of Maye next folowyng, the aforesaide counterfeyte Prince was brought in a Cart from the Marchalsea, through the Citie of London with a paper on his head, wherein was written that he named himselfe king Edwarde. And from thence was conueyed to Westminster, beyng lead rounde about the hall and shewed to all the people there and afterwarde taken oute of the Cart and strypped, and then whypped rounde aboute the Palace at the same Cartes tayle, and without more punishment was discharged and set at libertie. But the yere next folowyng, for that he had spreade abroade that king Edwarde was alyue, and that he had spoken with him, he was agayne apprehended and arreigned of high treason, whereof beyng condempned, he shortly after was drawne to Tyborne and there hanged and quartered the. xiij. of Marche.

The Lorde Courtney set at libertie.

About this time Edward Courtney Erle of Deuonshire of whome before ye haue heard, was delyuered out of the Tower, and was licenced to depart into Italy, where shortly after he ended his life, beyng sick and dead in lesse then. xiiij. dayes, & was honorably buried at Padway. This Courtney was the onely sonne and heyre of Henry Marques of Excester, Cosyn Germayne to king Henry the eyght as is sayde before, for the sayde king and he were dissended of two sisters Elizabeth and Katheryn, two of the daughters of king Edward the fourth, which propinquitie of bloud notwithstanding, the sayd Marques for poynts of treason layde agaynst him suffred at the Tower hill the. xxx. yere of the reigne of king Henry the eyght, to the great dolour of the most of the subiectes of this realme, who for his sundrie vertues bare him great fauour. After whose death thys yong gentleman his sonne beyng yet a child was committed prisoner to the Tower, where he remained vntill the beginning of the reigne of this Queene Mary as before you haue heard. This gentleman as it appered was borne to be a prisoner, for from twelue yeres of age vnto. xxx. he had scarse two yeres liberty, within the which time he dyed, and obteyned quiet, which in his lyfe he coulde neuer haue.

Ambassadors sent to intreate a peace be-

In the Moneth of Maye next followyng, Cardinall Poole who had bene a great laborer for peace betweene the French king and the Emperor, beyng accompanied with Stephyn Gardiner Bishoppe of Winchester and Chauncelor

Chauncelor of England, the Erle of Arondell high Stuard of England, and the Lorde Paget, were sent by the king and Queene ouer the sea to Calice, and from thence went to the towne of Marke, where they met with the Ambassadors of the Emperor and the French king. From the Emperor were sent the Bishop of Arras with other. From the French king was sent the Cardinall of Lorreine and the Constable of Fraunce. In this treatie Cardinall Poole sate as President and Umpiere in the name of the Queene of Englande. This peace was greatly labored, where at the first there was much hope, but in the ende nothing was concluded: wherefore the. xvij. day of June, this assembly was dissolued, and the English Ambassadors returned againe into England.

tweene the French king and the Emperour.

In the beginning of September. 1555. king Philip went ouer into Flaunders to the Emperor his father. And in the moneth of October next following, fell so great a rayne, that the aboundaunce thereof caused the Thames to swel so high, that for the space of foure or fiue dayes, the Boates and Barges rowed ouer all Saint Georges fielde, and the water roase so high at Westminster, that likewise a Boate might haue bene rowed from the one ende of the Hall to the other.

1555
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A great flood encreased by rayne.

Commissioners sent to Oxenford.

About this time the Bishops of Lincolne, Glocester, and Bristow were sent in commission to Oxford by the Popes authoritie, to examine Ridley & Latimer vpon certain articles by them preached, which if they would not recant, and consent to the Popes doctrine, then had they power to proceede to sentence against them as Heretiques, and to commit them ouer to the seculer power. Those two Doctors neuertheles, stood constantly to that which they had taught, and would not reuoke, for which cause they were sone condempned, and after burned in the towne Diche at Oxforde the sixtene day of October. In the time of whose examination, because the Bishops aforesayde declared themselues to be the Popes Commissioners, neyther Ridley nor Latimer would do them any reuerence, but kept their Cappes on their heddes, wherefore they were sharpely rebuked by the Bishop of Lincolne, and one of the officers was commaunded to take of their Cappes. Of these men and the maner of their death, ye may reade at large in the booke of the Monumentes of the Churche.

A parliament.

The. xxj. of October a parliament was holden at Westminster in the which among other thinges, the Queene beyng perswaded by the Cardinal (and other of her Clergy) that she could not prosper so long as she kept in her hands any possessions of the Church, did frankly and freely resigne and render vnto them all those reuenewes ecclesiasticall which by the authoritie of parliament in the time of king Henry had bene annexed to the crowne, called the first fruites and tenthes of all Bishoprickes, benefices and ecclesiasticall promotions: The resignation whereof was a great diminution of the reuenues of the crowne.

Queene Marie refuseth the first fruits and tenthes.

The death of Stephen Gardyner Bishop of Winchester.

During the time of this parliament, Stephyn Gardiner Bishoppe of Winchester and Chauncelor of England dyed at his house called Winchester place beside Saint Mary Ouerys in Southwarke the ninthe daye of Nouember, whose Corps was shortely after very solempnely from thence conueyed to his church of Winchester, and there buried. After whose death, Nicholas Heath Archebishop of Yorke was preferred by the Queene to the office

The Archebyshop of Yorke.

office of Chauncelor.

In the moneth of Marche next following, there was in maner none other talke but of the great preparation that was made for the Queenes lying in Childbed, who had already taken by her chamber, and sundry Ladies and Gentlewomen were placed about her in euery Office of the Courte. In somuche that all the Courte was full of Midwifes, Nurses and Rockers, and this talke continued almost halfe a yere, & was affirmed true by some of her Phisitians, & other persons about her, which seemed both graue & credible. Insomuch that diuers were punished for saying the contrary. And moreouer commaundement geuen in all Churches for Procession with supplications and prayers to be made to almighty God, for her safe deliuery, yea and diuerse prayers were specially made for that purpose. And the sayde rumor continued so long, that at the last report was made that she was deliuered of a Prince, and for ioy thereof, Belles were rong, and Bonefiers made, not onely in the Citie of London, but also in sundry places of the realme. But in the ende all proued cleane contrary, and the ioye and expectation of the people vtterly frustrate: For shortely it was fully certefied (all most to all men) that the Queene was as then, neyther deliuered of childe, nor after was in hope to haue any. Of this the people spake diuerslye: Some sayde that the rumor of the Queenes conception was spred for a pollecy. Some affirmed that she was with childe, but it miscaried: Some other sayde that she was deceaued by a Timpanye or other like disease, whereby she thought she was with child and was not: But what the truth was I referre the report therof to other that knoweth more.

A rumor that Queene Mary was deliuered of a Prince.

About this tyme Brookes Bishop of Glouceſter, was by the Cardinall sent downe as Commissioner from the Pope to Oxford, there to sit vpon the examination of Thomas Cranmer Archebishop of Cauntorbury, in suche things as should be layd to hys charge by John Story, and Thomas Martyn Doctors in the lawes, sent specially in commission from the Queene. At which time, the sayd Archebishop, making lowe obedience to them that sate in the Queenes name, shewed no tokens of reuerence to the Bishop that was the Popes Commissioner, who neuertheleſſe proceeded against him as Iudge, and conuicted him of herisie. Accordyng to the which sentence the xxi. day of Marche folowyng, he was disgraded by Edmonde Bonner, and Thomas Thirlby Bishops of London and Elye, sent downe for that purpose, and he was burned in the same place where Ridley and Latimer before had suffered. Before his death, by the perswasion of a Spanische Frier named Frier John a reader of Diuinitie in Oxforde, and by the Counsaile of certaine other that put him in hope of life and pardon: he subscribed to a recantation, wherein he submitted himselfe wholy to the Church of Rome, and continued in the same mynd to outward appearaunce, vntill he was brought out of prison to go to the fire. After whose execution, a Sermon was made by Doctor Cole Deane of Paules in saint Maries Church in Oxford, who in the end of his sermō the said doctor Cole praied the people to encline their eares to such thinges as the sayde Cranmer would declare vnto them by his awne mouth, for (saith he) he is a man very repentant, & will here before you all reuoke his errors. Neuertheles, he did clene cōtrary, & with many teares protested, that he had subscribed to the sayde recantation agaynst his conscience,

Thomas Cranmer Archebishop of Cantorbury condemned.

ence, onely for feare of death and hope of lyfe (which seemed to be true) for when he came to the stake, and the fyre kindeled, he put his right hande into the fyre, and helde it there a good space, saiyng that the same hand should first burne, because it helde the penne to subscribe agaynst his Lorde God.

Cranmer put to death.

Immediately after the death of the sayde Bishop Cranmer, Cardinall Poole was made Archebishop of Cauntorbury, who duryng the lyfe of the other, would neuer be consecrate Archbishop. Who so desireth to see more of this matter, may see the same at large in the booke of the Monumentes of the Church, where you shall also finde that about this tyme many were in trouble for religion.

Cardinall Poole made Archebishop of Cantorburie.

Persecution for religion.

The .xxviij. day of the aforesayd Moneth of March, by the negligence of the keepers Mayde of the Gaole of Newgate in London, who left a Candle where a great deale of strawe was, the same was set on fyre and brent all the tymber worke on the Northside of the sayde Gate.

Newgate set on fire.

The Sommer next folowyng was a new conspiracie brought to light, which was to haue rayled warre in the realme agaynst the Queene, for maintenaunce whereof their first enterprise was to haue robbed the treasorye of the Queenes Exchequer at Westminster, as it fell onte afterwardes in proofe. The bitterer of which conspiracie was one Whyte, who at the beginnyng was made priuie to the same, whereupon diuers of the conspirators, namely, Henry Peckham, Daniell, Dethicke, Udall, Throgmarton, and Capitain Stanton with diuers other were apprehended and executed. Moreouer Sir Anthony Kingston knight was accused and apprehended for the same, and dyed in the way commyng to London.

A conspiracy

Sir Anthony Kingston knight.

This yere the hote burnyng Feuers and other straunge diseases which began the yere before, consumed much people in all partes of Englande, but namely of most auncient and graue men. So that in London betweene the xx. of October, and the last of December, there dyed seuen Aldermen, whose names were, Henry Heardson, sir Richard Dabbes late Maior, Sir William Larston late Maior, Sir Henry Hobblethorne late Maior, Sir John Champneys late Maior, Sir John Aileph late Shyrieue, and Sir John Gresham late Maior.

1556

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About this tyme came to London an Ambassador to the Queene from the Emperor of Cathay, Moscouia, and Russeland, who was honorably receyued by the Marchauntes of London hauyng trade in those Countreys, who bare all his costes and charges from the tyme of hys entrie into England out of Scotland (for thether by tempest of weather he was driuen, and there forced to lande.) And after his message and Ambassade done to the Queene, he departed againe with three sayle ships from Graueſende into his Countrey, when he had remayned here by the space of two Monethes and more.

An Ambassadour out of Moscouia.

Also about this time the Lord Sturton for a verie shamefull and wretched murther committed by him vpō two gentlemen the father & the sonne, of the Surnames of Hargill beyng his neere neighbours, was apprehended and committed to the Tower of London. And although the Queene seemed to fauour him much, as one professing the catholique religion, yet when she vnderstood the truth of his vile deede, she abhorred him, and commaunded that he shoulde be vsed according to iustice. Wherefore shortly after he was

The Lorde Sturton apprehended for a murther & condemned and hanged at Salisburye.

was brought to Westminster and there arreigned and found guiltie and had iudgement as a murderer to be hanged, and for the same fact were likewise condempned foure of his seruaunts. And the second day of Marche next following, the sayde Lorde with his saide seruauntes were conueyed by the Queenes Garde from the Tower of London through the Citie, he hauing his armes pinyoned at his back, and his legges bound vnder the horse belly, and so caryed to Salisburie, where the sixt daye of Marche next he was hanged in the market place of the same towne, and his foure seruauntes were hanged in the Countrie neere vnto the place, where the murder was committed.

A great dearth, and after great plentie.

This yere for the more parte there was in Englande a great dearth, namely of corne, for Wheat and Rie were commonly solde for fiue shillings and sixe shillings a Bushell, and in some places at higher prices. But in the later ende of the yere towarde haruest, the price fell so muche, and specially after new corne was come into the Barne, that within lesse space then eyght weekes, from sixe shillings it fell to sixtene pence a Bushell and lesse.

The returne of king Philip into Englande.

This present month of March, king Philip who a long season had bene in Flaundyrs to take possession and gouernement of the lowe Countries as is aforesayde, did now returne into England, and passed thorough London, beyng accompanied with the Queene, and dyuers nobles of the realme: But because a great warre was towarde betweene him and the Frenche king, he taryed not long here, but in the middest of Sommer passyng the Seas agayne into Flaundyrs made great prouision for the same. At thys time the common people began to mutter and saye that king Philip sought occasions to be absent from the Queene. At which tyme report was made that the French king was verie loth to haue warre with England, albeit the Queene tangling her selfe in her husbandes quarrell, sent a defiaunce to the French king, by Clarenseaux her Herault, and not long after transported an armie of one thousande horsemen, foure thousande footemen, and two thousand pyoners to ayde the king hys husbande. Of the which armie William Erle of Pembrooke was made generall, vnder whome many noble men and gentlemen (although dyuers suspected to be protestants) were by the Queenes commaundement appoynted to serue.

Queene Mary proclaimeth open warre with the french king.

1557

The. xv. day of July dyed the Ladye Anne of Cleue at Chelsey, and was honorably buried at Westminster.

Saint Quintine besieged.

The Queenes armie being thus sent ouer, ioyned with the armie of king Philip and besieged the towne of saint Quintyne in Fraunce. For the rescue of which towne, shortly after, that is to saye the tenth of August beyng the daye of saint Laurence, the French king sent a great army vnder the conduyt of Duke Mountmorency Conestable of Fraunce to remoue ỳ siege of the said towne, and to geue king Philip battaile, if occasion so serued. The Frenche men pressing neere the towne to put in succours of mo souldiours, came within the daunger of king Philips horsemen, which beyng led by the Counteys of Aygmond, Horne, Mansfelt & the Dukes of Brunswike to the number of fiue thousand men of armes beside the Swart Rutters and light horsemen gaue suche a furious and cruell charge vpon the Frenchmen that they not able to resist the same were altogether defeated, and their battayles as well horsemen as footemen put to flight, whereof king Philip hauyng knowlege

knowledge pursued them with all his forces, in which pursuyte were slayne of the frenchmen a great number, the chiefe whereof were these that folow. John of Burbone Duke of Enghien. The Viscount of Turayn. The eldest sonne of Roche du Mayn. The Lord of Chandenyer, with a great number of other gentlemen that bare armes in the field, and there were taken prisoners these following.

The Duke of Mountmorencie Conestable of Fraunce and one of his sonnes called Mounsire de Meru.
The Duke of Mountpencieur.
The Duke of Longueuyle.
The Marshall of saint Androw.
The Rynegraue Colonell of the Almaynes.
Roche du Mayn.
The Countie Rochefoucault.
The Viscount of Turayn.
The Baron of Curton.
The prince of Mantua.

Besides many other Gentlemen and Capitaynes. And the. xviij. day of the sayde Month, by the speciall ayde and helpe of the Englishe men, the towne of saint Quintine was taken, for when the other souldiours after dyuers assaultes were repulsed and gaue ouer, the Englishe men of a stoute courage gaue a newe onset, by reason whereof the towne was taken. And in reward of their well doyng, king Philip graunted them the saccage of the sayde towne: But the swart Rutters which keepe no rule where they be strongest, set vpon the English men in taking of the spoyle and killed a great number of them. This grudge was with much difficultie appeased, and men thought that if the English men, beyng much fewer in number had not bene oppressed with the multitude of the other, that it would haue growne to a great slaughter on both partes. At this siege the Lord Henry Dudley yongest sonne to the Duke of Northumberlande was slayne with the shot of a great peece, as he stowped on the wall and stayed to rip his hose on the knee thereby to haue bene the more apt to the assault. After the wynning of thys towne, newes in poste were brought into England to the Queene, who causyng generall processions to be made and Te deum to be song, geuing all laude and prayse vnto almightie God for this great victorie. And in the streetes of euery Citie and towne of the realme were made Bonefires with great reioycing: Which sodayne short gladnesse turned very shortly after to a greater long sorrow. For if ought were wonne by the hauing of saint Quintines, England gate nothing at all, for the gayne thereof came onely to king Philip. But the losse of Calice, Hammes, and Guysnes with all the Countrie on this side the sea, (which followed sone after) was suche a buffet to Englande that happened not in more then an hundred yere before, and a dishonor wherewith this realme shall be blotted, vntyll God shall geue power to rebuke it with some like requitall to the French.

Saint Quintynes taken.

Doctor Weston.

Doctor Weston beyng (as you haue heard before) prolocutor of the conuocation house, was at this time in displeasure with Cardinall Poole, and other Bishoppes, because he was vnwilling to resigne his Deanery of Westminster to the Queene, whose purpose was to place there (as in olde time before) the religion of Monkes, whome in deede he fauoured not, although in all other thinges he stood with the Church of Rome. Neuerthelesse, by very importune suite or rather compulsion, he with his Colleges resigned the Deanry of Westminster. In recompence whereof, he was made

Deane

Deane of Windsor, where not long after he was apprehended in adulterye, and for that fact was by the Cardinall deprived of all his spirituall liuyngs, from whose sentence he appealed to the courte of Rome. For the followyng of which appeale, he sought secreatly to departe the realme: but he was apprehended by the waye, and committed to the Tower of London, where he remained prisoner, vntill by the death of Queene Mary, Queene Elizabeth came to the crowne, by whome he was set at libertie, and forthwith fell sicke and dyed. The common talke was, that if he had not so sodainly dyed, he woulde haue disclosed the purpose of the chiefe of the Clergy (meaning the Cardinall) whiche was to haue taken vp king Henryes bodye at Windsor to haue burnt it as many thought.

At this time, although open hostility and warre were betweene England and Fraunce, yet contrary to the auncient custome afore vsed, the towne of Calice and the Fortes there aboutes were not supplyed with any new accrues of souldiors, which negligence was not vnknowne to the enemie, who long before had practised the wynning of the sayd towne and countrye. The French king therefore beyng sharpely netteled with the late losse of Sainte Quintines, and a great peece of his countrye adioyning, and desirous of reuenge, thought it not meete to let slippe this occasion: And hauing presently a full army in a readinesse to employ where most aduauntage should appere, determined with all speede to put in proofe the enterprize of Calice, which long and many tymes before was purposed vpon. This practise was not so secreat, but that the Deputies of Calice and Guines had some intelligence thereof, and informed the Queene and her counsaile accordingly. Neuertheless eyther by wilfull negligence there, or lacke of credite, by the Queenes counsayle here: this great case was so slenderly regarded, as no prouision of defence was made vntill it was somewhat to late. The Duke of Guise being Generall of the French Army, proceeded in this enterprize with merueylous policy. For approching the English Frontier vnder colour to victuayle Bulleyne and Arde, he entred the same vpon a sodaine, and tooke a litle Bulwarke at Sandgate by assaulte, and then deuided hys armye into two partes, sendyng one parte with certaine peeces of great artillery along the Downes by the sea side, towardes Rise Banke: & the other parte furnished also with battery peeces, marched strayte forth to Newnam Bridge: meaning to batter these two Fortris both at one tyme, which thing he did wyth such celerytie, that cõming thether very late in the euening: he was maister of both by the next Morning, whereat the first shot discharged at Newnam bridge, the head of the maister Gunner of ꝑ peece, whose name was Horseley, was cleane striken of. The Capitaine cõsidering the great power of the French army, & hauing his Fort but slenderly manned to make sufficient resistaunce, fled to Calice: And by ꝑ time he was come thether: the other part of ꝑ frẽch army that went by ꝑ sea side with their battery had wonne Rice Banke, being abandoned to their hãds. The next day, the Frenchmen with fiue double & cõmon Culuerins began a battery from ꝑ said Hilles nere Rice Bank, against ꝑ towne of Calice & cõtinued the same by the space of two or three dayes vntill they made a litle breache of the wall, next into the water Gate, which nevertheless was not yet assalutable, for that which was broken in the daye, was by them within the towne made vp againe in the

The Duke of Guise with a great Armye commeth toward Calice.

Newnam Bridge taken by the French.

Rice Banke taken by the French.

Calice besieged.

the night stronger then afore. But the batterie was not begonne there by the French, for that they entended to enter in that place, but rather to abuse the Englishe to haue the lesse regarde to the defence of the Castell, which was the weakest part of the towne, and the place where they were assertayned by their espyalles to win an easie entrye. So that whyle our people trauayled fondely to defende that counterfeyt breach of the towne wall: the Duke had in the meane season planted.xv. double Cannons against the Castell, which Castell being considered by the rulers of the towne to be of no such force as might resist the battery of the Cannon (by reason it was olde and without any rampiers) it was deuised to make a trayne wyth certayne Barrels of powder to this purpose, that when the frenchmen should enter (as they well knewe that there they would) to haue fyred the sayde trayne and blowne vp the keepe, and for that purpose left neuer a man within to defend it. But the Frenchmen at their entry espyed the trayne and so auoyded the same, so that deuise came to no purpose, and without any resistaunce they entred the Castell, and thought to haue entred the towne by that waye: But by the prowes and hardy courage of syr Anthony Ager knight and Marchall of the towne with his souldiors they were repulsed and driuen backe agayne into the Castell, and so hard followed after, that our men forced them to close and shut the Castell gate for their suretie, least it should haue beene recouered against them as it was once attempted by Sir Anthony Ager, who there with his sonne and heyre, and a Pursiuaunt at Armes called Calice with diuers other to the number of.xv. or.xvj. Englishmen lost their liues.

Sir Anthony Ager and his sonne slayne.

The same night after the recule of the Frenchmen, whose number so encreased in the Castell, that the towne was not able to resist their force. The Lorde Wentworth Deputie of Calice, sent a Pursiuaunt called Guynes vnto the Duke of Guise requiring composition, which after long debate was agreed vpon in this sort. First that the towne with all the great artillary, victualles, and munition, should be freely yelden to the Frenche king, the liues of the inhabitaunts onely saued, to whome safeconduyte should be graunted to passe where they lysted, sauing the Lorde Deputie with fiftie such other as the Duke should appoint to remaine prisoners, and be put to their raunsome.

The next morning, the Frenchmen entred and possessed the towne, and forthwith al the men, women, and children, were commaunded to leaue their houses, and to go into the two Churches of our Lady and Saint Nicholas vpon paine of death, where they remayned a great part of that daye, and one whole night, & the next day vntill three of the clock at after none, without eyther meat or drink. And while they were thus in the Churches, the Duke of Guyse in the name of the French king, in their hearings made a proclamation, straightly charging and commaunding al & euery person that were Inhabitaunts of the towne of Calice, hauing about them any money, plate, or Jewels, to the value of one grote to bring the same forthwith, and laye it downe vpon the highe Aultars of the sayde Churches vpon paine of death, bearing them in hande also that they should be searched: By reason of which Proclamation there was made a great and sorrowfull offertory. And while they were at this offering within the Churches, the Frenchmen entered into their houses, and ryfled the same, where was found inestimable riches and

Calice deliuered to the French.

A greeuous Proclamation made by the Duke of Guyse against the inhabitaunts of Calice.

A sorrowfull offertory.

treasure: But specially of ordinaunce, armor and other munition. Aboute two of the clocke the next day at after noone, beyng the seuenth of January, all the Englishe men (except the Lorde Deputie, and the other reserued for prisoners) were suffered to passe out of the towne in safetie, beyng garded through the armie with a number of Scottishe light horsemen. There were in this towne of Calice fiue hundred Englishe Souldiors ordinary, and no mo. And of the townes men not fully two hundred fighting men, (a small garrison for the defence of such a towne) and there were in the whole number of men, women, and children, as they were counted (when they went out of the Gate) foure thousand and two hundred persons. But the Lorde Wentworth Deputie of Calice, Sir Rause Chamberleyn Capitaine of the Castell, Harlestone Capitain of Ricebanke, Nicholas Alexander Capitaine of Newnambridge, Edwarde Grymstone the Comptroller, with other of the chiefe of the towne to the number of fiftie (as aforesayd) such as it pleased the Duke of Guise to appoint, were sent prisoners into Fraunce.

The garrison of souldiours that were in Calice.

Thus haue ye heard the discourse of the ouerthrowe and losse of the towne of Calice, the which enterprice was begonne and ended in lesse then viij. dayes, to the great maruaile of the worlde, that a towne of such strength and so well furnished of all thinges as that was, should so sodainly be taken and conquered: But most specially in the winter season, what tyme all the Country about beyng marshe ground is commonly ouerflowen with water. The sayde towne was wonne from the French, by king Edward the thirde, in the tyme of Philip de Valoys then French king. And beyng in the possession of the kings of Englande two hundred. xj. yeres, was in the time of Philip and Mary, king and Queene of England, lost within lesse then. viij. dayes, beyng the most notable forte that Englande had: For the winnyng wherof king Edward aforesayde in the. xxj. yere of his reigne was faine to continue a siege one whole yere and more, wherefore it was iudged of all men, that it could not haue come so to passe without some secrete trechery.

Here is also to be noted, that when Queene Mary and her Counsaile heard credibly of the French mens sodaine approche to that towne, she with all speede possible (but somewhat to late) raysed a great power for the reskue thereof, which if winde and weather had serued, might happily haue brought succour thether in tyme. But such terrible tempestes then arose and continued the space of foure or fiue dayes together, that the like had not bene seene before in remembraunce of man, wherefore some sayde that the same was done by necromancy, and that the Deuill was raysed vp, and become French (the truth whereof is knowne to God) but very true it is that no ship could brooke the Seas by reason of those extreeme stormes and tempestes. And such of the Queenes shippes as did aduenture the passage, were so shaken and torne with violence of weather, as they were forced to returne with great daunger, and with the losse of all their tackle and furniture. Thus by negligence of the Counsail at home, conspiracie of traytors elsewhere, force and false practise of enemyes, holpen by the rage of most terrible tempestes, of contrary wynds and weather, this famous Forte of Calice was brought againe to the handes and possession of the French.

A terrible tempest.

So soone as this Duke of Guyse, contrary to all expectation, had in so few dayes gayned this strong towne of Calice (afore thought impregnable) and

and had put the same in such order as best seemed for his aduantage: prowde of the people, and prestyng forwarde vpon his sodain fortune, without geuing long tyme to the residue of the Capitaynes of the fortes there, to breath vpon their businesse, the. xiij. day of the sayde Moneth, with all prouision requisite for a siege, marched with his army from Calice vnto the towne and fort of Gupnes, fiue myles distaunt from thence. Of which towne and Castell, at the same tyme, there was Capitaine a valiaunt Baron of England called William Lorde Gray of Wilton, who not without cause suspectyng a siege at hande, and knowyng the towne of Gupnes to be of small force, as beyng without walles or Bulwarkes, compalled onely with a trench before the French mennes arriuall had caused all the inhabitauntes of the towne to adiuoyde, and so many of them as were apt to beare armes, he caused to retire into the Castell, which was a place well fortifyed with strong and massy Bulwarkes of Bricke, hauyng also a high and mightie tower of great force and strength, called the Keepe. The towne being thus abandoned, the french men had the more easie approche to the Castell who thinkyng to fynde quiet lodgyng in those vacant houses entered the same without any feare. And beyng that night at their rest (as they thought) a chosen band of Souldiours appointed by the Lorde Gray, issued out by a posterne of the sayde Castell, and slue no small number of their sleepie ghestes, and the rest they put out of their newe lodgynges, and mauger the Duke and all the French power, consumed all the houses of the towne with fyre. That notwithstandyng the sayde Duke with all diligence began his trenches, and albeit the shot of the great Artillarie from the Castell was terrible, and gaue him great impechment: yet did he continue his worke without intermission, and for examples sake wrought in his owne person as a common Pioner or labourer. So that within lesse then three dayes, he brought to the number of. xxxb. battery peeces, hard to the brim of the Castell ditch to batter the same on all sydes, aswell foorthright as a crosse. But his principall battery he planted against the strongest Bulwarke of all called Mary Bulwarke, thinkyng by gainyng of the stronger, to come more easily by the weaker.

His battery being thus begonne, he continued the same by ꝑ space of two dayes with suche terrible thundering of great artillarie, that by report of Rabutyne a Frenche writer, there were in those few dayes discharged well nere to the number of eyght or nine thousand Canon shot. Through the violence whereof, by the twentie daye of the sayde Moneth, the sayde great Bulwarke was layde wyde open, and the breache made reasonable and easie ynough for the assault. Neuertheless, the sayde Duke beyng a man of warre, and nothing ignorant what deuises be commonly vsed in Fortes and townes besieged, to entrap and dammage the assaylaunts, afore he would put the persons of his good souldiours to the hazard of the assault, caused the breache to be vewed once or twice by certayne forwarde and skilfull souldiours, who mountyng the top of the breache brought report that the place was saultable. Neuertheless, to make the clyme more easie, he caused certayne Arquebusiers to passe ouer the diche, and to keepe the defendauntes occupied with shot, while certayne pyoners with mattockes and shouelles made the breache more playne and easie, which thing done accordingly, he gaue order to Mounsire Dandalot cozonall of the Frenche footemen, that

he with his bandes ſhould be in readyneſſe to geue the aſſault when ſigne ſhould be geuen. In which meane time the Duke withdrew himſelfe to an higher grounde, from whence he might playnely diſcouer the behauiour as well of his ſouldiours in the aſſault geuing, as alſo of the defendauntes in aunſwering the ſame. And perceyuing not ſo many of the Engliſhe part appearing for defence (as he looked for) gaue order forthwith that a regiment of his moſt forwarde Launceknightes ſhoulde mount the breache to open the firſt paſſage, and that Mounſire Dandalot with his bandes of the French ſhould backe them, which order was folowed with ſuch whot haſte and deſperate hardineſſe, that entring a deepe diche full of water, from the botome whereof to the top of the breach was well fortie foote, without feare eyther of the water beneath, or the fyre aboue, they mounted the breache. And where as ỹ Duke had prepared dyuers bridges made of planke bords borne vp with Caſque and emptie pypes tyed one to another for his men to paſſe the ſayde diche, many of the ſayde aſſaylauntes without care of thoſe bridges plunged into the water, and tooke the next waye to come to the aſſault. Which hotte haſte notwithſtanding, the ſayde aſſaylauntes were in this firſt aſſault ſo ſtoutly repulſed and put backe by the defendaunts beyng furniſhed with great ſtore of wylde fyre and other fyrecaſtes for the purpoſe, that they were turned downe hedlong one vpon an other, much faſter then they came vp, not without great waſte and ſlaughter of their beſt and moſt braue ſouldiours, to the ſmall comfort of the ſtout Duke, who (as is ſayde before) ſtood all this while vpon a little hyll, to behold thys buſyneſſe: wherfore not enduryng this ſight any longer, as a man arraged ranne amongeſt his men, ſo reprouing ſome, and encouragyng other, that the aſſault was foote hot renued, with muche more behemence and furie then before, and wyth no leſſe obſtinacie and deſperation receyued by the defendaunts, wherby all the breache vnderneath was fylled with french carkaſſes. Thys notwithſtanding, the Duke ſtill redoubled his forces with freſhe companies, and contynued ſo many aſſaultes one vpon an other, that at the laſt charge beyng moſt behement of all the other, our men beyng tyred and greatly miniſhed in their number by ſlaughter & bloudy woundes, were of fyne force driuen to auoyde, and gaue place of entry to the enemie, which was not done without a maruaylous expence of bloud on both ſydes: For of the Frenche part there were ſlayne and periſhed in theſe aſſaultes aboue the number of eyght or nine hundred, and of the Engliſhe but little fewer, amongſt whom the greateſt loſſe lighted vpon the Spaniardes who tooke vpon them the defence of the ſayde Mary Bulwarke, inſomuch (as the report went) that of fyne hundred braue ſouldyours which king Philip ſent thether for ſuccours vnder the conduite of a valiant Capitayne Spanyard, called Mountdragon: there were not knowne to haue commen away any number worth the reckning, but eyther ſlayne, maimed or taken. Theſe outrageous aſſaults were geuen to the Caſtell of Guynes on the daye of ſaint Sebaſtian the .xx. of January aforeſayde. Afore the ende of which day, there were alſo gayned from the Engliſh two other principall Bulwarkes of the ſayde Caſtell, which beyng likewiſe made aſſaultable by battery were taken by the Almaynes and entred into by the breaches.

The Lord Graye with his eldeſt ſonne and the chiefe Capytaynes and ſouldiours

ſouldiours of the ſayde Garriſon, who kept the inner warde of the Caſtell (where the moſt high and principal Tower called the Keepe ſtood) thinking themſelues in ſmall ſuretie there, beyng a place of the olde ſort of fortification, after they ſawe the vtter warde poſſeſſed by the enemie, and ſuche a number of the moſt forwarde ſouldyours conſumed and ſpent, and no lykelyhood of any more ayde to come in time, by the aduiſe of the moſt expert ſouldiours there, concluded for the beſt to treat with the Duke for compoſition, according to the which aduiſe he ſent forth two gentlemen with this meſſage in effect: That the Duke beyng a man of warre, and ſeruing vnder a king, ſhould not thinke it ſtraunge if the Lord Gray beyng lykewiſe a man of warre and ſeruing his prince in lyke maner, did his deuour in well defending the place committed to his charge, ſo farforth as to anſwere and bide the aſſault: Conſidering that otherwiſe he could neuer ſaue his owne honor, neyther his truth and loyaltie to his prince: In reſpect whereof according to the lawe of armes, he required honorable compoſition, which meſſage though it was well accepted of the Duke: yet he deferred his anſwere vntill the morow, what time the meſſengers repayring to him agayne, compoſition was graunted in this ſort.

Firſt, that the Caſtell with all the furniture thereof, aſwell victuales, as great artillery, powder and all other munitions of warre, ſhoulde be wholy rendered without waſting, hiding or miniſhment thereof.

Secondarily, that the Lorde Gray with all the Capitaines, Officers, and other hauing charge there, ſhould remayn priſoners at the Dukes pleaſure to be raunſomed after the maner of warre.

Thirdely, that all the reſt aſwell ſouldiors as other ſhould ſafely depart with their armour and baggage to what partes it ſeemed them beſt: Neuertheleſſe to paſſe without ſounde of Drome or Trumpet or diſplayng of any Enſignes, but to leaue them behinde.

Theſe condicions beyng receyued and approued on eyther partie, the day following, that is to wyt, the two and twentie day of the ſayde Moneth of January, all the ſouldiors of the ſayd fortreſſe, aſwell Engliſh as Straungers with all the reſt of the inhabitaunts and other, except the Lorde Graye Sir Arthure his ſonne, Sir Henry Palmer knight, Mountdragon aboue named Capitayne of the Spanyardes and other men of charge reſerued by the cõpoſicion, departed with their bag and baggages, from thence towards Flaunders. At whoſe iſſuyng forth, there was eſteemed to the number of eyght or nine hundred hable men for the warre, part Engliſh, part Burgonyons, with a ſmall remnaunt of Spanyardes.

After the winning of this towne and Caſtell, the Duke aduiſing well vpon the place, and conſidering that if it ſhoulde happen to be regayned by Engliſh men, what a noyſome neighbour the ſame might be to Calice now beyng French, and ſpecially what empeachement ſhould come thereby for the paſſage thether from Fraunce, conſidering alſo the nere ſtanding thereof to the French kinges fortreſſe of Arde, ſo that to keepe two garriſones ſo nigh together, ſhoulde be but a double charge, and not onely needeleſſe, but alſo daungerous for the cauſe afore reherſed. Vpon theſe conſiderations (as the Frenchmen write) he tooke order for all the great artillery victuales and other munition to be taken forth, and the Caſtell with all the Bulwarkes and

other fortifications there, with all speede to be rased and throwne downe, and the stuffe to be caried away and employed in other more necessary places.

Hammes Castell.

Then rested nothing within all the English Pale on that side vnconquered but the litle Castel or Pile called Hammes, which though it were but of small force, made by art & industery of mannes hand, & beyng altogether of olde workemanship without Rampiers or Bulwarkes: yet nevertheless by the naturall scituation thereof, beyng on all sides enuironed with Fennes and Marshe groundes, it coulde not easely be approched vnto, eyther with great ordinaunce for the battery, or else with any armye to encampe there for a siege, hauing but one strayght passage thereto by a narow causye traversed and cut thorough in diuers places, with deepe ditches alwayes full of water, which thing beyng well foreseene by Edwarde Lorde Dudley then Capitayne there, hauing as good cause to suspect a siege there as his neighboures had, afore the Frenchmennes comming to Guynes: caused all the Bridges of the sayde Causey beyng of woode to be broken, to geue therby the more impechement to the Frenche, if they shoulde attempt to approche the same, as shortly after they dyd, and kept dyuers of the passages: But to deliuer the Duke and his souldiors from that care, there came to him glad newes from those that had charge to watche the sayde Cawsey, how the Capitaine hauing intelligence of the rendering of Guynes, secretly the same night, had conueyed himselfe, with his small garrison by a secret passage ouer the Marrys into Flaunders: wherby the Duke beyng now past care of any further siege to be layde, in all that Frontier tooke order foorthwith to sease the sayd litle Forte into his handes, as it was easy to do, when there was no resistaunce.

Edward lord Dudley.

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When this peece was once seazed by the French, then remayned there none other place of defence or strength of ỹ English on all that side the Sea for the safegard of the rest of the countrye, whereby the French king became wholy and throughly Lorde and Maister of all the English Pale, for now (as ye haue heard) there was neyther towne, Castell, nor other Fortresse more or lesse on that side (sauing Bootes Bullwarke nere to Graueleyng which now king Philipe keepeth as his) but that it was eyther taken away by force, or else abandoned & left open to the enemy. And (as the Frenchmen write) beside the great riches of Golde and Siluer Coyne, Jewels, Plate, Woolles, and other Marchandise (which was inestimable) there were found three hundred peeces of Brasse mounted on wheeles, and as many peeces of Iron, with such furniture of powder, pellettes, Armour, victuals and other munitions of warre, skarcely credible.

Bootes Bulwarke.

Thus haue you heard the whole discourse of the conquest of the noble towne of Calice, with all the Englishe fortresses and Countrey adioynyng made by the Duke of Guyse, the newes whereof when they came to the French king, no neede to aske how ioyfully they were receyued, not onely of him and all his Court, but also vniuersally throughout the whole Realme of Fraunce. For the which victorye there was (as the maner is) Te deum song, and bonefiers made euery where, as it is wont to be in cases of common ioy and gladnesse for some rare benefite of God, insomuch that shortly vpon thys conquest there was a publike assembly at Paris of all the states of Fraunce, who frankely in recompence of the kinges charges employed in winnyng of Calice

Calice and the places aforesayde, and for maintenaunce of his warres to be continued afterwardes, graunted vnto him three Millions of French crownes, whereof the Clergie of Fraunce contributed one Million beside theyr disimes. And no maruaile though the French did highly reioyce at the recouery of Calice out of the Englishmens handes: For it is constantly affirmed of many, that be acquainted with the affayres of Fraunce, that euer sithen the same towne was first wonne by Englishe men, in all solempne Counsayles assembled to treat vpon the state of Fraunce, there was a speciall person appoynted to put them in remembraunce from tyme to tyme of Calice, as it were to be wished, that the like were vsed in Englande vntill it were regayned from the French.

Now semed euery day a yere to the French king vntill he personally had visited Calice, and his new conquered countrye: Wherefore about the ende of January aforesayde, he tooke his voyage thether accompanied with no small number of his Nobilitie. And immediatly vpon his arriuall there he perused the whole towne and euery parte thereof from place to place, deuising with the Duke of Guyse for the better fortification thereof, what should be added to the olde, and what should be made newe, and what should be taken away. And after order taken for that businesse, he placed there a noble and no lesse valiaunt knight called Mounsier de Thermes to be Capitayne of the towne, and so departed agayne into Fraunce.

Mounsire de Thermes made Capitaine of Calice.

After the French kinges departure from Calice, he made great hast for the accomplishment of the mariage, mooued betweene Fraunces his eldest sonne called the Dolphin, and Mary Stewart daughter and sole heire of James the fift, late king of Scotlande, which Princes if Scottes had bene faythfull of promise (as they seldome be) should haue maried with king Edwarde the sixt: For the breche of which promyse began all the warre betweene England and Scotland, as you heard in the latter ende of the life of king Henry the eyght, and in the beginning of king Edward the sixt. This mariage (though it be not of my matter) I thought not to omit, for that many thinges were ment thereby, which thankes be to God neuer came to effect. But one speciall poynt was not hidden to the worlde, that by meane of the same, the realme of Scotlande shoulde for euermore haue remayned as vnited and encorporate to the Crowne of Fraunce, and that as the sonne and heire of euery French king doth succeede to the inherytaunce and possession of a countrye called the Doulphyn, and is therefore called Doulphyn. And like as the principalitie of Wales appertayneth to the eldest sonne of England, who therefore is called the Prince of Wales. Euen so the Doulphyn & heire of Fraunce shoulde therby haue beene king of Scotland for euermore. Which name and title vpon this mariage was accordingly geuen to Fraunces Doulphyn and heire apparaunt of Fraunce to be called king Doulphyn. The meaning whereof was vtterly to exclude for euermore any to be king of Scotlande, but onely the eldest sonne of Fraunce. This memorable mariage was solempnized in the Citie of Paris, the .xxiiij. day of Aprill in the yere of Christ. 1558. with most magnifique pompe and triumph, and honored with the presense of the most part of the Princes, Prelates, Lordes, and Barons of both the realmes, as it were for a confirmation of this new alliaunce, which as it was much to the aduantage and benefit of Fraunce, so nothing

The mariage of the Queene of Scottes with the Doulphyn.

thing coulde be moze preiudice and derogation of the crowne to Scotland, as a deuise tending to the perpetuall abolicion and extinguyshment of the name and estate of kinges in that realme.

But now to returne to the matters of England, from which I haue in part digressed. The newes of this conquest of Calice, were not so ioyfully receaued in Fraunce, as they were generally greuous and displesant to the whole realme of Englande: But specially to Queene Mary, who beyng a Princes of heart and courage moze then commonly is in womankinde, thought her selfe so much touched in honoz by the losse of her sayd towne and possessions on that side the sea, as thee counted her life yrksome, vntill the same were eyther recouered agayne, oz the losse redubbled with some like victozy agaynst the French elsewhere. In respect whereof, she ceased not to trauayle aswell with king Philip her husband, as with her owne priuie counsayle and the Lozdes of the realme, what waye should be best to reuenge this iniurye, and specially now whilst the Frenche king was occupied in warre with king Philip, to endamage some of his countryes by way of inuasion and to surprise some of his townes vpon the sodayne. And among sundzy deuises, none was thought so fyt to be attempted, as an Hauen towne in Bzytaine called Bzest, which in the time of king Richarde the second and long befoze was kept and maintayned with an English garrison vntill the said king rendered the same to the French king agayne by composicion. This towne aswell foz the conuenient situation, allwayes ready to receaue fresh succours and victualing out of England by Sea, as also foz that it was knowne to the Queene and her counsayle at that present not to be furnished with any Garrison of Souldiers sufficient to repulse the power of a Pzince vpon the sodaine, was thought the best marke to be shot at foz the time. Wherefoze vpon this case well debated, there was immediat ozder geuen to Edward Lozde Clynton then high Admirall of England, with all expedicion to pzepare himselfe with all the Queenes shippes of warre, furnished with souldiozs, munition and victuall, to ioyne with the Admyzall of king Philip, who had like ozder from the sayd king to ioyne with the Nauie of England, foz the atchieuing of this enterpzice. But befoze I declare to you the aduenture of these two great Nauies by sea: it shall not be impertinent to touch some accidentes in the meane time by land.

Bzest in Bzitaine.

The Lozde Clinton Admirall.

Whiles king Philip beyng absent from the low countrye, was (as you haue heard) occupied with his warres in Fraunce, Mounsier de Thermes the new Capitayne of Calice, beyng a man very expert in the warres (whose propertie is neuer to neglect any time of aduauntage) cast in his minde how during king Philippes absence, to do some singuler seruice to the Frenche king. And espying well the beastiality of the Fleminges his Neighbours, how litle they vnderstood the great weakning of their countrye by the losse of Calice, and that there was no new pzouision made foz the defence thereof moze then was befoze, whilst Calice was Englishe, by the losse whereof, their Frontires was now become open foz the French at all times to enter: He therefoze taking out of Calice so many of his souldiozs as might be spared from thence, adioyning to them all the fozces of the French Garrisons in Artoys, Bullenoyse, and Picardy, whereof (besides the Souldiours of Calice being to the number of seuen hundzed footemen, and thzee hundzed light

Mounsire de Thermes Capitaine of Calice.

light hozsmen Scottish) there were assembled fourteene Enlignes of the Frenche, and high Dutch, wyth .xiij. oz .xiiij. hundzed Swart Rutters and men at Armes of Fraunce, amounting in the whole to the number at the least of .xiij. oz .xiiij. thousand fighting men, entred into Flaunders with full determination to spoyle and waste all king Philips countrye along the Sea coast, and namely a pzoper Hauen towne called Dunkirck, and with like purpose to haue surpzised the towne of Graueling if occasion woulde serue.

This Capitayne following his enterpzise, of a pollecy passing by the towne of Grauelyng, layde siege to a litle towne not far from thence called Berghes, which he wanne in a small time and with small resistance, leauing the saccage of the same vnto his Souldiozs, where they founde many good booties. And without long staiyng they marched foozth to Dunkirck afozesayde, and planting a siege in lyke maner there, battered the same so sharpely with the Cannon, that within lesse then foure dayes he became Maister of the towne, which he in like maner put to the sack, where was found moze plentie of spoyle and good booties, then in any place befoze, so far foozth as the meanest slaues and Lackeies came away riche. And after, setting the towne a fyze (whereby all the country about were meruelously put in feare) in his returne homewardes he tooke the streight way to Grauelyng. And staiyng his Army there certayne dayes by reason of sodaine sickenesse comming vpon him, there were daylye skirmishes betweene the French and the Garrison men of Graueling.

Dunkircke besieged, taken & burnt by the Frēch

During this pastime, the Countie Aygnemount (whome we call Egmond) Lieuetenaunt Generall foz king Philip in the lowe countrye, with all hast possible assembled all the power aswell of king Philipes Garrisons as also of men of warre in the low countrye to the number of .xiiij. oz xv. thousand footemen, and two oz thzee thousand hozsemen, whereof there were fiftene hundzed Swart Rutters, determining so to affront the Frenche, that eyther they should passe no farther into the countrye, oz at the least waye to empeach them from the siege of Grauelyng, whereof there was great apparaunce.

Countie Egmond.

Mounsire de Thermes heering of this power assembled (though skarcely well recouered) made all possible hast toward Grauelyng, where he was no sonet arriued, but that he saw his enemies ready raunged in the field. By reason whereof, leauing of the pursuyng of his entended siege: his studie was now nothing else but how he might bzing home his company in safegarde to Calice.

The Countie of Egmond, espyng the Frenchmen bent to march away with the spoyle of the countrye, cut betweene them and home, placing his battailes in such ozder, that the Frenchmē had no way to passe, but vpon the Sandes betweene the towne & the sea: where as by good chaunce lay a great Fleete of Queene Maryes shippes of warre, within the daunger of whose Gunshot, the Frenchmen had no shift but to passe as their iourney lay. And so beyng fozced eyther to famishe oz to fight at disaduauntage, Mounsier Thermes without staiyng any longer, caused his Vantgard to passe ouer the Ryuer somewhat neere the towne to auoyde the shotte of the Englishe shippes. And staiyng vpon the further side foz the residue of his battayles

English shippes anoy the French.

there

there came such thicke Haylshot of Artillery out of the towne of the one side and from the English shippes on the other side, that there was a full battery made vpon the Frenchmen on all sides, which they neuertheless aboade without breaking order for the time, when sodainely appered before them two great troupes of horsemen of .xb. hundred a peece, part Swart Rutters and part Burgonions, whereof the one in front, and the other in flanke, gaue strong charges, vpon the French Vauntgard, who beyng well backed with their other battayles (whereof the most part had then passed the Riuer) stoutly repulsed these two first troupes, though not without losse of many their best souldiors. So thus both parties beyng at a staye, and seuered somewhat a sunder: The Countie Egmond himselfe with xbiij. hundred men of Armes, and his foote battayles following, afore the French had wel recouered breath, recharged vpon them with all his forces together so terribly that he shokt all their battayle, and the number fell to a mayne flight without further tryall. So by that time that the footmen on eyther side came to the push of ỹ Pique, the victory was sone had, by reason (as ỹ French men report) that the Almaynes beaten backe with artillery aswell of the towne as of the shippes afore sayde, brake their order and came not to the Shock, whereby the whole charge of the battayle rested vpon the French bandes onely. This fielde was foughten the .xiij. day of July .1558. vpon the Sea Sandes, nere to Graueling, wherein besides those that were slayne, beyng esteemed to the number of fiue thousand fighting men: There were taken prisoners Mounsire de Thermes Capitaine of Calice, Mounsire Senarpont Capitayne of Bulleyne, Mounsire Villebone Gouernor of Picardy, Mounsire Annebault, Mounsire Mozuillers, and Mounsire Thanly, beside a multitude of Gentlemen, and valiaunt Capitaynes, and souldiors, but specially the bandes of Calice went to wracke, so as very fewe returned home to bring tidinges: which gaue such a terror to the souldiors remayning in Calice: that it is verily beleued that if the Admirals of Englande and Flaunders had bene present there with their Nauies, as the sayd other fewe shippes of England were, and vpon this sodayne had attempted Calice with the ayde of the Countie Egmond hauing his power present: the towne of Calice might haue beene recouered again with as litle difficultie & haply in as shorte a time as it was before gained by ỹ Duke of Guyse. But the sayde Admyrall as it appered; knew nothing thereof, wherefore following their prescribed course, and ioyning together at the place appoynted, sayled from thence with prosperous winde and wether, and by the .xrix. day of the same moneth and in the sayd yere with seuen skore Shippes of warre appered by breake of the day before the hauen of Conquest commonly called Conquet in Britayne, standing vpon the mouth of the Riuer that commeth from Brest: At whose arriuall there (as the maner is) they sounded their Trumpetes, and with a thundering peale of great ordinaunce gaue alowde Salue to the Britaines. And by eyght of the clocke the same morning, maulgre all the power of the country being assembled there in Armes, with many peeces of great Artillery to defend the entery of their porte: The Englishmen manning foorth their Shipboates, with many valiaunt Capitaines and souldiors, recouered landing and within short time became Maisters of the said town of Conquet, which they put to ỹ saccage with a great Abbey and

A valiaunt onset geuen vpon the Frenchmen by Countie Egmond.

A great victory.

French Prisoners.

Conquest or Conquet taken & burnt.

and many pretie townes and villages nere there aboutes, where our men founde great store of pillage and good booties. But the Flemynges beyng couetous of the spoyle, passing further into the lande, before they could recouer their shippes agayne, were encountred by the power of the Country, by whome there were slayne of them to the number of foure or fiue hundreth. The Admirals perceauing the power of the Countrie greatly to increase, and hauing intelligence that the Duke of Estamps the french kings Lieuetenaunt in Bryteyne, was very neere comming on with a great number of horsemen and footemen, esteemed to be about twentie thousande (as the Frenchemen themselues affirme) thought not best to attempt any assault agaynst the towne of Brest, or to make longer aboade there. Wherefore after they had set fyre on the towne of Conquet and all the Villages thereabouts, they embarked themselues, and tooke the sea agayne with their booties all in safetie (except the Fleminges) thinking to doe some further exploit elsewhere vpon the coast. But by thys time there were such numbers of people raysed in all those partes for defence of the same coastes, that the Admyrals afterwardes attempting in dyuers places to lande their men, and finding eche where more apparaunce of losse then of gayne, returned home without atcheeuing their pretensed enterprise.

A great slaughter of Flemings.

In this meane whyle king Philip and the French king with two most puyssaunt armies affronted eche other neere vnto the water of Some, eyther of them being obstinately bent to driue the other out of the fielde, for which cause they entrenched their Campes. During which time, there was nothing done betweene them worthie memorie, more then daylie skirmishes of no great accompt. Neuertheless the Countrie of Fraunce could not but susteyne extreme dammage in so long susteyning suche a maine multitude, specially of men of warre which those two mightie kinges had assembled. And day by day came freshe companies to eyther party, so as it was thought a thing impossible that suche two princes beyng so neere could depart without some cruell bloudy battayle to determine their quarelles: But God in whose handes are the hearts of kinges (when least hope was) conuerted their obstinate mindes from warre to peace, which came chiefely to passe by the mediation of the Duches of Lozeyn, who had bene a long and earnest trauayler to that ende, and neuer ceassed vntill by her intercession both the sayde kings appointed speciall Commissioners to treat vpon peace. So that after dyuers conferences, they at last concluded vpon all controuersies except the matter of Calice, wherof Queene Mary by her Ambassadors required restitution: But the French partie would in no wise here therof. By reason of which difficultie, this treatie could not come to any good conclusion. King Phyllip thinking himselfe bound in honor to stand in that case with the Queene his wyfe, who for his sake had entred into a needlesse warre against Fraunce, and thereby lost her sayde towne with all the Countrie adioyning as you haue heard before, did therefore staye a long time, before he concluded peace with the French king.

1558
6

Queene Marie seing no lykelyhood nor hauing any hope of the restitution of Calice, and considering also that most of her affayres had but hard successe, conceaued an inwarde sorrowe of minde, by reason wherof about September next ther fell sick of a hote burning Feuer, which sickneſſe was common

common that yere throughout all the realme and consumed a marueilous number, as well noble men, as Bishops, Iudges, Knightes, Gentlemen and riche Farmours: But most of the Clergy and other auncient and graue persons. In which, whyle the Queene laye languishing of a long sickenesse, and so continued vntill the. xvij. of Nouember next betweene the houres of fiue or sixe in the morning, and then ended her life in this world at her house of saint Iames beside Westminster, when she had reigned fiue yeres, foure Monethes and a.xj. dayes, and in the. xliij. yere of her bodily age. And the same day about sixe of the clock in the euening dyed Cardynall Poole, Legate of the Bishop of Rome, late afore made Archebishop of Cauntorbury, at his house ouer againste Westminster called Lambeth. This Cardinall was dissended of the house of Clarence, that is to saye, one of the yonger sonnes of Margaret Countesse of Salisburie, daughter of George Duke of Clarence, brother to king Edwarde the fourth. The death of this sayde Queene made a marueilous alteration in this realme, namely in the case of religion, which like as by the death of king Edward the sixt it suffred a chaunge from the establishment of his time: So by the death of this Queene it returned into the former estate.

The description of Cardinall Poole.

Queene Elizabeth.



When true knowlege was had that Queene Mary was deceassed, who left her lyfe in this world the. xvij. day of Nouember as is before mencioned in the latter ende of her history in the time of a Parliament, the Lordes that were assembled in the vpper house, beyng resolued according to the lawes of the land to declare the Lady Elizabeth, sister to the sayde Queene Mary, to be very true and lawfull heire to the crowne of England, sent immediatly to the Speaker of the sayde Parliament, willing him with the Knightes and Burgesses of the nether house without delaye to repayre vnto them into the vpper house, for their assents in a case of great importaunce. Who beyng come thether, after silence made (as the maner is) the Archebishop of Yorke Chauncellor of Englande whose name was Nicholas Hethe Doctor in diuinitie, stoode vp and pronounced in effect these wordes folowyng. The cause of your calling hether at this time is to signifie vnto you, that all the Lordes here present are certainely certefied that God this present Morning hath called to his mercy our late soueraigne Lady Queene Mary, which happe as it is most heauy and grieuous vnto vs, so haue we no lesse cause an other way to reioyce with praise to almightie God, for that he hath left vnto vs a true, lawfull and right Inheritrice to the crowne of this Realme, which is the Lady Elizabeth second Daughter to our late souereigne Lord of noble memorie King Henry the eyght, and sister vnto our sayde late Queene, of whose most lawful, right and title in the succession to the crowne (thanks be to God) we neede not to doubt. Wherefore, the Lordes of this house haue determined with your assentes and consentes to passe from hence into the Palace, and there to proclayme the sayde Ladye Elizabeth Queene of this Realme, without farther tract of time. Wherevnto the whole house answered with euident apparaunce of ioy, criyng, God saue Queene Elizabeth, long may Queene Elizabeth raigne ouer vs. And so this parliament beeing dissolued by the act of God, the sayde Lordes immediatly calling vnto them the Kings and principall Herealds at Armes, went into the Palace of Westminster, and directly before the hall doore in the fore noone of the same day, after seuerall sounding of Trumpets made in most solempne maner, proclaymed the new Queene, by thys name and title. Elizabeth by the grace of God Queene of England, Fraunce and Ireland, defender of the faith. &c. to the great comfort and reioysing of the people, as by theyr manors and countenances well appered. After which proclamation made at Westminster, the sayd Lords with all speede repayred into the Citye of London, where like Proclamation was made in their presence at the

the Crosse in Chepe, with no lesse vniuersall ioy, and thanks geuing to God of the hearers.

In this place I intende to conclude and ende thys my rude and vnlearned woorke, not worthye the name of a Chronicle, praying the gentle Reader to pardō me in that I do not passe forth with the declaration of the Historye of thys most gracious and vertuous Princes, in such maner as I haue done with other before, for diuers causes do moue me to stay here, not only for that my worke alredy is come to a full volume, but also for that her graces proceedings in her gouernement bene such and so great as require a larger discourse of matter. As first to consider how her Maiestie finding this realme in hostilitie with Fraunce, with how great felicitie and no lesse prouidence of counsayle shee brought both realmes to peace. And the towne of Calice before lost (as you haue heard) in the time of hir sister, by an honorable peace concluded with the French king, shee brought to passe eyther to haue the same againe restored within a certayne time prefixed, or else the sayde French king to forfeyt and paye vnto her certaine great sommes of money, reseruing neuertheless the right and title of the sayde towne and countrie to the realme of Englande. And perceyuing that by the losse of the sayde towne and by other occasions this realme was much disfurnished of Armour and munition: She of her high polley and with no small charges prouided a new furniture & store thereof in a much more large proporcion. And in like maner espying in time the subtill compasse of the French king in landing of men of warre in Scotland, whereof might haue ensued perill of inuasion into England that way, did nobly & prudently preuent the same to the vtter frustration of all his fine and secrete deuises: besides the quayling and disappointing the house of Guyse, of their attemptes in Fraunce, tending to the vtter destruction of all such in that realme as would not professe the Popes religion, wherein if the late Duke had preuayled, it was not vnlike, but that he encoraged thereby, would haue made some further enterprise to the small quyet of this realme. Adde herevnto the benefite inestimable which this realme hath receiued by the conuerting of the base and copper monies into fine Siluer and Golde: but specially the most mercifull gouernement and rule sithens her comming to the state of Queene, wherin the euill doer hath not his free skope, nor the honest person kept from iustice: neyther yet any rigour or extremitie vsed in cases, though some of them haue nerely touched the suretie of her highnesse person.

These things I say with many other beyng of so great importaunce require to be handled in a higher maner of stile then is for me to write. And better is litle or nothing to be sayde by me in these and many other most honourable and Princely affayres, then for lacke of learning and eloquence in expressing, to darken or rather deface the excellencye of the same. And farther also, I am certified that there are sundrie men of excellent knowlege and learnyng, that purpose the setting foorth of her highnesse Historye, so that dutie bindeth mee hauing respect vnto the honor of her Maiestie and this noble Realme of Englande here to stay, referryng the desirous Reader that woulde vnderstande such particuler thinges as haue passed in the time of her Graces reigne, vnto suche briefe notes as are set foorth in the small Abridgements of Chronicles of our tyme.

And

And here most hartily beseeching Almightie God to preserue her Maiestie in most prosperous and honorable estate long to liue and reigne ouer vs, and also to keepe and preserue all her highnesse most honorable Counsellours and to prosper them in all their affayres both publique and priuate. I finishe and make an ende in the yere of our Lord 1568. the .xviij. day of Marche and in the .xj. yere of the reigne of this most noble and vertuous Princesse Elizabeth our most dread and souereigne Lady.

FINIS.

A Table declaring the reignes of euerie king of this Realme, sithen the conquest, and the yeares of our Lorde, and Monethes and dayes of their beginning, and also the names and surnames of all the Maiors, and Shirifes of London, with the yere and daye of their entrance into their charge. And for the better vnderstanding of this Table, the same is deuided into .iiij. partes or titles. The first is the yeres of our Lorde, then the Monethes and dayes wherein euery King began his reigne, then the yeres of the Kings reigne, and lastly, the names of the Bayliffes, Shirifes and Maiors, placed iustly vpon the verie day of the Moneth, wherin euerie of them entred into their office. And for example, I would know in what yere of our Lorde King Henrie the .viij. began his reigne, and in what Moneth and daye, and who were then Shirifes and Maior of London. First I seeke out among the Kinges, and at the last, I finde King Henrie the .viij. and in the first title I finde the yeare of our Lorde that he began his reigne in, which was .1509. and the .xxij. day of the Moneth of Aprill. And immediatly followeth the Moneth of September, and the .xxviij. daye, wherein George Monmouth and John Ducket entred into their office of Shiriualtie, and likewyse foloweth in the same yere the Moneth of October the .xxviij. day, wherin Thomas Wyadhurie entred into his office of the Mayraltie of London. And thus may ye in like maner find a true accompt of the yeres of any King, Shirife, or Maior of London.

King Richard the first beginneth his reigne *in the yeare*. 1189.

The yeres of our Lord.	Monethes and dayes.	The yeres of the King.	Bayliffes.
1189	March.25.		
	July.6.	1	
	Septem.28.		Henry Cornehill, Richard Riuerie. B.
1190	March.25.		
	July.6.	2	
	Septem.28.		John Herlion, Roger Duke. B.
1191	March.25.		
	July.6.	3	
	Septem.28.		Willyam Hauerchall, John Bucknot. B.
1192	March.25.		
	July.6.	4	
	Septem.28.		Nicholas Duke, Peter Nowley. B.
1193	March.25.		
	July.6.	5	
	Septem.28.		Roger Duke, Richard Fitzaleyn. B.
1194	March.25.		
	July.6.	6	
	Septem.28.		Willyam Fitzisabell, Willyam Fitzarnold. B.
1195	March.25.		
	July.6.	7	
	Septem.28.		Robert Besaunt, Jokell Josue. B.
1196	March.25.		
	July.6.	8	
	Septem.28.		Gerard Antiloch, Robert Duraunt. B.
1197	March.25.		
	July.6.	9	
	Septem.28.		Roger Blunt, Nicholas Ducket. B.

The Table.

The yeres of our Lord.	Monethes and dayes.	The yeres of the King.	Bayliffes.
1198	March.25. July.6. Septem.28.	10	Conſtantine Fitzarnold, Robert le Beau. B.

King Iohn beginneth hi reigne in the *yere.* 1199.

1199	March.25. Apꝛill.6. Septem.28.	1	Arnold Fitzarnold, Rich. Fitzbartholomew. B.
1200	March.25. Apꝛill.6. Septem.28.	2	Roger Doxet, James Bartholomew. B.
1201	March.25. Apꝛill.6. Septem.28.	3	Walter Fitzalis, Simon of Aldermanbury. B.
1202	March.25. Apꝛill.6. Septem.28.	4	Norman Blundell, John of Ely. B.
1203	March.25. Apꝛill.6. Septem.28.	5	Water Browne, Willyam Chamberlaine. B.
1204	March.25. Apꝛill.6. Septem.28.	6	Thomas Hauerill, Hamond Bꝛond. B.
1205	March.25. Apꝛill.6. Septem.28.	7	John Wolgraue, Richard of Wincheſter. B.
1206	March.25. Apꝛill.6. Septem.28.	8	John Holyland, Edmond Fitz Gerrard. B.
1207	March.25. Apꝛill.6. Septem.28.	9	Roger Wincheſter, Edmond Hardell. B.

Here came in the firſt Maior and Sherreues of London.

1208	March.25. Apꝛill.6. Septem.28. October.28.	10	Peter Duke, Thomas Nele, Sherreues. Henry Fitzalwin, Maior.
1209	March.25. Apꝛill.6. Septem.28. October.28.	11	Peter le Joſue, Willyam Blound, S. Henry Fitzalwin, M.
1210	March.25. Apꝛill.6. Septem.28. October.28.	12	Adam Whetley, Stephen le Gras, S. Henry Fitzalwin, M.
1211	March.25. Apꝛill.6. Septem.28. October.28.	13	Iohn Fitz Pet, John Garlond, S. Henry Fitzalwin, M.

The Table.

The yeres of our Lord.	Monethes and dayes.	The yeres of the king.	Sherreues and Maiors.
1212	March.25. Apꝛill.6. Septem.28. Octo.28.	14	Randolph Eyland, Conſtantyne le Joſue. S. Henry Fitzalwyn. M.
1213	March.25. Apꝛill.6. Septem.28. Octo.28.	15	Martyn Fitzalys, Peter Bate. S. Roger Fitzalwyn. M.
1214	March.25. Apꝛill.6. Septem.28. Octo.28.	16	Salomon Baſyng, Hugh Baſyng. S. Roger Fitzalwyn. M.
1215	March.25. Apꝛill.6. Septem.28. Octo.28.	17	John Trauers, Andꝛew Newland. S. Wylliam Hardell. M.

King Henry the thirde beginneth his reigne *in the yere.* 1216.

1216	March.25. Septem.28. Octo.19. Octo.28.	1	Benet Couentrye, Wylliam Bluntmers. S. James Alderman, Salomon Baſyng. M.
1217	March.25. Septem.28. Octo.19. Octo.28.	2	Thomas Bokerell, Rauſe Hollyland. S. Robert Serle. M.
1218	March.25. Septem.28. Octo.19. Octo.28.	3	John Waylle, Joſe nus Spycer. S. Robert Serle. M.
1219	March.25. Septem.28. Octo.19. Octo.28.	4	Richard Wymbledye, John Waylle. S. Robert Serle. M.
1220	March.25. Septem.28. Octo.19. Octo.28.	5	Richard Reynger, Joſeus le Joſue. S. Robert Serle. M.
1221	March.25. Septem.28. Octo.19. Octo.28.	6	Richard Reynger, Joſeus le Joſue. S. Robert Serle. M.
1222	March.25. Septem.28. Octo.19. Octo.28.	7	Rychard Reynger, Thomas Lambert. S. Robert Serle. M.
1223	March.25. Septem.28. Octo.19. Octo.28.	8	Wylliam Joyner, Thomas Lambert. S. Richard Reynger. M.

The Table.

The yeres of our Lord.	Monethes and dayes.	The yeres of the King.	Sherreues and Maiors.
1224	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		John Trauers, Andzew Bokerell.S.
	Octo.19.	9	
	Octo.28.		Rychard Reynger.M.
1225	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		Roger Duke, Martyn Fitzwylliam.S.
	Octo.19.	10	
	Octo.28.		Richard Reynger.M.
1226	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		Stephyn Bokerell, Henry Cobham.S.
	Octo.19.	11	
	Octo.28.		Rychard Reynger.M.
1227	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		Stephyn Bokerell, Henry Cobham.S.
	Octo.19.	12	
	Octo.28.		Roger Duke.M.
1228	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		Walter Wincheller, Robert FitzJohn.S.
	Octo.19.	13	
	Octo.28.		Roger Duke.M.
1229	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		Richard Fitzwylliam, John Wodbozne.S.
	Octo.19.	14	
	Octo.28.		Roger Duke.M.
1230	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		Pighell of saint Eleyn, Walter of Enfeld. S.
	Octo.19.	15	
	Octo.28.		Andzew Bokerell.M.
1231	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		Henry Edmonton, Gerrard Bat.S.
	Octo.19.	16	
	Octo.28.		Andzew Bokerell.M.
1232	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		Symond Fitzmare, Roger Blont.S.
	Octo.19.	17	
	Octo.28.		Andzew Bokerell.M.
1233	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		Rauke Alhwy, John Nozman.S.
	Octo.19.	18	
	Octo.28.		Andzew Bokerell.M.
1234	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		Gerrard Bat, Robert Ardell.S.
	Octo.19.	19	
	Octo.28.		Andzew Bokerell.M.
1235	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		Henry Cobham, Jozdane Couentrie.S.
	Octo.19.	20	
	Octo.28.		Andzew Bokerell.M.
1236	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		John Toleson, Gerrard Cozdwayner.S.
	Octo.19.	21	
	Octo.28.		Andzew Bokerell.M.
1237	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		John Wyllhall, John Goundzelle.S.

The Table.

The yeres of our Lord.	Monethes and dayes.	The yeres of the king.	Sherreues and Maiors.
	Octo.19.	22	
	Octo.28.		Rychard Reynger.M.
1238	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		Reymond Bongey, Rauke Alhwy.S.
	Octo.19.	23	
	Octo.28.		William Joyner.M.
1239	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		John Gylozs, Pyghell Tony. S.
	Octo.19.	24	
	Octo.28.		Gerrard Bat.M.
1240	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		John Boyle, Thomas Durelme.S.
	Octo.19.	25	
	Octo.28.		Reymond Bongey.M.
1241	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		John FitzJohn, Rauke Alhye.S.
	Octo.19.	26	
	Octo.28.		Reymond Bongey.M.
1242	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		Hugh Blont, Adam Baseyng. S.
	Octo.19.	27	
	Octo.28.		Rauke Alhye.M.
1243	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		Rauke Spycer, Nicholas Bat.S.
	Octo.19.	28	
	Octo.28.		Pighell Tony.M.
1244	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		Robert Cozneхill, Adam Bewly.S.
	Octo.19.	29	
	Octo.28.		John Gilozs.M.
1245	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		Symon Fitzmary, Lawzence Frowyke.S.
	Octo.19.	30	
	Octo.28.		John Gilozs.M.
1246	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		John Boyle, Nicholas Bat.S.
	Octo.19.	31	
	Octo.28.		Piers Alyn.M.
1247	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		Nycholas Joye, Geoffrey Wynton.S.
	Octo.19.	32	
	Octo.28.		Pighell Tony.M.
1248	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		Rauke Yardell, John Toleson.S.
	Octo.19.	33	
	Octo.28.		Roger Fitzroger.M.
1249	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		Humfrey Balle, Wylliam Fitzrichard.S.
	Octo.19.	34	
	Octo.28.		John Nozman.M.
1250	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		Lawzence Frowyke, Nicholas Bat.S.
	Octo.19.	35	
	Octo.28.		Adam Baseyng.M.

The Table.

The yeres of our Lord.	Monethes and dayes.	The yeres of the King.	Sherreues and Maiors.
1251	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		Wylliam Durham, Thomas Wynborne.S.
	Octo.19.	36	
	Octo.28.		Iohn Toleson.M.
1252	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		Iohn Northampton, Richard Picard.S.
	Octo.19.	37	
	Octo.28.		Nycholas Bat.M.
1253	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		Robert Belyngton, Rauke Alchwy.S.
	Octo.19.	38	
	Octo.28.		Richard Hardell.M.
1254	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		Stephyn Dyllergate, Henry Walmode.S.
	Octo.19.	39	
	Octo.28.		Richarde Hardell.M.
1255	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		Mathew Bokerell, Iohn Pinot.S.
	Octo.19.	40	
	Octo.28.		Richard Hardell.M.
1256	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		Richard Ewell, Wylliam Alchwy.S.
	Octo.19.	41	
	Octo.28.		Richard Hardell.M.
1257	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		Thomas Fitzrichard, Robert Cathelton.S.
	Octo.19.	42	
	Octo.28.		Richard Hardell.M.
1258	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		Iohn Adrian, Robert Cornehill.S.
	Octo.19.	43	
	Octo.28.		Iohn Gisors.M.
1259	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		Adam Brown, Richard Couentrie.S.
	Octo.19.	44	
	Octo.28.		Wylliam Fitzrichard.M.
1260	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		Iohn Northampton, Richard Pickard.S.
	Octo.19.	45	
	Octo.28.		Wylliam Fitzrichard.M.
1261	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		Philip Walbroke, Richard Tayler.S.
	Octo.19.	46	
	Octo.28.		Thomas Fitzthomas.M.
1262	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		Robert Mountpiller. Osborne Buckecelell. S.
	Octo.19.	47	
	Octo.28.		Thomas Fitzthomas.M.
1263	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		Thomas Lamforde, Edward Blont.S.
	Octo.19.	48	
	Octo.28.		Thomas Fitzthomas.M.
1264	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		Peter Armiger, Gregory Rokesley.S.

The Table.

The yeres of our Lord.	Monethes and dayes.	The yeres of the king.	Sherreues and Maiors.
	Octo.19.	49	
	Octo.28.		Thomas Fitzthomas.M.
1265	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		Thomas de la forde, Gregory Rokesley.S.
	Octo.19.	50	
	Octo.28.		Wylliam Fitzrichard.M.
1266	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		Iohn Adrian, Lucas Bitencote.S.
	Octo.19.	51	
	Octo.28.		Alyen Towche.M.
1267	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		Thomas of Basyng, Robert of Cornehill.S.
	Octo.19.	52	
	Octo.28.		Aleyn Towche.M.
1268	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		Wylliam of Durham, Water Haruie.S.
	Octo.19.	53	
	Octo.28.		Aleyn Towche.M.
1269	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		Wylliam Hadlock, Anketill de Aluerne.S.
	Octo.19.	54	
	Octo.28.		Thomas Fitzthomas.M.
1270	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		Walter Potter, Iohn Taylor.S.
	Octo.19.	55	
	Octo.28.		Iohn Adrian.M.
1271	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		Gregorie Rokelley, Henry Walleys.S.
	Octo.19.	56	
	Octo.28.		Iohn Adrian.M.
1272	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		Richard Paris, Iohn Bedyll.S.
	Octo.19.	57	
	Octo.28.		Walter Herule.M.

King Edward the first beginneth his reigne *in the yere.* 1273.

	Nouem.16.	1	
1273	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		Iohn Horne, Walter Porter.S.
	Octo.28.		Walter Haruie.M.
	Nouem.16.	2	
1274	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		Nicholas Wyncheſter, Henry Couentrie.S.
	Octo.28.		Henry Walleys.M.
	Nouem.16.	3	
1275	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		Luke Batencourt, Henry Frowyke.S.
	Octo.28.		Gregorie Rokelley.M.
	Nouem.16.	4	
1276	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		Iohn Worne, Rauke Blont.S.

The Table.

The yeres of our Lord.	Monethes and dayes.	The yeres of the King.	Sherreues and Maiors.
	Octo.28.		Gregozie Rokesley. M.
	Nouem.16.	5	
1277	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		Robert de Bzasy, Rauke Fenour. S.
	Octo.28.		Gregozie Rokesley. M.
	Nouem.16.	6	
1278	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		John Adzian, Walter Langley. S.
	Octo.28.		Gregozie Rokesley. M.
	Nouem.16.	7	
1279	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		Robert Balyng, Wylliam Mercer. S.
	Octo.28.		Gregozie Rokesley. M.
	Nouem.16.	8	
1280	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		Thomas Bore, Rauke Woze. S.
	Octo.28.		Gregozie Rokesley. M.
	Nouem.16.	9	
1281	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		Wylliam Faringdon, Nicholas Winchester. S.
	Octo.28.		Gregozie Rokesley. M.
	Nouem.16.	10	
1282	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		Wylliam Mazerer, Nycholas Wyncheller. S.
	Octo.28.		Henry Waleys. M.
	Nouem.16.	11	
1283	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		Rauke Blont, Hawkyn Betuell. S.
	Octo.28.		Henry Waleys. M.
	Nouem.16.	12	
1284	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		Jozdane Godchepe, Martine Bore. S.
	Octo.28.		Henry Waleys. M.
	Nouem.16.	13	
1285	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		Stephyn Cozneuill, Robert Rokesley. S.
	Octo.28.		Gregozie Rokesley. M.
	Nouem.16.	14	
1286	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		Walter Blont, John Wade. S.
	Octo.28.		Rauke Sandwiche. Custos.
	Nouem.16.	15	
1287	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		Thomas Crosse, Wylliam Hawteyn. S.
	Octo.28.		Sir John Bziton. C.
	Nouem.16.	16	
1288	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		Wylliam Herkozd, Thomas Stanes. S.
	Octo.28.		Rauke Sandwiche. C.
	Nouem.16.	17	
1289	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		Wylliam Betayne, John of Cauntozburie. S.
	Octo.28.		Rauke Sandwiche. C.
	Nouem.16.	18	

The Table.

The yeres of our Lord.	Monethes and dayes.	The yeres of the king.	Sherreues and Maiors.
1290	March.25.		
	Septem. 28.		Fowlk of S. Edmonds, Salomon Langford. S.
	Octo.28.		Rauke Sandwiche. C.
	Nouem.16.	19	
1291	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		Thomas Romayne, Wylliam de Ipze. S.
	Octo.28.		Rauke Sandwiche. C.
	Nouem.16.	20.	
1292	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		Rauke Blont, Hamond Bore. S.
	Octo.28.		Rauke Sandwiche. C.
	Nouem.16.	21	
1293	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		Henry Ball, Ellice Russell. S.
	Octo.28.		Rauke Sandwiche. C.
	Nouem.16.	22	
1294	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		Robert Rokesley, Martyn Awbzey. S.
	Octo.28.		Rauke Sandwiche. C.
	Nouem.16.	23	
1295	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		Henry Bore, Richard Glouceſter. S.
	Octo.28.		Sir John Bziton. C.
	Nouem.16.	24	
1296	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		John Donkable, Adam Harlyngbury. S.
	Octo.28.		Sir John Bziton. C.
	Nouem.16.	25	
1297	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		Thomas Sulke, Adam of Fullam. S.
	Octo.28.		Sir John Bziton. C.
	Nouem.16.	26	
1298	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		John of Stoztford, Wylliam of Stoztford. S.
	Octo.28.		Sir John Bziton. C.
	Nouem.16.	27	
1299	March.25.		
	Septem. 28.		Richard Relham, Thomas Sely. S.
	Octo.28.		Henry Walleys. M.
	Nouem.16.	28	
1300	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		John Armencer, Henry Fringrith. S.
	Octo.28.		Ellice Russell. M.
	Nouem.16.	29	
1301	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		Luke Hauering, Richard Champneys. S.
	Octo.28.		Ellice Russell. M.
	Nouem.16.	30	
1302	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		Robert Caller, Peter Bolham. S.
	Octo.28.		John Blont. M.
	Nouem.16.	31	
1303	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		Hugh Pourt, Symond Parys. S.

The Table.

The yeres of our Lord.	Monethes and dayes.	The yeres of the King.	Sherreues and Maiors.
	Octo.28.		John Blont.M.
	Nouem.16.	32	
1304	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		Wylliam Combmartyn, John of Burford.S.
	Octo.28.		John Blont. M.
	Nouem.16.	33	
1305	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		Roger Paris, John Lyncolne.S.
	Octo.28.		John Blont.M.
	Nouem.16.	34	
1306	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		Reynold Doderill, Wylliam Caulon.S.
	Octo.28.		John Blont.M.
	Nouem.16.	35	

King Edward the second beginneth his reigne *in the yere.* 1307.

1307	March.25.		
	Julie.7.	1	
	Septem.28.		Symon Belet, Godfrey de la Conduyt.S.
	Octo.28.		John Blont.M.
1308	March.25.		
	Julie.7.	2	
	Septem.28.		Nicholas Pygot, Michell Drury.S.
	Octo.28.		John Blont.M.
1309	March.25.		
	Julie.7.	3	
	Septem.28.		Wylliam Basyng, John Butteler.S.
	Octo.28.		Nicholas Faringdon.M.
1310	March.25.		
	Julie.7.	4	
	Septem.28.		James of saint Edmondes, Roger Palmer.S.
	Octo.28.		Thomas Romayne.M.
1311	March.25.		
	Julie.7.	5	
	Septem.28.		Symon Crop, Peter Blackney.S.
	Octo.28.		Richard Kotham.M.
1312	March.25.		
	Julie.7.	6	
	Septem.28.		Symon Merwood, Richard Wylforde.S.
	Octo.28.		John Gisors.M.
1313	March.25.		
	Julie.7.	7	
	Septem.28.		John Lambyn, Adam Lutkyn.S.
	Octo.28.		John Gisors.M.
1314	March.25.		
	Julie.7.	8	
	Septem.28.		Adam Burden, Hugh Wayton.S.
	Octo.28.		Nicholas Faringdon.M.
1315	March.25.		
	Julie.7.	9	

The Table.

The yeres of our Lord.	Monethes and dayes.	The yeres of the king.	Sherreues and Maiors.
	Septem.28.		Stephyn of Abyngton, Hamond Chickwell.S.
	Octo.28.		John Gisors.M.
	March.25.		
1316	Julie.7.	10	
	Septem.28.		Hamond Godcheape, Wylliam Redyng.S.
	Octo.28.		Stephyn of Abyngdon. M.
	March.25.		
1317	Julie.7.	11	
	Septem.28.		Wylliam Callon, Rauf Palmer.S.
	Octo.28.		John Wengraue.M.
	March.25.		
1318	Julie.7.	12	
	Septem.28.		John Prior, Wylliam Furner. S.
	Octo.28.		John Wengraue.M.
	March.25.		
1319	Julie.7.	13	
	Septem.28.		John Pountney, John Dallyng.S.
	Octo.28.		John Wengraue.M.
	March.25.		
1320	Julie.7.	14	
	Septem.28.		Symon Abyngdon, John Preston.S.
	Octo.28.		Hamond Chickwell. M.
	March.25.		
1321	Julie.7.	15	
	Septem.28.		Reynold at the Conduyt, Wyllia Prodham.S.
	Octo.28.		Hamond Chickwell.M.
	March.25.		
1322	Julie.7.	16	
	Septem.28.		Richard Conkantine, Richard Hackney.S.
	Octo.28.		Hamond Chickwell.M.
	March.25.		
1323	Julie.7.	17	
	Septem.28.		John Grantham, Richard of Ely.S.
	Octo.28.		Hamond Chickwell.M.
	March.25.		
1324	Julie.7.	18	
	Septem.28.		Adam Sarcsburie, John of Oxford. S.
	Octo.28.		Nicholas Faringdon.M.
	March.25.		
1325	Julie.7.	19	
	Septem.28.		Benet Fullham, John Cawlton. S.
	Octo.28.		Hamond Chickwell.M.
	March.25.		
1326	Julie.7.	20	
	Septem.28.		Gilbert Horden, John Cotton.S.
	Octo.28.		Richard Betteyn.M.

King Edward the thirde beginneth his reigne *in the yere.* 1327.

	Janu.25.		
1327	March.25.	1	
	Septem. 28.		Richard Rotyng, Roger Chaucelour.S.

The Table.

The yeres of our Lord.	Monethes and dayes.	The yeres of the King.	Sherreues and Maiors.
	Octo. 28.		Richard Bzeteyn. M.
	Janu.25.	2	
1328	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		Henry Darcy, John Hawden. S.
	Octo.28.		Hamond Chickwell.M.
	Janu.25.	3	
1329	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		Symon Fraunces, Henry Combmartyn.S.
	Octo.28.		John Grantham.M.
	Janu.25.	4	
1330	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		Richard Lazer, Richard Gisours.S.
	Octo.28.		Symond Swaland. M.
	Janu.25.	5	
1331	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		Robert Ely, Thomas Whozwod. S.
	Octo.28.		Symond Swaland. M.
	Janu.25.	6	
1332	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		John Hockyng, Andzew Awberey.S.
	Octo.28.		John Pountney.M.
	Janu.25.	7	
1333	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		Nycholas Pyke, John Husband.S.
	Octo.28.		John Bzeton.M.
	Janu.25.	8	
1334	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		John Hamond Wylliam Halard.S.
	Octo.28.		John Pountney.M.
	Janu.25.	9	
1335	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		John Kyngston, Walter Turke.S.
	Octo.28.		Reignold at Conduyt.M.
	Janu.25.	10	
1336	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		Walter Hozden, Richard Upton. S.
	Octo.28.		Reynold at Conduyt. M.
	Janu.25.	11	
1337	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		Wylliam Bzicklesworth, John Northhall.S.
	Octo.28.		John Pountney. M.
	Janu.25.	12	
1338	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		Walter Neale, Nicholas Graue.S.
	Octo.28.		Henry Darcy.M.
	Janu.25.	13	
1339	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		Wylliam Thozney, Roger Frolham. S.
	Octo.28.		Andzew Awbzey.M.
	Janu.25.	14	
1340	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		Adam Lucas, Bartholo. Parys.S.
	Octo.28.		Andzew Awbzey. M.
	Janu.25.	15	

The Table.

The yeres of our Lord.	Monethes and dayes.	The yeres of the king.	Sherreues and Maiors.
1341	March.25.		Adam Lucas, Bartholo. Parys.S.
	Septem.28.		Andzew Awbzey.M.
	Octo.28.		
	Janu.25.	16	
1342	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		Richard Barkyng, John Rokelley. S.
	Octo.28.		John Drenford.M.
	Janu.25.	17	
1343	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		John Lufkyn, Richard Kyllyngbury. S.
	Octo.28.		Symon Fraunces.M.
	Janu.25.	18	
1344	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		John Stuard, John Aylesham.S.
	Octo.28.		John Hamond.M.
	Janu.25.	19	
1345	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		Geoffrey Wychyngham, Thomas Legget.S.
	Octo.28.		John Hamond.M.
	Janu.25.	20	
1346	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		Edmond Hempnall, John Glouceſter.S.
	Octo.28.		Richard Lazer. M.
	Janu.25.	21	
1347	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		John Croydon, Wylliam Clopton.S.
	Octo.28.		Geoffrey Wychyngham.M.
	Janu.25.	22	
1348	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		Adam Bramſon, Richard Baſyngſtoke.S.
	Octo.28.		Thomas Legget.M.
	Janu.25.	23	
1349	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		Henry Picard, Symon Wolſeley. S.
	Octo.28.		John Lufkyn.M.
	Janu.25.	24	
1350	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		Adam Bury, Rauke Lynne.S.
	Octo.28.		Wylliam Turke.M.
	Janu.25.	25	
1351	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		John Not, Wylliam Wozceſter.S.
	Octo.28.		Richard Kyllyngbury.M.
	Janu.25.	26	
1352	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		John Wroth, Gybbon Stayndzop.S.
	Octo.28.		Andzew Aubery.M.
	Janu.25.	27	
1553	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		John Peache, John Stodeley.S.
	Octo.28.		Adam Fraunces.M.
	Janu.25.	28	
1554	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		John Welde, John Lytle. S.

The Table.

The yeres of our Lord.	Monethes and dayes.	The yeres of the King.	Sherreues and Maiors.
	Octo.28.		Adam Fraunces.M.
	Janu.25.	29	
1355	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		Wylliam Cottyngham, Richard Smert.S.
	Octo.28.		Thomas Legget.M.
	Janu.25.	30	
1356	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		Thomas Foxller, Thomas Brandon.S.
	Octo.28.		Symon Fraunces.M.
	Janu.25.	31	
1357	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		Richard Nottyngham, Thomas Dolell.S.
	Octo.28.		Henry Pickard.M.
	Janu.25.	32	
1358	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		Stephyn Candilhe, Bartho. Frosklyng.S.
	Octo.28.		John Stody.M.
	Janu.25.	33	
1359	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		John Barnes, John Burys.S.
	Octo.28.		John Lufkyn.M.
	Janu.25.	34	
1360	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		Symon Bedyngham, John Chicheller.S.
	Octo.28.		Symond Dukeld.M.
	Janu.25.	35	
1361	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		John Denys, Walter Burney.S.
	Octo.28.		John Wroth.M.
	Janu.25.	36	
1362	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		Wylliam Holbeche, James Tame.S.
	Octo.28.		John Peche.M.
	Janu.25.	37	
1363	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		John of saint Albones, James Andrew.S.
	Octo.28.		Stephyn Candilhe.M.
	Janu.25.	38	
1364	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		Richard Croydon, John Hiltoft.S.
	Octo.28.		John Notte.M.
	Janu.25.	39	
1365	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		Symon Mordant, John of Wotforde.S.
	Octo.28.		Adam of Bury.M.
	Janu.25.	40	
1366	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		John Bukylfworth, John Dreland.S.
	Octo.28.		John Lufkyn.M.
	Janu.25.	41	
1367	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		John Warde, Wylliam Dickman.S.
	Octo.28.		John Lufkyn.M.
	Janu.25.	42	

The Table.

The yeres of our Lord.	Monethes and dayes.	The yeres of the king.	Sherreues and Maiors.
1368	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		Richard Lozgold, Wylliam Dickman.S.
	Octo.28.		James Andrew.M.
	Janu.25.	43	
1369	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		Adam Wymbyngham, Robert Eyzeler.S.
	Octo.28.		Symond Mozdon.M.
	Janu.25.	44	
1370	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		John Pycle, Hugh Holdiche.S.
	Octo.28.		John Chicheller.M.
	Janu.25.	45	
1371	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		Wylliam Walworth, Robert Gayton.S.
	Octo.28.		John Barnes.M.
	Janu.25.	46	
1372	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		Robert Hatfielde, Adam Staple.S.
	Octo.28.		John Barnes.M.
	Janu.25.	47	
1373	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		John Philpot, Nycholas Brembze.S.
	Octo.28.		John Piele.M.
	Janu.25.	48	
1374	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		John Aubery, John Fisshye.S.
	Octo.28.		Adam Bury.M.
	Janu.25.	49	
1375	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		Richard Lyons, Wylliam Wodhouse.S.
	Octo.28.		Wylliam Walworth.M.
	Janu.25.	50	
1376	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		John Hadley, Wylliam Newport.S.
	Octo.28.		John Warde.M.
	Janu.25.	51	

King Richard the second beginneth his *reigne in the yere.* 1377.

1377	March.25.		
	June.21.	1	
	Septem.28.		John Northampton, Robert Laund.S.
	Octo.28.		Adam Staple.M.
1378	March.25.		
	June.21.	2	
	Septem.28.		Andrew Pickman, Nycholas Twiford.S.
	Octo.28.		Nicholas Brember.M.
1379	March.25.		
	June.21.	3	
	Septem.28.		John Boseham, Thomas Cornewallys.S.
	Octo.28.		John Philpot.M.

The Table.

The yeres of our Lord.	Monethes and dayes.	The yeres of the king.	Shrieues and Maiors.
1380	March.25.		
	June.21.	4	
	Septem.28.		John Helydon, Wylliam Walet.S.
	Octo.28.		John Hadley.M.
1381	March.25.		
	June.21.	5	
	Septem.28.		Walter Ducket, Wylliam Knight hod.S.
	Octo.28.		Wylliam Walworth.M.
1382	March.25.		
	June.21.	6	
	Septem.28.		John Rote, John Hyndé.S.
	Octo.28.		John Northampton.M.
1383	March.25.		
	June.21.	7	
	Septem.28.		Adam Bawme, John Sely.S.
	Octo.28.		John Northampton.M.
1384	March.25.		
	June.21.	8	
	Septem.28.		Symon Mynchecombe, John More.S.
	Octo.28.		John Northampton.M.
1385	March.25.		
	June.21.	9	
	Septem.28.		Nicholas Exton, John Frenche.S.
	Octo.28.		Nycholas Brember.M.
1386	March.25.		
	June.21.	10	
	Septem.28.		John Organ, John Churchman.S.
	Octo.28.		Nycholas Brember.M.
1387	March.25.		
	June.21.	11	
	Septem.28.		Wylliam Stonden, Wylliam More.S.
	Octo.28.		Nycholas Exton.M.
1388	March.25.		
	June.21.	12	
	Septem.28.		Wylliam Venour, Hugh Fastalfe.S.
	Octo.28.		Nycholas Exton.M.
1389	March.25.		
	June.21.	13	
	Septem.28.		Thomas Aulkyn, Adam Gathill.S.
	Octo.28.		Nycholas Twyford.M.
1390	March.25.		
	June.21.	14	
	Septem.28.		John Walcote, John Loueney.S.
	Octo.28.		Wylliam Venour.M.
1391	March.25.		
	June.21.	15	
	Septem.28.		John Fraunces, Thomas Aluent.S.
	Octo.28.		Adam Bawme.M.
1392	March.25.		
	June.21.	16	
	Septem.28.		John Cadworth, Henry Vamer.S.
	Octo.28.		John Hynde.M.
1393	March.25.		
	June.21.	17	

The Table.

The yeres of our Lord	Monethes and dayes.	The yeres of the king.	Sherreues and Maiors.
	Septem.28.		Gilbert Mansfielde, Thomas Newton.S.
	Octo.28.		Wylliam Stonden.M.
1394	March.25.		
	June.21.	18	
	Septem.28.		Drewe Barentyne, Richard Whytyngdon.S.
	Octo.28.		John Hadley.M.
1395	March.25.		
	June.21.	19	
	Septem.28.		Wylliam Bramton, Thomas Knolles.S.
	Octo.28.		John Frenche.M.
1396	March.25.		
	June.21.	20	
	Septem.28.		Roger Ellice, Wylliam Sheryngham.S.
	Octo.28.		Wylliam More.M.
1397	March.25.		
	June.21.	21	
	Septem.28.		Thomas Wylford, Wylliam Parker.S.
	Octo.28.		Adam Bawme.M.
1398	March.25.		
	June.21.	22	
	Septem.28.		Wylliam Askam, John Woodcock.S.
	Octo.28.		Richard Whityngton.M.
	March.25.		
1399	June.21.	23	

King Henry the fourth beginneth his reigne *in the yere*. 1399.

	Septem.28.		John Wade, John Warner.S.
	Septem.29.	1	
	Octo.28.		Drew Barentyn.M.
1400	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		Wylliam Waldern, Wylliam Hyde.S.
	Septem.29.	2	
	Octo.28.		Thomas Knolles.M.
1401	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		John Wakell, Wylliam Chot.S.
	Septem.29.	3	
	Octo.28.		John Fraunces.M.
1402	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		Wylliam Venour, John Fremyngham.S.
	Septem.29.	4	
	Octo.28.		John Chadworth. M.
1403	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		Richard Marlow, Robert Chicheley.S.
	Septem.29.	5	
	Octo.28.		John Walcot.M.
1404	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		Thomas Falconer, Thomas Pole.S.
	Septem.29.	6	
	Octo.28.		Wylliam Askam.M.

The Table.

The yeres of our Lord.	Monethes and dayes.	The yeres of the King.	Sherreues and Maiors.
1405	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		Wylliam Lowche, Stephyn Spylman.S.
	Septem.29.	7	
	Octo.28.		John Hynde. M.
1406	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		Henry Barton, Wylliam Cromer.S.
	Septem.29.	8	
	Octo.28.		John Wodcock.M.
1407	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		Nycholas Wotton, Geoffrey Bzoke.S.
	Septem.29.	9	
	Octo.28.		Richard Whyttyngton.M.
1408	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		Henry Pomfret, Henry Halton.S.
	Septem.29.	10	
	Octo.28.		Wylliam Stonden.M.
1409	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		Thomas Duke, Wylliam Nozton.S.
	Septem.29.	11	
	Octo.28.		Dzew Barentyn. M.
1410	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		John Lawe, Wylliam Chicheley.S.
	Septem.29.	12	
	Octo.28.		Richard Marlow.M.
1411	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		John Penne, Thomas Pyke.S.
	Septem.29.	13	
	Octo.28.		Thomas Knolles.M.
1412	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		John Raynewell, Wylliam Cotton.S.
	Septem.29.	14	
	Octo.28.		Robert Chicheley. M.

King Henry the fift beginneth his reigne *in the yere*. 1413.

	March.20.	1	
1413	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		Rauſe Leuenhinde, Wylliam Seuenock.S.
	Octo.28.		Wylliam Waldzen.M.
	March.20.	2	
1414	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		John Sutton, John Mychell.S.
	Octo.28.		Wylliam Cromer. M.
	March.20.	3	
1415	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		John Mychell, Thomas Alleyn.S.
	Octo.28.		Thomas Fawconer.M.
	March.20.	4	
1416	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		Wylliam Cambzidge, Alyn Euerard.S.

The Table.

The yeres of our Lord.	Monethes and dayes.	The yeres of the king.	Sherreues and Maiors.
	Octo.28.		Nycholas Wotton.M.
	March.20.	5	
1417	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		Robert Woodyngton, John Couentrie.S.
	Octo.28.		Henry Barton. M.
	March.20.	6	
1418	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		Henry Reade, John Gedney.S.
	Octo.28.		Richard Marlow.M.
	March.20.	7	
1419	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		Rauſe Barton, John Parnes.S.
	Octo.28.		Wylliam Seuenock.M.
	March.20.	8	
1420	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		Richard Whyttyngham, John Butler.S.
	Octo.28.		Richard Whytyngton.M.
	March.20.	9	
1421	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		John Butteler, John Welles.S.
	Octo.28.		Wylliam Cambzidge.M.
	March.20.	10	

King Henry the ſixt beginneth his reigne *in the yere*. 1422.

1422	March.25.		
	Auguſt.31.	1	
	Septem.28.		Richard Goſlyn, Wyll iam Weſton.S.
	Octo.28.		Robert Chicheley.M
1423	March.25.		
	Auguſt.31.	2	
	Septem.28.		Wylliam Eſſfield, Richard Tatterſale.S.
	Octo.28.		Wylliam Waldzen.M.
1424	March.25.		
	Auguſt.31.	3	
	Septem.28.		Nycholas James, Thomas Wadforde.S.
	Octo.28.		Wylliam Cromer.M.
1425	March.25.		
	Auguſt.31.	4	
	Septem.28.		Symon Seman, John Bywater.S.
	Octo.28.		John Mychell.M.
1426	March.25.		
	Auguſt.31.	5	
	Septem.28.		Wylliam Wildzed, John Bzokle.S.
	Octo.28.		John Couentrie.M.
1427	March.25.		
	Auguſt.31.	6	
	Septem.28.		John Arnoldes, John Higham.S.
	Octo.28.		John Raynewell.M.
1428	March.25.		

The Table.

The yeres of our Lord.	Monethes and dayes.	The yeres of the King.	Sherreues and Maiors.
	Auguſt.31.	7	
	Septem.28.		Henry Frowyke, Robert Otley.S.
	Octo.28.		John Gydney.M.
1429	March.25.		
	Auguſt.31.	8	
	Septem.28.		Thomas Dulhouſe, John Abbot.S.
	Octo.28.		Henry Barton.M.
1430	March.25.		
	Auguſt.31.	9	
	Septem.28.		Wylliam Ruſſe, Rauſe Holand.S.
	Octo.28.		Wyliam Eſtfielde.M.
1431	March.25.		
	Auguſt.31.	10	
	Septem.28.		Walter Chertſey, Robert Large.S.
	Octo.28.		Nycholas Wotton.M.
1432	March.25.		
	Auguſt.31.	11	
	Septem.28.		John Aderley, Stephyn Browne.S.
	Octo.28.		John Welles.M.
1433	March.25.		
	Auguſt.31.	12	
	Septem.28.		John Olney, John Paddeſley.S.
	Octo.28.		John Parneys.M.
1434	March.25.		
	Auguſt.31.	13	
	Septem.28.		Thomas Chalton, John King.S.
	Octo.28.		John Brockley.M.
1435	March.25.		
	Auguſt.31.	14	
	Septem.28.		Thomas Barnewell, Symon Eyre.S.
	Octo.28.		Roger Otley.M.
1436	March.25.		
	Auguſt.31.	15	
	Septem.28.		Thomas Catworth, Robert Clopton.S.
	Octo.28.		Henry Frowyke.M.
1437	March.25.		
	Auguſt.31.	16	
	Septem.28.		Thomas Horſted, Wyliam Gregorie.S.
	Octo.28.		John Michell.M.
1438	March.25.		
	Auguſt.31.	17	
	Septem.28.		Wyliam Chapman, Wyliam Hallys.S.
	Octo.28.		Wyliam Eſtfield.M.
1439	March.25.		
	Auguſt.31.	18	
	Septem.28.		Hugh Dicket, Nicholas Ewe.S.
	Octo.28.		Stephyn Browne.M.
1440	March.25.		
	Auguſt.31.	19	
	Septem.28.		Robert Marſhall, Philip Malpas.S.
	Octo.28.		Robert Large.M.
1441	March.25.		
	Auguſt.31.	20	

The Table.

The yeres of our Lord.	Monethes and dayes.	The yeres of the king.	Sherreues and Maiors.
	Septem.28.		John Sutton, Wyliam Wetynghale.S.
	Octo.28.		John Paddeſley.M.
1442	March.25.		
	Auguſt.31.	21	
	Septem.28.		Wyliam Combys Richard Riche.S.
	Octo.28.		Robert Clopton.M.
1443	March.25.		
	Auguſt.31.	22	
	Septem.28.		Thomas Bewmond, Richard Horden.S.
	Octo.28.		John Thyrley.M.
1444	March.25.		
	Auguſt.31.	23	
	Septem.28.		Nycholas Wylforde, John Horman.S.
	Octo.28.		Thomas Catworth.M.
1445	March.25.		
	Auguſt.31.	24	
	Septem.28.		Stephyn Foſter, Hugh Wiche.S.
	Octo.28.		Henry Frowyke.M.
1446	March.25.		
	Auguſt.31.	25	
	Septem.28.		John Darby, Godfrey Feloyng.S.
	Octo.28.		Symon Eyre.M.
1447	March.25.		
	Auguſt.31.	26	
	Septem.28.		Robert Horne, Godfrey Boloyn.S.
	Octo.28.		John Dnley.M.
1448	March.25.		
	Auguſt.31.	27	
	Septem.28.		Wyliam Abraham, Thomas Hrot.S.
	Octo.28.		John Gydney.M.
1449	March.25.		
	Auguſt.31.	28	
	Septem.28.		Wyliam Catlow, Wyliam Parrow.S.
	Octo.28.		Stephyn Browne.M.
1450	March.25.		
	Auguſt.31.	29	
	Septem.28.		Wyliam Hulyn, Thomas Canyngs.S.
	Octo.28.		Thomas Chalton.M.
1451	March.25.		
	Auguſt.31.	30	
	Septem.28.		John Middleton, Wyliam Horre.S.
	Octo.28.		Nycholas Wylforde.M.
1452	March.25.		
	Auguſt.31.	31	
	Septem.28.		Mathew Philip, Chriſtopher Warton.S.
	Octo.28.		Wyliam Gregorie.M.
1453	March.25.		
	Auguſt.31.	32	
	Septem.28.		John Walderne, Thomas Cooke.S.
	Octo.28.		John Horman.M.
1454	March.25.		
	Auguſt.31.	33	
	Septem.28.		John Felde, Wyliam Taylor.S.

The yeres of our Lord.	Monethes and dayes.	The yeres of the King.	Sherreues and Maiors.
	Octo.28.	34	Stephyn Foster.M.
1455	March.25.		
	Auguſt.31.		
	Septem.28.		John Young, Thomas Dulgraue.S.
	Octo.28.	35	Wylliam Harrow.M.
1456	March.25.		
	Auguſt.31.		
	Septem.28.		John Steward, Raufe Merney.S.
	Octo.28.	36	Thomas Canynges.M.
1457	March.25.		
	Auguſt.31.		
	Septem.28.		Wylliam Edward, Thomas Reyner.S.
	Octo.28.	37	Godfrey Boloyne.M.
1458	March.25.		
	Auguſt.31.		
	Septem.28.		Raufe Joſſelyn, Richard Pedham.S.
	Octo.28.	38	Thomas Scot.M.
1459	March.25.		
	Auguſt.31.		
	Septem. 28.		John Plommer, John Stocker.S.
	Octo.28.	39	Wylliam Hulyn.M.
1460	March.25.		
	Auguſt.31.		
	Septem.28.		Richard Flemyng, John Lambert.S.
	Octo.28.	40	Richard Lee.M.

King Edward the fourth beginneth his reigne *in the yere.* 1461.

	March. 4.	1	
1461	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		John Lock, George Ireland.S.
	Octo.28.		Hugh Wiche.M.
	March.4.	2	
1462	March.25.		
	Septem. 28.		Wylliam Hampton, Bartholomew James.S.
	Octo.28.		Thomas Coke.M.
	March.4.	3	
1463	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		Robert Basket, Thomas Hulchamp.S.
	Octo.28.		Mathew Philip.M.
	March.4.	4	
1464	March.25.		
	Septem. 28.		John Tate, John Stone.S.
	Octo.28.		Raufe Joſſyn.M.
	March.4.	5	
1465	March.25.		
	Septem. 28.		Henry Weuer, Wylliam Conſtantyne.S.
	Octo.28.		Raufe Merney.M.
	March.4.	6	
1466	March.25.		

The yeres of our Lord.	Monethes and dayes.	The yeres of the king.	Sherreues and Maiors.
	Septem.28.		John Bzowne, Henry Bluce, I. Stockton.S.
	Octo.28.		John Young.M.
	March.4.	7	
1467	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		Humfrey Heyford, Thomas Hatlbzoke.S.
	Octo.28.		Thomas Dulgraue.M.
	March.4.	8	
1468	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		Symon Smith, Wylliam Harlot.S.
	Octo.28.		Wylliam Taylor.M.
	March.4.	9	
1469	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		Richard Gardyner, Robert Drope.S.
	Octo.28.		Richard Lee.M.
	March.4.	10	
1470	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		John Crosby, John Warde.S.
	Octo.28.		John Stockton.M.
	March.4.	11	
1471	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		John Alyn, John Chellye.S.
	Octo.28.		Wylliam Edward.M.
	March.4.	12	
1472	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		John Bzowne, Thomas Bledlowe.S.
	Octo.28.		Richard Hampton.M.
	March.4.	13	
1473	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		Wylliam Stocker, Robert Bellysdon.S.
	Octo.28.		John Tate.M.
	March.4.	14	
1474	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		Edmond Shawe, Thomas Hill.S.
	Octo.28.		Richard Drope.M.
	March.4.	15	
1475	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		Hugh Prince, Robert Colwiche.S.
	Octo.28.		Robert Basket.M.
	March.4.	16	
1476	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		Richard Rawlon, Wylliam Horne.S.
	Octo.28.		Raufe Joſſelyn.M.
	March.4.	17	
1477	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		Henry Colet, John Stocker.S.
	Octo.28.		Humfrey Heyford.M.
	March.4.	18	
1478	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		Robert Herdyng, Robert Byfelde.S.
	Octo.28.		Richard Gardyner.M.
	March.4.	19	
1479	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		Thomas Ilam, John Warde.S.

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The yeres of our Lord.	Monethes and dayes.	The yeres of the King.	Sherreues and Maiors.
	Octo.28.		Bartholomew James.M.
	March.4.	20	
1480	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		Wylliam Danyell, Wylliam Bacon.S.
	Octo.28.		John Browne.M.
	March.4.	21	
1481	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		Robert Tate, W. Wykyng, R. Chawry.S.
	Octo.28.		Wylliam Haryot.M.
	March.4.	22.	
1482	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		Wylliam Whyte, John Mathew.S.
	Octo.28.		Edmond Shawe.M.
	March.4.	23	

King Edward the fift beginneth his reigne *in the yere.* 1483.

1483	March.25.		
	Apr.ill.9.	1	

King Richard the thirde beginneth his reigne *in the yere.* 1483.

	June.22.	1	
	Septem.28.		Thomas Nozland, Wylliam Martyn.S.
	Octo.28.		Robert Billyldon.M.
1484	March.25.		
	June.22.	2	
	Septem.28.		Richard Chester, W. Bxiteyn, Raufe Allry.S.
	Octo.28.		Thomas Hill.M.
1485	March.25.		
	June.22.	3	

King Henry the seuenth beginneth his reigne *in the yere.* 1485.

	August.22.	1	
	Septem.28.		John Tate, John Swan.S.
	Octo.28.		Hugh Bxice.M.
1486	March.25.		
	August.22.	2	
	Septem.28.		John Percyuall, Hugh Clopton.S.
	Octo.28.		Henry Colet.M.
1487	March.25.		
	August.22.	3	
	Septem.28.		John Fenkyll, Wylliam Remyngton.S.
	Octo.28.		Wylliam Horne.M.
1488	March.25.		
	August.22.	4	

The Table.

The yeres of our Lord.	Monethes and dayes.	The yeres of the King.	Sherreues and Maiors.
	Septem.28.		Wylliam Isaack, Raufe Tynley.S.
	Octo.28.		Robert Tate.M.
1489	March.25.		
	August.22.	3	
	Septem.28.		Wylliam Capell, John Brooke.S.
	Octo.28.		Wylliam Whyte.M.
1490	March.25.		
	August.22.	8	
	Septem.28.		Henry Cote, R. Revell, Hugh Penberton.S.
	Octo.28.		John Mathew.M.
1491	March.25.		
	August.22.	7	
	Septem.28.		Thomas Wood, Wylliam Browne.S.
	Octo.28.		Hugh Clopton.M.
1492	March.25.		
	August.22.	8	
	Septem.28.		Wylliam Purchace, Wylliam Welbeck.S.
	Octo.28.		Wylliam Martyn.M.
1493	March.25.		
	August.22.	9	
	Septem.28.		Robert Fabian, John Wynger.S.
	Octo.28.		Raufe Allry.M.
1494	March.25.		
	August.22.	10	
	Septem.28.		Nycholas Alwyn, John Warner.S.
	Octo.28.		Richard Chawry.M.
1495	March.25.		
	August.22.	11	
	Septem.28.		Thomas Knaresworth, Henry Sommer.S.
	Octo.28.		Henry Colet.M.
1496	March.25.		
	August.22.	12	
	Septem.28.		John Shawe, Richard Haddon.S.
	Octo.28.		John Tate.M.
1497	March.25.		
	August.22.	13	
	Septem.28.		Bartholomew Rede, Thomas Wyndought.S.
	Octo.28.		Wylliam Purchace.M.
1498	March.25.		
	August.22.	14	
	Septem.28.		Thomas Bradbury, Stephyn Jennyngs.S.
	Octo.28.		John Percyuall.M.
1499	March.25.		
	August.22.	15	
	Septem.28.		James Wylford, Richard Bond.S.
	Octo.28.		Nicholas Alwyn.M.
1500	March.25.		
	August.22.	16	
	Septem.28.		John Hawse, Wylliam Steve.S.
	Octo.28.		Wylliam Redyngton.M.
1501	March.25.		
	August.22.	17	
	Septem.28.		Lawrence Aylmer, Henry Yeve.S.

The Table.

The yeres of our Lord.	Monethes and dayes.	The yeres of the King.	Shérreues and Maiors.
	Octo.28.		Iohn Shawe.M.
1502	March.25.		
	August.22.	18	
	Septem.28.		Henry Keble, Nycholas Nynes.S.
	Octo.28.		Bartholomew Rede.M.
1503	March.25.		
	August.22.	19	
	Septem.28.		Chriſtopher Hawes, R. Wattes. T. Granger.S.
	Octo.28.		Wylliam Capell.M.
1504	March.25.		
	August.22.	20	
	Septem.28.		Roger Acheley, Wylliam Browne.S.
	Octo.28.		Iohn Wynger.M.
1505	March.25.		
	August.22.	21	
	Septem.28.		Richard Shore, Roger Croue.S.
	Octo.28.		Thomas Knéſworth.M.
1506	March.25.		
	August.22.	22	
	Septem.28.		W. Coppynger, T. Iohnſon, W. Fitzwilliam.S.
	Octo.28.		Richard Haddon.M.
1507	March.25.		
	August.22.	23	
	Septem.28.		Wylliam Butteler, Iohn Ryxbie.S.
	Octo.28.		Wylliam Browne.M.
1508	March.25.		
	August.22.	24	
	Septem.28.		Thomas Armeu, Richard Smyth.S.
	Octo.28.		Stephyn Jenyngs.M.

King Henry the eyght beginneth his reigne *in the yere.* 1509.

1509	March.25.		
	Aprill.22.	1	
	Septem.28.		George Honour, Iohn Ducket.S.
	Octo.28.		Thomas Bradbury.M.
1510	March.25.		
	Aprill.22.	2	
	Septem.28.		Iohn Mylborne, Iohn Kell.S.
	Octo.28.		Henry Keble.M.
1511	March.25.		
	Aprill.22.	3	
	Septem.28.		Nicholas Shelton, Thomas Myxſyn.S.
	Octo.28.		Roger Acheley.M.
1512	March.25.		
	Aprill.22.	4	
	Septem.28.		Robert Holdernes, Robert Fenrother.S.
	Octo.28.		Wylliam Coppynger.M.
1513	March.25.		
	Aprill.22.	5	

The Table.

The yeres of our Lord.	Monethes and dayes.	The yeres of the king.	Shérreues and Maiors.
	Septem.28.		Iohn Dawes, I. Bridges, Roger Baſſhed.S.
	Octo.28.		Wylliam Browne.M.
1514	March.25.		
	Aprill.22.	6	
	Septem.28.		Iames Parkhed, Iohn Mondy.S.
	Octo.28.		George Monor.M.
1515	March.25.		
	Aprill.22.	7	
	Septem.28.		Henry Morley, Richard Gray, W. Bailye.S.
	Octo.28.		Wylliam Butteler.M.
1516	March.25.		
	Aprill.22.	8	
	Septem.28.		Thomas Seymour, Richard Thurſton.S.
	Octo.28.		Iohn Kell.M.
1517	March.25.		
	Aprill.22.	9	
	Septem.28.		Thomas Baldry, Richard Symon.S.
	Octo.28.		Thomas Ermew.M.
1518	March.25.		
	Aprill.22.	10	
	Septem.28.		Iohn Alyn, Iames Spencer.S.
	Octo.28.		Thomas Myxſyn.M.
1519	March.25.		
	Aprill.22.	11	
	Septem.28.		Iohn Wilkynſon, Nicholas Partridge.S.
	Octo.28.		Iames Parkhed.M.
1520	March.25.		
	Aprill.22.	12	
	Septem.28.		Iohn Skeuyngton, Iohn Keble.S.
	Octo.28.		Iohn Brugc.M.
1521	March.25.		
	Aprill.22.	13	
	Septem.28.		Iohn Britayn, Thomas Pargeteur.S.
	Octo.28.		Iohn Mylborne.M.
1522	March.25.		
	Aprill.22.	14	
	Septem.28.		Iohn Rudſton, Iohn Champneys.S.
	Octo.28.		Iohn Mondy.M.
1523	March.25.		
	Aprill.22.	15	
	Septem.28.		Mighell Engliſhe, Nicholas Jenyngs.S.
	Octo.28.		Thomas Baldry.M.
1524	March.25.		
	Aprill.22.	16	
	Septem.28.		Raufe Modmer, Wylliam Rothe.S.
	Octo.28.		Wylliam Bailye.M.
1525	March.25.		
	Aprill.22.	17	
	Septem.28.		Iohn Calton, Chriſtopher Aſkew.S.
	Octo.28.		Iohn Alyn.M.
1526	March.25.		
	Aprill.22.	18	
	Septem.28.		Stephyn Peacock, Nichas Lambert.S.

The Table.

The yeres of our Lord.	Monethes and dayes.	The yeres of the King.	Sherreues and Maiors.
	Octo.28.		Thomas Seymer.M.
1527	March.25.		
	Aprill.22.	19	
	Septem.28.		John Hardy, Wylliam Hallys.S.
	Octo.28.		James Spencer.M.
1528	March.25.		
	Aprill.22.	20	
	Septem.28.		Raufe Mareyn, John Long.S.
	Octo.28.		John Rudston.M.
1529	March.25.		
	Aprill.22.	21	
	Septem.28.		Pighell Dozmer, Walter Champion.S.
	Octo.28.		Raufe Dodmer.M.
1530	March.25.		
	Aprill.22.	22	
	Septem.28.		Wylliam Dauncie, John Choppyng.S.
	Octo.28.		Thomas Pargstour.M.
1531	March.25.		
	Aprill.22.	23	
	Septem.28.		Richard Gretham, Edward Aleham.S.
	Octo.28.		Nicholas Lambert.M.
1532	March.25.		
	Aprill.22.	24	
	Septem.28.		Richard Reynold, I.Martyn, Ni.Pyncheon.S.
	Octo.28.		Stephyn Pecock.M.
1533	March.25.		
	Aprill.22.	25	
	Septem.28.		Wylliam Fozman, Thomas Kytson.S.
	Octo.28.		Chriſtopher Aſkew.M.
1534	March.25.		
	Aprill.22.	26	
	Septem.28.		Nycholas Lewſon, Wylliam Denham.S.
	Octo.28.		John Champneys.M.
1535	March.25.		
	Aprill.22.	27	
	Septem.28.		Humfrey Monmouth, John Cotes.S.
	Octo.28.		John Alleyn.M.
1536	March.25.		
	Aprill.22.	28	
	Septem.28.		Richard Paget, Wylliam Bowyer.S.
	Octo.28.		Raufe Warreyn.M.
1537	March.25.		
	Aprill.22.	29	
	Septem.28.		John Gresham, Thomas Lewyn.S.
	Octo.28.		Richard Gresham.M.
1538	March.25.		
	Aprill.22.	30	
	Septem.28.		Wylliam Wylkynſon, Nicholas Gibſon.S.
	Octo.28.		Walter Fozman.M.
1539	March.25.		
	Aprill.22.	31	
	Septem.28.		Thomas Fayrey, Thomas Huntlow.S.
	Octo.28.		Wylliam Hollys.M.

The Table.

The yeres of our Lord.	Monethes and dayes.	The yeres of the king.	Sherreues and Maiors.
1540	March.25.		
	Aprill.22.	32	
	Septem.28.		Wylliam Larſton, Martyn Bowes.S.
	Octo.28.		Wylliam Roche.M.
1541	March.25.		
	Aprill.22.	33	
	Septem.28.		Rowland Hill, Henry Suckley.S.
	Octo.28.		Pighell Dozmer.M.
1542	March.25.		
	Aprill.22.	34	
	Septem.28.		Henry Hoblethozn, Henry Amcotes.S.
	Octo.28.		John Coates.M.
1543	March.25.		
	Aprill.22.	35	
	Septem.28.		John Tonles, Richard Dabbes.S.
	Octo.28.		Wylliam Bowyer.M.
1544	March.25.		
	Aprill.22.	36	
	Septem.28.		John Wylford, Andzew Jud.S.
	Octo.28.		Wylliam Larſton.M.
1545	March.25.		
	Aprill.22.	37	
	Septem.28.		Geozge Barnes, Raufe Allyn.S.
	Octo.28.		Martyn Bowes.M.
1546	March.25.		
	Aprill.22.	38	
	Septem.28.		Richard Jerups, Thomas Curtys.S.
	Octo.28.		Henry Hoblethozne.M.

King Edward the ſixt beginneth his reigne *in the yere.* 1547.

	Janu.28.	1	
1547	March.25.		Thomas Whyte, Robert Chertſey.S.
	Septem.28.		John Gresham.M.
	Octo.28.		
	Janu.28.	2	
1548	March.25.		Wylliam Lock, John Aylepb.S.
	Septem.28.		Henry Amcotes.M.
	Octo.28.		
	Janu.28.	3	
1549	March.25.		John Pozke, Richard Turck.S.
	Septem.28.		Rowland Hill.M.
	Octo.28.		
	Janu.28.	4	
1550	March.25.		Auſtyn Hynde, John Lyon.S.
	Septem.28.		Andzew Jud.M.
	Octo.28.		
	Janu.28.	5	
1551	March.25.		John Lambert, John Cowper.S.
	Septem.28.		

The Table.

The yeres of our Lord.	Monethes and dayes.	The yeres of the King.	Sherreues and Maiors.
	Octo.28.		Richard Dabbes.M.
	Janu.28.	6	
1552	March.25		
	Septem.28.		Wylliam Garet, John Maynard.S.
	Octo.28.		George Barnes.M.
	Janu.28.	7	

Queene Marie beginneth hir reigne *in the yere.* 1553.

1553	March.25.		
	July.6. M.	1	
	Septem.28.		Thomas Offley, Wylliam Hewet.S.
	Octo.28.		Thomas Whyte.M.
1554	March.25.		
	July.6. M.	2	

King Phyllip beginneth his reigne *in the yere.* 1554.

	July.25. P.	1	
	Septem.28.		Dauid Woodroffe, Wylliam Cheller.S.
	Octo.28.		John Lyon.M.
1555	March.25.		
	July.6. M.	3	
	July.25. P.	2	
	Septem.28.		Thomas Leigh, John Machym.S.
	Octo.28.		Wylliam Garrard.M.
1556	March.25.		
	July.6. M.	4	
	July.25. P.	3	
	Septem.28.		Wylliam Harper, John Whyte.S.
	Octo.28.		Thomas Offley.M.
1557	March.25.		
	July.6. M.	5	
	July.25. P.	4	
	Septem.28.		Richard Maloy, James Altham.S.
	Octo.28.		Thomas Curteys.M.
1558	March.25.		
	July.6. M.	6	
	July.25. P.	5	
	Septem.28.		John Halse, Richard Champion.S.
	Octo.28.		Thomas Leigh.M.

Queene Elizabeth beginneth hir reigne *in the yere.* 1559.

1559	Nouem.17.	1	
	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		Thomas Lodge, Roger Martyn.S.
	Octo.28.		Wylliam Hewet.M.

The Table.

The yeres of our Lord.	Monethes and dayes.	The yeres of the Queene.	Sherreues and Maiors.
	Nouem.17.	2	
1560	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		Christopher Draper, Thomas Rowe.S.
	Octo.28.		Sir Wylliam Chester.M.
	Nouem.17.	3	
1561	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		Alexander Auenon, Humfrey Baskeruyle.S.
	Octo.28.		Sir Wylliam Harper.M.
	Nouem.17.	4	
1562	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		Wylliam Aleuer, Richard Chamberleyn.S.
	Octo.28.		Sir Thomas Lodge.M.
	Nouem.17.	5	
1563	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		Edward Bankes, Rowland Heyward.S.
	Octo.28.		Sir John Whyte.M.
	Nouem.17.	6	
1564	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		Edward Jackman, Lyonell Ducket.S.
	Octo.28.		Sir Richard Maloze. M.
	Nouem.17.	7	
1565	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		John Ryuers, James Hawes.S.
	Octo.28.		Sir Richard Champion.M.
	Nouem.17.	8	
1566	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		Ri.Lambert, Ambros Nycholas, John Lang.S
	Octo.28.		Sir Christopher Draper.M.
	Nouem.17.	9	
1567	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		Thomas Ramsey, Wylliam Bond.S.
	Octo.28.		Sir Roger Martyn.M.
	Nouem.17.	10	
1568	March.25.		
	Septem.28.		Robert Hardyng, I. Dleph, James Bacon.S.
	Octo.28.		Sir Thomas Rowe.M.
	Nouem.17.	11	

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